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, 1647, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521.

BY

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PART III.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE XlVTH AND XvIITH CENTURIES.

CHAUCER, GOWER, WYCLIFFE, SPENSER, SHAKSPERE, SALESBURY, BARCLEY, 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 show that the ancient sound of long i was (i) or (ii), and not (ei, ai, oi), 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, Paternoster, col. 2, vv. 4 and 8, for don, mii'sdoon: read doon, mii'sdoon.

p. 443, Credo 1, col. 2, ll. 4 and 7, for lav'er'd, ded, read laaerverd, deed; Credo 2, col. 2, line 4, for loo-ver'd read loo-ver'd.

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

p. 491–5. On the use of f for j, and the possibility of j having been occasionally confused with (a) in speech, Mr. W. W. Skeat calls attention to the remarks of Sir F. Madden, in his edition of Lammon, 3, 437.

p. 468, Translation, 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, dee, swee, pee); l. 18, for may read May; l. 24–5 for (cint'ymnt) read (cint'ment).

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

p. 540, l. 6, for хафди read хафди.

p. 549, l. 5 from bottom of text, for mansaugur (maan-scecerjгр), read mansaungur (maan-sceivor). Mr. H. Sweet has communicated to me the sounds of Icelandic letters as noted by Mr. Melville Bell from the pronunciation of Mr. HjaltaHin, which will be given in Part IV.

p. 553, verse 30, col. 1, l. 4, for алякыль шабн read alykyl; col. 2, l. 4, for аликаулаш read аликаулш.

p. 559, in the Haustöng; l. 1, for er read es, l. 2, for er read es; l. 4, for bauge read baugi; l. 5, for Hel'lesbror . . . bauge read Hel'lesbror . . . bauge; line 7, for isarnleiki read isarnleiki.

p. 660, note 1, l. 2, for лонгъ read лонгъ.

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

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 land read land.

In Part III.

p. 639, note 2 for (спи'шал, спеш'аб) read (spi'shal, spesh'ub).

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 (абиет'шун) read (abiaet'siun).

p. 789, col. 1, the reference after татам should be 7584.

p. 791, col. 2, under much good do it you, for mychgoditio read mychgoditio; 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 xvii th and xviii th 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 xvii th and xviii th centuries respectively, are now completely ready for press, and will therefore certainly appear either under my own or some other superintendence. 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 com-
munications.

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 localize them
accurately, for the purpose of understanding the unmixed dialectic
English of the xiiith and xiiith centuries, and to find traces of the
pronunciations prevalent in the more mixed forms of the xivth,
xvth, and xvith 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 com-
munication 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 informa-
tion, 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 obser-
vations, 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 Loveland 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 sug-
gestive 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 combina-
tions 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 lan-
guage 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 ka'rd or k'dad Bath, workmen, petty traders, etc.
card ka'd or k'dad Bath, as before.
beacon hai'kn or bi'kn Bath, as before.
key kai' or kai Bath, as before.
fair feir or fa'yer fa'yu' Bath, country farming man.

Table of Presumed Varieties of English Pronunciation.

Vowels.
A short i in: tap cap bad cat mad sack bag; doubtful in: staff calf half calve halve aftermath path father pass cast fast mash wash hand plant ant want hang = ae, a, a', ae, ah, au, o, ao, oa = (e, e, ah, a, e, A, 0, oo, oo).
A long in: gape grape gaby late skate trade made ache cake ague plague safe save swathe bathe patience occasion ale pale rare name same lane wane = ee, ai, e, ae, a, a', aa; aiy, aih', aiv, ey, eek', eeu = (ii, ee, ee, EE, ee, EE, aa, ae, ei, oo, EE, ii, iii.)
AE, AY in: way hay pay play bray day clay gray say lay may nay, bair wait aid maid waive ail paal trail fair hair chair pair stair = ee, ai, e, ae, aa; aiy, aay', aay' = (ii, ee, ee, ee, aa; eee, ai, aay.)
AU, AW in; paw daw thaw saw saw law raw maw gnaw, bawl mauel maudner, aunt haunt gaunt daughter = aa, ah, au, oo, oo; aww, aww = (aa, aa, AA, oo, oo; au, au).
E short in: kept swept neb pretty wet wedgeless keg Seth guess mess very hell hem hen yes yet = i, e, ai, ae, a = (i, e, e, e, e.)
E long in: glede complete decent extreme here there where me she we be = ee, ai, e, ae, a? = (ii, ee, ee, EE, aee?)
EA in: leap eat seat meat knead mead read speak squeak league leaf leave wreath hear breathe create ease leash weal 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, ae; eek', aih', ya = (ii, ee, ee e, EE e; ii', e', ja.)
EE in: sheep weed heed seek beef beeves teeth seethe fleece trees heel seem seen = ee, ai; aiy, ey = (ii, ee; ci, ei)
EI, EY in: either neither height slight Leigh Leighton conceive neive seize convey key prey hey grey = ee, ai; aay, uuy, uy = (ii, ee; ai, ai, oi).
EO in: people leap Leominster Leopold Theobald = ee, e, i, eeeaa, eeu = (ii, e, i, iiooa, iia).
EU, EW in pew few new yew ewe knew, to mew, the mews, chew Jew new new shew Shrewsbury strew threw sew grew brew = eew, iee, iee, eew, eww, eew, eee, iie, iew, new, eoo, oo, oww uww; aa, ah, au; yoo = (iu, iu, eu, eu, eee, ii, uu, uu, oo, oow, uu; aa, aa, AA; jo.)
I short in: hip crib pit bid sick gig stiff, to live, smith smithy withy hiss his fish fill swim sin first possible charity furniture = ee, i, e, ae, a, u, u' = (i, i, e, e, e, a, u.)
I long in: wipe gibe kite hide strike
knife knives wife wives scythe the blithe
ice twice thrice wise pile bile rime
pine fire shire; sight right might
light night fright fright sight; sight
rye my lie nigh fry fie = i, ee,
a, ou, iy, aiy, ey, aay, ahw ayy,
uy, uyy = (ii, ii, ee, AA; ii, ei, ei,
a, ai, Ai, oi, ai).

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

O short, and doubtful. in: mop knob
knot nod knock dog off office
moth broth brother mother pother
other moss cross frost pollard Tom
ton son done gone morning song
long = oo, oo, oo, ah, ah, oo; ee, ai;
eeh, aih, oah, ooh, oau, auw, auw;
ye, ya, yaa; wod = (uu, o oo,
oo, oo, AA, aa, ii; ii, eii, ee', oo',
oo, oo, au, uu, au, ee, je, je, ju; wau,
au, wai, wai).

OO in: hoop hoot soot hood food aloof
groove sooth soothe ooze ooze tool
groom soon moon; cook look shook
brook; loose goose= oo, oo, oo, oo,
oo; eeh', oeh'; uuuw = (uu, u, ii,
yy, oo; oo', oo, au).

OU, OW in: down town now how
flower sow cow, to bow factere,
a bow acres, a bowl of soup
cysthus, a bowling green; plough
round sound mound hound thou out
house flour; found bound ground;
our; brought sought bought thought
ought ought ought soul four;
blow snow below, a low bough, the
cows low, a row of barrows, a great
row tumulus, crow, know: ooe,
own= oo, oo, oo', oo, oo', oo, ah,
a, ai; aan, auw, auw, auw, auw,
auw, nee,越来越少, ou, oo, oo,
ch, oo o, oo, aa, aa, AA, ee; au,
aa, uu, ou, ou, uu, uu, uu, ou, oy)."
NOTICE.

length = ng, ngl, ni, n = (q, og, ndzh, n); ever ngg or ngk = (og, qk) when

fricative in: singing thing nothing?
P ever confused with b? ever post-
aspirated as h = (ph)?

QU = kw, kw, kwch = (kwr, kw, kwch)?

R not preceding a vowel; vocal = r =
(z), or trilled r = (r), or guttural = 'r, 'rh = (r, ch), or mute? How

does it affect the preceding vowel in:

far cart part dirt shirt short hunt fair care fear shore ear
court poor? ever transposed in:

grass bird etc.? trilled, and developing

an additional vowel in: woor-
dor-1 wor-m wor-k ar-m?

R preceding a vowel; always trilled =
'p = (r), or guttural = 'r = (r)

ever labial = 'w, 'br = (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'=
rr', h' = (ar, r)?

S = s, z, sh, zh? = (s, z, sh, zh?)

regularly z' regularly lisped t' h' =

(c)?

SH = s, sh, zh = (s, sh, zh), or, regularly

zh = (zh)?

T = t, d, th, s, sh, t, h = (t, d, th, s,

sh, th).

TH = t, d, th, tth, dh, f = (t, d, th, th,
dh, f) in: fifth sixth eighth with

though whether other nothing etc.

V = v, 'v, w = (bh, w), or regularly w?

W = w, v, 'v = (w, bh, y). Is there a

regular interchange of v, w? inserted

before O and OI in: home hot coat

point etc.? regularly omitted in:

woodewood would woo wool woman

womb, etc.? pronounced at all in:

write, wring, wrong, wreak, wrought,

wrap, etc.? any instances of weI

pronounced as in: lisp wonk lukewarm

wailing loathing whipple white?

WH = w, wh, f, f, kwh = (w, wh, f,

ph, kwh).

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

midland, 2) -and, dividend legend, 3)

-and, diamond almond, 4) -and, rubi-
cund jocund, 5) -ard, haggard naggard

sluggard renard leopard, 6) -ard, hal-

berd shepherd, 7) -ance, guidance de-
pendance abundance clearance tempe-

rance ignorance resistance, 8) -ence,

license confidence dependence patience,

9) -age, village image manage cabbage

marriage, 10) -age, privilege college,

11) -some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-
some, 12) -sure, pleasure measure leis-

eure closure fissure, 13) -ture, creature

furniture vulture venture, 14) -ate, [in

nouns] laureate frigate frigate, 15) at,

cymbal radical logical cystical metrical

metrical local medial linear, 16) -el,

camel pannel apparel, 17) -ol, carol

wittoI, 18) -um, madam quondam Olap-

ham, 19) -um, freedom seldom fathom

venom, 20) -an, suburban logician his-

torian Christian metropolitan, and the

compounds of man, as: woman, etc.,

21) -on, garden children linen woolen,

22) -on, deacon pardon fashion legion

minorion occasion passion

vocation mention question felon,

23) -on, eastern carnern, 24) -ar, vicar

cedar vinegar scholar secular, 25) -er,

robbor chamber member render, 26)

-er, 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 primacy obstinacy, 31)

-ancy, infancy tenancy constancy, 32)

-ency, decency tendency currency, 33)

-ery, beggary summary granary liter-

ary notary, 34) -ery, robbery bribery

gunnery, 35) -ory, priory eorory orary

victory history, 36) -ury, usury

luxury.

Also the terminations separated by a

hyphen, in the following words: sol-a

tidae-a, sirr-ah, ber-o stuce-o pota-ta-

tobacco-o, wid-ow yell-ow fell-ow shad-

ow sorr-ow sparr-ow, val-ue neph-e-

ew sher-iff, bann-ock hadd-ock padd-ock

= frog, poss-ible poss-ibility, stom-ach

hil-ach, no-tice poul-tice, prel-acy pol-

icy, cer-tain, Lat-in, a sing-ing, a be-

ing, pulp-it vom-it rabb-it, mouth-

ful sorrow-ful, terri-ly signi-ly, 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-mon-ny, hind-most at-

-most better-most fore-most, sweet-
-ness, right-eous pit-eous plent-eous, friend-ship, tire-some whole-some, na-
tion na-tional, pre-cious pro-di-gious, offi-cial par-tial par-tial-i-ty, spe-cial
spe-cial-i-ty spe-cial-i-ty, ver-dure or-dure, fi-gure, in-jure con-jure per-jure, plea-
sure mea-sure trea-sure lei-sure cock-
sure cen-sure pres-sure fis-sure, fea-
ture crea-ture minia-ture na-ture na-
tural litera-ture sta-ture frac-ture
conjec-ture lec-ture archi-tecture pie-
ture stric-ture junc-ture punc-ture
struc-ture cul-ture vul-ture ven-ture
cap-ture rap-ture scrip-ture depart-ture
tor-ture pas-ture ves-ture fu-ture fix-
ture seiz-ure, forward back-ward
up-down down-ward, like-wise side-
wise, mid-wife house-wif good-wif.

All inflexional terminations, as in:
speak-eth speak-sadd-s spoke-en pierce-ed
breath-ed wise,

Note also the vowel in unaccented prefixes, such as those separated by a
byphen in the following words: a-mong a-stride a-las, ab-use, a-vert,
advance, ad-apt ad-mire ac-cept at fix
an-nounce ap-pend, a-vert', al-cove
a-bys, auth-en-tic, be-set be-gin, bin-
ocular, con-ceal con-cur con-trast'
con-trol, de-pend de-spite de-bate de-
stroy de-feat, de-fer', dia-meter, di-
rect dis-cuss, e-lope, en-close in-close,
ex-cept e-vent e-mit ec-i-lipse, for-bid,
fore-tell, gain-say, mis-deed mis-guide,
ob-ject' ob-lige oc-cusion op-pose, per-
vert, pre-cede pre-fer', pro-mote pro-
duced 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 in-
clude, demon-strate demon-strate,
appli-cable applic-a-bal, des-picable de-
spicable, as-pect as-pect, 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-
bers as: pair, couple, leash, half dozen,
dozen, long dozen, gross, long gross,
half score, score, long score, long hun-
ter, etc., with interpretation. Pecu-
liar methods of counting peculiar
classes of objects. Ordinals, first, se-
cond, etc., to twentieth, thirtieth, etc.,
to hundredth, then thousandth and
milli-onth. Numeral adverbs: once,
twice, thrice, four times, some times,
many times, often, seldom, never, etc.,
Single, simple, double, treble, quadrup-
ple, etc., fourfold, mani-fold, etc., three-
some, etc. Each, either, neither, both,
some, several, any, many, enough, eno-
ev. 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, seventnight, fortnight, month,
names of months, quarter, half-quarter,
half, twel vemonth, year, century, age,
etc., Christmas, Michaelmas, Martin-
mas, Candlemas, Lammas, Lady Day,
Midsummer, yule, any special festivals
or days of settlement. Any Church
ceremonies, as christening, burying, etc.

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

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

Peculiar syntax and idioms: I are,
we is, thee loves, thou beest, 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 musn't can't canna won't wunna dinna didn't,
etc., I'm thou'rt he's we're you're I've
T'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, Shakspeare. 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-log 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 heardst.

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 pro-

verb: '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. '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. Rehearse 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?
Notice.

Speed. 'And more faults than hairs.'
Launce. That's monstrous: 0, that that were out!
Speed. 'And more wealth than faults.'
Launce. Why, that word makes the faults gracious. Well, I'll have her: and if it be a match, as nothing is impossible,—
Speed. What then?
Launce. Why, then will I tell thee
—thst thy master stays for thee at the North-gate.
Speed. For me?
Launce. For thee! ay, who art thou?

he hath stayed for a better man than thee.

Speed. And must I go to him?
Launce. Thou must run to him, for thou hast stayed so long, that going will scarce serve the turn.
Speed. Why didst thou not tell me sooner? pox of your love-letters!

[Exit.

Launce. Now will he be swung for reading my letter—an unmannishly slave, that will thrust himself into secrets! I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction.

[Exit.

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 attention of an ENGLISH DIALECT SOCIETY, and I solicit all correspondents 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 investigations, 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 conclusions, 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 hesitation 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEET</th>
<th>BAIt</th>
<th>BAA</th>
<th>CAUL</th>
<th>COAl</th>
<th>COOl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KNIt</td>
<td>nEt</td>
<td>gNAT</td>
<td>nOt</td>
<td>nUT</td>
<td>fUOT</td>
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<tr>
<td>hEIGHT</td>
<td>FOIL</td>
<td>FOUL</td>
<td>FEUD</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEA</td>
<td>WAY</td>
<td>WHEY</td>
<td>Hay</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEA</td>
<td>Bee</td>
<td>Toe</td>
<td>Doe</td>
<td>CHEST</td>
<td>JEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIE</td>
<td>VIE</td>
<td>THIN</td>
<td>DHEN</td>
<td>SEAL</td>
<td>ZEAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAR</td>
<td>R'ING</td>
<td>eaRR'ING</td>
<td>LAY</td>
<td>MAY</td>
<td>NAY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R is vocal when no vowel follows, and modifies the preceding vowel forming diphthongs, as in PEER, PAIR, BOAR, BOOR, 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, ej, a, obscuresly, 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 spai st letters, or else in a different type.

**Specimen ov Ingglish Glosik.**

**Nom'ik,** (dhat iz, kustemer Ingglish speling, soa kauld from dhi Greek nom'os, kustum,) konvai'z noa intima'ishen ov dhi risee'vd proanunsia'ishen ov eni werd. It iz konsikwentli veri difikelt too lern too reed, and stil moar difikelt too lern too reit.

**Ingglish Glosik** (soa kauld from dhi Greek glosas'sa, tung) konvai'z whotev'er proanunsia'ishen iz inten'ded bei dhi reiter. Glosik bucks kan dhairfoar bee maid too impaar'rt risee'vd aurthoa'ipi too aul reederz.

Ingglish Glosik iz veri eevi too reed. Widh proper training, a cheld ov foar yeerz oald kan bee redili tant too giv dhi egzak't sound ov eni glosik werd prizen'ted too him. Aafter hee haz akwei'rd familiar'iti widh glosik reeding hee kan lern nomik reeding auloast whidhout instruk'shen. Dhi hoal teim rikwei'rd faur lerning boath glosik and nomik, iz not haaf dhat rikwei'rd faur lerning nomik aloa'n. Dhis iz impoa'rtent, az nomik bucks and paiperz aar dhi oanli egzis'ting soarsez ov infermai'shen.
Glosik reiting iz akwei'vd in dhi proases 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 leert bei reeding glosik buoks. But oaining too its pikeu'lier konstrukt'hen, glosik speling iz imeedietli intel'ijibl, widhou't a kee, too eni nomik reeder. Hens, a glosik reiter kan komeunikait width aul reederz, whedher glosik aur nomik, and haz dhairfoar noa need too bikum' a nomik reiter. But hee 'kan bikum' wun, if ser kemstensez render it dizeirrable, widh les trubl dhan dhoaz hoo hav not lernt glosik.

Dhi novelti ov dhi prezent skeem faur deeling width dhi Speling Difkelti iz, that, wheil it maiks noa chainj in dhi habits ov egzist-ing reederz and reiterz, and graitli falsil'aitais lerning too reed our prezent buoks, it entei'rl obviait dhi nises-it'i ov lerning too reit in dhi euzechuel kompliktaited fashen.

Dhi abuy' aar edekai'shenel and soashel eusez ov Glosic. It iz heer introadeu'st soalli az a meenz ov reiting Aul Egzisting Varei'itiz ov Ingliblish Proanunsiasti'hen 1 bei meenz ov Wun Alfa bet on a wel noan Ingliblish baisis.

1 Eeven amung heelli edeukaited Inglishmen, maarkt varei'itiis ov proanunsiasti'hen egzist. If wee inklo'ed proavi'n-shel deialekts and vulgar'itiiz, dhi number ov dheez varei'itiiz wil be inaurnmusli inekteest. Dhi eer ri-kweirz much training, bifoar'it it iz aibl too apree'shaiat mineute shaidz ov sound, dho a redili diskrim'aitais braid diferense. Too meet dhis difkelti dhis skeem haz beedived into too. Dhi ferst, aur Inglish Glosik, iz adapted faur reiting Inglish az wel az dhi autherz ov proanoun'sing dik-shenzeriz euzechueli kontemplait. Dhi sekend aur Enuivier'sl Glosik, aimz at giving simbelz faur dhi moest mineut' foanet'ik anal'isis yet achee'vd. Dhus, in dhi ferst, dhi foar diftongz ei, oi, ou, eu, aar striktli konven'shenel seinz, and pai noa heed too dhi grait varei'iti ov waiz in which at leest sum ov dhem aar habteueli proanoun'st. Agair'n, eer, air, oar, oor, aar stil ritn width ee, ai, oai, oo, sauldhoa' an atentiv fision wil redili rekogneiz a mineute aulterai'shen in dhiir soundz. Too falsil'itait reiting wee mai cuz el, em, en, ej, a, when not under dhi stres, faur dhoaz obskeur soundz which aar soo prevale nt in speech, dhoaz reprobaited bei authoar'iipists, and singk dhi disting'k-shen between i, and ee, under dhi sain ser kemstensez. Aulsoa dhi sounds in defer, occurr, deferring, occurring may bee auwai ritn with er, dhus difer', oker, diferred, okerring, dhi dubling ov dhi r in dhi 'too laast

werdz sieku'ring dhi voakel karakter ov dhi ferst r, and dhi tril ov dhi sekend, and dhus disting'gwishing dheez soundz from dhoaz herd in her-ing, okuren's. Konside'rabil ekpeere'riens suj'ets dhiiz az a konvee'nient praktikl authoar'iipi. But dhi fer reprizentai'shen ov deialekts, wee rikweirz jenereli a much strikter noatai'shen, and dhoar authoar'ep'ikik diskrip'shen, aur scientifik foanet'ik dis-kush'en, sumthing stil moor painfuuli mineuet. A feu sentensez aar anekz, az dhai aar renderd bei Wauker and Melvil Bel, ading dhi Autherz oan koloa'kwiwel utezens, az wel az hee kan estimaat it.

PRAKTIKL. Endev'er faur dhi best, and proave'id agen'st dhi werst. Ni ses'iti iz dhi mudder ov inven'shen. Heee' hoo woots kontent kan't feind an eezi chair.

WAUKER. Endev'ur faur dhi best, and proa'vaayd agen'st dhi wurst. Neeses'eete iz dhi mudhu'ov inven'shen. Heee' hoo woots kontent kan't not faay'nd an eeze'chair.

MELVIL BEL. Endever'ur for dhi best, and pro'aaeayd agen'st dhi wurust. Neeses'eete iz dhi mudhu'ren'iz dhi wurst. Heee' hoo waunh'ts konten'ht kan'tt faay'n a'eez'cher.

ELIS. Endevu' fu'dh)best u'n'-pro'aa'vuyd u'gen'st dhi' wuurst. Ni ses'itiiz dhi)muudh'ur' u'v'inven'shu'n. Heee hoo woots ku'ten't kan'ut fuy'nd u'n)ee'zi chew'.
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>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>uu’ ea ee</td>
<td>U’ I’ I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>uu’</td>
<td>AA A’ E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ua’ AE</td>
<td>AH E’ A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Front</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>oo’ ui’ uu’</td>
<td>oo’ oo’ UE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>oo’ ea’ EO</td>
<td>AO ao’ OE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>au’ ee’</td>
<td>o’ oo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BRIEF KEY TO THE VOWELS.**

A as in English *gnat.
A’ (read ai-hook) fine southern English *ask*, between aa and e.
AA as in English *bass.
AE usual provincial English e, French e, German ä.
AE’ broad German ah, between aa & au.
AI as in English *baal*, with no after-sound of ee.
AO open Italian o, between o and oo.
AO’ closer sound of oo, not quite oo.
AU as in English *caul.
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.
EA Russian li, Polish y, variety of ee.
EO as in English *boat.
EO’ close French *eu in peu, feu.
EO’ opener sound of oo, not quite oo.
I as in English *got.
I’ opener sound of i, not quite e, as in English *houses, Welsh u.
O as in English *net*, opener than au.
O’ a closer sound of o.
OA as in English *caul*, with no after-sound of oo.
OA’ closer sound of oo; u with lips rounded.
OE open French *eu in veuf, German ë.
OE’ opener sound of oe.
OO as in English *cool.
U as in English *nut.
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. u, nearly ee, Swed. y.
U’ Swedish long u.

vo as in English *full, woman, book.
uo’ Swedish long o.
UU usual provincial variety of u.
au’ Gaelic sound of ao in *laogh*; 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 oo). 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, wo, oo, au, o. Observe that for i, e, oo, 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 *funny*. Then lengthen i, noticing the distinction between *leap, tip, 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 we, 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 *ow*. The true short oo is heard in French *poule*. English *pull* and French *poule*, differ as English *funny* 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 *ow*, 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 *ui*.
KEY TO UNIVERSAL GLOSSIC.

and ù', of which ù 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 é, è, Italian e chiuso 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 i, e, a. Now e is much finer than ae, and replaces it in the South of England. Care must be taken not to confuse English e 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 ui, eo, eo', of which eo is very common. Rounding the lips also changes i, e, a, into ue, oe, oe', of which oe is very common.

On uttering oo, oa, au, the back of the tongue descends lower and lower, till for au the tongue lies almost entirely in the lower jaw. The widening of these gives oo, ao, o. The distinction between au, 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, oa, 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, ao, 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 ù, 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 ù' 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 e 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. OO and UO. II, U, UI, UE and EEW, IW, YOO. UE and EO. OE and U.

QUANTITY OF 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 augurst; placed immediately after a consonant, hyphen (-); gap (,), or stop (...), it shews that the preceding vowel is short and accented, as aug+urst, aan+ao+uː; pa+pe+..

The Holder (') placed immediately after a vowel or consonant shews it to be long, as au'+urst, need+'; the Stress Holder ("') shews that the consonant it follows, is held, the preceding vowel being short and accented, compare hap'i, hap"'s, hap'i, hap"'; in theoretical writing only. Practically it is more convenient to double a held consonant, as hap'i, hap"pi.

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

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


with stress—à-a', ò-a, ò-a, ò-a, ò-a without stress—a—a, ò-a, ò-a, ò-a, ò-a

If the first letter is a capital the accent marks may be placed on the second, as Áugust, áugust, kádzán.

SYSTEMATIC DIPHTHONGS.

The stressless element of a diphthong is systematically indicated by a preceding turned comma (?) called hook, as m'eenit. m'ai, Lad'bora, It. Laura, p'wona'raa It paura, ë'wee Fr. lui. But when, as is almost always the case, this element is 'ee 'oo, or 'iu, it may be replaced by its related consonant y, w or õ, as myaiy, Laawraa, ë'wee. Any obscure final element as 'u, 'e, 'e', is sufficiently expressed by the sign of simple voice h', as provincial neeh't night, streeh'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 
ê, or, ou, eu are unsystematic, and 
are variously pronounced, thus:
ê is ue in the South, sometimes a’y, 
auy; and is often broadened to uwy, 
ahy, aw’y, in the provinces.
or is oy in the South, and becomes any, 
provincially.
ou is uw in the South, sometimes a’w, 
aaw, and is often broadened to uuaw 
ahuw, ouw, oww; it becomes ow’w in 
Devonshire, and eww in Norfolk.
eu varies as iv, eww, yoo, yew, yeew.
The Londoners often mispronounce 
a as a’’y, aiy, ey or nearly uy, and ao 
as aw’w, oww, ow or nearly uw.
English vocal r, is essentially the 
same as H, forming a diphthong with the 
preceding vowel. Thus English 
glossic peer, pair, boar, boor, fer, diferring, 
are systematic pi’r, pe’r, ba’r, 
bur’r, fe’r or fu’, dife’r’ring or 
difur’ring. But r is used where r’, or 
r’, or h’r may be occasionally heard.

Consounds.
Differences from English Glossic consounds 
are marked by adding an h in the 
usual way, with yy’ for palatals, 
and w’ for labials, by subjoining an 
apostrophe (‘) or by prefixing a turned 
comma (‘), a turned apostrophe (‘), 
or a simple comma (‘).

Simple consonants, and added G.
Y, y, w, h; f b, t d, j, k, g, f v, s z, 
vocal r, L M N, NG.

Added H.
WH, CH, TH DH, SH ZH.
KH, GH German ch, ch in Dach, Tage; 
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, m, ng, as in virtue, 
verdure, old cart, old guard, Indian 
gli, yu, vulgar French, it y’ a 
pas=nuy’ au pa’h. LTH is the 
hissed voiceless form of LY’.
KYH, GYH 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., pro-
duced by rounding the lips at or 
during their utterance, French toi, 
dois, English quiet, guen, our, 
French roi, loi, noise, etc.
KWH, GWH are labial varieties of 
KH, GH as in German auk, augeun, 
and Scotch quh. 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, dee-huok, dental 
t, d, with tip of tongue nearly 
toeth between teeth as for th, dh.
F’, V’, called ef-huok, vee-huok, toothless 
f, v, the lip not touching the 
teeth; v’ is true German w.
r’, or r before vowels, is trilled r.
N’ read en-huok, French nasal n, which 
nasalizes the preceding vowel. To 
Englishmen the four French words 
vent, vont, vin, un sound von’, vaon’, 
vun’, un’; but Frenchmen take 
them as vahn’, vaon’, vaen’, eon’.
Sanskrit unusuva.ru.
K’, G’ peculiar Picard varieties of 
ky’, gy’, nearly approaching ch, j.
CH’, J’, TS’, DZ’ monopthongal 
Roman varieties of ch, j, ts, dz.
TH, D’H lisped varieties of s, z, 
imitating th, dh; occasional Spanish 
s, d.
S’ not after t, Sanscrit visu.ru.

Prefixed comma (‘), called “Comma.”
H read koma-aich, lax utterance, op-
posed to H.
T, T’ read koma-tee, koma-dee peculiar 
Sardinian varieties of t, d, the 
tongue being much retracted.
L Polish barred t, with LH its voice-
less, LW’ its labial, and LWH 
its voiceless labial forms.
; read hamza, check of the glottis.

Prefixed turned comma (‘), called 
“Hook.”
: read aid, the Arabic zaayn or bleat.
H’, T, T’D, S’Z, ‘K, read huok-aich, 
huok-tee, &c.; peculiar Arabic 
varieties of h, t, d, s, z, k; ‘G the 
voiced form of ‘K.
KH, ‘GH, called huok-kai-aich, huok-
fee-aich; the Arabic kh, gh pronoun-
ced with a rattle of the uvula.
Key to Universal Glossic.

W, 'PR, 'BR, read huok-dubl-ee, &c.; lip trills, the first with tight and the others with loose lips; the first is the common English defective \( w \)

for \( r^{'} \), as \( thev t'voo \), the last is used for stopping horses in Germany.

R read huok-aar, the French r grazseyed, and Northumberland burr or krup = \( jh' \); RH its voiceless form.

LH, 'L, read huok-el-aich, huok-el, Welsh \( iu \), and its voiced Manx form.

F, 'V, read huok-ef &c.; \( f, v \) with back of tongue raised as for \( o \).

**Prefixes turned apostrophe (\( \) ), called "Curve."**

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

T, D, SH, R, L, N read kerv-tee &c., Sanscrit "cerebral" \( t, d, sh, r', l, n \); produced by turning the under 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 utterance of the following vowel, in one syllable with the consonant, or an emphatically added final aspirate after a consonant. Common in Irish-English, and Hindostanee.

W is the consonant related to \( w \), as \( w \) is to \( o \).

**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 clinging to the palate, and the right free, as in English clicking to a horse. C, g, s, are used in Appleyard's Caffre.

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 serk-i-aich, simple whisper; \( H \) whisper and voice together "TI diphthongal form of \( \theta \)."

AA, read serk-i-aa, whispered \( a \), and so for all vowels.

B, 'D, read serk-i-bee etc., the sound of \( b, d \), heard when whispering, as distinct 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-nee etc., similar theoretical English varieties, final, or interposed between voiced 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 under the vowel \( a \), but in writing and printing the vowel should be cut out.

\( \delta, \) high or low level tone, \( p' \)king'.

\( \delta, \) \( o' \) tone rising from high or low pitch, \( shaung' \).

\( \delta, \) \( r \) rise and fall, (that is, \( foo-kyen \ shaung' \) \( \) or \( shoo \) or \( k \) hoo'.

\( \delta, \) \( \theta \) falling tone to high or low pitch, \( kyoo' \) or \( k \) hoo'.

\( \delta, \) \( r \) sudden catch of the voice at a high or low pitch, \( shoo', \) \( zhee' \), \( wiyp', \) or \( yaap' \).

**Signs.**

Hyphen (\( \) ), used to separate combinations, as in mis-hop, in-got. In whair-ever, \( r \) is vocal; \( elm faun \) are monosyllables, \( el-m, faul-n \) are dissyllables; \( fader \) has two syllables, \( faller \) three syllables.

Divider \( \) occasionally used to assist the reader by separating to the eye, words not separated to the ear, as \( [l] doo'.

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

Gap (\( \) ) indicates an hiatus.

Closure (\( \) ) prefixed to any letter indicates a very emphatic utterance as \( mi, hei \) for my eye.

Emphasis (\( \) ) prefixed to a word, shews that the whole word is more emphatically uttered, as \( e' \) neu \( \) dat \( ' \) dat \( ' \) dat \( ' \) man \( \) sed \( \) woong \;

\( 'e' \) gaiw \( ' \) too \( \) things \( \) too \( \) men, \( ' \) gaiw \( ' \) too, \( \) too, \) too, \( \) too.

The following are subjoined to indicate, \( ! \) emission, \( ! \) suction, \( \dagger \) trill of the organs implicated, \( \dagger \) inner and \( \dagger \) outer position of the organs implicated, \( \dagger \) tongue protruded, \( \dagger \) unilateral, \( \times \) 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 nen vyaïy ka‘raony’ ai un’njon’fon’ bao‘rny’ oan’ von’due deo moavae van’ o’a poeplh baec’t. Ee aet voo?

German.—Akhk! aaynu’ aaynteegyhu’ ue’blu’ foyreegyhu’ mueku’ koentu’ v’oal ahkwkh meekyh boe’zu’ mahkhu’n! Yhah-szoa’! Es too’t meer’ oon:en’dleekyh laayt!

OLD ENGLISH.

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

Whaan dhaat Aa-pri-l with)is shoo’res swaao-te
Dhe droo’kwh aof Maarch haath per’sed tao dhe rao-te,
Aand baadhed ev’ri vaayn in swich li’koor
Aof which ver’tue’ enjen’dred is dhe floo’r;
Whaan Zefroos, e’k, with)is swe’te bre’e-the
Inspi’red haath in ev’ri haoldt aand he-the
Dhe tendre kropes, aand dhe yoonge soone
Haath in dhe Raam is)haalfe koor’ts iroon’e,
Aand smaa’le foo’les maak’en melao’di’e,
Dhaat sle’pen aal dhe nikyht with ao’pen i’e,—
Sao priketh hem naa’tue’r in her’ kao’raaj’es;
Dhaan laongen faolk tao gao’n aon pil’gri’maaj’es,
Aand paalmerz faor’ tao se’ken straawnej straondes,
Tao fer’ne haalwes koo’th in soon’ dri’ laondes;
Aand spes’iaali’ fraom ev’ri’ shi’re’ ends
Aof Engelaond, tao Kaawn’ter’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’yoo wont? Vulgar Cockney.
Wau’chi wau’n’t? Devonshire.—Wat d’yue want? Fifeshire.—
Whuu’t u’r’ yi’ waan’n? Teviotdale.—Kwaht er’ ee wahntun?
Teviotdale, from the dictation of Mr. Murray of Hawick.—Dhe)r’
t’i’wkwh sakhwhs graow’un e dhe Ri’wkwh Hi’wkwh Hakkhwh.
—Kwaht er’ ee ah’nd um? U’j’m ah’nd um naokwht.—Yuuu un’
’mey el gu’n’ aowr’ dhe deyk un puuw e pey e dhe muanth e
Ma’y.—Hey)l bey aowr’ dhe ‘naow nuuw.

Aberdeen.—Faat foa’r’ di’d dhe peer’ si’n vreet ti)z mi’dher’?
Glascow.—Wu’l ait wur’ bred n buu’ur’ doon dhu waau’ur’.
Lothian.—Mahh’ koanshuns! hahng u’ Be’yl!—Gaang u’wah’,
laadi’ gai tu dhu hoar’s, sai xx! un shoo em ’baak ugi’n’!

Norfolk.—Wuuy dao’nt yu’ paa’mi dhaat dhaht tue paewnd yu’ ao’mi, bo? Uuy dao’nt ao’yun’ nao tue paewnd. Yuuu ‘due!

Scoring in the Yorkshire Dales.—1. yaan, 2 taith’n, 3 tedh-uru, 4 medhuru (edhuru), 5 pimp (pip), 6 saa’jis (see’zu), 7 laa’jis (re’ru), 8 saa’va (koturn), 9 dao’vu (hau’nu), 10 dik, 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 (bumsfit).
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 fourteenth 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,¹ 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 xiv th 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 xiv th century, and as we have seen, can scarcely be said to prevail in the xix th, 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 Orrmin'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 shew 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 th century. There did not appear to be any ground for supposing it to be different in the xiv 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.¹ I cannot pretend to have carefully examined them for that purpose, but it is not likely that in my frequent references to them for other purposes, such a marked peculiarity should have escaped me. It has however been already pointed out that in the first half of the xiii th century (uu) was represented by u, and not by ou, and for about thirty years, including the end of the xiii th and beginning of the xiv th century, both signs were employed indiscriminately for (uu), and that this use of ou seemed to have arisen from a growing use of u as (yy), pp. 424, 470, 471 note 2, etc.² Hence the predominance of ou in the be-

¹ Compare fortone, buke in Hampole (supra p. 410, n. 2). The two orthographies boke, buke, struggle with each other in Hampole. In the Townley Mysteries, I have also observed the rhyme, gode infide, which however, may be simply a bad rhyme, the spelling is Northern and of the latter part of the xv 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
Went ut of my bur
Wiþ muchel mesaventur
and the Harl. reads fo. 85,
Went out of my boure,
shame þe mott bythoure;
and v. 649, the Cam. MS. has
heo ferde in to bure
to fen aventure,
and the Harl. has, fo. 87,
Horn ne þohte nout him on
ant to boure wes ygon.

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

But v. 691, which in the Cam. MS. runs
he liþ in bure
under couerture
becomes in the Harl. fo. 87,
he byht nou in boure,
vnder couertoure,
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.

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 xvth 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 misprinted,—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 (uv), or towards (e) the labialised (ee). The short sound in did seemed truly (di). 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 (uv) for (uu) due to any incapacity on the part of the speaker to say (uu). The same peasant who called Combs, (Kymz), or (Kamz), [it is difficult to say which, and apparently the sound was not determinate], and even echoed the name thus when put to him as (Kuumz), and called brook (bryk), with a very short (y), talked of (muur, stuunz, ruud) 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 (au) 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 (e). The two sounds (yy, ee) 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 shown by Mr. M. Bell's assigning (a) and my giving (a) to the French mute e, which others again make (eh). 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, a, u, 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 some 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 glossotype.

EW and long U become (yy), as: blu, buty, cruel, curriss curious, cut, acute, duce decency, duty, hu, hue yew, human human, kinkelud conclude, mazic, nu new, put pure, rain'd, stu sweek, stupid, tri, trial, tun, vlet fluent, vu view few, fum fume, vutur future, yuz'd used, zvant zuant.

Long and short OO, OU, O, U, usually called (uu, u) become (yy, y) or (e, a), as: balu hullahbaloo, blum bloom, brook brook, buk book, chuz choose, cree crook, cud could, curt court, cas course coarse, dru through, drupin drooping, du do, gud good, golden golden, into, kushin cushion, luk look, lus'nd loosened, minuver manoeuvre, mvw move, num noon, pul'd pulled, pruY prone, puk pook, tum room, shu shoe, shud should, skule school, stud stood, trupin trooping, tu too two to [emphatic, unemphatic tu = (to)], tuk look, tun tomb, u who, vul full fool, vut foot, vy you, zmeth smooth, zm soon.

Short U, OO, O usually called (a) become (i), as: blid blood, dist do'st, honjist, unjist, jist just adv., rin 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 shows that it was one and the same.\(^1\) Here again the voice of the xvith 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 *ea*, that is (ee). For printing this assertion in 1569 he was strictly called to order by Gill in 1621, supra p. 122. All the other writers of the xvith 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 (ei, 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 it certainly does not always so arise, and we have seen in Orrmin (ib.) that the \(\mathfrak{z}z\) = (\(\mathfrak{j}\)) was sometimes as pure an insertion as we occasionally find in romance words derived from the Latin,\(^2\) and as we now find

\[\text{[also to urn]}, \text{rish'd rushed, tich'd touched, vld flood, wid'n would not, winder wonder, wisser worser, zich such, zin sun son, zmitch smutch.}\]

Short *E*, I, usually called (e, i) are frequently replaced by (a) or (\(\mathfrak{a}\)), as: bevil beftell, bul bell, bulch'd belched, burry'd buried, churish cherish, eszul himself, eszlzul itself, mezul myself, mulkin milking, mulzer miller, purish perish, shullins shillings, spul spell, spurriz spiril [common even in London, and compare syrop, stirrup], tullee tell you, turrabul terrible, ulbaw'd elbowed, vuller fellow [no *r* pronounced, final or pre-consonantal trilled (r) seems unknown in Devonshire], vullidge village, vulty filthy, vurrit ferret, vury very, vust first, wul well, wulvare welfare, yul yell, yur'd heard, zmul smell, zulf self. The words *zup'd swept, indud indeed, dud 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 show the importance of modern dialectic study in the appreciation of ancient and therefore dialectic English (p. 551).

\(^1\) Not in Scotch, where the spellings *ai*, *ei* seem to have been developed independently in the xv th century, for the Scotch long *a*, *e*, and perhaps meant (an, en), compare Sir T. Smith, supra p. 121, l. 18. These spellings were accompanied by the similar forms *oi*, *ui*, *oui* for the long *o*, *u*, *ou, perhaps* = (ou, *vy*, *uw*), though the first was not much used. We must collect that in Scotch short *i* was not (i) or (\(\mathfrak{i}\)), but (e), and hence might easily be used for (y) or (\(\mathfrak{y}\)) 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 shown 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 affinity 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 (oe) in what many persons recognize as the "standard" pronunciation of our language, for instance (nééim) for name. There are a few straggling instances in even sixteenth 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 (sa) for (sai). Mr. Payne has pointed out similar cases in the Owl and Nightingale, v. 349, 707, 835, 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

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 immaclate. The MS. is certainly of the sixteenth century, before the introduction of ou for (un), 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 it 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, a e, e a, recall the later scribe of Havelok. Dreim 21, eline 301, are obvious scribal errors, corrected to drewn cloven in the Oxf. MS., and: crei 334, in Oxf. MS. crey, although put in to rhyme with dat, must be an error for cri. We have cases of omitted letters in: rise wse 53, wrste toberste 121, wite wte 439, for wise, werte (?), write. There are many suspicious rhymes, and the following are chiefly assonances: worse mershe 303, heisugg stubbe 505, worde forworth the 547, igrement of-chamed 931, wise ire 1027, orewe idorve 1151, fleshe eiesse 1385, fijste viest 405, and, in addition to the ei, e rhymes cited in the text, we have: forbredith nawedeth 1381, in Oxf. MS. ne avced. 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 ai,—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 mây, hây, mайд, pайд, váin, náighbour, prây." 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 xv th century, (suprà p. 450, n. 2), that ey was regarded as equivalent to e. In the Townley 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 xv th 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 xvth 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 (o, 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 (suprà, 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 xiii th 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:

₇₄u art hire licts of alle pinge,
₇₄Both of semblant and of murninge,
₇₄Of fainesse and of muchelhede,
₇₄Butej ṭu 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:

₇₄u art licts here of alle pinge
₇₄Of semblant and of murninge
₇₄But ṭu art a man and she is a maide
₇₄Pous ṭe wif to Florice faide.

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

₇₄Hele hie wulle and nöping wreie
₇₄Ower beire campaignie

which in the Abbotsford Club edition of the text in the Auch. MS. runs thus, v. 518:

₇₄To the king that she hem nowt biwreie

₇₄Where thourgh thai were fiker to dethie.

The editor suggests biwreie, 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, j. Admiral is both in the Auch. and Cott. MSS. constantly spelled -ayl, and hence we must not be offended with the rhyme, Admiral confial 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 (spii-sal). Had he any idea that others said (spes-ul)? 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 show that Norman French ei, ai, had at least frequently the same sound (ai), supra 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 ai, 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. 1 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 Orrin 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, 2 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, pays 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, adraynʃ, agrayʃ, etc., anapry, aparceynʃ, apayryʃ, asayd, asayled, atrayt, bargayn, batayle, baylif, baylyes, bayʃ, contraye, cortays, cortaysie, couaitise, dayes, defayled, despayed, eyder either, eyr = air, eyren = eggs, eyse = ease, falil, fayntise, fornyace, germayn, graynes, greynʃ, longaynʃ, maine = retinewe, maister, mayden, maystrie, mesayse, meyster, nejebores, neʃen, ordaynʃ ordenliche, oresyone, paye = please, payenes = payants, pays, payable, plait, playneres, playni, playty, poruayʃ, poruyonce prays, quaynte, queayntese, queyntise, raymi, [ags. roe- miʃn hryman, to cry out,] strait, strayni, tuay, uileynie, uorlay, wayn = gain, wayt, weyuerindemen, yfayled, raynt.
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, pees 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 esse occasionally written eyse 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 (niid:ə, niid:ə) 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.

Anglosaxon and Scandinavian Words.

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<td>day, day, 19 and frequently</td>
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<td>laid, leyde 1384 and frequently</td>
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<td>sleight, sleight 604</td>
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<td>spreyn, Ha. E. He. Co. P., sprend Ca., sprened L. 2169</td>
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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 1757 has still two sounds (\textit{gegeast}; \textit{gegenst}) which seem to correspond to two such original sounds as (again: agen*).\***

*Ashes, aisshes Co. 2957 represented really a duplicate form, as appears from its having been preserved into the xvi th century, p. 120, L. 6.\*

*Die 1109, see variants on p. 284.\*

*Dry 420, see variants on p. 285.\*

*Dyer, the general orthography dyer 362 is curious, for the ags. deagan would naturally give deyer, which however is only preserved in Ha., the rest giving dyere, and the Promptorium having dyen; Ha. has deye in 11037. It would almost seem as if habit had confused the two words dyer, die, and hence given the first the same double sound as the second. There is no room for supposing the sound (dec) in either case.\*

*Eye 10, see variants on p. 285.\*

* Flesh, 147 is one of the words mentioned on p. 255, as having two spellings in Ha. see also p. 473 note 1, for a possible origin of the double pronunciation.\*

*Height, height P. 1890 is of course a clerical error for heighte.\*

*Neighbour 555, 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, a having a double pronunciation, especially as we have seen that the (ii) sound is preserved in Devon, p. 281, and it is in Lonsdale.\*

*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 \textit{sathean}, compare the forms on p. 279.\*

*Slay 992, see p. 265; the double sound (se, ai) may have arisen from the double ags. form, without and with the guttural, the latter being represented by (a) and the former by (s), which is more common.\*

*Spreind, isprend, isprind 2169 must be merely clerical errors for isprained, as in most MSS., because both words rhyme with \textit{ynymyd}, 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 (2) into these words, p. 489, hence it is not impossible that there may have been some provincials who said \textit{weider}, but still it is more probable that the \textit{ei} of E. and H. 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 bregda, and to the French \textit{broder}, which would give the forms \textit{brede}, \textit{broad}, while \textit{broyde} would seem to be an uncertain, or mistaken mixture of the two (braid, broad-e, breed-e). We do not find \textit{brede} (breed-e), but as the g was sometimes omitted even in ags. it would have been less curious than \textit{broyde}.\*

*Catiff. The orthography catiff P. 1552, 1717, 1946, being repeated in
three places. although opposed to the other six MSS. which determine caittyf 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: caatif, caiptif, caittiu, caitius, caituu, caivtiiv, setif, setis, chaitiou, chatif, chaitis, chaitiu, cheitif, cheiti, chety, quaitif, quetif. Roquefort gives as Provençal and Languedoc forms: caitiu, caitious, caitius, caitivo. The Spanish cautivo has introduced the labial instead of the palatal modification, while the Italian only has preserved the a pure by assimilating p, 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 companye 331, 2105, 2411, the i is conceived by M. Francisque Michel to have been merely orthographical in French, introduced to make gn mouillée, 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 (kumpani'i-e, kumpani'i-e) and that the first was considered as French, the latter as English. There is no room for supposing such a pronunciation as (kumpeeni'i-e) with (ee).

Conveyed. Conouyed 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. Curteisy 46, vileneye 70, may be considered together. They were common words, and the second syllable was usually unaccented, whereas in curtein, vilieyn, 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 vilene 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, suprâ p. 585. To the same category belong the variants of portraiture, purveyance, 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 burgeise in L. which retains the i.

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

Fiest. The orthography feynest Ca. 194, must be a clerical error.

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

Fresh 93, had no doubt regularly (ee), but the older (ai) seems to have been usual to some, the froushe of Ca. is a provincialism of the order noted on p. 476.

Kerchiefs. Couercheis Ca. 453, is probably, a mere clerical error for couercheft: i having been written for f, 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 mayntene, sustene are probably the proper forms. I have unfortunately no note of the Chaucerian forms of obtain, deitain, retain, contain, appertain, entertain, abtain, but probably -teine would be found the right form. The spelling ey and pronunciation (ai) may have crept in through a confusion with the form -teyne=Lat. -tingere, of which I have also accidentally been guilty p. 265, l. 25, as: atteyne, bareyne, must rhyme, 1243, 8323, and as -stringere produces -streyne 1455, 1816 in all MSS.

Master, mystir Ca. 261 for master is probably a clerical error.
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, fain, fair, laid, lay, maidens, nails, neither, said, say, sleight, two tweye, wail, way, weighed.—acquaintance, aind, air, apayd, apparelling apparaillynge, array, attain, ayleth, barnes, battle, bataille, certain, chain, chataigne, complain, darreyne, debonnair, despair, die, disdain, displayeth, distrainteth, dozen, fail, franklins franeleyns, furnace forneys, gaineth, gay, goleyardeys, harnessed harneyed, leisure, Magdalen Maudeleyne, mastery, mereynt, money, ordained, paid, painted, palace, paleys, palfrey, plain, plein, portray, pray, prayer, quaint, raineth, reins, sovereign, trace trays, turkish turkeys, vain, vein, very, wailing.

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, highth, spreyned spread sprined, whether,—barren baran, chieftain, chevetan, counsel counsel, dice days, finest feynest, herchiefs couercheis, maintain maunteyn mayntene, master mystir, straight stry, suddenly sodanly, sustain susteyne, turnyngne turnyngne
durnyngne

12 Double Forms : ashes aishes asshen, die dyen, dry dreye drye, dyer dyere deyer, eye eige yhe, fleesh fleissh fleshe, nynebyr, nigh neygh nyhge, seen seyn seen, slayn slayn sleen,—braided breided browdd, fresh fresshe freishe.

6 Indistinct Unaccented Syllables : courtesy courtesie curtesy, portraiture portreitare portrotature, portreyr portreyor portreurew, purveyance purveinance puruenace puruyance, verily verrally verrely verrily, villany vilayne vilanye velayne vilonye.

5 Miscellaneous : catiff may have been occasionally catiff as well as caytiff ——conveyed was a different reading, not an error for conveyed ——florin being a foreign coin may have been occasionally mispronounced florin, ——portreyn was an orthographical abbreviation of portreyngne ——wasselygge was a manifest error for the unusual wasselage, the usual wassyl oc

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 \textit{ay}, \textit{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 xvth 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 \textit{ay}, \textit{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 \textit{e}. The inference again from this result is that there was a traditional English pronunciation of Norman \textit{ai}, \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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\(^1\), 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 \textit{-ede}, required particular attention. There are many cases in which, coming before a consonant, it might be \textit{-ed} or \textit{-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, seyde 695, moste 712 and

\(^{1}\) The number of elisions of essential \textit{e}, stated at 13 on p. 341, has been reduced. The only important one left is \textit{meer} 541, and that is doubtful on account of the double form of the rhyming word \textit{miller}, see p. 389. The number of plural \textit{-es} treated as \textit{-s} has been somewhat increased. The following are examples: palmer's 13, servawnt's 101, father'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 shew 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, 533, 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, 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 xvith century, and has scarcely yet died out of our biblical pronunciation, the presumption in favour of -ed’ is very strong. 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 hadd’, wer’, her’.

The infinitive -e is perhaps occasionally lost. It is only saved by a trisyllabic measure in: yeve penawne 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 789, com’th 839. The terminations -er, -el, -en, when run on to the following vowel, should also probably be treated as elisions. As respects -or, -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 weygheleden 454, is not in point.
2 Mr. Murray observes that loode 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, sadyys, fadrys, modrys, but its subsequent restoration, accompanied by a suppression of the y before the s, in the more recent forms tabylls sadylls, fadrys, modrys. 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, cari a 130, studi and 184, or in the same word, as: Ivicer 80, curious 196, bisier 321, which may be considered the rule in modern poetry, see 60, 80, 130, 184, 198, 212, 229, 303, 321, 322, 349, 350, 356, 458, 464, 550, 550, 764, 782, 846, instances 20

* -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 haddi 394, water he 400; and in the middle of a word, as: colerik 587, lecherous 626; instances 5

* -el, not before a preceding vowel, as: mesureabel was 455, mawncipel was 567, mawncipel sett' 586, instances 3

* -en, not before a preceding vowel, as: yeomen from 77; or before a preceding vowel or h, where the elision 'n would be harsh, as: written a 161, geten him 291, instances 3

* -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, 557, 550, 560, 648, 650, 706, 777, 792, 806, 834, 853, instances 29

**miscellaneous.** In the following lines, where the trisyllabic measures are italicised for convenience.

Of Engeland', to Cawnterbery they wende. 16
To Cawnterbery with ful devout corage. 22
His head was balled, and schoon as any glas. 198
And thryes haddi' she been at Jerusalem. 463
Wyd was his parish and houses fer asonder. 491 instances 9
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

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 sdrucciolati*, and these have been indicated by (+) in the margin. There are only 6 instances: bery merye 207, 208, apotecaryes letuaryes 425, 426, miscarye 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 Prioress. *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 scoler. 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, supra 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 coud' 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, (supra 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 *ai* in the margin.¹

¹ Mr. Murray has observed cases in Scotch in which *ai* was dissyllabic, but then it had its Scotch value (av), supra p. 637, n. 1. He cites from *Wyn-
650 CHAUCER'S FRENCH WORDS. Chap. VII. § 1.

CHAUCER'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. And in the same way it would appear that the removal of the blockade on the English language, when after "he forste morey," 1348, "John Cornwall, a maystere of grammer, chaunge do lore in gramere scole," 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 treatises 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 14th 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, embrouded 89, harneyed 114, entuned 123, pyned 139, rosted 147, ypinched 151, gawded 159, curuned 161, purfyled 198, fared 233, accorded 244, enryned 342, chaunged 348, passed 464, encombrd 508, spyced 526, ypunish'd 657, trussed 681, feyned 705, assembled 717, serv'd 749, graynted 810, pray'den 811, reuled 816, studied 841. ——flouting' 91, harping' 266, offeringe' 450, 489, assoyling 661, ——cry' 636, rost', broyl', fryce 383, reher's 732, feyne 736. Again we have an English adjective or adverbial termination affixed to French words, as: specially 15, fetisly 124, 273, certainly 235, solemnly 274, staedly 281, estaatlich 140, verrayly 338, really search of a religion, by Thomas Moore, chap. i.

2 See the whole noteworthy passage from Trenisa'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.

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

1 Travels of an Irish gentleman in
CHAP. VII. § 1.  
CHAUCER'S FRENCH WORDS.

—royally 378, devoutly 482, scarcely 583, privily 609, subtilly 610, privily 652, playnly 727, properly 729, rudely 734.—dett'lees 582.—In esy 441, pomely 616, we have rather the change of the French -e into -y, which subsequently became general, but the ese 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 : dalkeawnce 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.¹ The result could then be subjected to a numerical test, and comes out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>325</th>
<th>37·9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>with no French word</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>40·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with only one French word</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>18·2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with two French words</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with three French words</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with four French words</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0·1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Mawr 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 neighbourhood 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 xvii th 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 Breefa fum Pit Schweffelbrenner un de Bevvy, si Fraw, fun Schillifetown en der Drucker fum "Father Abraharn," 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-Pennsylvaniaische, 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 (zähes Leben) and deserved as much study. Mr. Dan E. Schödler 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. Kelchner justified dialects. He considered that linguists, including J. Grimm, had not sufficiently comprehended the importance of dialects. Speech was as natural to man as walk-
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.¹ 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,² 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 [], 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 shews 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 ëy is used for ee in këyn = (keen), or rather (keen) according to Dr. Mombert, and ee for ik (ii) in Teer, which are accommodations to English habits. Cowskin retains its English form. A more strictly German orthography is followed in L. A. Wollenweber’s Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben, Philadelphia und Leipzig, 1869, p. 76.
Ein Gespräch.

1. Ah, Dävee, was hot Dich gestern Owent [Abend] so ver-tollt schmärt aus Squeeer Esse-beises kumme mache? War ebbes [etwas] letz? 1
2. Nix apartiges! ich hab justht a bissel mit der Pally gespärkt [played the spark], als Dir ganz unvermuth der alte Mann derzu kummt, ummer [und mir] zu vershte' gibt, er dät des net gleiche. 2
1. Awer [aber] wie hot er's dir zu vershteh' gegewe' (gegeben)? Grob oder höftich?
1. Woll, wie hot er's dann g'mocht?
2. Er hat justht de Teer [Thüre] ufg'mocht, mir mei' Huth in de Hand 'gewe' un' de Cowskin von der Ward g'kritct [gekriegt]. Do hob' ich g'ndent, er thät's net gleiche, dass ich die Pally shpärke thät un bin gord fortgange; des wer alles, Säm.

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, letzch, lätsch, wrong, left-handed, as in high German links, for which Prof. Haldeman refers to Stalder, and to Ziemann, Mittel-hochdeutsches Wörterb. 217. See also Schneller, 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 Germanlichen, 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, supra p. 688, 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 eantsch morn in der United States daers Pennsylvania Deitsch recht shrreibt un bushtaweert exactly we's g'shwetzt un ous g'shprocha werd," 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 definitely is to the drollness of the orthography, which however furnishes endless difficulties to one who has not a previous knowledge of the dialect.

The third orthography would be the usual high German and

1 Hans Breitmann’s “poems are written in the droll broken English (not to be confounded with the Pennsylvania German) spoken by millions—mostly uneducated—Germans in America, immigrants to a great extent from southern 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 untrusted condition has made the greatest possible fun out of the confusion of $g$ 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 pronunciation. He has consequently often written combinations which no German would naturally say, and which few could, even after many trials, succeed in pronouncing, and some which are scarcely attackable by any organs of speech. The book has, therefore, plenty of vis comica, but no linguistic value.

2 The following inconsistencies pointed out by Prof. S. S. Haldeman, are worth notice, because similar absurdities constantly occur in attempts to reduce our English dialects, or barbaric utterances, to English analogies, 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 inconsistent, sometimes English and sometimes German, so that it requires some knowledge of the dialect, and of English spelling to be able to read it.

“The vowel of they occurs in ferstaw, meh, nay, chns, boes and base ( = böse, angry), heast (= heisset, called) eawich, daet, gea—ea being mostly used (as in heasa, tswea); but ge'dret (also dret) rhymes its English form treat, and dret, (= dreht, turns) with fate.

“The German a is as in what and fall, but the former falls into the vowel of hut, but. Fall is represented by ah in betzahla, and aa in pair, but usually by aw (au in saug) as in ah (auch, also) g'saut (said, gesagt). Hase = haben, should have been haw-va. The vowel of what is represented by a or o, as in wes, war, hab, kann, denn, norra, gonga.

4 Of no occurs in bohna, so amol, =einmal, coaxa ( =to coax!) doch, hoar (= hoar hair), woch, froke.

When German a has become English u of but, it is written u, as in hut (= hat, has), and a final, in such as macha, denka = denken, [which = (v)], an = ein.

“The vowel of field occurs in wie, shipela, d, shrees, kreya = (kriyeh), y is used throughout for (gh) of regen. The y of my occurs in sei, si, my and mei, bei, dyfel, subscribe.

W, when not used as a vowel, has its true German power (bh), as in tswea = zwee, hawa = habben, weasht= weissst, wenich and weanich = wenig, 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 (.r) as in German. P b, t d, k g, are confused. The lost final n is commonly recalled by a nasalled vowel.

Oo in fool, full, appears in iun, when used for und, üf for auf, wü = wo where, Zeitung pure German, shooll= schools. trëwel = trouble.

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

“The vowel of eat occurs in Bäricks = Berks county, lodwärick lodwärick = latwërge eleuctory, kärrich = kirche, wärt = worth, hær = her.

-te is only an English orthography for et 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: "Auver iyh kon der net olüs saughä. Vat [vehrr] maîner vissä vil, oonn varr [vehrh] fürrst raiti Krishtaukh sôkh vil—dee haaynstri oonn beshtii bressents, maakh selvver dorrts ons Tsauums gaiä, oonn siyh selvver sootä. Noh mohrr et press'nt. Peet Shveff'lbrennerr." 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 sprühce (ee, æe), aa Aal (aa), oo Eng. awel (AA), oo Boot (oo), uh Pfahl (uu), ue Uebel (yy), oe Oel (œœ).

Short Vowels: i Sinn (i, e), e Bett (e, e), ä Eng. bat (e, w), a all (a), ê Eng. what (a o), o Motte (o o), u Pfand (u, w), ü Fülle (y), ö Böcke (œ), öe ein (w), Eng. but (u, a), (œ) sign of nasality. Diphthongs: ai Hai (œi), oi Eng. joy, Hamburg Eule (œi), æi theoretical Eule (œy), au kauen (œu).

Consonants: j ja (œ), w wie (bh), Eng. w (w) must be indicated by a change of type, roman to italic, or conversely, h heu (œ), p b (œ b), t d (œ t d), tsch dëh (tsch dëh), k g (œ k g), ên (œ n), f v (f y), th dh (th dh), ss Nüüs (œ s), s wieß (œ z), sch sh (œ sh), ch gh (œ kh gh), gh rh, r l n m n (œ l m n), ng nk (œ q k).

German readers would not require to make the distinction s, õ, except between two vowels, as Wiesë, Nussë, Freussë. 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, ok, 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 saoghë. Waer meener wisse wil, un waer først recti Krishtaoch sokh wil,—die fainstii un beschtii bressents, maakh selver dort ons Tsauums geeë, un sihk selver suhtë. Noo moor et press'nt. Piet Schweff'lbrenner."
1.

**Rauch’s Orthography.**

**Pennsylvaniaish Deitsch.**


Der hawpt 9. platz wu 10. mer onna 11. sin, war dort in selly Zahn’s ivver ons sheana Watcha 12. un Jewelry establishment, grawd dort om eck 13. fun was se de Nord Queen Strose 14. 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 sell 15. is exactly was de Bevvv sawgt. 16.

We mer nei sin un amohl so a wenich rum geguckt hen, donn secht 16. de Bevvv—loud genukk 17. das der monn ’s hut heara kenna — “Now Pit,” 18. secht se, “weil

3. **German and English Translation.**

**Pennsylvaniaisches Deutsch.**

Mr. Vater Abraham, Printer—Dear Sir: Ich kann mir now nicht helfen—ich muss dir jetzt 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 gesehen, und selbiges is exactly was die Barbara sagt.

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

2.

**Prof. Haldeman’s Pronunciation.**

**Pennsylvaneish Daitsch.**

Mist’r Fad’r: Aa’broham prinz’t’r—Dirr Sor: Ich kan m’t nau net helf’s—ikh mus d’r jets umool shraibh’ bpii ikh un di Bebbhi ausgemakht hen doo f’rgaq’ bpii m’t in d’r shtat Leq’kesht’r bha’a’t.’

D’r haupt platz bhru m’t an’w sin, bhar dart in sel’ Tsaams iib’r aus sheen’ bhats’h’ un tsu’’e sl’t’esteplishment, graad dart am ek fun bhas si di Nort Kfiin Shtroos nee’es un Sen’t’r Shkbheer—net wait fun bhuu das ai’r Af’’is is.

In al maii lebb’hab ikh nii net so fili tip’tap sheeni sakh’s see’ un sel is eksæk’li bhas di Pebb’h’ saak’t.

Bhi m’t nai sin un umool soo w bhen’ikh rum gegukt’ hen, dan sekt di Bebb’h’—laut grnuqk’ das d’r mans net neer’es ken’w—“Nau Pit,” sekht si,

4. **Verbal English Translation.**

**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 Zahn’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-hear been-able—“Now, Peter,”

se der di watch g'shtola hen dort in Nei Yorrick,19 musht an neie kawfa, un doh gookts das26 wann20 du dich sufa21 kennehs."22

We se sell g'sawt hut, donn hen awer amohl de kärles23 dort hinnich24 em counter uf geguckt. Eaner hut si brill gedropt,25 un an onnerer is uf g'shtonna un all hen mich orrig26 frendlich aw27 geguckt.


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


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

Wie sie selbiges gesagt hat, dann haben aber einmal die Kerls dort hinterg dem counter aufgeguckt. Einer hat seine Brille gedropt, und ein anderer ist aufgestanden und alle haben mich arg freundlich angeguckt.


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

2. *Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.*

"bhail si dir dai, bhatsh kshool'v hen dart in Nai Jar'k, musht un nai'e kaaf', un doo gukts das bhan du dikh suth'v kensht."

Bhi si sel ksaat hot, dan hen aa'b't umool di kärls dort här'i-kh um kəunt'r uf gegukt. Es'n't hot sai bril gedrapt', un en an'wer is uf kshtar'v un al hen miik ah'r'kh friandlich aa, gegukt'.


Dan hot är m'ti di hand gebh'un, un d't Pesbh'i aa, un hot ksaat är hot shun fill fun main'v bruif'a glee'sv, un är bhaer ah'r'kh froo miikh umool sel'bh'ar


said she, "because they to-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 spectacles dropped, and another is up-stood, and all have me horrid friendly onlooked.

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 Sulphburner." "Exactly so," have I said. "And that there ist 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, continued.

tsu seana. Donn sin mar awer amohl on bisness.

Watcha hen se dort, first-raty for 16 dahler bis tsu 450 dahler. Noch dem das mer se amohl recht beguckt hen, is de Bevvy tsu der conclusion kumm an Amerikanishe watch tsu kawfa.

Dort hen se aw was se Termommiters heasa—so a ding dass eam weist we kalt s’wetter is, un sell dinkt mich kent mer braunch alleweil. Any-how mer hen eans gekawft.

De watch is aw an first-raty. Ich war als uf der meen’nuq das dii : Amerikaa’nishu bhatsh’u bhae’ru draus in Deitschlond g’macht, un awer sell is net woehr. Un de house-uhra; cheemany fires awer se hen about sheany! Uf course mer hen aw eany gekawft, for wann ich amohl Posht Meashder bin mus ich eany hawa for in de office ni du.


einmal selber zu schen(en). Dann sind wir aber anqum at business.

Watche haben sie dort, first-rate-e fur sehcbzun bis zu vier hundert (und) fünfzig Thaler. Nachdem dass wir sie einmal recht beguckt 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 weisst wie kalt das Wetter ist, un selbiges dünkt mich könnten wir branchen alleweil. 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 Watche wären draussen in Deitschlond gemacht, und aber selbiges is 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 die office hinein [zu] thun.

2. Haldean’s Pronunciation, cont.

tsu seen’u. Dan sin m’t aab’r umool’ an bis’nes.

Bhatsh’u hen si dart, først ree’ti for sch’see bis tsu fiir-hun’urt-fu’tsikh taal’u. Nach dem das m’t sii umool’ rekht begukt hen, is di Pehb’u tsu d’r kankluu’shen kum’u un : Amerikaa’nishu bhatsh’u tsu kaaf’u.

Dart hen si aa bhas si termam’it’s hees’u—so e diq das eem bhaist bhi kalt ’s bhet’u is, un sel diq’t miik kent m’t braukh’u al’obhail. En’ihau m’t hen eens gekaaft:

Dii bhatsh is aa un først ree’ti. Ich bhar als uf der mee’nuq das dii : Amerikaa’nishu bhatsh’u bhaer’u draus in Deitsch’lant gmaakht’, un aa’bh’r sel is net boor. Un dii haus’u’ru; tshi’menn’ fairs! aa’bh’r si hen vbut’ sheen’i! Uf koors m’t hen aa een’i gekaaft’, fir bhan ikh umool’ Poosht Meesh’t’un bin mus ikh ee’nu haa’bh’u for e in di af’is nai du.


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 bosen 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.

Sehen aw an grosser shtok fun Silveryn Leffla, Brilla, un ich weas net was olles. De Bevvy hut gedu das weil ich yetz boll amohl an United Shtates Government Officer si wær, set ich mer aw an Brill kawfa, un ich hab aw cny krickt das ich now net gevva deat fer duppelt's geld das so gekosht hut, for ich kon yetz noch amoih so goot scana un leasa das tsufore.

Un we ich amohl dorrich my neie Brill geguekt hab, don hab ich ærsht all de feiny sacha recht beguekt, un an examination gemacht fun Breastpins, Rings, Watch-ketten, Shtuds, Messera un Govvella, etc.

Eans fun sella Breastpins hut der Bevvy about goot aw-g'shtonna, awer er hut mer doch a wenichnu sich feel g'fuddert derfore—25 dahier, un donn hab


Sie haben aucn einen grossen stock von silbernem Löffeln, Brillen, und ich weiss nix 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 thäte für doppelt-das Geld das die gekostet hat, for ich kann jetzt noch einmal so gut sehen und lesen [als] dass zuvor.

Und wie ich einmal durch meine neue Brille geguekt habe, dann habe ich erst alle die feinen Sachen recht beguekt und 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 un zwanzig Thaler—und

2. Haldeman's Pronunciation, cont.

Sii hen AA un groos' shatak fun S'r-bhurri Lef'te, Bril' un ikh bhee net bhas al-ys. Dii Pebh'n net gedu dar buhnil ikh jets bal umool un Junai'tet Shtets Gaf'ment Oiser sai bhweer, set ikh m't AA un Bril k'fe, un ikh hap AA ee'ni krik, das ikh nau net gebh'n deet f'r dup'its Geld das sii gekosht'net, f'r ikh kan jets nokh umool' soo guut see'n un lee'ss das tsufoor.

Un bhii ikh umool' dar'ikh mai, nai' Bril' geguakt' hap, dan hap ikh ærsht al dii feini' sakh'en rekt beguakt un en eksmin'en'*n gemacht' fun Bresht-pins, Rigs, Bhatsh'ket'v, Shtots, Mess'ru un Gabh'le, etcet'tru.

Eens fan sel'v Bresht-pins hovt d'r Bebh'i about' guut AA', gsh't'AU, AA'bh'r ær' hovt mir dokh v bhenikh tsu fiil gjud'rt d'floor — finf un tsbhan'sikh


They have also a great stock of silver spoons, spectacles, and I know not what all. The Barbara has done [estimated] that because I now soon once a United States Government Officer be shall, should I me also a pair-of-spectacles 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 Breastpins, Rings, Watch-chains, 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 tsuletsh eany rous gepickt fer drii færtle dahler, fer selly sogt de Bevvy, is anyhow ahead fun enniicher38 onnery in Schliffletown.
Awer ich konn der net alles sawya. Wær meaner39 wissa will, un wær first raty krishdag sach will—de feinsty un beshty presents, mog selwer dort ons Zahms gea un sich selwer suta. No more at present.

Pir Schweflebrenner.

dann habe ich mir zuletzt eine heraus gepickt für drii Viertel Thaler, for selbige sagt die Barbara is anyhow ahead von einiger anderen in Schliffetown.
Aber ich kann dir nicht alles sagen. Wer mehr wissen will, und wer first-rate e Christtag Sachen will — die feinsten und besten presents, mag selber dort an’s Zahms gehen und sich selber suiten. No more at present.

Peter Schwefelbrenner.

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 Schliffetown.
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 Schwefelbrenner.

Notes on the above Text.
1 Mister is used as well as the German form (meeht’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 in nicht, nichts.
4 The infinitive -e for -en, as frequently 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 (as). Observe the transition of (a) into (oo).
6 The common change of (b) into (bh).
7 Bevvy, or Pevvy, is a short form of Barbara, a rather common name in the dialect. Both forms are used in the following specimen.— S. S. H. German Babbe, Babchen, compare the English Bab, Babby.
8 Dox here, sergonga recently used, 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 xviii th century.
10 The not unfrequent changes of o long into (uo) 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 “outen the candle!” rarely heard in English— S. S. H.
12 Observe here a German plural termination e affixed to an English word.
Pennsylvania German.

Chap. VII. § 1.

13 Ecke being feminine, the correct form is an der Ecke, 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 (shoo/fu) for schaffen, (shoo) for sich, etc.—S.S.H. See note 5, and compare with this change of ags. (aa) into South English (oo, oo), while (aa) remained in the North.

15 This frequent and difficult word has been translated selbiges throughout, as the nearest high German word, and selly, 9 lines above it. may, in fact, indicate this form. Compare Schmeller’s Bayr. Wört. 3, 232, "Selb [declinabel] in Schwaben öfter nach erster Declin.-Art (sel'er, e, es), in A. B. lieber nach zweiter [der, die, das (s'), den s'ln, di s'ln, etc.] gebraucht, statt des hochd. jener, e, es, welches un-volksählich ist. [Für der, die, das selbe im hochd. Sinn, d.h. idem, eadem, idem, braucht die Mundart der die, das nemliche.] (s' as mal, des s' mal, s'1malz) jenes Mel, (s'1'es tsait) zu jener zeit, (s'at-halb'm) oder (-bhegg) des[jenigen] wegen."

16 S'augt = sagt, says, secht = sagt, 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 f) forms slep, swept, with the usual slept, swept, and see supra p. 355, art. 54.

17 Gemunk, with educated k, is common in archaic and provincial German, and Rolleghagen rhymes jung, pronounced junck dialectically, with trunk. —S. S. H. See supra p. 192, n. 1.

18 (Pi't) 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 shows.

19 Observe the vowel educed by the strong trill of the r. For convenience r has been printed throughout, but the reader must remember that it is always distinctly, and sometimes forcibly, trilled with the tip of the tongue, and never sinks to (a).

20 Das wann, that though, as though.—S. S. H. Gookts das wann, for sieht es aus als ob, it looks as if. See note 36.

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

22 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 (-sht) is looked upon as a vulgarism, even in Saxon.

23 Kérls, 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.

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

25 Gedropt, the German participial form for dropped. So also elsewhere I find gepunished, which may be compared with Chaucer’s ypunish’d, Prol. v. 657.

26 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.

27 Ans 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.

28 The gender is changed because it refers to a man; so in high German it is not uncommon to find Fräulein, Mädchen, although they have a neuter adjective, referred to by a feminine pronoun, as: "das Fräulein hat ihren Handschuh fallen lassen," the young lady [neuter] has dropped her [fem.] glove.

29 In an earlier line g'sea for gesehen, 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 gegebne, in the Gespräch*, p. 654. This seems comparable to what Prof. Child calls the protracted past participle in Chaucer, supră 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*, as of the older dialects. The form (sel-bhur) in the preceding line preserves the *b* in the form (bh). Schmeller also allows *seil* to preserve the *b* as (s'lbbs), see n. 18.

30 *Das ehm weist*, that shews him, that shews to one or a person.—S. S. H. *Eam = einem*, not *dem*.

31 This *als* is Swiss, which Stalder defines by *ehedem hitherto* and *immer always*, compare ags. *eat-eng* altogether and *eat-weg* 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 *af* 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 nieder vom Köpf bis zum Fuss, ganz und gar."

33 *Cheemany* is the English exclamation *Oh jeemany.—S.S.H.* The English is apparently a corruption of: Oh Jesus mih, 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 *das*, which is *des* in this dialect, but a contraction of *als dass*, 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 *das 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 Prof. infră, v. 472, and supră p. 651, 1. 6.

38 This may be the English *any*, like the German *einig*, 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 *irgend eine* corrupted. Observe the frequent use of *of* for *ai* as *eens* for *eins*. The transitions of *au* into *ai* (eis, ait into *ee*), *ai* into *ao*, and occasionally *o* in *u*, 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 Chaucerii commationem grammaticam seripsit Fridericus Guilelmus Gesenius, Bonnææ, 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, bigan 5767, ran 4103, drank 6044, thanked 927; but fluctuates often between a and e, as: londes 14, hond 108, outsprong 13526, bygon 7142, nat 2247, drank 13970, i-thanked 7700 (in the three last cases, Tyrwhitt has e).

Short a answers to ags. ã, according to Grimm's separation ã = goth. a, and æ = gothic o, as: what, that pron., ags. hvát ját; atte. ags. ãt 29; glas 152, have ags. hitban, etc.

Short a also answers to ags. ëa, as: alle ags. ëæl 10, scharpe ags. sçæþæl 114, halle 372, barme 10945, starf 955, 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. macian 4763, name, fare 7016, hám, ags. hám 4030. That this last word was pronounced differently to the others, which probably even then inclined to ã (œ), is shown by its interchange with home, whereas a always remains in make, name, etc.

Long a also arises from ags. ã 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. ëa, as: gaf. ags. gëaf 177, marly, ags. mëræh 382, jape ags. géap 4341, ale 3820, gate 1895, care, etc.

II. Chaucer's ë replaces several distinct ags. vowels.

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

for ags. i, y, in: cherche (Wr. chirche). ags. circe 4987; selle ags. syl, threshold, 3820, rhyming with selle, ags. sylle; sleeched ags. scyl 2495, rhyming with heeld, ags. hëold, kesse ags. cyssan 8933; stenten, ags. stintan 906; geven, ags. gîfan, gyfan 917, etc. These forms are only found when wanted for the rhyme, and i is the more common vowel.

for ags. êa, ed in: erme, ags. ëar- mjan 13727; erthe, ags. ëard, ëorde 1898; ers, ags. éars 7272; derne, ags. dêarn 3200, 3297; bern 272; est, ags. ëast 1905.

for ags. ëo in: sterres, ags. stëorra 270; cheries ags. ëerî, ger. kerl, 7788; yerne ags. geôrne, ger. gern, 6675; lerne, ags. leôrnjan, 310; sword 112, werk 481, derkest 4724; yelwe, ags. ëélwu 677.

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

for ags. long ë, more frequently, in: seke, ags. seçon 13; kene 104, grene 103, swete 5, mete 1902, weypyn 2831, dene 1883.
for ags. ae long : heres, ags. haer 557; breede, 1972; lere, ags. laera 6491; see 59, yeer 82, reed 3527, sileen 10, clen 369, speche 309, strete 3823, etc.

for ags. ëë as in : seke, ags. sööc 18, as well as : sike, ags. sioca 245, these diphthongs eo, io, had probably a similar pronunciation and are hence frequently confused, so hēfon, hiofon, and léØ, ëõ; scheene, ags. scêné, beautiful, 1070; leef 1839, theef 3937; tene, ags. téôna, grief, 3108; deepe 129, chese 6480, tree 9337, tre 6341, prestes 164, prest 503, etc.

for ags. èë and ei in : eek 5, gret 84, beteth 11078, neede 306, reede 1791, bene 9728, chepe 5850, deef 448, stremes 1497, teeres 2829, et 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 mutate of u or ëo, io, thus: fist 6217, fest 14217, ags. fyst; mylle 4113, melle 3921, ags. myll; fel 5090, fille 10883, ags. féol; devels 7276, devyl 3901 [dīvel Tyrwhitt, dēvel Heng. and Corp.], ags. dioful.

The i generally replaces ags. y, and e replaces ags. ëo. Long i similarly replaces long ags. y, as occasionally in ags. Hence short i seems to have been lengthened before ld, 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). [Pronunciatio longae vocalis i sine dubio iam id actatis eadem fut quam nunc, id est ei.] In the contracted forms ñunt, grint for ñundeth, grindeth, there was therefore a change of vowel, ñunt having the German short i, and ñundeth German ei. [No reasons are adduced.]

IV. Short o stands

for ags. short o in : wolde 651, god 1254.

for ags. short u : somer ags. sumer 396; wonne ags. wunnen 51; nonne 118, sonne 7, domh 776, dong 552, sondry, ags. sunder, 14, 25. Nearly all these words are now written with u, and preserve Chaucer's pronunciation, for summer is written, but somer spoken [i.e. Gesenius did not distinguish the sounds (a, o).]

for ags. short a, 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; stoonen 8981, stoon 5435, took 4430, foot 10219, some 5023, sothey 117, etc.

for ags. long a in : wo, ags. wá 8015, moo 111, owne, ags. ágen 338, homly 7425, on 31, goost 206, 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 : some 79; won, ags. vunjan 337, grothen 7411.

V. Short u stands for ags. short u in : ful, ags. full 90, lust 192, but 142, cursyng 663, uppon 700, suster 873, skulde probably arose from some form scould, not scold, 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. åg in : day, ags. dag 19, weie 793, lay 20, mayde 69, sayde 70, faire 94, tayl 3876, nayles 2143, pleye 236, reyn 592, i-freynd, ags. frageñ 12361. Some of these shew that ay was occasionally written for ay, and hence that ay, ay must have been pronounced alike.

VIII. The diphthong ey or ei arose from ags. ed as in : agein, ags. ageñ 8642, or from ed as : eyen, ags. eage 162, deye, ags. deágan 6802, [mori, is that there such a word in ags.? it is not in Bosworth or Ettmuller; Ormin has dezenn, suprà p. 284. There is a deagan tinger.] The change in these two last words may be conceived thus: first g is added to ei, then replaced by j (y) and finally vanishes, as eige, eije, eie or eye. From eah comes eigh, as ëahta, ëedh, ëadh, ëeldh, which give eyght, beygh, neygh, sleygh. This orthography is however rare, and high, night, slighe, or hie nie slié, without gh, which was probably not pronounced at that time, more common. The
word eight explains the origin of night, might, etc., from ags. néah, méah, which were probably first written neight, meight, and then dropped the t. [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 ə), in: bour, ags. bür 15163, our 34, shawres 1, toun, ags. tün 217; rounded, ags. rün 7132, doun, ags. dün 954; houn 252, oule 6663, bouk, ags. bùce, Germ. bauch, 2748, souked 8326, brouke, ags. brucan, use. 10182, etc. In many of these words ow is now written.

Before 1d and nd, ou stands sometimes for ags. short u. Before gh, ou arises from ags. long o, and answers to middle German au, as: inough, ags. genög, mhg. genuoc 375; rought, ags. röhte 8561, 3770, for which au is sometimes found, compare sale 4186, sovle 4261.

Finally ou sometimes arises from ags. öö: as in: foure, ags. fëvër 210; trouthe, ags. trövth, 46, etc.

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

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 medi ally 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: briddles 2391, 10625; thrid 2273, thretette 7841, thiritty 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 rinnen, ags. ırnan, Chaucer renne 3888; frankie drīscon, ags. pärson, Ch. treishte 538, throughfold 3482 ags. prœsevold, pĕrsweود; frank, prœstan, ags. bërsan, Ch. berst [Harleian and Lansdowne bresten Ellesmere and Hongwurt, and Corpus, bresten Cambridge], 1982; goth. brînnan, ags. birn, Ch. bren 2333; modern run, [war in Devonshire], thrash, but burn berst.

II. Labials b, p, f, w.

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. heedfod, heedvod. There seems to be a similar elision of f from ags. efenford in enforce 2237 [enforht Ellesmere, Hengwurt, Corpus, enforht Cambridge, hensforth Petworth, enforce Lansdowne], compare han for haven 754, 1048, etc. F is generally final, as: wif 447, lyf 2259, gaf 1902, haf 2430, stryf 1586 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, lyves 1720, geven 917, heven 2441, steven, ags. stiten 10464; havens 409.

F is never used finally, but is replaced by v, followed sometimes by e, as: sawgh 2019, draw 2549, now 2266, sowe 2021, lowe 2025, knew 2070, bliew 10093, fewe 2107, newe 17291, trewe 17292. In the middle of a word au, ow are replaced by au, ou, but before v, w is retained, as: howe 3909, schowwe 3910.

W arises from ags. g, as in: lawe, ags. lagu 311; dawes, ags. dag, 11492, and as day is more common for the last, we also find lay for the first, 4796. Compare also fawe ags. fægen 5802 rhyming with lawe, i-slawe 945, for fain, slain. W also replaces g in: sawe 1528, 6241, maewe 4906, wawes 1660, sworwe 10738, morwe 2493, 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. 3, as: thider 4564, whider 6968, gaderd, together, etc., in the preterits di 3421, 17073, 8739, and hede 566, 619, [Ellesmere and a few MSS, where it seems to have been an accommodation to the rhymes spade, blade.] Similarly i-write 4561, i-write 5066, although the vowel was short in ags. [It is lengthened by Bullokar 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 156, amys 17210.)

The termination ev in some adverbs is now ce, as: oones 3470, twyes 4346, thrices 63, hennes hens 10973, 14102, henen 4031 [in Tywhitt, heythen Ellesmere, beithen Corpus, no corresponding word in Harleian], hennen
2358; thennes 5463, 4930, thenne 6723; whennes 12175.

The aspirate TH had a double character Ъ 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: breeth, ags. braechъ 5; heeth, ags. heechn 6; fethere, ags. feeker 107; forth, ags. fordr 976; walketh 1054, etc.; that, ags. paet 10—ther 43, thanked 927. The use of medial and final a for th are traces of Ъ, as: mayde, ags. maegъ 69; quod, ags. cuвъ 909; wheder ags. hvзhr 4714 [whether, Wright]; cowde ags. cuвъ 94; whether and coupe are also found. Again, we also find [in some MSS.] the ags. a replaced by th, in: father 7937, gather 1055, wether, 10366, mother 5433, [in all these cases Wright's edition has a']. But t on the other hand is never put for ags. Ъ.

The relation of th, s, is shewn 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. piceca 551; lakketh 2282, lokkes 679. Modern ck after a short vowel is sometimes k, as: seke 18, blank 2980.

Grimm lays down the rule that c, k fall into ck before e, i, except when these vowels are the mutates of a, o, u, in which cases k remains, (Gram. 12, 515.) cк has arisen from ags. cc in the same way as kk, as: wrecche, ags. vрcca 11332 fecche, ags. фесека 6942; caecche Mel., streche, recche, etc. Probably the pronunciation was as the present teh.

K was ejected from made, though the form nакed remains 2526. In verse 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: brigge, ags. bryeg 3920; eggygng ags. eeg, 10009; hegge, ags. hegc 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, forgate, gate yate, ayen agen, etc. The y replaced guttural g [due to editor] as in: yere, yonge, yerne, 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, ynoough, ywis, ymade, yslain, ywritten, ysene, ysowe 5653. And g we have seen is also interchanged with w.

The hard sound of ags. h is evident from the change of niht, löht, fiht, viht, etc., into night, light, flight, wight, etc.

Ags. se had always changed into sh, German sch. In some words ssh replaces sh as: fresshe, ags. frёse 90, wessch 2285, wissch 4873, ashy 2886. There is also the metathesis cs or x for so 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 Ъ; grove 1637, greves 1497, 1643 to rhyme with leves; welken 9000, ags. wolcen, Germ. wolke; the comparatives and superlatives, longer, stronger, worst, and plurals, men, feet, gees.

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

III. Negative junction; before a vowel: non = ne on, nother, neithir = ne other, ne either, mis = ne is, nam = ne am; before h or w: nad = ne had, 10212, nath = ne hath 925, nil = ne will 8522, wolde = ne wolde 562, mere =ne were 877, not = ne wot 286, ystest = ne ystew 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 vassaylage, p. 645], fr. vasselage 3056, vilanye [see villany, p. 642, col. 2, and courtesy, p. 644, col. 1], fr. vilenie, vilainie,
728; companye, fr. compagnie 4554, chesteyn \textit{chasteyn, chestayn}, in MSS., see p. 642.] fr. chaistaigne 2924.

With the interchange of the ags. vowels \textit{a, o}, we may compare the change of fr. \textit{a}, \textit{au}, the latter having probably a rough sound as of \textit{ao} unites, which took place before \textit{ne}, \textit{ns}, \textit{ng}, \textit{nd}, \textit{nt} in both languages, but \textit{au} was more frequent in Chaucer and \textit{a} in French, as: grevance 11253, gouveance 15999, and other \textit{ance} and \textit{ant} terminations, also: romains, fr. romance 15305; enhausen, fr. enhanser 1436; strange fr. estrange 10590, 10403, 10381; demaundes, fr. demande 8224; launde fr. lande, uncultivated district, 1693, 1698; tyraunt, fr. tirant 9863, tyrant 15589; graunted 6478, 6599; haunt fr. hante 449. With the exception of the last word all these have now \textit{a}.

II. Long \textit{e} frequently arises from French \textit{ai}, as in: plessiance, fr. plaisance 2487; appese, fr. apaisier 8309; frielee, fr. frailete; peere, fr. paire 15540. Sometimes it replaces \textit{ie}, as: nece, fr. niez 14511; seie 939, siege 56; and the \textit{e} is even short in: cherte, fr. chierté 11193. Similarly fr. \textit{i} is omitted in the infinitive termination \textit{er}, compare arace, creance, darreine, auter, etc. in the list of obsolete fr. words.

Long \textit{e} also replaces fr. \textit{eu} in: peple 2662 [the word is omitted in Harl., other MSS. have \textit{peple, poeple, puple}, mebles \textit{moeblis Harl.}] 9188. To this we should refer: reprof 5598, ypreued [\textit{proved Harl., proved} Hengwrt] 487.

III. That the pronunciation of \textit{i} fluctuated between \textit{i} and \textit{e} we see by the frequent interchange of these letters; the fr. shews \textit{e} for lt. \textit{i}, as: devine 122, divyn 15543, divide 15676, divided 16720 [Tyr. has \textit{devide} in the first case], enformed 10649, fr. in-former, enformer; defame 8416, dif-fame 8606; surquirdie surquedrie, chivachee chevache, see obsolete fr. words below.


V. Fr. \textit{o} is often replaced by Ch. \textit{u}, as: tumult \textit{torment} Harl., fr. tor-mente 5265; abundantly, fr. habon-dant 5290; purveans, fr. porveance, pourveance 1667; in \textit{assuage} 11147, fr. assonger, assouager, the \textit{u} had certainly the sound of \textit{w}, compare \textit{assuage} 16130.

For long \textit{u} we occasionally find \textit{ue}, which was certainly pronounced as in the present \textit{few, dew}, thus: salewith [Harl. and the six MSS. read \textit{salweth}] 1494, transmewed [\textit{translated Harl., transmeowyd Univ. Cam. 4, 24} 826 mewe, fr. mue 351 \textit{mwe} Ellesmere and Hengwrt MSS.] jewise, fr. juise [\textit{jwysye Harl. and most MSS., iijes Petworth, \textit{iijyse Lands.}] 1741.

VI. The vowels \textit{y} and \textit{i} are interchanged in fr. \textit{as} in ags. words.

VII. The fr. diphthongs \textit{ai}, \textit{oi}, usually appear as \textit{ai} in Chaucer, and must have been pronounced identically, as: seynete, fr. saint 511; doseyn, fr. doseine 580; chesten, fr. chastaigne 2924; pyneth, fr. painer, peiner 4740; coveitoe, 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 \textit{a} and \textit{ai} see I.

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

Chap. 5. Consonants derived from the French.

The doubling of final consonants is frequently neglected.

I. Liquids.

[The examples of doubling \textit{l, r}, are so different in Wright's ed. that they cannot be cited.]

\textit{P} inserted: dampned 5530, damp-nacioun 6649; sompne 6929 =sompne 7169, sommpour 6909, solempne 209. This \textit{p} is also often found in old fr. Similarly in Provençal \textit{dampna}, \textit{somp-nar}, Diez. Gram. 1, 190 (ed. 1).]
II. Labials.

For b; gipser, fr. gibeicer 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 w was the German ŭ. [That is, Ges. confuses (v, w) with (bh, u) in common with most Germans.]

As in ags. q passes into German w, so in fr. words initial w becomes q 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. aguet 7239; 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 242. Ch. generally writes z for z.

IV. Gutturals.

C before e, i was probably s as now. Fr. gu now pronounced as German ŭf, (unj) 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 ḷ, 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: abominaciouns 4508. In proheme 7919, the ḷ seems only inserted as a diacresis.

Fr. gu before e and i is often changed into k, as: phisk 913, magik 418, practike 5769, cliket 10025.

Chap. 6. Aphaeresis of unaccented French e, a.

Initial e is frequently omitted before at, sp, sc, as: stabed, fr. estabir 2997; spices, fr. espece 3015; specially 14, squier, fr. escuyer 79, scler, fr. escolier 262; straunge, fr. estrange 13. Similarly a, e, are rejected in other words where they are now received, as: potecary 14267, compare Italian bottega a shop; pretinis 14711, pistil 9030, compare Italian pistola, chiesa. The initial a in avysoun 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 Melibues and the Persoun, without any precise indication, as editions differ so much.]


fele fěla fěola [many] 8793, fore [companionship, suprā p. 383], †fit fitt [song] 15296, flēme afflyman [drive away] 17114, flo floga [arrow] 17196,


nemppen nemman nemjan [name] 4297, note notu [business] 4066.

oned [united] 7500.

†pan panne [brainpan, skull] 15438.


yerne gëvorne 6575, †yede ýode [went] 13069, yëys gewris [certainly] 6040.

II. Obsolete Chaucerian words of French origin.

[The italic word is Chaucer’s, the roman the old French as given by Gesenius on the authority of Roquefort; when this is not added the word was unchanged by Chaucer. Meanings and remarks are in brackets. This list again contains many words not really obsolete, here marked with †.]

avante  [vaunt] 5985, avan
tour  [baast] Mel., avon
tourd  [adultery] 6888, advent
tre  [9309, out] 2294, away
ty  [watch] 7241, 1621, aye
tial  [grandfather] 10770, ayel
Harl., ayell
Corps., Lans., aiel
Elles, Heng.
Cam., eile Pet.) 2495.

†bareigne baraigne  [barren] 8324, baryn 1979, †bauderie bauderie  [joy] 1928, †benesoun beneison 9239, blandis

cantei  [fragment] 3010, †catel catels  [goods] 542, 4447, †charboele charboele  [cun
bundle] 15279, chesteyn chastaiigne  [chest
nut] 2924, chivachie chevauche  [ca
valry expedition] 85, chivach 16982, clegeroun clegeron  [acolyte] 14914, corre
creancier  [act on credit] 14700, 14714.
dereyne derainier  [prove justness of
claim] 1611, 1633, delyeur delivre  [quICK] 84, †disarray desarray  [confu
sion] Pers. T., disputisoun disputisoun  [dispute] 11202, doe dol  [grief, no re
ference given, 4:38], drewry druerie  [fidelity] 15303.


faiteur faiteur  [idle fellow, no re
ference], false falser  [to falsify] 3175, †fey feie  [faith] 3284, †fors  [fierce]
1600, †fetys  [beautiful] 157, †fau
garget gargete  [neck] 16821, †gent
noufouncon 6:37].

†harie harier  [persecute] 2728  [rent
Wr., harried, the Six MSS.] herbur
gage  [dwelling] 4327, humblesse  [humble
ness] 4585.

jambeux  [leggings] 15283, jangle
jangler  [to jest] 10534, [a jest] 6989, juweise juise  [judgment] 1741, ʻiros
ireux  [angry] 7598.

lachesse  [negligence] Pers. T., letua
ries  [electurariea] 428, 9683, letture
lettreure  [literature] 15982, 12774, t
oos los  [praise, good fame] 13296, Mel., losengour  [pleratter] 10812.

Mahoun Mahon  [Mahomet] 4614, ʻtmaistrie  [master’s skill] 3383, [mas
tery] 6622, 9048, †malison malecéon
 [malefication] Pers. T., †manace ma
nacher  [menace] 9626, maat mat  [sad]
957, matrimoine  [matrimony] 9447, maumet mahommet  [idol] Pers. T., merce
iable  [merciful] 15099, mesel
birds] 351, 10957, mester  [mystery, business, trade] 615, 1342,  [except in Harl.,
which reads cheer].
nakers nacaires  [kettledrums] 2513,
yooy  [foolish] 6520, yoeete 4044.

ʻtoyement  oignement 633, olifent
olifant  [elephant] 15219, opye  [opium]
1474.

ʻpalmer palmer 13, parage  [parent
age] 5832, parjijt parjyt parfit  [per
vaille  [poor people] 247, prov prou
rage ragier  [sport] 3273, real  [royal]
15630, rially  [royally] 380, reyne
renier  [renounce] 4760, 4796, repeir
[return] 10903, respite 11886, ʻroute
grow  [distress] 624.

ʻsolas  [joy, pleasure] 800, 3654, sourde sourdre  [to rise] Pers. T., sur
qurdrie  [presumption] Pers. T.

talent  [inclination, desire] 5557, Pers.
T. testier testiere  [horse’s head armour]
2501, testuel  [tested wel Wr., hav
a power of citing texts] 17167, trans
meure transmuere  [translated Wr.] 8261, tretys tracitès  [well made, straight Wr.] 152, †triaclée  [remedy] 4899, trine
trin  [triune] 11973.
sasselage  [bravery] 3056, ʻevrey
[true] 6786, ʻversifour versifier
[versifyer] Mel., viage viage  [journey]
77, 4679, ʻvitaille  [victuals] 3551, void
voiler  [to remove] 8786, [to depart]
11462, [to leave, make empty] 9689.
wariee garir  [heal] 12840, ʻgrow
M. Rapp on the Pronunciation of Chaucer.

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 *t* is not mute, though there is a trace of its disappearance in the form (wed) for (welf). The transposition of *r* is not complete; we again find (renne) for (irna), and (brenne) for (birman), English (ronn, Bern), (thurkh) through is unchanged, (bird) and (brid) are both used, (threshe) replaces (thersken), and (breste) replaces (berstan), English (brest).

Among the labials, *b* remains after *m* in (lamb), but (limm) is without the present mute *b*. For (nemmen) we have the peculiar (nempnen), and similarly (dampnen) to damn. Final *f* as in (bhiff) wife, is also written medially wise, that is, in the French fashion, because *e* 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 *uv*. On *w* after a vowel see below. (Bh) sometimes arises from a guttural, as sorwe, that is, (sorbeh) now *sorrow* = (*sorrow*), from *sorg*.

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 *ags.*] especially as it sometimes results from *ž*. The *s* is merely an *s*. The most difficult point is *th*. In *ags.*, we have shown [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 oun ost, yit let me talke to the.

The form *sothe* has here assumed a false French *e*, since the *ags.* 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 (sooth), 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 (*tuu dhu*) would have been no rhyme, [but see supra p. 318]. Similar rhymes are (alun thee) allow thee, and (yunthe) youth, (mii thee) his thee, and (shhiute) quickly, [supra pp. 318, 444, n. 2]. The English of the values 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 M.S. retain the *ags.* *d*, thus: *ags.* (feder) here (feeding), now (faadher), (gerderzan) here (gader) now (ghedhdhar), (toedgedere) here (togheder) now (toghedhdhar), (bhardere) here (bharder) now (bhardhdhar), weather, (moodor) here (moeder) now (maddhdhar) mother, (kbhbirde) here (kbhbirde) now (huddhdhar) whither, (thider) here (thider) now (dhdhdhar) 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 *ž* (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 (bradhdar, fxhdhar). The *ags.* *kwede* is here (*kuth*) and also (*kud*) or (*kuud*) for (*kun-de.*)

Among the gutturals, *k* is written for *c* when *e* or *i* follows, and before
n as (kneu) knew. The reduplicated form is *ck*. 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 (dzheintil) not (zhentil). Similarly romantic *ch* is (tsh), and this value is applied to old naturalized words, in which the hiss has arisen from *k*, as (tshertsh) from (kirk), (tseep) from (keapsh) cheapen, and in thoroughly German words (tshild from (kild) child; and (elk) becomes (estsh) each. Reduplication is expressed by *eck*, representing the sharpened (tsh) [i.e. which shortens the preceding vowel] so that (bhrekkke) exile becomes *wreche*, and sometimes *wretch*, which can only mean (bhrehtsh); similarly from (fekkon) comes (fetshe) and in the same way (retshe, stretshe) and the obscure *cacche* (kotshe), which comes from the Norman cachier, although (tshase) also occurs from the French chasser. The reduplicated *g* occasions some difficulty. In French words *abbregier* can only give *abregge* = (abredzhe), and *loger* gives (lodzhe), etc., but the hiss is not so certain in *brigge* bridge, *egge* edge, point, *hedge* hedge, as now prevalent, because we find also *lodge* and *lie* from (liggen) now (lai), *legge* and (lezie) from (legen) now (lee), and (alezie) from (byggen) now (bai). Similarly (begge) ask, beg, now (beg), which, as I believe, was formed from (buggen) or (beegon) to bow. Here we find modern (dzh) and hence the (dzh) of the former cases is doubtful.

The softening of *g* into (zh) is a slighter difference. The letter (zh) does not occur in *agz*, and has been replaced in an uncertain way by *i*, *g*, *ge*. In Chaucer the simple sign *y* is employed [more generally (zh), the *y* is due to the editor, p. 310], which often goes further than in English, as we have not only (yeer) a year, but *give* and (jeve, jef, forjete, jat, asen, asenst) and (ee) (eel) an egg.

The termination *yg* drops its *g* as (penu) for *penig*, and the particle *ge* assumes the form *i*, as (inuukh) enough, (iblis) certain, and in the participles (itaken) taken, (imaad) made, (islaa) or (isken) slain, (iskeene) seen, (ibhirten) written, etc. From (gelliike) comes (illiik) or (illitish), and the suffixed (-illiik) is reduced to (*li*).

The old pronunciation (*ug*) must be retained for *ng*, thus (loqg, loger) 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 (reessou*) is here written *resoun* and called (resuun), as if the *g* were unknown. As the termination in *givende* 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 (*h*) 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, suprâ p. 490, and intermediate writers, who were free from French influence.] For the medial *h*, the dialect perceived its difference from (*h*), and hence used the new combination *gh*, known in the old Flemish, where the soft (*kh*) has been developed from *g*. The ags. *nikh* = (nikht) became *night* = (nikht), and similarly *thurg* = (thurkh).

For (khzakhen) we have *lokh*, and *laugh*, both = (*laakh*); *sakhi* gives *sawh* = (*saakh*) or *seigh* = (*seekh*).

Before *i*, *n*, *r*, the ags. *h* has disappeared, but ags. (*khbhiite) is here somewhat singularly written *white*, a transposition of *hrite*. Had *h* been silent it would have been omitted as in *kh*, *hn*, *hr*, but as it was different from an ordinary *h* before a vowel, this abnormal sign for (*khb*), formed on the analogy of *gh*, came into use, and really signified an abbreviated heavy *ghw*. 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 (sjkə) in ags., and hence prepared the way for the simple (sh), and this may have nearly occurred by Chaucer’s time, as he writes sch which bears the same relation to the French ch=(sh), as the Italian sc= to ci, s 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=(aks) for (aske).

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 Anglo-Saxon 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 supra p. 588, n. 2, and p. 640.]

We must presume that the old French a was pure (a). The ags. a, was lower=(e). 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 arc, the value of which from a French point of view was (Aa), as it still is in English, as strange, demaunde, tyrant, graunte, haunt. In all these cases the Englishman endeavours to imitate French nasality by the combination (Aan). [This au for a only occurs before n, see supra p. 143, and infra Chap. VIII., § 3.]

The old short vowel e hence remains (a) as in ags., thus (makKenn) is in the oldest documents (makke, makki) and afterwards (make), where the (a) need no more be prolonged by the accent than in the German machen (makhen), and we may read (makke). [But see Orrin’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 (elle), instead of (skarep) we find (sharpe) etc. The nasal (an), as in ags., is disposed to fall into (ou), as (hend, loud, drook, begonne), etc.

The greatest doubt might arise from the ags. a or rather (e) appearing as (a) without mutation; thus, ags. (thet, kibbat, bhaeter, smal) again fall into (that, kibbat, bhaeter, smal). 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 (dhaet) with a mutated a, he pronounces (muat, uaatet, smaal) what, water, small, without a mutate. In most cases the non-mutated form may be explained by a flexion, for if (daeg) in ags. gave the plural (dagges), we may understand how Chaucer writes at one time (dzen) day and at another (dAA) 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 (tshirtsh) or (tshertsh) church. The ags. eo is again overcome, for although forms like beo, beop, still occur in the oldest monuments, e is the latter form, so that (storrre) star again becomes (sturre), and (gEolu) yellow gives (jelbhe, jelh), (fsool) fell becomes (fell, fill), etc. A short (e) sometimes rhymes with a long one in Chaucer, as (made, reede) meadow, red. Such false rhymes are however found in German poetry of the xiii th 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 ê e, but he usually pairs ê e, ä e=(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 (seekən, keenə) can only give (seekə, keen) seek, keen, and from
(sbheete) we also obtain (soote), with omitted (ee), compare Norse (sooet) sweet. [The careful notation of quantity by Órmin points him out as a better authority for this later period.] Long (ee) also replaces ags. e as (heere, see, sleepe) hare, sea, sleep, and the old long d as (seeke, leefe leewe, depe, tthese) seek, lief, deep, choose, and finally the old long éa as (EEK) from (éak), and similarly (greete, beene, tseepe) 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 friire fire, which, however, already rhymes with (miire) and must therefore have sounded (fiire). The (yy) had become (ii) even in ags., so that (brunid) becomes (bride), etc. Least of all can we suppose short i in (bihide, 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 (sumar) gives (summer), and (khnut, further) give (not, farther) 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), (oote) from (aath) oath, (hoote) from (hat); and the old (oo) in (booke, toke, Toote, 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 raisin was written raisun by the Anglo-Norman, and resoun by Chaucer, which could have only sounded (resun). A diphthong is impossible, as the name Caucacus of Caucasus rhymes with hown, 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 (flour). The real difficulty consists in determining the quantity of the vowel, as it is not shewn by the spelling. Position would require a short (u) in cases like (shulder, hund, stund, bunden) shoulder, old (skulder), hound, hour, bound; but the old (sookhte) must produce a (sunkhte) 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, Icelander, Dutchman, Swede. The true sound is therefore an intermediate, which may have fluctuated between (ow, oo, 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 (bathid, bathed). Hence the two forms in Chaucer, (bathyd) or rather (bathud) exactly as in Icelandic [where the u = (o), not (u),] supra p. 548, the second (bathid, bethed). Later English, however, could not fix this intermediate sound, and hence, forced by the mutations, gave the short u the colourless natural vowel (a), except before r where we still hear (o), [meaning, perhaps (oa). 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 (natyvre) 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, shud, fruut). 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 (ee), but as they often arise from (eg) there seems to have been an intermediate half-diphthongal or triphthongal (exi); thus (dax) gives (dezi) or (dexe). From (ege) we have the variants eye, ye, eigh, yehe, so that the sound varies as (ees) (ee) (iie).
Kxbban that Aprille bith his shuures soot
The drukht of marsths hath persed to the root
And bethyd evri vessen in ebbitshe likuur
Of Oveson vertry- extradundreds is the fluer.
Kxbban Schyres eek bith his sibchee breath
Ensipiryd neth in evri holt and streeth
The tindre kroppes, and the yonge somne
Hath in the Ram his sylfe krs 5rune. 8
And smale fuelus maken melodie
That sleepon al the nityh bith oopen lie,
Soo priketh xwm nettyr- in xwr kordizhes,
Then leggen folk too goon on pilgrimadzhes,
And palmers for too seekenstrazxnd zhes 13
Too farre nakhnes, kunth- in sondri londes,
And spesiall from evry shiffes xndne
Of Egieod too Kanytaryrye thee bhennde 16
The neoul blissyf martir for too secke
That xwm nath nolpen kxbban that thee
Biffty that in that sesuun on a dne
In South-berk at the tabbard as i li xen, 20
Redd too bllanden on nil pilgrimadzhes
That tobbhard xlyf yr kordizhes,
At nikk bhas kom into that hostelrie
Bhyl miin and thbmti in a kompanie 24
Of sondri folk bi aven-tyr- xfalle
In fealshep, and pilgrims bheer bi alle
That tobbhard Kanytaryrye bhelden ride.
The tiemberhurs and the stables bheer bilde.

voice, was taken over unaltered, and also replaces romanic ni, which was too far removed from English feelings; we have seen fruit pass into (fryt, fruitu); ennuyer becomes (anei) and destruire is written destruir, destrue, but had the same sound (destroi).

As regards the so-called mute e, it was undeniably historical in Chaucer and represented old inflections, yet it was, with equal certainty, in many cases merely mechanically imitated from the French. But we cannot scan Chaucer in the French fashion, without omitting or inserting the mute e at our pleasure, and in a critical edition of the poet, the spoken e only ought to be written. What was its sound when spoken? Certainly not (e) as in French, but a pure (e) with some inclination to (i). This is shown by the rhyme (sootho, too thee) already cited, and many others, as clerkes, derrk is ; (dreed is, deedes) etc. At present Englishmen pronounce this final e in the same way as i, and in general e, i present as natural a euphonicum as the French (a).

The following are the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales reduced to a strict metre.

[Some misprints seem to occur in the original, but I have left them uncorrected.]
At mortal batara hadd ne been fiftene 61
And fukthen for our fasth at Tremainseene,
In lists thriies and ne esren his too.
This lke borthi knikht hadd been also 64
Somtime bhith the lord of Peleton
Agesen another neethen in Tyrkile,
And evermore ne hadd a sovran prlis.
And thukh that ne bhas borthli ne bhes
bhis,
And of his port as milk as is a med.
He never rith a viloni ne seed
In al his lif, ynto noo maner bhikht.
He bhas a vërrk prëfikht dazhentil knikht.
Byt for too tale riu of nis arrres,
His hors bhas good, byt ne ne bhas nukht
 głx.
Of fystian ne bhered a dzhepuun
Al bismoteryd bhith nis naberdzhuun,
For ne bhas lat komen from nis viadzhe
And bhante for too doun nis pilgrimadzhe.
Bith im thir bhas his son, a gojg
skhkibeer,
A lover and a lysti batsheeler 80

Bhith lokes krýll- as thea bhar land in
phrase.
Of tshenti jëer ne bhas of adzh- ii gesse,
Of his statyryr- ne bhas of zven lsgthe 83
And bhondyril dellivr- and greet of streqthe,
And ne hadd been somtym in thihtatshle
In Flendres, in Atcias and Pikardile,
And born nim bhal, as in soo litel spase
In hop too stonden in his ledi gresse.
Embruudid bhas ne as it bheer a made 88
Al fyl of freshe fluures, khhilit- and reede.
Sigging ne bhas or fluittig al the duw,
He bhas as fresh as is the moonth of mez, 92
Short bhas his gunn bith sleeves long and
buhide.
Bhål kuud he sitt- on hors and fërre riide,
He kuud souges bhal make and enditle,
Dyhytyn- and eek ëaans- and bhal pytrtke
and bhritle. 96
Soo root ne loved, that bi nikhter-tale
He sleep nomoor than dooth a nikhtiggele.
Kyrtes ne bhas, luhkl (or louuli)
and servisable
And karf beforn his fadyt at the table. 100

If in the above we read (ee, e) and (oo, o) for (ee, e) and (oo, o),
and (e) for (ë) which is a slight difference, and also (ii, i) for (ii, i),
and do not insist on (a) for (a), and also read (w, wh) for the un-
English (bh, khhb), the differences between this transcript and
my own, reduce to 1) the treatment of final e, which Rapp had not
sufficiently studied; 2) the merging of all short u into (y), certainly
erroneous; 3) the indistinct separation of the two values of ou into
(uu, ou), and 4) the conception of (ee), an un-English sound, as
the proper pronunciation of ey, ay as distinct from long e. It is
remarkable that so much similarity should have been attained by
such a distinctly different course of investigation.

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 con-
siderable confidence in recommending Early English scholars to
endeavour to read some passages for themselves, and not to pre-
judge 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, è, o, ou. The (a) is never our common English a in fat, that is (æ), but is much broader, as in the provinces, though Londoners will probably say (æ). For (a) 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, ai Italian ahi, Welsh ai, the usual sound of English aye, 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 (oi, ou) 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 [h]), never by (h), which is only used to modify preceding letters.

(J j) must be pronounced as German j in ja, or English y in yea, yawn, but not English j in just.

The letters (b ð 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 (qq).

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
(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. eh, 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, kach); and the similar varieties (gh, gh, gwh) are sometimes found. The reader who feels it difficult to distinguish these three sounds, may content himself with saying (kh, gh) or even (n'). The (kwh) 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 to it, when initial, by saying (n'u), and, when final, by saying (un').

The italic (w) is also used in the combination (kww) which has precisely the sound of qu 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 (n), 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 (naaTyrr'), 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 himself, 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 (Dzhefrai· Tshau·seer'), but the first name may also have been called (Dzhef·rec'), see supra p. 462. The evenness of stress seems guaranteed by Gower's even stress on his own name (Gu·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 trisyllabic 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 vesyn' in swich licour,
Of which vertu engend'red' is the flour;
Whan zephyrus, eek, with his sweete 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 pilgrymes,
And palmeer's for to seken strawnge 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 pilgrmage
iii To Cawnterbery with ful devout corage,
At night was com' into that hostelrye
Wel nyn' 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 chambers and the stabell's weren wyde,
And wel we weren eed atte beste.
And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste
So hadd' I spoken with hem ev'rych oon,
That I was of her' felawship'anoon,

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 PROO-LOG TO DHE KAUN-TERBER-\textit{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{Introduction:}

Whan dhat Aa-prëi\l\ with -ës shuur'ës swoot'ë
Dhe druukæht of Martsh nath pers'ëd too dhe root'ë,
And baadh'ëd ev\textit{rëi} vain in switsh lëi'kaur',
Of whëtsh vert'ëy' endzh'en'dred is dhe fluur;
When Zef'ërus, eek, with -ës sweet'ë breetlre
\textit{Inspiir'ed} nath in ev\textit{rëi}holt and neeth'ë
Dhe ten'dre krop'ës, and dhe juq'ë sun'ë
Hath in dhe Ram -ës half'ë kuurs irun'ë,
And smaal'ë fuul'ës maak'en melodiv'e,
Dhat sleep'en al dhe nîght with oop'ën ii'ë,—
Soo prik'ëth nem naa'tyyr' in her koo'raadzh'ës;
Dhan loq'en folk to goon on pil'grimaadzh'ës,
And pal'meers for to seek'ën straundzh'ë strond'ës,
To fern'ë hal'wës kuuth in sun'dri lond'ës;
And spes'ëalii, from ev\textit{rëi} shûr'ës end'ë
Of Eq'ëlond, to Kaun'terber'ëi dhai wend'ë,
Dhe noo\textit{lii} blis'ful mart'ëir for to seek'ë,
Dhat nem nath holp'ën, when dhat dhai weer seek'ë.

\textit{Bifel' dhat in dhat see'suun' on a dai}
At Suuth'werk at dhe Tab'ard' as \textit{Li} lai,
Reed'ëi to wend'ën on mi pil'grimaadzh'ë
To Kaun'terber'ëi with ful devuut' koo'raadzh'ë,
At nîght was kuum in too dhat ost'ëlrii'ë
Weel nûn and twen'tsi' in a kum'paniiv'e
Of sun'dri folk, bii an'ventyyr' idal'ë
\textit{In fel'aushëip}, and pil'grizm wer dhai al'ë,
Dhat too'werd Kaun terber'ëi wold'en riid'ë.
Dhe tshaam'berz and dhe staa'blzl wee'ren wûd'ë,
And weel we wee'ren ees'ëd at'ë best'ë.
And short'lii,when dhe sun'ë was to rest'ë
Soo had \textit{Li} spook'ën with -em ev\textit{rëi}tsh oon,
Dhat \textit{Ji} was of -er fel'aushëip anoon,

or indicate a final e to A pril, which is against Averil 6128, April 426.

8 R a.m. See Temporary Preface to the Six Text Edition of Chaucer, p. 89.
16 Cawnterbery. E. He. Co. and Harl. 1758, write \textit{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 \textit{Caun.} in v. 769.

44
And made foward eerly for to ryse,
To tak' our' wey thee as I you devysye.
But natheles why'l's I hav' tym' and space,
Eer that I fether in this tale pace,
Me thinketh it accordawnt to resoun
To tellen you al the condicioun
Of eee'h of hem, so as it semed' me;
And which they weren, and of what degre,
And eek in what array that they wer' 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' chivalrye,
Truth and honour, fredoom and curtseysye.
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre,
And theerto hadd' he ridden, no man ferre,
As weel in Cristendom as hetenesse,
And ever' honoure'd for his worthinesse.
At Alisawnd'r he was whan it was wonne,
Ful ofte tym' he hadd' the boord bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruse.
In Lettow' hadd' he reysed and in Ruse,
No cristen man so oft' of his degre.
At Gernad' atte seg' eek hadd' he be
Of Algœir, and ridden in Palmyrye
At Lyeys was he, and at Salaye
Whan they wer' wonn'; and in the Grete Se
At many a nob'l ayrse' hadd' he be.
At mortal batayl'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
Sotyme with the lord of Palatye,
Ayeyn another heten in Turkye:
And evremor' he hadd' a sovrayn prys.
And thowgh that he wer' worthy he was wys.

33 foward, promise. No MS. marks the length of the vowel in foor, but as the word came from forward, 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 foward, 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 u has been added on account of the following y.
46 curtseysye, so E. He. Ca., the rest have curtseysye; the ey has been retained on account of curtysye. See Courtesy, p. 644.
56 eek is inserted in the six MSS.
57 Palmyrye, the MSS. have all the unintelligible Belmarye. 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.
PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER’S PROLOGUE.

And maad’e foor’ward eer’lii for to rii’s’e,
To taak uur wai dheeer as Hi juu deviiis’e.
But naa’dheles, whîls Hi -aav tiis in and spaas’e,
Eer dhat Hi ferdh’er in dheer laa’le paas’e, 36
Methîq’eth it ak’ord’ant’ to ree’suun’
To tel’en juu al dhe konds’juun’.
Of eetsh of hem, soo as it seem’ed mee,
And whîsh dhai wee’ren, and of what de’e’gree’, 40
And eek in what arai’ dhat dhai wer i’ne
And at a knîkht dhan wol Hi first begin’e.

1. Dhe Knîkht.

A knîkht dheeer was, and dhat a wurdh’ii man,
Dhat froo dhe trîm’e dhat -e first bigan’ 44
To riî’d-en uut, nee luv’ed tshîi’valrii’e,
Truuth and on’uur’ free’doom’ and kur’taisii’e.
Ful wurdh’ii was -e in -is lord’es were,
And dhee-er to mad -e riid’en, noo man fere’, 48
As weel in Krist’endoom’, as needh’enes’e,
And ev’er on’uurd’ for -is wurdh’ii’nes’e.

At Aa’liisaun’dr -e was whan it was wun’e,
Ful oft’e tiim -e nad dhe boord bigun’e 52
Abuu’v’n al’ce naa’siununz’ in Pryys’e.
In Let’ouu had -e raiz’ed and in Ryys’e,
Noo kriist’en man soo oft of his de’e’gree’.
At Ger’naad’ at’e seedzh eek mad -e bee 56
Of Al’dzheesii’, and riid’en in Pal mirii’e.

At Liis’ais was -e, and at Saa’taalii’e
Whan dhai wer wun’; and in dhe Greet’e see
At man’i a noob’l- aarii’vec’ nad -e bee. 60
At mor’taal’ bat’aiiz’ nad -e been fifteen’e
And foukwh’t’en for uur faith at Tra’maaseen’e
In list’es thrî’ves, and ai slain -is foo.
Dhis ilk’e wurdh ii knîkht -ad been alsoo’.
Sumtii’e with dhe lord of Paa’laati’i’e,
Ajain anudh’er needh’en in Tyrkii’i’e:
And ev’remoor’ -e nad a suv’rain priis.

And dhoooukwh dhat nee wer wurdh’ii nee was wiiis, 68
And of his poort' as meek as is a mayde.
Ne never yit no vilayny' he sayde
In al his lyf, unto no maner' wight.
He was a veray 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 bismoter'd with his haubergeoun.
iii For he was last' ycomen from his eyage,
And wenste for to doon his pilgrymage.

2. The Squyeer.
With him ther was his son', a yong Squyeer;
iii A loveier, and a lusty bacheller;
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
And wonderly deliver, and greet of strengthe.
And he hadd' ben somtym' in chivachye
In Flawndres, in Artoys, and Picardye,
And boorn 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 fresche flour'es whit' and rede.
Singing' he was, or flouting' al the day;
He was as fresch as is the mon' th of May.
Schort was his goun, with slesves long and wyde.
Weel coud' he sitt' on hors, and fayre ryde.
He coude songes mak' and weel endyte,
Just' and eek dawn', 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 thritfully.
Weel coud' he dress' his tackel yemanly,
His arwes drooped' 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 f r e s h e 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 footnote to the last line of the Prologue.
109 n o t h e e d, a closely cropped poll. Tondre, "to sheere, clip, cut,
And of -is poort as meek as is a maid'e.
Ne nev'er jis noo vii'lainii' -e said'e
In all -is liï", unttoo noo man'eer wiïkh.
He was a ver'ai perfïïit dhzen'tiïl kniïkh.
But for to tel'en juu of his arai',
His nors was good, but nee ne was not gai,
Of fus'tiaan' -e weer'ed a dzhiï'puun';
Al bismoott'erd with -is nau'berdzhuun.'
For nee was last 'kum'en from his vii'aadzh'e,
And went'e for to doon -is pil'grïmaadzh'e.

2. Dhe Skwïi'veer.
With nim dheel was -is suun, a juq Skwïi'veer',
A luv'vœer, and a lust'v baa'tsheeleer;
With lok'es krul as dhai wer laid in pres'e.
Of twen'tiï' veer -e was of aadzh Ji ges'e.
Of his staattýyr' -e was of eev'ne leqth'e,
And wun'derhV deliver, and greet of streqth'e.

3. Dhe Jee'man.
A Jee'man sad'e and servants' noo moo,
At dhat tiïm, for -ïm liï'te riï'de soo;
And nee was klad in koot and wood of green'e.
A sheed of poo'kok ar'wes brikht and keen'e
Under -is belt -e baar ful thrïft'ilii'.
Well kund -e dres -is tak'ïl Jee'manlii';
His ar'wes drup'ed noukïeht with feth'erz louo'e,
And in -is nond -e baar a miïkht'ii boou'e.
A not'meed nad -e, with a brun vii'saadzh'e.
Of wood'ekraft well kund -e al dh- yy'saadzh'e.
Upon his arm' he baar a gay braccer,
And by his syd' a sword and a boucleer
And on that other syd' a gay daggyeer
Harney preceded wel, and sharp as poynent of sper';
A Cristofr', on his brest' of silver schene.
An horn he baar, the baudrik was of grene;
A forsteer was he soothly, as I gesse.

4. The Pryoresse.

Ther was also a Nonne', a Pryoresse,
That of hir' smyling' was ful simp'l and coy;
Hir' gretest ooth was but by Saynt Loy;
And sche was cleped madam' Englentyne.
Ful weel sche sang the servysse divyne,
Entuned in hir' noise ful semely;
And Frensch sche spauk ful fayr' and fetiesly,
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' sawce depe.
Weel cou'd sche carr' a morsel, and wel kepe,
That no droppe fil upon hir' breste.
In curteysye was set ful moch' hir' leste.
Hir' overlippe wyped' sche so clene,
That in hir' cuppe was no ferthing sene
Of grese, whan sche drounken hadd' hir' drawght.
Ful semely after hir' mete sche rawght'.
And eikerly sche was of grett dispoorte,
And ful plesavont, and amiabl' of poorte,
And peyned' hir' to countrefete chere
Of courf', and been estatlich of manere,
And to been hoolden dign' of reverence.
But for to spoken of hir' conscience,
Sche was so charitab'l and so pitous,
Sche wolde weep' if that sche sawgh a mous
Cawght in a trapp', if it wer' deed or bleedd.
Of smale houndes hadd' sche, that sche fedde
With roasted flesch, and milk, and waestel breed,
But sore wepte sche if oon of hir' weyr' deed,

col. 3. Jamieson gives the forms nott, nowt, for black cattle, properly oxen
with the secondary sense of lone, and refers to Icel. naut (nowt), Dan. nød
(nowt), Sw. nöd (nowt), and age. niedt, or our modern note (nutt) cattle.
115 Cristofr', this was accidentally not counted among the French
words on p. 651.
120 saynt. See supra, pp. 264, 476, 649, note, and notes on vv. 609
and 697 infra for the probable occasional dissyllabic use of saynt as
(saynt). As this had not been observed, Tyrwhitt proposes to complete
the metre by reading Elo'v. with no MS. authority, Prof. Child
proposes othe (supra p. 390, 6th. oath), thus: Hir' gretest ooth the nas
but by Saint Loy, and Mr. Morris
would read ne was as in v. 74,
thus: Hir' gretest ooth ne was but by

116 Harney preceded, etc.
Upon -is arm -e baar a gai braa'seer,
And buL -is siid a swerd and a buk'leer,
And on dhat udh'er siid a gai dag'eer
Harnais'ed weel, and sharp as punt of speer;
A Krist'ofr on -is brest of sil'ver sheene.
An horn -e baar, dhe bau'drik was of green'e.
A for'steer was -e sooth'leii, as iI ges'e.

4. Dhe Prri'oress'e.

Dheer was al'soo a Nun, a Prri'oress'e,
Dhat of -iir smiL'iq was ful sim'pl- and kui,
Hiir greet'est ooth was but buL saa'int Lui;
And shee was klep'ed maA'daam Eq'len'tii'n'e.
Ful weel she saq dhe ser'viis'e divii'n'e,
Entyy'n'ed in -iir nooz'e ful seem'elii,
And French she speak ful fair and feect'shii,
After dhe skool of Strat'ford a'te Boo'we,
For French of Paarrii's was to niir unknoune,
At mee'te weel tankwht shee was withal'e,
She leet noo mor'sel from -iir lip'es fal'e,
Ne wet -iir fiq'gerz in -iir saus'e deep'e.
Weel kund she kar'i a morsel, and weel keep'e
Dhat no drop'e fil upon -iir brest'e.
In kur'taisiY'e was set ful mutsh -iir lest'e.
Hiir ov'erlip'e wiip'ed shee soo kleen'e,
Dhat in -iir kup'e was no ferdh'iq seen'e
Of grees'e, whan shee druqk'en nad -iir draukwht.
Ful see'melii aft'er -iir meet'e she raukwht.
And sk'erlui she was of greet dispoort'e,
And ful pleec'zaunt' and aa'miaa'bl- of poort'e,
And pain'ed niir to kuun'trefeet'e tsheer'e
Of kuurt, and been estaat'lith of man'eer'e,
And to been noold'en dii'n of reev'erens'e.
But for to speek'en of -iir kon'siensi'e,
She was soo tsaa'riiita'bl- and soo pii'tuus',
She wold'e weep, if dhat she saugwh a muus
Kaukwht in a trap, if it wer deed or bled'e.
Of smaal'e hund'ei shee had shee, that shee fed'e
With roost'ed flesh, and milk and wastel breed,
But soor'e wep'te shee if oon of nem 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 n a s, the Six MSS. have w a s simply. For o t h e, which is a very doubtful form, Prof. Child refers to 1141, where Ha. reads: This was thyn othe and myn eek certeyn, which would require the exceptional preservation of the open vowel in o t h e, but all the Six MSS. read: This was thyn ooth, and myn also certeyn, only P., L. write a superfusious e as o t h e. 122 s e r v y s e. See suprâ, p. 331. 131 fil, all MSS. except He. read n e fil. The insertion of n e would introduce a i i. 132 f u l, 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 ypinc hed was;
Hir’ nose streyt; hir’ eyen grey as glas;
Hir’ mouth ful smaal, and theerto soft’ and reed,
But sikerly sche hadd’ a fayr fooreed.
It was almost a spanne brood, I trowe,
For hardly sche was not undergrowse.
Ful fes was hir’ clock’ as I was waar.
Of smaal coraal about hir’ arm sche baar
A payr’ of bedes gawded al with grene;
Theeron 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 thre Preestes.

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


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 reul’ of Saynt Maur’ or of Saynt Beneyt,
Becaws’ 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, whan he is recchelees,
Is lyken’d to a fisch’ that’s waterlesse;
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 jerd'e smert'e,
And al was kon'sëns' and tend'ye hert'e.
Ful seem'elii -uur wimpl. 'pintshed was,
Hëir nooz'e strait, hëir ai'en grai as' glas,
Hëir muuth ful smaal, and dheer'too' soft and reed,
But sëk'erlii she had a fair foor'heed'.
It was almoost: a span'e brood, Hi trou'e,
For hærdilii she was not un'dergrou'e.
Ful feet'is was -uur klook, as Hi was waar.
Of smaal koo'naal' abuut -uur arm she bear
A pair of beed'es gaud'ed al with green'e;
And dheer'on neq a brooth of goold ful sheen'e,
On whitsh dher was first rew'en a kruun'ed Aa,
And after, Aa'mor vin'sit om'niaa.

5. 6. 7. 8. Anud'h'er Nun'e and three Preest'es.
Anud'h'er Nun also' with hëir -ad shee,
Dhat was -uur tshaapel', and Preest'es three.

A Muqk dher was, a fair for dhe mai'stri'e,
An uut'rû'deer', dhat luv'd vee'neruu'e,
A man'lûu man, to be en an ab'oat aar'bl.
Ful man'î- a dain'ee nor's-ad nee in staa'b'l:
And whan -e rood men mikt -is brii'd'l nee'r'e
Dzhq'glen in a whist'lîq wind as kleer'e
And eek as luud as dooth dhe tshaapel' bel'e
Dheer as dhis lord was keep'er of dhe sel'e.
Dhe ryll of saint Maur or of saint Benait',
Bekaus' dhat it was oold and sum'deel strait,
Dhis ilk'e Muqk leet it forbii -im paas'e,
And heeld aft'er dhe nuen'e world dhe spaas'e.
He naaf nat of dhat tekst a pul'ed men,
Dhat saith dhat nunt'erz been noon nool'ii men,
Ne dhat a muqk, whan nee is retsh'elees,
Is lûk'end too a fish dhat -s waat'erlees;
Dhat is to sain, a muqk uot of -is klus'ter,
But dhîlk'e 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 sentence incomplete thus: “the rule . . . because that it was old . . . this monk let old things pass,” which must be erroneous.
179 recchelees, so the six MSS. It probably stands for reghelees, without his rule, which not being a usual phrase required the explanation of v. 181, and the Ha. cloysters 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' himselfen wood, 184
   Upon a book in cloyst'r alwey to poure,
   Or swinke with his handes, and laboure,
   As Awstin bit? Hou schal the world be served?
   Let Awstin hav' his swink to him reserved.
   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.
iii He hadd' of goold ywrowght a curious pin;
   iii A loveknot' in the greter ende ther was.
iii His heed was balled and schoon as any glas,
   And eek his faad as he hadd' been anoynt;
   His eyeen steep, and rolling in his heed,
   That stemed, as a fornays of a leed;
   His botes souyp', his hors in greet estaat.
   Nou certaynly he was a fayr prelaat;
   He was not pal' 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 Frere.

+++ A Frere ther was, a wantoun and a merye,
   A limitour, a ful solemn man.
   In alle th' ord'res four' is noon that can
   So moch' of dalizwnc' and fayr langage.
   He hadd' ymaad ful many a fayr mariag;
   Of yonge wimmen, at his owne cost.
   Unto his ord'r he was a nobel post.
   Ful weel bilov'd and familiseer was he
   With franckeleyns ov'rul in his cuntrre,
   And eek with worthy wimmen of the toun:
   For he hadd' poueer of confessioun,
   As sayd' himself, more than a curaat,
   Of his ord'r he was licenciaat.
   Ful swetely herd' he confessioun,
   And plesawnt was his absoluciuon;
   He was an esy man to yeve penauwne
   As he wiste to haan a good pitauwne;

184 studi', although taken from
the French, so that we should expect
u = (yy), Ca. and L. read stodie,
showing u = (u), which agrees with the
modern u = (o), and has therefore been adopted.
201 steep, bright, see steeple on
p. 108 of Cockayne's St. Marherete
(suprà p. 471, n. 2).
And it said his oo·pī·nūn· was good.
What! shuld -e stud'-i and maak -imself- en wood, 184
Upon a book in kluist-r- al-wai to puur re,
Or swiāk'-e with -is hand'-es and laa'buur'-e,
As Aust'-in bit? Huu shal dhe world be serv'-ed?
Let Aust'-in naav -is swiāk to wim reserv'-ed.
Dheerfoor -e was a prii'-kaasuur- arikht;
Grai-Hundz'- e nad as swift as fuul in flīkt;
Of priī'-iq and of hunt'-iq for dhe naa'r-e
Was al -is lust, for noo kost wold -e spaar'-e. 192
It saukwh -is slee'z purfiil'-ed at-e hond'-e
With griiis, and dhat dhe fiin'-e of a lond'-e,
And for to fest'-n -is nood un'-er -is tshin
He nad of goold irwoukeht' a kyy'rūus pīn;
A luv'-e-knot in dhe greet'-er end'-e dher was.
His need was bal'-ed and shoon as an*n glas,
And eek -is faas, as nee -ad been anuin't.
He was a lord ful fat and in good pint;
His ai'en steep, and rool'-iq in -is need,
Dhat steem'-ed as a fur'nais'- of a leed;
His boot'es sup'-, -is nors in greet estaat'.
Nuu sert'ainlī -e was a fair prelaat';
He was not paal as a forpin'-ed goost.
A fat swan luv'd -e best of an'ī roost.
His pal'frai was as bruun as īs a ber'-e.

10. Dhe Freerre
A Freerre dher was, a wan'tuun and a mer'-e, 208
A liū·miū'tuur·, a ful soo'lem'ne man.
In al'-e dh- or'dres four' is noon dhat can
Soo mutsh of daa'luans' and fair laq'gaadzh'-e.
He nad īmad' ful man'-i a fair mar'īaadzh'-e
Of juq'-e wīm'-en, at -is oun'-e kost.
Untoo -is or'dr- -e was a noo'bl' post.
Ful weel biluv'd and faa'miiler' was nee
With fraq'-elainz' ovral' in his kun'tree',
And eek with wurdh'-ī wīm'-en of dhe tuun:
For nee -ad puu'eer' of konfes'īuun',
As said -imself, moor'e dhan a kyy'raat',
For of -is or'dr- -e was liū·sen'siāat'.
Ful sweet'elīī nerd nee konfes'īuun',
And plea'saunt' was -is ab'soolly'y'sīuun';
He was an eez'-ī man to jeev'-e penauns'e
Dheer as -e wist'e to maan a good pī'-tauns'e;

212 ful occurs in all six MSS.
217 wimmen, wommen Ha. E. 223 yeve, all MSS. except L. He. Co. P., wemen Ca., wemmen L. have the final e.
For unto a por' order for to yeve
Is signe that a man is weel yschreve.
For if he yaaf, he dorste mak' avawnt,
He wiste that a man was repentawnt.

For many a man so hard is of his herte,
He may not wepe though him sore smerte.
Theerfor' insted' of weeping' and preyeres,
Men moote yeve silver to the pore freres.

His tipet was ay/arsed ful of knyfes
And pinnes, for to yeve fayre wyfes.
And certaynlj he hadd' a mery note.
Weel coud' he sing' and pleyen on a rote.

Of yedding's he baar utterly the prys.
His necke whyt was as iheflour-de-lys.
Theerto he strong was as a chawmpioun.

And ov'ral, ther as profit schuld' aryse,
Curteys he was, and lowly of servyse.
Ther was no man no wheer so vertuom.
He was the best 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 weel better that his rente.
And rag' he coud' and pleyen as a whelp,
In lovedayes coud' he mochel help'.
For theer was he not lyk' a cloystereer,
With a threedbare cop' as a pore scooler,
But he was lyk' a mayster or a pope.
Of doubel worsted was his semecope,
For un'to a poor ord'er for to seeve
Is si'i'ne dhat a man is weel ishree'v.e.
For if -e jaaf, -e durst'e maak avantu'.
He wist'e dhat a man was rec'pentaunt'.
For man's a man soo hard is of -is nert'e,
He mai not weep'e dhouukwhe -im soor'e smert'e.
Dheer'foot' instead' of weep'i'q' and prai'vere'es,
Men moot'e seeve sil'ver too dhe poore freer'es.
His tip'et was ai fars'ed ful of knii'f'es,
And pin'es for to seeve fai're wiiff'es.
And sertainli' -e had a mer'i'i noot'e.
Weel kuud -e siq and plai'even on a root'e.
Of jed'i'qz hee baar ut'erllii dhe priis.
His neke' whiit was as dhe fluor de liis.
Dheer'too' - e stroq was as a thshaum'piuun'.
He kneu dhe taa'vernz' weel in ev'rii tuun,
And ev'ritsh os'teleer' or gai tapsteer',
Beter dhan a laa'zer' or a beg'e'er',
For un'to swish a wurdh'ii man as hee
Akord'ed not, as bu' -is fak'u1tee
To naan with siik'e laa'zeerz aa'kwain'tauns'e;
It is not on' est, it mai not auauns'e,
For to deel'en with noon swish poor'aii'e
But al with ritsh and sel'erz of viil'tail'e.
And ov'ral', dheed as prof'it shuld aris'e,
Kur'tais' -e was, and loou'lii of ser'viis'e.
Dher was noo man noo wheer soo ver'tyy'uns'.
He was dhe best'e beg'e'er' in -is nuus,
For dhouukwhe a wid'we had'e noukwh' a sho0,
So plee'saunt' was -is In pr i'n s i' p 0 o,
Jet wold -e naan a ferdh'qz eer 'e went'e.
His puur'tshaas' was weel bet'r dhan -is rent'e.
And raadzh -e kuud, and plai'even as a whelp,
In luw'edai'es kuud -e mutsh'el help.
For dheer was hee not liuk a kluist'ere'er',
With a threed'baa're koop as a poo're skol'eer',
But hee was liuk a mais'ter or a poo'pe.
Of dun'b'l wor'sted was -is sem'ikoop'e,

**verbum** (See Temp. Pref. to Six-Text ed. of Chaucer, p. 93) that he would coax a trifle out of her. The Ha. reads but ooschoo, 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 pulled hen 177, or oyster 182, and the usual bean, straw, modern fig, farthing, etc., is shown 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 weel, 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 press.  
Somewhat he lipsed, for his wantounesse,  
To mak' his Englisch 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 elapsed fayr' and fetisly.  
His resouns spaak he ful solemnely,  
Souning' alwey th' encrees of his winninge.

He wolde the se wer' kept for any thing  
Betwixe Middeburgh and Orewelle.  
Weel coud' he in eschawnge scheldes selle,  
This worthy man ful weel his wit bisette;  
Ther wiste no wight that he was in dette,  
So staatly 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 lip- 
sede for the metre.
271 motlee, so all but Ha. L. which have motteley. The word is obscure, and may be Welsh mudliw, (myd-liu) of a changing colour.
274 All MSS. read he spaak, but the order of the words is conjecturally altered on account of the rhythm. 
275 soun 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-ēd as a bel uut of dhe pres‘e.
Sum`what he lips‘ed, for -is wan`tunnes‘e,
To maak -is Eq’ish sweet upon‘ dhe tuq‘e;
And ēn -is har`piq, whan dah hee -ad suq‘e,
Hīs aikh’en twiék‘led ēn -is need arikt‘;
As doon dhe ster`es ēn dhe frost‘iik nikt.
Dhs wurdh‘iiformit‘ was kald Hyy`berd‘.

11. Dhe Martsbaunt.

A Martsbaunt was dher with a fork`ed berd,
In motle‘e and naich on hors -e sat,
Upon· -is need a Flaun`drish bee`er hat;
Hīs boot`es klaps`ed fair and feetsiil‘.
Hīs reec’suuns` spaak -e ful soolem`nelii‘,
Suun‘iq alwai· dh- enkreess‘ of hīs win‘iq‘e.
He wold’e dhe see wer kept for an‘ii thiq‘e
Betwik‘e Mid`eburkh and Oo`rewel‘e.
Weel kuud· -e ēn estshauandzh‘e sheld`es sele.
Dhs wurdh‘im man ful weel -is wit biset‘;
Dher wist‘e noo wikht dah -e ēs ēn detōe,
Soo staat·lii was nee of -is guu vernauns‘e,
With hīs bar‘gaiinz` and with -is tshee`viisauns‘e.
For sooth -e was a wurdh‘iim man withal·e,
But sooth to sain, Hı‘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 ‘goo‘.
So leen‘e was -is hors as is a raak‘e,
And nee n· -as not riikt fat, Hı‘ undertaak‘e.
But look`ed nol`w· and dheer`tooo soo`berlii.
Ful threed‘baar was -is ov`rest kur`tepp‘;
For nee -ad geten -im jet noo benefiis‘e,
Ne was soo wurdl‘iifor to naav ofiiis‘e.
For hım was leev`er naav at hīs bedz need
Twen`tiiformit‘es, klad ēn blak and reed,
Of Aristot‘l·, and hīs fiiv‘looso‘fii‘e,
Dhan roob`es rith or fūdh‘l- or gai sauntrii‘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 trisyllabic.

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 worldly E. He. Co., wordely Ca., wordly P., wordly L., Ne was not worthy to have 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 bisily gan for the sowles preye
Of hem, that yaafl him wherwith to scoyleye.

iii Of studie tok he most cur' and most heed.
Not oo word spake he more than was need;
And that was seyd in form and reverence,
And schort and quik, and ful of heygh sentence.
Sowyn' in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wold' he lern' and gladly teche.

13. The Sergeant of Lawe.

A Sergeant of Lawe, waar and wys,
That often hadde ben at the pareys,
Ther was also, ful rich' of excellence.
Discreet he was, and of greet reverence.
He semed' swich, his wordes wer' so wyse.
Justye' he was ful often in assyse
By patent, and by pleyn commissioun,
For his scienc', and for his heygh renown;
Of fees and robes hadd' he many oon.
So greet a pouchasour was no wheer noon.
Al was fee simpel to him in effect,
iii His pouchasing ne mighte not ben infect.
iii No wheer so bisy a man as he ther n'as,
iii 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 coude' endyt' and mak' a thing,
Ther coude no wight pinch' at his writing'.
And ey'ry statut coude' he pleyn by rote.
He rood but homly in a medlee cote,
Gird with a ceynt of silk with barres smale;
Of his array tell' I no longer tale.

287 So the six MSS., the Ha. is unmetrical. The long vowels in phi-
losopher, 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 spok e), but Ha. has the entirely dif-
ferent 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 follow-
ing paragraph: "The following pithy sketch of Oxford life half a dozen cen-
turies ago is from the pen of Wycliffe:
—The scholar is famed for his logic; Aristotle is his daily bread, but other-
wise his rations are slender enough. The horse he rides is as lean as a rake, and the rider is no better off.
His cheek is hollow, and his coat
But al bee dhat -e wer a fri’looc,soof’er,
Jet nad -e but a liit’l golld in koofer,
And al dhat nec mikht of -is frend’es rent’e,
On book’es and on lern’iq nec it spent’e,
And biz’lii gan for dhe soul’es prai’e
Of hem dhat jaaf -im wheer’ with to skolai’e.
Of stud’ie took -e moost kyr and moost heed.
Not oo word spak -e moore dhan was need;
And dhat was said in form and ree’verens’e,
And short and kwik and ful of naikh sentens’e.
Suu’niq’ in moo’raal’ vert’ty’ was -is speeth’e,
And glad’lii wold -e lern, and glad’lii teetshe’e.

13. D h e  S e r’dzheeaunt’ o f L a u’e.
A Ser’dzheeaunt’ of Lau’e, waar and wiis,
Dhat of’ten had’e been at dhe par’viis’,
Dher was alsoo’, ful ritsh of ek-seleen’e.
Diskreet’ -e was and of greet ree’verens’e.
He seem’ed switsh, -is word’es wer soo wiis’e.
Dzhyst’viis’ -e was ful oft’en in Asiis’e
Bii paatent, and bii plain komis’iuun’,
For his siikensa, and for -is naikh reenuun’;
Of feez and roob’es had -e man’i oon.
So greet a puur’tshaas’suur’ was noo wheer noon.
Al was fee sim’p’l too -im in efekt’,
His puurtshaas’iq’ ne mikht’e not been infekt’.
Noo wheer soo biz’t a man as nee dher n- -as,
And jit -e seem’ed biz’ier dhan -e was.
In term’es nad -e kaas and doom’es al’e,
Dhat froo dhe tuim of kiq Wil’i’am’ wer fal’e.
Dhecertoo’ he kuud endiit’ and maak a thiq.
Dher kuud’e noo wikht pintsh at his rwit’iq’.
And ev’rii staa’tyt 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 his arai’ tel Xi 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 obvioulsy a modern English translation of the present passage. Is there anything like it in Wycliffe?
14. **The Frankeleyn.**

A Frankeleyn was in his companye; 332
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 opinion that pleyn delyt
Was verrayly felicite perfyt.
An housholdeer, and that a greet was he;
Saynt Juliaan he was in his cuntree. 340
iii His breed, his ale, was alwey after oon;
A bettr' enceyned man was no wheer noon.
iii Withoute bake mete was ne'er his hous
Of fisch' and flesch', and that so plenteous
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.
iii Ful many a fat partrich hadd' he in meue,
iii And many a breem and many a luc' in steve.
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 sessiouns 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, Carpenter, Webb, Dyeer, and Tapiceer.**

An Haberdascheer, and a Carpenter,
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 wrowght ful clen' and weil
Her' girdles and her' pouches ev'r yeeel.
Weel seemed' eech of hem a fayr burgesys
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 Fraq'kelain.

A Fraq'kelain was in '-is kum'pani'e;
Whiit was '-is berd, as is dhe dai'esii'e. 332
Of '-is komplek'siunn' -e was saqqwiin'.
Weel luvd -e in dhe morn a sop in wiin.
To liiv'en in deliit' was eer '-is wuun'e,
For mee was Ec-pirkyy'rus ooun'e suun'e,' 336
Dhat neeld oor'pi'i'niiun: dhat plain deliit-
Was ver'aiii' fee'lii'siit'ee per'fiit'.
An ruus'-hooddeer', and dhat a greet was hee;
Saint Dzhyy'laam' -e was in his kun'tree'. 340
His breed, his aa'le, was al'wai after oon;
A bet'r- env'n-ed man was noo wheer noon.
Without'e baak'-e meet'-e was neer -is ruus
Of fish, and flesh, and dhat soo plent'evuus
It sneued in '-is ruus of meet and driq'ke
Of a'le dain'tees dhat men kuud'-e thiq'ke.
Aft'er dhe sun'drii see'suunz' of dhe jeer,
Soo tshaundzhf'ed nee his meet and his suupeer'. 348
Ful man' -i a fat partritch' -ad mee in myy'e,
And man' -i a breem and man' -i a lyys in styye'.
Woo was '-is kook, but if '-is saus' -e weere
Puin'aunt' and sharp, and reed'ii al -is geere.
Hii taa'bl dor'maunt' in '-is hal alwai
Stood red'ii kuverd al dhe loq'e dai.
At ses'iunnz' dheer was -e lord and sii're.
Ful oft'e tiim -e was knikht of dhe shiire'.
An an'las and a dzhip'seer' al of silk
Heq at '-is gir'dl, whiiit as morn' -e milk.
A shiü'treev' nad -e been, and a kun'tuur'.
Was noo wheer sutsch a wurdh'ii vaavaa'suar'. 360

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. Dhe Hab'erdash'eer, Kar'penteer, Web'e, Di'veer, and Taa'pi'v'seer.

An Hab'erdash'eer and a Kar'penteer;
A Web, a Di'veer', and a Taa'pi'v'seer';
Weer with us eek, cloodh'ed in oo liiv'vree',
Of a soo'lem'n' and greet fraa'ter-niitee'. 364
Ful fresh and neu -er geer apik'ed was;
Her kniif'ees wer itshaap'ed not with bras,
But al with sit'ver roouk'eft ful kleen and weil
Her gir'dles and -er puuts'h'es ev'niit' deel.
Weel seem'ed eets'h of nem a fair bur'dzhaish
To sit'en in a reld'hal on dhe dais.

362 dyeer, so the six MSS., Harl. 365 apyk'd, 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 ynough and rente,  
And eek her’ wyfes wold’ it weel assente;  
And elles certayn weren they to blame.  
It is ful fayr to be yclept Madame,  
And goo to vigilyes al hifore,  
And haan a mantel really ybore.

20. The Cook.

A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones,  
To boyle chicknes with the mary bones,  
And poudre-marchawnt tart, and galingale.  
Weel coude’ he know’ a drawght of London ale.  
He coude roost’, and seeth’, and broyl’, and frye,  
Make mortrewe, and weel bak’ a pye.  
But greet harm was it, as it semed’ me,  
That on his schinn’ a mormal hadde he;  
For blankmangeer that maad’ he with the beste.

21. The Schipman.

A Schipman was ther, woning’ for by weste;  
For owght I woot, he was of Dertemoute.  
He rood upon a rounye as he couthe,  
In a goun of falding’ to the kne.  
A daggeer hanging’ on a laas hadd’ he  
About’ his neck’ under his arm adoun.  
— 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 Bourdeux-ward, whyl that the chapman sleep.  
Of nyce conscienç 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 dawnger’s him bisydes,

371 ev’rich, so all six MSS., every man Ha.  
375 weren they, so, or: they were, read all the six MSS., hadde they be Ha.  
380 mary, ags. meark, the h becoming unusually palatalised to -y, instead of labialised to -ve; the parenthetical remark p. 264, 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 mormal hadd’ he, suprâ 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 moot, and the line may be: Withouten dout’ it mote stonden so. For v. 1337 all six MSS. read: And let him in his prisoun 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 fyr. In v. 2714, E. He. Ca. have: Somm’ hadden salves and somm’ hadden charmes. For v. 1766,
Ev'ritsh for dhe wis'doom dhat -e kan,
Was shaap'lii for to been an al'derman.          372
For kat'el mad'e dhai inuukw'h' and rent'e,
And eek -er wiiff'es wold it weil asent'e;
And el'ces sert'ain we'er'en dhai to blaam'e.
It is ful fair to be iklept' Man'a'd a am'e,
And goo to vii'dzhiilii'es al bifoore',
And maan a man'tl ree'ali' i'boo're.

20. Dhe Kook.
A Kook dhai mad'e with -em for dhe noon'es,
To buil'e tshik'nes with dhe mar'i boon'es,          380
And puud'e mar'shaunt' tart, and gaa'liqgaal'e.
Weel kund -e knou a draukwht of Lun'dun aal'e.
He kuud'e roost, and seehd, and bruul, and frii'e,
Maak'e mortreu'es, and weil baak a piu'e.
But greet narm was it, as it seem'ed mee,
Dhat on -is shin a mor'maal' mad'e nee;
For blaqq'maan'dzheer' dhat maad -e with dhe best'e.

A Ship'man was dher, wuun'iq fer biu west'e;          388
For oukwh't hi woot, he was of Der'temuuth'e.
He rood upon' a ruun'sii as -e kuuth'e,
In a guun of fal'diq' too dhe knee.
A dag'eer' naq'iq on a laas -ad nee
Abuut' -is nek un'der -is arm aduun'.
Dhe roo't'e sum'er -ad maad -is neu al bruun;
And sert'ainlii' -e was a good fel'au'e.
Ful man'i a draukwht of wiin -ad nee idrau'e
From Buur'deus-ward, whil' dhat dhe tshap'man sleep.
Of niis'e kon'siens' -e took noo keep.
If dhat -e foukwh't and mad dhe nail'h'er hand,
Bi'w waa'ter -e sent -em noom to ev'rii land.          396
But of -is kraft to rek'en weel dhe tiid'es,
His streem'es and -is daun'dzheez num biisid'es,
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 th a t m a a d' he, so all six MSS. Ha. he m a d e.          390
391 fa ld i n g, =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;

iii 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 Phisyk.**

Ther was also a _Doctour of Phisyk,
In al this world ne was ther noon him lyk
To spek' of _phisyk_ and of _surgery_;
For he was grounded in _astronomye._
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 _caus'_ 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 caus'_ _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'_ _Esculapius,
And _Deiscorides_, and eek _Rufus_;_
_Oold Ipocras, Haly, and Galien_;_
_Serapion, Razys, and _Aevyecn_;_
 iii _Averrois, Damaseen, and Constantyn_;_
_Bernard and Gatesden and Gilbertyn._
 iii _Of his dyete _mesurabel_ was he,
For it was of _noon _superfluite,
But of _greet nourisching'_ and _digestybel._
 iii _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 kep_ that he _wan_ in _pestilence._
_For _goold_ in _phisyk_ is a _cordial_;_
_Theerfor'_ _he loved'_ _goold_ in _special._

loss, _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._
425 _See Temp. Pref. to the Six-Text Ed. of Chaucer, p. 99._
CHAP. VII. § 1. PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER’S PROLOGUE. 703

His her’berkh and -is moon’, -is lood’manaadzh’e,  
Dher was noon swítsh from Hul’e too Kartaadzh’e.  404
Hard’ii ne was, and wiis to un’dartak’e;  
With man’i a tem’pest nath -is berd been shaak’e.  
He kneu wel al dhe naa’venz, as dhai weere’,  
From Skotland too dhe kaap of Fi’inisteer’e,  408
And ev’rii krük in Bree’tain and in Spain’e;  
Hís baardzh ’klep’ed was dhe Mau’delain’e.

22. Dhe Dok’tuur of Fi’ziik’.  412
Dher was alsoo’ a Dok’tuur of Fi’ziik’;  
In al dhe world ne was dher noon -im liik  
To speek of fi’ziik’ and of sur’dzherií’e;  
For née was grund’ed in astroo’nomii’e.  
He kept -is paa’sient’ a ful greet deel  
In uur’res bií -is maadzh’iik naa’tyy’reel’.  416
Weel kuud ‘nee fortyyn’en dh’, as’endent’  
Of nís imaadzh’es for -is paa’sient’.  
He kneu dhe kauz of ev’rii maan’laadí’e,  
Weer it of koold, or neet, or muist, or dri’i’e,  420
And wheer endzh’en-dred, and of what Hyymuur;  
He was a ver’ai par’fiit prak’tiisuur’.  
Dhe kauz iknoo’, and of -is narm dhe root’e,  
Anoon’ -e yaaf dhe siík’e man’ -is boot’e.  424
Ful red’ii nad -e nís apoo’tëe’kaa’tí’ées  
To send -im droges, and -is let’yy’aa’rites,  
For eets of nem maad udh’e for to win’e;  
Her frend’ship was not nee’ too begin’e.  428
Weel kneu ’nee dh’ oold Es’kyy’laap’tíus,  
And Dee,iskor’í’es, and eek Ryy’fus;  432
Oold Iypokras’, Haalí’, and Gaa’lí’en;  
Seráap’píoon’, Raazíis’ and Aa’viíseen’;  
Aver’o,ís, Daamasceen’ and Konstantíin’;  
Bernard’ and Gaat’desden’ and Gilbertíin’.  436
Of nís dziéet’ee mee’syy’raa’b’l was ‘nee,  
For it was of noon syy’perflyy’stée,  
But of greet muur’ishiíq’ and dií’dzhesh’tií’b’l.  
His stud’ie was but lií’t’l on dhe Bii’b’l.  440
In saq’gwiín’ and in pers -e klad was al,  
Lii’íned with taf’ataaa and with sendal’.  
And jií’ -e was but eez’ií in dispens’e;  
He kep’t’ee dhat’ -e wan in pestiën’e.  
For goold in fi’ziik’ is a kordial’;  
Dheerfoor’ -e luv’ed goold in spe’étal’.

429 Suprà p. 341, 1. 2 and 13, I treated this as a full line, thinking that the e in olde 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.
23. The Wyf of Bathe.

A good Wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,
But sche was somdeel deef, and that was skathe.
Of cloothmaking' 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' offring' bifoorn her schulde goon,

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

Sche passed? hem of Ypres and of Gawnt.
In al the parisch' wyf ne was ther noon,
That to th' offring' 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;
Ful streyt' ytey'd, 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 nouth.

And thryes hadd' sche been at Jerusalem;
Sche hadde passed many a straunge streem;
At Rome sche hadd' been, and at Boloyne,
In Galic', at saynt Jaam', and at Coloyne.

Sche couthe moch' of wandring' by the weye.
Gaat-tothed was sche, soothis ly for to seye.

Upon an ambleer esely sche sat,
Ywimpled weel, and on hir' heed an hat
As brood as is a boucleor or a targe;
A foot-mantel about' hir' hipples large,
And on hir' feet a payr' of spores scharpe.

In felawship' weel cou'd sche lawgh' and carpe.

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

24. The Persoun.

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.

452 was out, so the six MSS., weyedyn Ca. weiden L., hence all but Ha. give the plural en.
453 ful fyne wer', so the six MSS., weren ful fyne Ha.
454 weyghedem, weyghede Ha. weyeden E. He. Co. P.,
460 So E. He. Ca., atte, Co. Pe., att þe L., housbondes atte chirche dore hadde sche fyfe Ha. which is unmetrical.
23. Dhe Wiif of Baath'e.

A good wiif was dher of bsiuld-e Baath'e,
But shee was sum-deel deaf, and dhat was skaath'e.
Of klooth'maak-'iq' she nad'e swiitsh an haunt,
She pas'ed hem of It'pres and of Gaunt.

In al dhe par-ish wiif ne was dher noon,
Dhat too ðh-ofriq' biifoorn'-er shuld-e goon,
And if dheer did-e, ser-tain' so nwooth was shee,
Dhat shee was uut of al-e tsha-arri-te'e.

Hiir kevertshefs ful fiin'e weer of grund'e;
Hiir durst'e sweer'e dhai waikh'eden ten puund'e
Dhat on a Sun'dai weer upon'-iir heed.

Hiir nooz'en weer-en of fiin skar-let reed,
Ful strat itaid', and shooz ful muist and noe'e.
Boold was -iir faas, and fair and reed of noe'e.
She was a wurdh'iir wum'an al -iir liif'e.
Huus'bondz'-at tshirtsh'e door'e shee nad fiif'e,
Without'en udh'er kum'panii'- in juuth'e,
But dheer'of need'eth noukwht to speek as nuuth'e.

And thriv'es nad shee been at Dzheeruu'saleem';
She had'e pas'ed man'i a straundzh'e streem;
At Room'e shee had been, and at Bolooine'e,
In Gaal'is', at saint Dzhaam, and at Koloolin'e.
She kuuth'e mutsh of wand'triq bii dhe wai'e.
Gaattooth'ed was she, sooth'lii for to sai'e.

Upon' an am'bleer' ees'elii she sat,
Iwim'pled weel, and on -iir need an hat
As brood as is a buk'leer' or a tardzh'e;
A foot'mantel- about'-iir riip'es lardzh'e,
And on -iir feet a pair of spuurs sharp'e.

In fel'ausli'ip weel kuud she laugheh and karp'e.

Of rem'ediz' 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 reliu'dzhiuun';
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 teets'he.

465, 466. Bolyne, Coloyne. The MSS. are very uncertain in their orthography. Bolyne, Coloyne, appear in Ha. He. Ca., and Bolyne in P. L., but we find Boloigne, Coloigne in E. Co., Coloigne in P., and Coloyngne 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 (Baloyn', Kaloyn') points to (-uin'e). See also note on v. 634.
Benygn' 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 doute,
Unto his pore parischens aboute,
Of his offring', and eek of his substaunce.
He could' in lytel thing haan suffisaunce.

iii 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 ferrest in his parisch', moch' and lyte,
Upon his feet, and in his hond a staaf.
This nob'l ensampel to his scheep he yaaaf,
That first he wrowght', 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 ensampel for to yive
By his cleenness', hou that his scheep schuld' live.

iii He sette not his benesyce 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 brethrenhed to been withhoolde;
But dwelt' at hoom, and kepte weel his foolde,
So that the wolf ne mad' it not miscarye.
He was a schepperd, and not a mercenarye;
And though he holy wer' and vertuous,
Ne of his speche dawngerous ne dygne,
But in his teching' discreet and benygne.

493 meschief, so all but Ca., which reads myschif, and L. which has meschif. The old French forms, according to Roquefort, are meschef, meschif, meschiés, meschiez, meschif, mesciés.

499 eek 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.

503 So all six MSS., if that Ha. in which case tak' must be read, but the omission of the subjunctive e is harsh. See the same rhyme and phrase in the imperative and hence tak not take, 6014, 13766. Only Ca., which is generally profuse in final e, reads kep scheep, in accordance with ags. analogy.

504 It is a curious example of the different feeling attached to words of the same original meaning, that schyten is banished from polite society, and dirty (ags. dritan cacare) is used without hesitation.
Benīn: -e was and wund' er di̇ i̇ u̇ ādzhent',
And in advers'tee' ful paars'ient',
And suth -e was i̇ prēev'-ed oft'e si̇ idh'-es.
Ful looth wer nīm to kurs'e for -is ti̇ i̇ dhr'-es,
But raadh'er wold -e jeev'-en utt of du̇ t'e,
Untoo -is poor' e par'ishenz abuut'e,
Of nis ofriq', and eek of nis substauns'e.
He kuud in li̇ ū'tl thiq maan syf'isaus'n'se.
Wōd was -is par'ish, and nuus'es fer asund'er,
But nee ne laft'e not for rain ne thund'er,
In sik'nes nor in mes'tsheef' to vii'ziī't'e
Dhe ferest in -is par'ish, mutsh and lii't'e,
Upon -is feet, and in -is nond a staaf.
Dhis noo'bl- ensam'p'l too -is sheep -e saaf,
Dhat first -e rvoukwht, and after dhat -e tawukew'te.
Uut of dhe gospel nee dho word'es kaukew'te,
And dhis fi̇ i̇ ggyyr' -e ad'ed eek dhertoo',
Dhat if' goold rust'e, what shuld iū'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 shrii'ten shep'erd and a kleen'e sheep;
Weel oukewht a preest ensam'p'l for to vii'v'e
Bī nis kleen'nes', nuu dhat -is sheep shuld lūv'e.
He set'e not -is ben'efiu's'e to nīi're,
And left -is sheep enkum'bred in dhe mī're,
And ran to Lun'dun, un'to saa'nt Poull'es,
To seek'en nīm a tshaun'teriv'e for soul'es,
Or with a breedh'er need to been wthoold'e;
But dwelt at moun't, and kept'e weel -is fool'd'e,
Soo dhat dhe wulf ne maad's't not miskar'ic'e.
He was a shep'erd, and not a mersenar'ie';
And dhoukewht -e mool'di weyer and vertyy'uus',
He was to sīn'ful man noukewht dis'pīt'tuus',
Nee of -is speets'h e daun'dzheruus' ne diū'e,
But in -is teets'h'i q dis'kreet' and benūn'e.

509 sayn't, Ha. and Co. add an e, thus seyn'te for the metre, the other five MSS. have no e, and the grammatical 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 appreciated,) changes the first o into un'to, 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 sayn't, see note on v. 120. Powles, see supra pp. 145, 148. Mr. Gibbs mentions that he knows (Poolz) as an existent Londoner's pronunciation in the phrase as old as Poole's, see supra p. 266 for Chaucer's usage.

512 fold'e, the final e is exceptional, supra p. 384, col. 1.

514 and not a, so all the six MSS., and no Ha.
To drawen folk to heven by fayernes,
By good ensampel, was his besinessse;
But it wer' eny persoun obstinaat,
Whatso he wer' of heygh or low' estaat,
Him wold he snibbe scharply for the nones.

A bett're preest I trowe ther nowheer noon is.
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,
That hadd' ylaad of dong' ful many a fother.
A trewe swinker and a good was he,
Living' in pess 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 neyghbour right as himselfe.
He wolde thresh' and therto dyk' and delve,
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 proved' weel, for ov'ral ther he cam,
At wrastling' he wold' hav' awey the ram.
He was schort schuld'red, brood, a thikke knarre,
Ther n'as no dore that he n'old' heev' of harre
Or breek' it with a renning' with his heed.
His berd as ony sou' or fox was reed,
And theerto brood, as thowgh it wer' a spade.
Upon the cop right of his noos' he hadde

519 fayrnesse E. He. Co. P. L., clennesse Ha. Ca., with He., by, the rest.
525 and E. He. Co. P. L., ne Ha. Ca., but this would introduce two trissyllabic measures.
526 spyced conscience, com-
To drau'en folk to nev'en bii fairnes'e,
Bii good ensam’p’l, was -is besines’e;
But it wer en’i persuun’ ob’sťinaat’,
What’soo’ -e weer of naiśh or loou estaat’;
Him wold -e sni’b’e sharp’lii for dhe noon’es.
A bet’re preest It trou’e dher noo wheer noo is.
He wait’ed aft’er no pomp and ree’verens’e,
Ne maak’ed nim a spiis’ed kon’siens’e,
But Krist’es loor, and mis apost’lz twelv’e,
He taukweht, and first -e fol’wed it nimself’e.

25. Dhe Pluukweh’man.

With nim dher was a Pluukweh’man, was -is broodh’er,
Dhat nad ślaad’- of duq ful man’i a foodh’er.
A treu’ swiśq’-er and a good was nee,
Liiv’q in pees and per’śiś tshaarüte’e.
God luvd -e best with al -is nool’e nert’e
At al’e tiśm’es, dhouukweh -im gaamd or smert’e,
And dhan -is naiśh-ebuur’ rikht as -imselv’e.
He wold’e thresh and dher too diśk and delv’e,
For Krist’es saak’e, for ev’rī poore wikht’e,
Withnut’en niir, if it lai in -is mikt’e.
But tiśh’es pair’ed nee ful fair and weel,
Booth of -is prop’re swiśk and -is kat’el’.
In a tab’ard’ -e rood upon’ a meer.

Dher was alsoo’ a reev and a mil’eer,
A sum’nuur’ and a par’doneer’ alsoo’,
A maun’sipl- and miśself’, dher weer no moo.

26. Dhe Mil’eer.

Dhe Mil’eer’ was a stuut karl for dhe noon’es,
Ful big -e was of braun, and eek of boon’es;
Dhat preev’ed weel, for ov’rāl’ dher -e kaam,
At rwast-liś nee wold maav’awai’ dhe ram.
He was short shuld’red, brood, a thik’e knar’e,
Dher n- -as no doore dhat nee n- old neev of nar’e
Or breek it with a ren’åq’ with -is need.
His berd as on’ii suu or foks was reed,
And dheer to brood, as dhouukweh’ it weer a spaa’d’e.
Upon’ dhe kop rikht 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 fornays.

He was a jangleer and a goliardeys,
And that was moost of sinn' and harlotryes.

"Weel coud' he stele corn, and tollen thryes;
And yet he hadd' a thomb' of goold', parde!
A whyt coot' and a blew hood wered he.
A baggepype coud' he blow' and soune,
And theerwithal he brought us out of toune.

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 wayed' so in his achate
That he was ay bifoorn and in good state.

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 dosen 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 honoure dett'lees, but he were wood,
Or lyv' as scarsly as he can desire;
And abel for to helpen al a schyre
In any caas' that mighte fall' or happe;

And yit this mawncipel sett' her' aller cappe.

The Reve was a sclender colerik man,
His berd was schay' as neygh as e'er he can.
His heer was by his eres round yschoor.
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 auditour coud' on him winne.
Weel wist' he by the drought,' and by the reyne,
The yeelding of his seed' and of his grayne.
A wert, and dheer'on stood a tuft of neere'es,
Reed as dhe bers'tles of a suu'rees eer'es. 556
His nooz'e thirl'es blaa're wer and wiid'e.
A swerd and buk'leer' baar -e bii' -is si'd'e.
His muth as greet was as a greet fornais'.
He was a dzhaq'leer' and a gool'ardais'; 560
And dhat was moost of sin and nar'lotrii'es.
Weel kuud -e steel'e korn, and tol'en thrii'es;
And jet -e had a thumb of goold, pardee'!
A whiit koot and a bleu Hood wereed nee.
A bag'epii'pe kuud -e bloou and suture, 564
And dheerwithal -e broukwht us uut of tuun-e.

27. Dhe Maun'sip'1.
A dzhen't'l Maun'sip'1 was dher of a tem'p'l,
Of whitsh atshaat'uurz' mîkht'en taak eksem'p'l, 568
For to be wiis in bii'iq of viitaile.
For whedli'er dhat -e paid or took bii' tail'e,
Algaat' -e wait'ed soo in nîs 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 pans'e
Dhe wis'doom of an neep of lern'de men?
Of mais'terz nad -e moo dhan thrî'es ten, 576
Dhat wer of lau ekspert' and kyy'riiun's,
Of whitsh dher weer a duu'zain' in dhat nuus,
Wurdh'i' to bee stiwardz' of rent and lond'e
Of an'ii lord dhat is in Eq'elond'e,
To maak -im lii've bii' -is prop're good
In on'uur' det'les, but -e weer'e wood,
Or lii'v as skars'lii as -e kan desiir'e;
And aa'b'l for to nelp' en al a shiïre 584
In an'ii kaas dhat mîkht'e fal or nap'e;
And jît dhîs maun'sip'1 set -er al'er kap'e.

Dhe Reeve was a sklend'er kol'erik man,
Hîis berd was shaav as naïkh as eer -e kan. 588
Hîis neer was bii' -is eer'es ruund 'shoorn'.
Hîis top was dok'ed liïk a preest bifoorn'.
Ful loq'e weer -is leg'es and ful leen'e,
liïk: a staaf, dher was no kalf 'seen'e.
Weel kuud -e keep a gern' er and a bin'e,
Dher was noon au'd'tuur' kuud on -im wûn'e.
Weel wist -e bii' dhe druukwht, and bii' dhe rain'e,
Dhe reed'iq of -is seed and of -is grain'e. 596
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 ballyf, 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 adored privelj,
His lord weel couth' he plese sultillj,
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.

A long surcoof of pers upon he hadd',
And by his syd' he baar a rusty blaad.
Of Northfolk was this reev' of which I telle,
Eysyd' a toun men callen Ealdeswelle.
Tucked he was, as is & 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.

As hoot he was, and leccerous, 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 oynament 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 dey erye, the termination
seems borrowed from the French, for
dey see Wedgwood's Etym. Dict. 1, 424.
598 stoor, I am inclined to con-
CHAP. VII. § 1. PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE. 713

His lord's sheep, -is neet, -is dai'erii'e,
His swîn, -is nors, -is stoor, and his pultri'e,
Was nool'lii in dhis reeve'es guverniq',
And bi'i -is kuv'enaunt' jaaf dhe rek'niq',
Sin dhat -is lord was twen'ti jeer of aadzh'e;
Dher kuud'e noo man briq -im in ar'eer-a'dzhe.
Dher n- -as bal'-ti', nee neerd, nee ud'heer niim'e,
Dhat dhai ne kneu -is slai'ht and his kovriq'v;
Dhai weer adraad' of nim, as of dhe deeth'e.
His wuun'iq was ful fair upon' an neeth'e,
With green'e treez ishad'wed was -is plaas'e.
He kuud'e bet'er dhan -is lord pur'tshaas'e.
Ful râth -e was astoored priv'elii,
His lord weel kuuth -e pleez'v sub'til-lii,
To jeev and lean -im of -is ooun'e good,
And naav a thaqq, and jet a koot and nood.
In ruuth -e lern'ed mad a good mesteer';
He was a weel good riv'kht, a kar'penter'.
Dhis reeve's sat upon' a ful good stot,
Dhat was a pum'elii grai, and niikht'e Skot.
A loq syyrkoot' of pers upon' -e mad,
And bi'i -is siid -e baar a rust'vi blaad.
Of North'folk was dhis reev of wh'tsh h tel'e,
Bissi'dt' a tuun men kal'en Bal'deswele.
Tuk'ed -e was, as is a freer, abuut'e,
And eer -e rood dhe hînd'rest of dhe ruut'e.

29. Dhe Sum'nuur.
A Sum'nuur was dher with us in dhat plaas'e,
Dhat mad a fiir'reed tshee'rub'iin'es faas'e,
For sau'seflem -e was, with aik'h'en nar'we.
As noot -e was and letsh'eruus, as a spar'we,
With skal'ed broou'es blaak, and pii'led berd;
Of his viisaa'dzhe tshîl'dren weer aferd'.
Dher n- -as kwîk'sel'ver, lî'tardzhe', or brîm'stoon',
Boraas', seryyss'e, ne uil of tart'er noon,
Ne uin'ement dhat wold'e klenz and bître,
Dhat hîm miikht help'en of -is whelkes whiit'e.
Nor of dhe knob'es sit'iq on -is tscheek'es.
Weel luvd -e gar'leek, un'juuunz', and eek leek'es,
And for to drinke strong wyn reed as blood.  
Than wold' he spek' and cry' as he wer' wood.  
And whan that he weel dronken 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 decree;  
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 bett're felawe schulde men not finde.  
He wolde suffer for a quart of wyne

iii  A good felawe to haan his concubynne  
A twelvmoon' th, and excuse' him atte fulle.  
And prievy a Finch eek cou'd he pulle.  
And if he fond owheer a good felawe,  
He wolde techen him to haan noon awe  
In swich caas of the archedeke'nesc curs,  
But if a mannesc sowl wer' in his purs;  
For in his purs he schuld' ypunisch'd be.  
Purs' is the archedeke'nesc hel, seyd' he.  
But weel I woot he lyeth right in dede;  
Of cursing' owght eech gilty man to drede;  
For curs wol sle right as assoyling sareth;  

iii  And also war' him of a significavit.  
In daunger' hadd' he at his owne gyse  
The yonge girles of the dycoye,  
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 freend 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. 295, 650,  
and 653. Hence it seems best to leave  
felawe in 648, although felaw frequently occurs, see supra p. 367, art.  
91, col. 1, l. 13, it is spelled without  
an s in all MSS. but L.

656 purs, see supra p. 367, art.  
91, col. 1, l. 13, it is spelled without  
an s in all MSS. but L.

667 ypunisch'd; ypunysshed  
E. He., punysched Ha. Co., punyshed Ca.,  
ponyshed P. The two last readings, in connection with the modern pro- 
nunciation (pon'-shd), lead me to adopt  
(ipun'-shd) for the old pronunciation,  
notwithstanding the French origin of  
the word. Compare note on v. 184.
And for to dríqk' e stroq wíín reed as blood.
Dhan wold -e speek and krí i as née weer wood. 636
And when dhat née weel druqk' en bad dhe wíín,
Dhan wold -e speek' e noo word but Lateín'.
A feu' e term' es nad -e, twoo or three,
Dhat née -ad lern' ed uut of sum dekree'; 640
Noo wunder' is, -e herd it al dhe daf;
And eek je knou' e weel, nuu dhat a dzhai
Kan klep' e Wat, as weel as kan dhe poop' e.
But whoo'soo' kund in udh'-er thíq -im groop' e, 644
Dhan nád -e spent al -is fiiv'loo'soo'fiiv' e,
Ai, Kwe est' i oo k wí d dz h y y r i s? wold -e krí i e.
He was a dzen't'l nar' lut, and a kind' e;
A bet're felau' e shuld' e men nót fínd' e.
He wold' e suf' er for a kwart of wíín' e
A good felau' e to naan -is kon'kyybiñ' e
A twelv' moonth, and ekskyyzz' -im at' e full' e.
And priv'elí' a fíntsh eek kund -e pul' e.
And íf -e fund oowheer' a good felau' e,
He wold' e teets' -im for to naan noon au' e
In swítska kaas of dhe artsh'edeek' nes kurs,
But íf a man' es soul weer in -is purs;
For ín -is purs -e shuld 'pun' isht bee.
Purs ís dhe artsh'edeek' nes nel, said née.
But weel Í' woot -e lii' eth ríkht ín deed' e;
Of kurs' i q ouk'hef eetsh grít' ii man to dreed' e;
For kurs wol slee ríkht as asuíl' i q saav' e th;
And al' soo waar -im of a s ígn í f t k a a v í t h.
In daun'dzheer nád -e at -is compounds gíis' e
Dhe juq' e girl' es of dhe di'osi'sí e,
And kneu -ér kuun'sail, and was al -ér reed;
A garland nád -e set upon -is need,
As greet as ít wer for an aalestaak' e;
A buk'leer nád -e maad -im of a kaak' e. 668

30. Dhe Pardoneer.

With him dher rood a dzen't'l Pardoneer;
Of Ruun'séval', nis freend and nis kom'peer,
Dhat stratit was kum'en from dhe kurt of Room' e.
Ful luud -e saq, K um níd' er, l uv' e, too me!

658 sey'd', so all six MSS., quoth Ha.
662 see supra p. 259.
663 g yse, so all six MSS., a ssíse Ha.
672 to me. To the similar rhymes on p. 318, add:
As help me God, it wol not be, com, ba me!
This somnour baar to him a stil burdon,

Was never tromp' of half so greet a soun.

This pardoneer hadd' heer as yelw' as wex,

But smooth' it heng, as dooth a striyk' of flex,
By ounces heng' his lockes that he hadde,
And theerwith he his schuld' res overspradde,
Ful thinn' it lay, by colpoun's oon and oon,
And hood, for jolite, ne wer'd' he noon,
For it was trussed up in his walet.

Him thought' he rood al of the newe get,
Dischevel', sauf his capp', 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,

Brerful of pardoun com' of Rom' al hoot.

A voys he hadd' as smaal as eny goot.

No berd n' hadd' he, ne never schold' he have,

As smooth' it was as it wer' laat' yschave;
I trow' he weer' a gelding a mare.

But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,
Ne was ther swich another pardoneer:
For in his maal' he hadd' a pilwebeer,
Which that, he sayde, was our' lady veyl:

He sayd' he hadd' a gobet of the seyl

ai' 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 got him mor' moneye

Than that the persoun gat in mon'thes tweyue.

And thus with feyned flaterie' and japes,

iii

He made the persoun and the pep'l his apes.

But trewely to tellen atte laste,

He was in chirch' a nobl ecclesiaste.

and Mm. 2, 5, Bodl. 686, Christ Church, Oxford, MS. C. 6, Petworth,
—cumpame, Univ. Cam. Gg. 4, 27—
cum pame Harl. 7334, Reg. 17, D. xy,
Corpus,—come pame, Oxf. Barl. 20,
and Laud 600—cum pa me, Hengwrt
—cumpame, Trin. Coll. Cam. R. 3, 15,
Oxf. Arch. Seld. B. 14, New College,
Oxford, MS., No. 314, —come bame
Harl. 7335, Univ. Cam. Hl. 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 cherished 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 him a stif burduun;
Was never trump of half so greet a suun.
Dhis pardoneer' mad meer as rel-w as weks,
But smoothh it neq, as dooth a strik of fleks;
Bi' uns'es neq -is lok'es dhat -e had-e,
And dheer'with nee -is shuld'res ov'ersprad'e,
Ful thin it lai bii kul-puunz oon and oon,
And nood, for dzhol'itee', ne weerd -e noon,
For it was trus'ed up in his wal'et.
Him thought -e rood al of dhe neu'e dzhet,
Dishev'el, sauf -is kap, -e rood al baar'e.
Switch glaariq aik'ren had -e as an maar'e.
A vernikl -ad -e soured on -is kap'e.
His wal'et' lai bsfoorn -im on -is lap'e,
Bred'rful of par'duun kum of Room al noot.
A vuis -e rad as smaal as en'ii goot.
Noo berd n -ad nee, ne never shuld -e haav'e,
As smooth it was as it wer laat ishaav'e,
Ji troou -e weer a geld'iq or a maare.
But of -is kraft, fro Berwirk unto Waare,
Ne was ther switch anndher pardoneer'.
For in -is maal -e had a prl'webeer',
Whitsh dhat, -e said'e, was uur laadii vail:
He said, -e nad a gob'et of dhe sail
Dhat saa'nt Peeter had, whan dhat -e wente
Upon' dhe see, teld Dzhee'sy Krist -im rent'e.
He had a kros of laa'tuun ful of stone'ses,
And in a glass -e had'e pigg'es boon'es.
But with dhiiz rel'iikes, whan dhat -e fond
A poore pers'saan. dwel'iq up'on' lond,
Up'on' a dai -e gat -im moor munai're
Dhan dhat dhe pers'saan' gat in moon'thes twaire.
And dhus with fain'ed flaterii' and dhaap'es,
He maad'e dhe pers'saan' and dhe pea'pl' -is aap'es.
But treur'eli to tel'en st'e last'e,
He was in tshirtsh a noo'bl- eklee'siaate'.

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., unees Ha., which probably meant the same thing, supra p. 304, and not inches.

679 colpoun's, I have adopted a systematic spelling, colpouns Ha.

687 bred'rful, the MSS. have all an unintelligible brel'ful or bre'tful, probably a corruption by the scribes of Orrmin's bred'rful = brimful; bred'r, bred'r are found in Scotch, see Jamieson.

697 So all the MSS. Either saynt is a dissyllable, see note to v. 126, or the line has a defective first measure, to which the extremely unaccented 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 preech', and weel affyly' his tongue,
To winne silver, as he right weel coude;
Theerfoor' he sang so merly' and so loude.

Chawceres Preyer.

Nou hav' I toold you schortly in a clause
Th' estaat, th' array, the nombr', and eek the cause
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 matere,
To tellen you her' wordes and her' chere;
Ne thowgh I spek' her' wordes properly.
For this ye knowen al so weel as I,
Whoso schal tell' a taal' after a man',
He moost' rehers', 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 moost tell' his taal' untrewwe,
Or feyne 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 spaak 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 foryeve' it me,
Al haav' I not set folk in her' dege
Her' in this taal' as that they schulde stonde;
My wit is schort, ye may weel understonde.

711 weel he wiste, so all the six MSS., wel wyst he Ha.
714 so merily P., ful meriely Ha. so meriely Co., the merierly E., the muryerly He., the mererly Ca., so merely L., the regular form would be merie, as in loude, which follows; compare thude, murie in the Cuckoo Song, supra p. 427. Hence the above conjectural reading.
727 I playnly spek', so all the six MSS., I speke al pleyn Ha.
733 ev'ry word Ha., eueriche word P., the other MSS. insert a,
Weel kuud -e reed a les'uun or a stoo'rie,
But al'dherbest -e saq an ofertoo'rie;
For weel -e wist'e, whan dhat soq was suq'e,
He moost-e preests'h, and weel affi: -is tuq'e,
To win'e sil'ver, as -e rišk weel kuud'e;
Dheer'foor -e saq soo mer'i and soo luud'e.

Tshaunsee'res Prais'eer.

Nuu naav Il toold ju short'li in a klauz'e
Dh- estaat'; dh- arai'; dhe num'br-, and eek dhe kauz'e
Whi'i dhat asem'bled was dhis kumpani'e
In Suuth'werk at dhis dzhen't'l ostelrui'e,
Dhat rišk dhe Tab'ard', faś't'e bii dhe Bel'e.
But nuu is ti'i'me too ju for to tel'e
Huu dhat we baar'en us dhat išk-e riškht,
Whan wee wer in dhat ostelrui' ališkht;
And aft'er wol 1i tel of uur vii'adzh'e,
And al dhe rem'naut' of uur pr'l'grimaadzh'e.

But first 1i prai juu of juur kurtaišii'e
Dhat jee ne ret st nat mi'i vii'lai'nii'e,
Dhououkwh dhat 1i plain'lii speek in dhis matee're.
To tel'e juu -er word'es and -er tshee're;
Ne dhououkwh 1i speek -er word'es proper'lii.
For dhis je knoou'en al so weel as 1i,
Whoo'soo shal tel a taal aft'er a man,
He moost reevers'; as nai'k as eer -e kan,
Evrii word, if 1t bee in -is tshardzh'e,
Al speek -e neer so ryyd'elii or lardzh'e;
Or el'es nee moot tel -is taal untre'e,
Or fain'e thiq, or find -is word'es neu'e.

He mai not spaa'r-e, dhououkwh -e wer -is broodh'er;
He moost as weel sai oo word as anoosh'er.
Krist spaak -imself' ful brood in noo'li twit,
And weel ju woot noo vii'lai'nii' 1s 1t,
Eek Plaa'too saith, whoosoo' dhat kan -m reed'e,
Dhe word'es moot be kuz'ın too dhe deed'e.
Alsoo' 1i prai juu to forceev 1t mee,
Al naav 1i not set folk in mer degree.
Heer in dhis taal, as dhat dhai shul'd e stond'e;
Mii wit is short, je mai weel un'nderstond'e.

as euerich a word E., apparently to avoid a defective first measure.

738 anoth er. I have throughout pronounced other as (udh'er), because of the alternative orthography outherr, 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 oghr 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 vytyll' 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 marschall in an halle;
A large man was he with eyghen stepe,
A fair're burgeys is ther noon in Chepe:
Boold of his spech', and wys, and weel ytawght,
And of manhode lacked' him right nawght.

Eek theerto he was right a merye man,
And after soupeer pleyen he bigan,
And speak of merth' amonges other thinges,
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,
vi

iii I ne sawgh not this yeer so mery a companye
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 bithought,
To doon you ees', and it schal coste nowght.
Ye goon to Cawnterbery: God you spede,
The blisful martyr quyte 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 soon;
And theerfoor' wol I make you dispoort,
As I seyd' erst, and do you som comfort.

iii And if you lyketh alle by oon assent
— For to standen at my juggement;
And for to werken as I schal you seye,
To morwe, whan ye ryden by the weye,
Non by my fader sowle that is deed,

But ye be merye, smyteth of myn heed.
Hoold up your hond withoute more speche.
Our' counseyl' was not longe for to seche;
Us thowght' it n'as not worth to maak' it wys,
And graunted 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 e 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 trisyllabic first measure, which is unusual and doubtful; to write both ne and not introduces an Alexandrine.
CHAP. VII. § 1. PRONUNCIATION OF CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

Dhe Oost and his Merth.

Greet tsheere maad uur Oost us evri'tshoon;
And too dhe sump'eer set-e us anoon;
And serv'eth us with vi'ttail ate best'e.
Stroq was dhe wiën, and weel to drillik us lest'e.
A seem'lii man uur oost'ee was withal'e
For to maan been a mar'shal in an naële;
A lar'dzhe man was nee with aïkh'en steep'e
A fair're burd'zhaiz is ther noon in Tsheep'e:
Boold of -is speetsh, and wiis', and weel staukwht,
And of man'hood'e lak'ed nîm riikht naukwhit.
Eek dheer'too nee was riikht a mer'ie man,
And affer suup'eer plaire'n nee bigan',
And speak of merth amuq'es udh'er thîq'es,
Whan dhat we nad'e maad uur rek'enüq'es;
And said'e dhus: Loo, lord'îqz, treuellî,
Je been to mee weel'kum'en ner'telî,
For bî mîî truuth, if dhat Iî shul not lie'e,
Iî nee sau'kwch not dhîs jeer so mer'î a kumpanî'e
At oon'es in dhîs ner'berkh, as is nuu.
Fain wold Iî duu ju merth'e, wist Iî nuu,
And of a merth Iî am riikht nnu bithoukwht',
To doon nnu ees, and it shal kост'ee noukwhit.
Je goon to Kaunt'erber'îi: God juu speed'e,
Dhe blîs'ful mar'tîr kwîî'te juu nnu ruur meed'e!
And weel Iî woot, as ree goon bîî dhe waïre,
Je shaap'en nnu to talk'en and to plai'e;
For treuellî kumfort ne merth is noon
To riîd'e bîî dhe waïre dumb as soon;
And dheer'foor wold Iî maak'e juu dispoort',
As Iî said erst, and doo ju sum kumfort'.
And if ju liîk'eth al'e bîî oon asent'
For to stand'en at mîî dzhyydzh'ement;
And for to werk'en as Iî shal ju sai'ee,
To mor'we, when je riîd'en bîî dhe waî're,
Nnu bîî mîî faad'er souul'e, dhat is deed,
But jee be mer'ie, smût'eth of mi'n need.
Hool'd up juur nund without'e moore speetsh'e.
Uur kuun'sail was not loq'e for to seetsh'e;
Us thoukwht it n—as not worth to maak it wiis,
And graunt'ed nîm without'ee moor aviis',
And bad —îm sai —is ver'dïit as —îm leste.
Lor'dîqz', kwoth nee, nuu werk'neth for dhe best'e,

We might read the Ha. I ne sa'wgh this yee r, as an Alexandrine with a defective first measure. Perhaps I is a mistake, and ne sa'wgh this yee r, or this yee r sawgh not, may be correct, but there is no authority for it. Tyrwhitt reads: I saw not this yere swiche a compagnie, which is probably conjectural. See p. 649.
But taak'th it not, I prey' you, in disdeyn,
This is the poynt, to spoken shorth and playn;
That eech of you to schorte with your' weye,

In this vyage schal telle tales tweye,
To Cawnterbery-ward, I meen' it so,
And hoomward he schal tellen other two,
Of aventur's that whylom haan bifalle.
That is to seyn, that telleth in this caas
Tales of best sentend 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,
Bight at myn ow'ne cost, and be your' gyde.

And whoso wol my juggement withseye
Schal pays for al we spenden by the weye.

If ye vouchesawf that it be so,
Tel me anoon, withouten wordes mo,
And I wol erly schape me theerfore.
This thing was graunted, and our' othes swore
With ful glad hert', and prey'den him also
He wolde vouchesawf 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 EYDEN FORTH.

A morwe whan the day bigan to springe,
Up roos our' hoost, and was our' alther cok,
And gader'd us togerider in a flok,
And forth we ryd' a lytel moor' than paas,
Unto the watering' of Saynt Thomas.
And weer our' hoost' bigan his hors areste,
And seyde, Lordes, herk'neth, if you lest.
Ye woot your' foorward, I it you recorde,
If evesong and morwesong accorde,

which is unlikely, as they must have all known them; w h y l o m' is suitable for both sets of tales, and a word of that kind is wanted. The Sloane MS. 1685 also spells a v e n - t o u r e s, see p. 635, note 1. The passage is wanting in Ca.
But taakth it not, 

Dhís is dhe puint, to speek'en short and plain;

To Kaunt'erber'iward, 

And hoom'ward nee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,

To Kaunt'erber'iward, 

And hoonward nee shal tel'en udh'er twoo,

Of aa'ventyyrz

To Kaunt'erber'iward, 

And whitsh of juu that beerth -mi best of al'e

And whitsh of juu that beerth -mi best of al'e

And whoo'soo wol mii dzhyydzh'ement

A mor'we whan dhe dai began' to sprîq'e,

Up roos uur oost, and was uur al'dher kok,

And gad'erd us togid'er in a flok,

And forth we riid' a liit'l moor dhan paas,

And thereof we sprou' dhe waa'teriq' of Saint Toomas';

Je woot jur foorward, 

If eev'esoq and mor'wesoq akord'e,
Let see nou who schal telle first a tale.
As ever' moost I drink wyn or ale,
Whoso be rebel to my juggement

iii Schal paye for al that by the wey' is spent.

iiii 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 pryoresse,
And ye, ayr' 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 aventur', or sort, or caas,
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 foroward 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 forward by his fre assent,

iii He seyde: Sin I schal biginne the game,
What! Weelcom be the cut, in Goddes name!

Nou lat us ryd', and herk'nheth what I seye.
And with that word we ryden forth our' weye;

iii And he bigan with right a merye chere
His tal' anoon, and seyd' in this manere.

854 the cut, so all the six MSS.,
855 So E.; his tale and seide
856 thou cut Ha.
860 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.
Let see nuu whos hal tel-e first a taal-e.
As ev'er moot Ii driqk'e wiιn or aal-e,
Whoo'soo be reb'el too miι dzhyydzh'ement;
Shal pai'e for al dhat biι dhe wai is spent.
Nuu drau'eth kut, eer dhat we furdh'er twîn'e;
And whîts'h dhat math dhe short'est shal bigîn'e.
Siiir knîkht, kwôth nie, miι maîst'er and miι lord,
Nuu drau'eth kut, for dhat is miιn akord.
Kumth neer, kwôth nie, miι laa'diι pri'o'res'e,
And nie, siiir klerk, lat bee jur shaam'fastnes'e.
Nee stud'vîth nat; lai nand too, ev'riι man!
Anoon to drau'en ev'riι wîkht bigan;
And short'liι for to tel'en as it was,
Wer rt biι sa'ventyyr', or sort, or kaas,
Dhe sooth is dhιs, dhe kut s'il too dhe knîkht,
Of whîts'h ful blîidh and glad was ev'riι wîkht,
And tel'e moost -is taal as was rees'suu'n;
Biι foor'ward and biι kompoosiis'tuun',
As nie nan nerd; what need'eth word'es moo?
And what dhιs good'e man saukw'h rt was soo,
As nie dhat wiiιs was and obee'dient'
To keep -is foor'ward biι -is free asent',
He said'e: Sin Ii shal bigîn'e dhe gaam'e,
What! weel'kum' bee dhe kutt, in God'es naam'e!
Nuu lat us riιd, and merk'neth what Ii sai'e.
And with dhat word we riιd'en forth uur wai'e.;
And nie bigan with riikht a mer'ie tshere'e
Hi's taal anoon', and said 'n dhιs 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'lies, the form Powel appearing in v. 13938, supra p. 266, a direct derivative from Orrmin's Pawell 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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines containing no French word</th>
<th>286, per cent.</th>
<th>33-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>only one</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>41-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two French words</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>20-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Lines in Prologue | 858 | 100-0 |

These numbers are not sensibly different from the former. The number of Trissyllabic 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 squire 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 gwyr = (guu·yr) 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 reposier. The first passage, according to the MS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is

Sche axe\#{1} me what was my name
Madame I feyde Johan Gower.
Now Johan quod fe\#{1} in my power,
Thou mu{\text{t}}{\text{e}} as of pi love fonde. \text{iii 353}^1

The other will be found below, pp. 738-9. The sound was therefore (Guu·eer\text{`}), which favours the Welsh theory. The modern form of the name is therefore (Gen·er), and Gowerland is now called (Gou·eral\text{and}) 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 Stitentham 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 (Go\text{}`e\text{r}). Now this sound could not be the descendant of (Guu·eer\text{`}), 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.\text{^2}

He was certainly at one time in friendly relations with Chaucer, who, in his Troylus and Crysye\text{d}e, writes:—

O moral Gower, this boke I direc\text{e}e
To the, and to the philosophicke Strode,
To vouchensauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
Of youre benignites and zeles goode. \text{5·77}

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,

\text{\textsuperscript{1}} These references throughout are to Pauli's edition, as explained supra, p. 256.

\text{\textsuperscript{2}} For other particulars of the life of Gower, derived from legal papers, showing 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 regulating 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, Wadhams 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. 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 composite 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 Englishman, 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, but writes the guttural with the same z that it uses in Nabugodonozor, I have used z throughout its transcription.
THE PUNISHMENT OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Harl. MS. 3869, folio 49b to 52a.

Ther was a king that mochel myhte
Which Nabugadonofor highte,
Of whom þat I spak hire tofore
Yet in þe bible his name is bore
For al þe world in the orient
Was hol at his comandement
As þanne of kinges to his liche
Was non fo myhty ne fo riche
To his empire and to his lawes
As who seip al in þilke dawes
Were obeissant and tribut bere
As þogh he godd of Ærpe were
With þrengþe he þutte kynges vnder
And wroghte of pride many a wonder
He was so 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 þe þe and knowþe alle þinges
Whos yhe mai no þing afterte
The priuetes of mannes herte

To speke and souven in his here
As thou thei loute wyndes were
He toke venenge vpon þis pride
But for he wolde a while abide
To loke if he him wolde amende
To him aforetokne he fende
And þat was in his flep be nyhte
This proud yng a wonder fyhte
HADDE in his sweneu þer he lay
Him þoght vpon a merie day
As he beheld þe world a boute
A tree fulgrowe he fyþ peroute
Whiche frot þe world amiddles euene
Whos hehte straghte vp to þe heuene
The leues woren faire and large [foll. 50]
Of fruit it bar fo ripe a charge
That alle men it mihte fede
He þih alfo þe bowes spriede
A bowe al Ærpe in which were
The kynde of alle briddes þere
And eke him þoght he þih alfo
The kynde of alle beftes go
Vnder þis tree a boute round
And fedden hem vpon þe ground
As he þis wonder frot and þih
Him þoghte he herde a vois on hih
Criende and seide a bowen alle
Hew dowm þis tree and lett it fallle
The leues let defoule in hafte
And do þe fruit destruie and wafte

Harl. MS. 7184, folio 23, a, 1 to 24, a, 2.

Ther was a king that mochel mihte
Which Nabugadonofor highte,
Of whom that I spak hire tofore
Yet in the bible his name is bore
For al the world in the orient
Was hol at his commandement
And of kinges to his liche
Was non fo miytne so riche
To his empire and to his lawes
As who seith all in thilke dawes
Were obeissant and tribut bere
As thoug he god of erthe were
With strengthe he put kinges vnder
And wroght of pride many a wonder
He was so full of vein gloire,
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 thinges
Whos yhe may no thing afterte
The priuete of mannys herte

To speke and souven in his here
As thou thei loute wyndes were
He toke venenge vpon this pride
But for he wolde a while abide
To loke if he him wolde amende
To him aforetokne he fende [fo. 23, a, 2]
And that was in his flep be niyte
This proud yng a wonder fyhte
HADDE in his sweneu ther he lay
Him thouyt vpon a mery day
As he beheld the world aboute
A tree full growe he figh thoroute
The which frote the world amiddles euene
Whos heighte straght vp to the heuene
The leues weren faire and large
Of fruit it bar fo ripe a charge
That alle men it might fede
He sigh alfo the bowes spriede
Aboue all erthe in which were
The kinde of alle briddes there
And eke him thouyt he sigh alfo
The kinde of alle beftes go
Vnder the tre aboute round
And fedden hem vpon the ground
As he this wonder frote and figh
Him thouye he herde a vois on high
Criende and seide abouen alle
Hew dowm this tree and lett it fallle
The leues let defoule in hafte
And do the fruit destruie and wafte
FROM GOWER'S "CONFESSIO AMANTIS," LIB. 1.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

i 136
Dher was a kiq dhat mutsh'el micht'e,
Whitsh Naabu'u'oo'doomoor zor micht'e,
Of whom dhat It spak beer tofoore.
Jet in dhe Bîb-' -is naam is boore,
For al dhe world in Oo'ient.
Was hool at its komaudmeent.
As dhan of kiq'es too -is fîtsh'e
Was noon soo mikt'ii nee soo ritsh'e;
To his empir' and too -is lauces,
As whoo saith, al in dhol'ke daures
Wer oo'baasian't, and tri'byyt beer'e,
As dhouk'ch -e God of Erthe weere.
With strengh -e put'ee kiq'es under,
And menouk'sht of prî'dee man'; a wun'der.
He was so ful of vain'g gloorty
Dhat hee ne had'e noo memoot'ry
Dhat dher was en-'ii God but hee,
For prî'd of his prosper'tee.'
Til dhat dhe nis'hke Kiq of kiq'es,
Whitsh saith and know'ee al'ee th'te's,
Whoos i'ee mai noo-th'tq' aster'te,——
Dhe prî-vete'ee of man'es hert'e,

i 137
Dhai speak and suun'en in -is eere,
As dhouk'ch dhai luund'ee wind'es weere—
Hee took vendzaungs' upon dhis prî'dee.
But, for -e wold a whil' abiid'e
To look if hee -im wold amend'e,
To him a foore'took'n -e send'e,
And that was, in -is sleep biis nisht'e,
Dhis pr'ood-e kiq a wun'der siisht'e
Had, in -is swee'eene dher -e lai,
Him thoukht' upon a mer'ii dai,
As hee beneeell dhe world abuut'ee,
A tree fulgrou -e siisht dheerum'tee
Whitsh stood dhe world amid'es eev'ne,
Whoos nisht'e strauk'wht up too dhe dheeve'n
Dhe leeves weer-en fair and lardzh'e,
Of fyrt it baar soo riip a tshardzh'e
Dhat all'ee men it micht'e feexe.
He siisk al'soo dhe boon'es spread'e
Abu' al erth, in whitsh'e weere
Dhe kind of al'ee bred'es dhee'ere.
And eek -im thoukht' -e siisk al'soo'
Dhe kind of al'ee beest'es goo
Un'der dhis tree abuut'e round'
And feed'en hem upon dhe grund.
As hee dhis wun'der stood and siisk,
Him thoukht' -e nerd a vuis on nisshk
Crii'-end', and said abuven al'ee:
"Heu dune dhis tree, and let it fa'l'e !
"Dhe leeves let defuul' in naste,' "
"And doo dhe fyrtst destrui' and wast'e!"
And let of shreden eueri branche
Bot a Rote let it staunche
Whan al his Pride is caft to grounde
The rote schal be feste bounde
And schal no mannes herte bere
Bot evry luft he schal forbere
Of man, and lich an Oxe his mete
Of gras he schal pourchache and ete
Til pat he water of pe heuene
Haue waifthen him be times feuene
So pat he be purgknowe ariht
What is pe heueneliche myht
And be mad humble to pe wille
Of him which al mai faue and spille
This kyng out of his fweuene abreide
And he vpon pe morwe it feide
Vnto pe clerkes which he hadde
Bot non of hem pe fo|e aradde
Was non his fweuene cow|e vndo
And it f|od pilke time fo
This kyng hadde in subieccion
Jude, and of affeccion
A bove alle o|pre on Daniel
He loue|p, for he cow|e wel
Diuine pat non o|er cow|e
To him were alle jinges cow|e
As he it hadde of goddes grace
He was before pe kinges face
Afent, and bode pat he scholde
Vpon pe point pe king of tolde
The fortune of his fweuene expounde
As it scholde afterward be founde
Whanne Daniel fis fweuene herde [fo. 138]
He f|od long time er he anfuerde 50|b]
And made a wonder heuy chiere
The king tok hiede of his manere
And bad him telle pat he wife
As he to whom, he mochel trite
And feide he woldes noght be wro|p
Bot Daniel was wonder lo|p
And feide vpon thi fomen alle
Sire king fis fweuene motes falle
And na|ele . toucheude of this
I wot pe tellen how it is
And what defefe is to pe echape
God wot if pou it schalt acape
The hie tre which pou haft fein
Wi|p lef and fruit fo wel beftein
The which f|od in pe world amiddes
So pat he bestes and pe briddes
Gouerned were of him al one |
Sire king betoknep ji perfone
Which flant a boue all er|li jinges
Thus reguen vnder pe kinges
And al pe people vnton pe loute|p
And al pe world ji pouer doubte|p
Gower's Neubuchadnezzar.

And lett of schreden every branche
But at rote lete it staunche.
Whan all this pride is caste to grounde
The rote schall be faste bounde
And schall no mannis herte bere.
But every lute he schall forbere
Of man and liche an oxe his mete
Of gras he schall purchase and ete
Till that he water of his heuen
Have washen him be timis seuen.
So that he purgh knowe aryste
What is he heuen liche myzte.
And he made vmble to he wille.
Of him whiche all may saue and spille.
This kyngge out of his sweuen abreyde.
And hee vp on that morow it syde
Vn to the cleris whiche he hadde
But none of hem he sefte aradde.
Was nonn his sweuen coupe vndoo.
And ift tood xlyke tymo foo [fo. 57, a. 2]
This kyngge hadde in subiecious
Jude and of affecyoun
Abone alle ojer omn daniell
He loue for he coupe well
Diuise that non ojer coupe
To him were all pinges coupe
As he hadde of goddis grace
He was tofore he kyngis face
Asent and bode that he shulde
Vp on that poynte he kyngge of told

The fortune of his sweuen exponde
As it shulde affirwarde be founde
Whan daniell thys sweuen herde
He tood longe tyme er he anfwerde
And made a wonder heny chere
He kyngge toke hede of his manere
And bad him telle that he wite.
And he to whom he moche trifte.
And syde he wolde nonz be wroce.
But daniell was wondor lope
And syde vp on by fomes alle
Sere kyngge by sweuen mot falle
And naplese touchende of thys
I wol he tellen how it is
And what defese is to he schape
God wot yf. pou, it schall achape
The hyze tre which pou, haft syne
With leef and frute fo wel beyne
The whiche rood in he world amiddes
So that he beftis and he bridis.
The gourmend were of him allome
Sere kyngge bitokene by perfone
Which blinte aboue all erpeley hynges
Thus regnen vndir that kynges
And of alle peple vn to he loute
And all the world by power doute

And nee upor dhe morwe- it synde
Untoo dhe klerkes whisht -e naet-e,
But non of non dhe sooth arade,
Was nonn -is sweevne kuth unduo.
And it stode dhiklke tiim-e so,
Dhis kiq nad in subjhek-sium
Dzhyydeece, and of afeke-sium
Abv adh-oon Daarniel.
He lvseth, for he kuth-wel
Diviine that noun udhe-er kuth-e.
To him wele alr-ere kuth-e.
As nee it nad of God-es grae-se.
He was befoor dhe kiqes saer-se
Asent, and bood-dhe dat -e shold-e.
Upon dhe puint dhe kiq of toold-e,

Dhe for-tyyn of -is sweevn- ekspuun-de,
As it shold afterward be funde
Whan Daarniel dhe sweevne werde
He stode log tiim eer nee answerd-e,
And maad a wunder nev-i tsheere-e.
Dhe kiq look need of his manere
And baad -im tel-e dat -e wiste,
As nee to whom-e musthe-triste,
And said -e wold-e noukysht be wooth.
But Daarniel was wunder looth,
And said: "Upon dhii foo-men al-e,
"Sir kiq, dhe sweev-ne moo-te false!
"And, naah-theles, tutshe-end of dhis,
"If wol dheue telin run it is,
"And what diseex is to dheue saah-pe.
"God wot if dhii it shalt eskaape!
"Dhe niikhe tree whisth dhuu hast sain
"With leef and fryte soo wel besain,
"Dhe whisth stood in dhe world amid-es,
"So dat dhe bee-stes and dhe brid-es
"Guvernred weer of him aloon,
"Sir kiq, betookneth dhei perso,
"Whisth stant abvul erlh-lithi thiques,
"Dhus reen onder dheue dhe kiq-es,
"And al dhe peepi- untoo dheue lurcthe,
"And al dhe world dhei puuere duucthe,
GOWR'S NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Harl. MS. 3869.

So that with vein honour deceived
Thou haft the reverence weyued
Fro him which is thi king a bone
That thou for drede ne for lone

i 140

Wolt no ping knowen of thi godd
Which now for þe hæp mad a rodd
Thi veine gloire and þi folie
With grete peines to chastie
And of þe vois þou herdeft speke
Which bad þe bowes for to breke
And howe and felle doun þe tree
That word belongeth vnto þee
Thi regne schal ben ouer-browe
And þou despulled for a prow
Bot þat þe Rote scholde ftonde
Be þat þou schal wel vnder-etonde
Ther schal a biden of þi regne
A time æyen whan þou schalt regne

And ek of þat þou herdeft seie
To take a mannes herte a weie
And sette þere a boftial
So þat he lich an Oxé schal:
Pafture, and þat hebe bereined
Be times efene and fore peined
Till þat he knowe his goddes mihtes

Than scholde he ftonde æyen vprihtes
Al þis betokneþ þin sattat
Which now wiþ god is in debat
Thi mannes forme schal be laffed
Til seene eor ben ouerpaffed
And in þe likneffe of a beote
Of gras schal be þi real fette
The weder schal vpon þe reine
And vnder-etonde þat al þis peine

i 141

Which þou schal sofre þilke tide
Is schape al only for þi pride
Of veine gloire and of þe sinne
Which þou haft longe ftonden inne
SO vpon þis condicion

Thi fwayne hæp exposicion
Bot er þis þing befallen in dede
Amende þee. þis wolde Þi rede
þif and departe þin almeffe
Do mercy forþ wip rihtwifneffe
Befech. and prei. þe hie grace
For so þou miht þi pes purchase

Wip godd. and ftonde in good acord
Bot Prid is lóþ to leue his lord
And wol noght soffe humilite
Wip him to ftonde in no degree
And when a schip hæp loft his ßiere
Is non so wys þat mai him ßiere

Harl. MS. 7184.

So that with vein honour deceived
Thou haft the reverence weyued
Fro him which is thi king a bone
That thou for drede ne for lone

i 140

Wolt no thing knowen of this god
Which now for the hath made a rod
Thi veingloire and thi folie
With gret peines to chastie
And of the vois thou herdeft speke
Which bad the bowes for to breke
And hewe and felle doun the tree
That word belongeth vnto the
Thi regne shall be ouerthrowe
And thou defpulled for a throwe
But that the roote shal ftonde
But that thou shalt wel vnderftonde
Ther shall a biden of thi regne
A tyme æyin when thou shalt regne

And eke of that thou herdeft seie
To take a mannes hert a weie
And fette there a beftial
So that he like an oxen shall
Pafture, and that he be bereined
Be tymes efene and fore peined,
Till that he knowe his goddes mihtes,

Than shuld he ftonde æyin vrightes
All this betokeneth thine estat
Which now with god is in debat
Thi mannes forme shall be laffed
Til seuen yere ben ouerpafted
And in the likneffe of a beote
Of gras shall be thioi rall fette
The weder shall vpon the rayne
And vnderftonde that all his peine

i 141

Which thou shalt suffre thilke tide
Is shape all only for thi pride
Of veingloire and of the sinne
Which thou haft longe ftonden inne
So vpon this condicion

Thi fwayne hath exposicion
But er this thing befalle in dede
Amende the this wold I rede
Yif and departe thine almeffe
Doth mercy forth with rightwifneffe
Befecheth and praie the high grace
For so thou myt the pees purchase

With god and ftonde in good acord.
But pride is loss to leue his lorde
And wol not suffe humilite
With him to ftonde in no degree.
And when a ship hath loft his ßiere
Is non so wys that may him ßiere
GOWER'S NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Chap. VII. § 2.

Soc. Ant. MS. 134.

So ḫat with veyne honoure deceyued. Thon haft ḫe renuerence weyued Fro him whiche is ḫy kynghe abowre That ḫou for drede ne for loue. 

i 140

Wolte no ḫynge knowen of ḫy god [fo. Whiche now for ḫe haþ made arod Thy vayne glory and ḫy folye Wip gret penyis to chaftye And of ḫe yeowe ḫou herdest speke. Whiche bad ḫe bowis for to breke And hewe and faule doue ḫe tre That wolde bilonge vn ḫo The regne schall ben overprowe And ḫou deψuled for a prowre Bot ḫat ḫe rote schulde ftonde Be ḫat ḫou, schalt wel vndirftonde Ther schall abiden of ḫy regne A tyme azen when ḫou fchalde regne And eek of ḫat ḫou herdest fay. To take amanmis herte away And sette ḫer a betaill So ḫat ḫe liche an oxe schall Pasture and ḫat ḫe be bereynid Be tymes feuene and fore penyed Till ḫat ḫe knewe his goddis mytzis Than schulde he ftonde azen vpryztis All pis betokenerj ḫyne aftate Whiche now with ḫod is indebate Thy manmis forme schall be laſtid Til seuen zere ben overpafid And in ḫe likneffe of abete Of gras schall be ḫy rial fefte The wedir fchalde vp on ḫe reyne And vndirftonde ḫet all pis peyne

i 141

Whiche ḫou, schalte suffre ūlke tyde Is schape all only for ḫy pryde Of vayne glory and of ḫy fynne Whiche ḫou, hadte longe ūlden inne So vp on ḫis condicon Thi sweuen ḫap exposicion But er ḫis ḫyage be falle in deede Amende ḫe ḫis wolde y rede Zif and deprate ḫyn almeffe Do mercy forÞ with ryztwifneffe Bedfeche and preye ḫe hyze grace. For fo ḫou. myzté ḫe pees purchace [fo. 57, b, 1] With god and ḫtonde in good acorde But pride is lop to leue his lorde And wolde nouzt suffre humilitte With him to ḫtonde in podegre And whasme a schip haþ lofte his ñere Is noun fo wis ḫat may him ñere

Conjectured Pronunciation.

"Soo ḫat, with vayn on-our deseived, "Dhuu hast dhe rev-erens'e waived "Froo him, whish is dhī' kiq abuve, "Dhat dhun for dreade'n ee for loue "Wolt nooth'th knou'en of dhī's God, "Whish nuu for dhee math maad a rod, "Dhī' vain'e gloor'i and dhī' fol'i'e "With greete' pain'ee to thash'ti'i'e. "And of dhe vuis dhuu nεrd'εst speeke, "Whish baad dhe boon'e for to breek'e, "And neu and fel'e duun dhe tree,— "Dhat word beloq'eth un'to dheee. "Dhī' reen'e shal been o'er-erthrou'e, "And dhuu despu'iled for a throo'e. "But dhat dhe root'e shold'e stonde', "Bī' dhat dhuu shalt wel understond'e, "Dher shal abid'en of dhī' reen'e "A τίμ άλλων ḫan when dhuu shalt reen'e. "And eek of dhat dhuu nεrd'εst sai'e, "To taak a man'es hert ai're, "And set'e dheer a beestiaal', "So dhat -e lik an oks'e shal "Pastyyr', and dhat -e bee berain'ed "Bī' τίμιε' seev'n- and soore pain'ed "Til dhat -e knou -ër God'es mīkt'es, "Dhan shold -e stond ai'rn uprikt'e- "Al dhī' betook'neth dhī'n estaat', "Whish nuu with God is 'in debaat', "Dhī' man'es form'e shal be las'ed "Til seev'n ee been overpas'ed, "And in dhe līk'nes' of a beeste "Of gras shal bee dhī' re'eal feestre "Dhe wed'er shal upon' dhee rain'e. "And understond' dhat al dhī' pain'e

i 141

"Whish dhuu shalt sučer dhlī'ke tiid'e, "Js shaap al oon-lii for dhlī'priid'e "Of vain'e gloor'i and of dhe sīr'e "Whish dhuu hast loq'e stond'en inre. "Soo up'on' dhī's kondi'suun "Dhī' sweevey' -ath ekposi'suun. "But eer dhī' thq befal' in deedd'e "Amend'e dheer. Dhīs wold Jī reede', "Jī'v, and depar'te dhī'n almes'e, "Doo mers'si forth with rīkht'wisnes'e, "Beseetsh' and prai dhe uñkhe graas'e. "For soo dhuu mīkt' dhlī' pees purshasa'. "With God, and stond in good akord'". But prid is looth to leev -is lord, And wol noukucht sufr' ymīli'ti'te. With nim to stond in noo deegree. And when a ship nath lost -is steere Is noon soo wis that mai -im steere
Harl. MS. 3869.

Ayein þe wawes in a rage
This proude king in his corage
Humilitie hâp to forlore
That for no sweeneye he sîgh tofore
Ne þit for al þat Daniel
Him hâp conseiled eueridel
He let it paffe out of his mynde
Thurgh veine gloire, and as þe blinde
He ðeþ 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 lordishipe and his regalie
Wîþ wordes of Surquiderie
And whanne þat he him moft auanteth
That lord which veine gloire daunteþ
Al sodeinliche as who feith treis [fo.
Wher þat þat he ftoð in his Paleis 51b]
He tok him fro þe mennes fîhte
Was non of hem, so war þat mihte
Sette yhe. wher þat he becom
And þus was he from his kongdon
Into þe wilde Forêt drawe
Wher þat þe mihti goddes lawe
Thurgh his pover dede him tranforme
Fro man into a beftes forme
And lich an. Oxe vnder þe fot
He graþeþ as he nedes mot
To geten him his lives fode
Tho þoghþ him colde grages goode
That whilom eet þe hote spices
Thus was he torned fro defices
The wyne whiche he was wont to drinke

He tok þanne of þe welles brinke
Or of þe pet or of þe flowh
It þoghþe him þanne good ynowh
In ðede of chambres wel arraied
He was þanne of a buith wel paied
The harde grounde he lay vpon
For óþre pilwes hâþ he non

i 143

The ðormes and þe Reines falle
The wyndes blowe vpon him alle
He was tormented day and nyht
Such was þe hîhe goddes myht
Til feene þer an ende toke
Vpon himself þo gan he loke
In ðede of mete gras and stres
In ðede of handes longe cles
In ðede of man a beftes lyke
He seih 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
Humilitie hath so forlore
That for no sweeneye he sîgh tofore
Ne yit for all that Daniel
Him hath counfeiled eueridel
He let it paffe out of his mynde
Throuþ veingloire and as the blinde
He feth 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 drowh into memoire
His lordship and his regalie [fo. 24,
With wordes of furquideic a, 1]
And whan that he him moft auanteth
That lord which veingloire daunteth
Al sodeinlich as who feith treis
Wher that he stode in his paleis
He took him fro the mennes sighte
Was non of hem so war that mijte
Sette yhe wher that he becom
And was he from his kongdon
In to the wilde forêt drawe
Wher that the myghti goddes lawe
Throuþ his pover dede him transforme
Fro man in to a beftes forme
And lich an oxen under the fote
He graþeth as he nedes mot
To geten him his lyues fode
Tho thouþ him colde grases goode
That whilom eat the hote spices
Thus was he torned fro defices
The wyne which he was wont to drinke

He took thanne of the welles brinke
Or of the pit or of the slough
It thouþ him thanne good ûnow
In ðede of chambres well arraied
He was thanne of a buith well paied
The harde grounde he lay vpon
For oþir pilwes had he non

i 143

The ðormes and the reines falle
The windes blowe vpon him alle
He was tormented day and night
Such was the high goddes myht
Til feene yere. and ende took
Vpon him self tho gan he look
In ðede of mete gras and tres
In ðede of handes longe cles
In ðede of man a beftes like
He sîgh and thanne he gan to sike
For cloth of gold and of perrie
Which him was wont to magnifie
Gower’s Nebuchadnezzar.

**Conjectured Pronunciation.**

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**Soc. Ant. MS. 134.**

Azen þe wawis in a rage
This proude kyngs in his corage
Humilite haf fo for lore
That for no fweues he fyz to fore
Ne xit for all þat daniell
Him haf counfeylid every deell
He lete it paffe oute of his mynde
Thorow vayne glorye and as þe blynde
He féeþ no wele er him be woo
And fell wißinne a tyme too
As he in babiloyne wente
Þe vanite of pride him hente

_The flood mis and þe raynis falle_
_The wyndis blowe vp on him alle_
_He was turweydis day and nynte_
_Which was þe hyze goddis myzyte_
_Til feen zere an ende tok_
_Vp on him felfe þo gan he loke_
_In feede of mete gras and tresi_
_In feede of handis longe cles_
_In feede of man a beftis like_
_He fyzee þe þanne he gan to fike_
_For cloþ for golde and þe perry_
_Which he was wonne to magnifye_
GOWER'S NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Chap. VII. § 2.

Harl. MS. 3869.
When he beheld his Cote of heres
He wepte, and with wufowl teres
Vp to þe heuene he efte his chiere
Wepende, and þoghte in þis manere
Thogh he no wordes mihte winne
Thus feide his herte and fpak withinne
O myhti godd pat al haft wroght
And al myhte bringe ayein to nought
Now knowe. I. wel. bot al of þee
This worlde haþ no prosperite.
In þin aспект ben alle liche [fo. 52]
ðe þouere man and ek þe riche
Wipoute þee þer mai no wight
And pou a boue alle ojre miht
O mihtli lord toward my vice
Thi mercy medle wip iustice
And I. woll make a couenant
That of my lif þe remenant

i 144
I schal it be þi grace amende
And in þi lawe so deßpende
That veine gloire I schal eschewe
And bowe vnto þin hette and fiue
Humilite. and þat I. vowe
And so þenkende he gan dounbowe
And þogh him lacke vois and speche
He gan vp wiþ his feet a reche
And wailende in his beastly treene
He made his pleignte vnto þe heuene
He kneleþ in his wife and braiþ
To feche mercy and affaieth
His god. which made him noþing strange
When þat he fih his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fond toward his god þe fame
And in a twinklinge of alok
His mannes forme ayein he tok
And was reformed to the regne
In which þat he was wont to regne
So þat þe Pride of veine gloire
Euere afterward out of memoire
He let it paffe, and þus is schewed
What is to ben of pride vñþewed
Aþein þe hihe goddess lawe
To whom noman mai be felawe.

Harl. MS. 7184.
When he beheld his cote of heres
He wepte. and with wofull teres
Vp to the heuene he cast his chiere
Wepend and thouȝt in this manere
Thouȝ he no wordes myte winne
Thus said his hert and fpak withinne
O myghti god that haft all wrouȝt
And al miȝt bringe ayein to nought
Now knowe I wel but all of the
This world hath no prosperite [fol. 24,
In thine aспект ben alle liche [a, 2]
The pouer man and eke the riche
Withoute the ther may no wight
And thou above all oþre miȝt
O miȝti lord toward my vice
Thi mercy medle with iustice
And I woll make a couenant
That of my lif the remenают

i 144
I shall be thi grace amende
And in thi lawe fo deþpende
That veingloire I shall escheue
And bowe vnto thine hente and fiue
Humilite. and that I vowe
And so thenkend he gan doun bowe
And thou im lacke vois and speche
He gan vp with his feet arcche
And weiland in his beatli heuene
He made his pleinte vnto the heuene
He kneleth in his wife and braieth
To seche mercy and affaieth
His god. which made him nothing strange
When that he figh his pride change
Anon as he was humble and tame
He fond toward his god the fame
And in a twinkeling of a look
His mannes forme ayein he took
And was reformed to the regne
In which that he was wont to regne
So that the pride of veingloire
Euer afterward out of memoire
He let it paffe and thus is schewed
What is to ben of pride vnþewed
Aþein the high goddes lawe
To whom noman may befelawe.
When he bighide his cote of heris
He wepte and with ful woufull teris
Vp to he heuen he caste his chere
Wepende and pouzte in his manere
Thouz he no wordis myzte wyane
Thus fyede his herte and spake witlinne
O myzygod jet all haft wrouzte
And all myzte bryage azen to nouz't
Now knowe .1. well but all of jet
This world haþ no prosperite
In ÿyn afpet ben all liche
Pe pouere men and eek þe riche
With oute þe þer may no wyzte
And þou, aboue all oper myzte
O myzyt lordes towards my vice
Thy mercy medde with intisice
And .1. wol make a couenauntes
That of my lyf þe remenaunte

144
I schall it be þy grace amende
And in þy lawe so defpeende
That vaunte glore .y. schall echunne
And bowe vn to þyne hefte and fiue

Humylite and þat .y. vowe
And fo þenkende he gan dous bowe
And þouz him lacke voys of speche
He gan yp with his feet aresse
And waylende in his beffy steuen
He made his playnte vn to þe heuen
He knelep in his wife and prayep
To fexe mercy and afayth
His god whiche made him no þynge
strauenge
When þat he fyzhe his pride chaunge
Anons as he was vmbler and fame
He fonde towards his god þe fame
And in a twynkelwyge of a loke
His mannis forme azen he tok
And was reformd to the regne
In whiche þat he was wonte to regne
So þat þe pryde of vaunte glore
-Euer affirwarde oute of memorye
He lete it paffte and þus it fchewid
What is to ben of pride vnþewid.
Azen þe hyze goddis lawe
To whom no man may be felawe.

Conjectured Pronunciation.

When nee benedicd: -is koot of reer'es
He wept, and with ful wooful teer'es
Up too dhe neev'n- -e kast -is sheere,
Wep'end', and thoukht in dhís manere.
Dhoukheh nee noo wordes miht'he wier',
Dhus said -is hert, and speak withine.'
"Oo miht'yi God! dhat al kast reoukheh,
And 'al miht'hi quay again' to noukheh!
"Nu knouu Hi weal, but unt of 'hee'
"Dhis world -ath noo prosper'tee'.
"In dhis aspect' been al'e lêtsh'e,
"Dhe poud're man, and eek dhe rithe'.
"Wuthu'te 'dhee dher -mai noo wikt',
"And dhuu abu' al u'dre miht'.
"Oo miht'yi Lord, toward: mi vi'se',
"Dhi mer'sii med'li with dzhisty'se',
"And Hi wol maak a kuu'venaunt',
"Dhat of mi'liif dhe rem'enaunt'
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 vpon the grene.
And toke my leve for to wende.
Bot she that wolde make an ende,
As therto with I was moiste able.
A peire of bedes blakke as fable,
She tooke and henge my nekke aboute.
Vpon the gaudes al withooute.

iii 373

Was write of golde pur reposer.
Lo thus the feide Johan Gower.
Now thou art at the lafte caste.
This haue I for thyn efe caste.
That thou no more of loue feche.
Bot my wille is that thou befche.
And prey here after for the pees.

For in the lawe of my comune.
We benet shapen to comune.

iii 374

Thi self and I neuer after this.
Nowe haue I feide althat ther is.
Of loue as for thy fynal ende.
A dien for I mote fro the wende.
And grete welle Chaucer whan ye mete.
As my discipile and my poete. [fo. 215, a, 1]

In fondry wife as he wel couth.
Of dytees and of fongs glade.
The whiche he for my fake made.
The londe fulfilled is ouer alle.
Wherof to hym in speciaile.

Abone alle othr I am moft holde.
For thi nowe in his daies olde.
Thou shalle hym telle this meffage.
That he vpon 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 thrifte aboue.
So that my court it may recorde.

Madame I can me wel accorde.
Quod I to telle as ye me biddre.
And with that wordre it so bitidde.
Oute of my shil alle fodeynly.
Enclofed in a ferrie fye.
Vp to the heune venus straunt.
And I my shit wery caunt.
Home fro the wode and forth I wente.
Where as with al myn hole entente.
Thus with my bedys vpon honde.
For hem that true loue fonde.
I thynke bidde while I lyne.
Vpon the poynt whic I am thrifte.
SENT THROUGH GOWER AFTER HIS SHRIFT.

Systematic Orthography.

iii 372
“Myn holy Fader 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 see, that wolde mak’ an ende,
A pair’ of bedes blak’ as sabel
She took, and heng my nek’ aboute.
Upon the gawdes al withoute

iii 373
Was writ of gold! Pour reposèer.
“Lo!” thus she said, “John Goueer,
Of that thyn thou at the laste caste,
That thou no more’ of love seche,
As my discyp’l, and my poete.
For in the flouris of his youth;
In sondry wys’, as he wol couthe,
Of dytees and of songes glade,
The which he for my sake made,
The lond fulfild’ is overal.
Wherof to him, in special,
As oth’r’ I am moost holde.
Forthy now in his dayes oalde
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 shrift above,
So that my court it mai recorde.”

Conjectured Pronunciation.

iii 372
“Mîn nool’ii Fa’dér, grand mer’sii!”
Kwod ï to nîm, and too dê kween’
I fel on knees upon dê grene,
And took mî leev’e for to wende.
But see, dhat wolde maak’ aand’
As dherc’towith’ ï was most aab’l,
A pair’ of beed’es blak as saa’bl’
She took, and neq mîi nek’ abut’e.
Upon dê gawdes al without’e

iii 373
Was rvit of goold, Puur ree poosèer.
“Loo!” dhus she said’e, “Dzhon Gwurw’er,
Nuu dhuu art at dhe laste’ kaste,’
Dhs’ naav ï for dhs’n eeze kaste’,
Dhat dhuu noo moor’ of luv’e secth’e,
But mîi w’l is dhat dhuu bisech’t,e,
And prai -ereafter for dhs’i pees.

For ên dhe lau of mîi komyn’e
We bee not shaap’en too komyn’e,”

iii 374
“Dhisel’ and ï, neer after dhs’.
Nuu raav ï said al dhat dber is
Of luv’, as for dhs’n frinal ende,
Adeu’ for ï moot froo dhe wende.
And greet weel Tshau’seer, whan je meet’e,
As mîi dis’i-pl’ and mîi pooee’t,e.
For ên dhe flures of - is ruuthe,’
In sun’drii wiis, as nee wel kuth’e,
Of dii’tees and of soq’es glad’e,
Dhe whish’ -e for mîi saak’e maad’e,
Dhe lond fulfild’ is overal’.
Wherof’ to nâm, in spes’aal’.
Abv’ al ud’h-r’ ï am moost hold’e.
Fordhi’ nuu in -is da’e’al eold’e
Dhuu shalt’ -im tete dheis messa’zdhe :
Dhat nee upoon’ -is laarter aa’zdhe
To set an end of - is werk,
As nee whish’ is mîi oour’ne klerk,
Doo maak’ -is test’a’m’ of luv’e,
As dhuu hast dho dhs’i shrift abv’e,
Soo dhat mîi kurt’ it mai rekord’e.”

Madaam, ï can me wel akord’e,
Kwod ï, “to tel as jec me bid’e,”
And with dhat word it soo bitid’e,
Out of mîi sîght, al sud’anilii
Enkloozed in a starred sky,
Up to the heven Venus strawghte.
And I my righte wey [then] sawghte
Hoom fro the wol’, and forth I wente
Weheras, with al myn hool entente,
Thus with my bedes upon honde,
For hem that trewe love fonde
I thinke bidde, whyl’ I lyve,
Upon the poyn’t, which I am schryve.
§ 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 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 -ide, has been reduced to (id), in accordance with the conclusions arrived at on p. 646-7.


Text.

11. Forsooth he seith, Sum man hadde tweye sones;
12. and the jongere seide to the fadir, Fadir, yue to me the porcioun of substaunce, 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 pilgrymage in to a fer cuntree; and there he wastide his substaunce in lyuynge lecherously.
14. And aftir that he hadde endid alle thingis, a strong hungris was maad in that cuntree, and he bigan to haune nede.
15. And he wente, and cleuynde to oon of the citeseysn of that cuntree. And he sente him in

Conjectured Pronunciation.

11. Forsooth: -e saith, Sum man had-e twai-e suu-nes;
12. and the juq'-ere said-e to dhe faa-dir, Faad-dir, juu'ree to mee dhe por'siun of sub-stauns, edh'ir kat'-el, dhat bifa'el-eth to mee. And dhe faad-dir depart'id to nim dhe sub-stauns.
13. And not aftir man'-ie da-e'es, ale thq'-is gederid to gid'-re, dhe juq'-ere suu'-ne went in pil'-grimaadzh in to a fer kun'-tree; and dhe -e was'-tid-is sub'-stauns in liv'-i'ee letsh'-eru'll.
14. And aftir dhat -e had end'-id al'-e thq'-is, a stroq huq'-gir was maad in dhat kun'-tree', and -e bigan- to naav need'-e.
15. And -e went'-e, and klee'-vid to oon of dhe sit'-izainz of dhat kun'-tree'. And hee sent

¹ The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers, edited by the Rev. Josiah For-
to his toun, that he schulde feede hoggis.
16. And he coueiteide to fille his wombe of the coddis whiche the hoggis eeten, and no man sayd to him.
17. Sothli he, turned azen in to him sylf, syde, Hou man yhirid men in my fadir hous, han plente of louues; forsothe I perisiche here thurij hungir.

18. I schal ryse, and I schal go to my fadir, and I schal seie to him, Fadir I haue synned azen heuene, and bifoere thee;

19. now I am not worti to be clepid thi sone, make me as oon of thi hyrid men.
20. And he ryssinge cam to his fadir. Sothli whanne he was set fer, his fadir syd him, and he was stiriby by mercy. And he reynynge to, felde on his necke, and kiste him.
21. And the sone seyde to him, Fadir, I haue synned azen heuene, and bifoere thee; and now I am not worti to be clepid thi sone.
22. Forsooth the fadir seyde to his seruauntis, Soone bringe je forth the firste stoole, and clothe je him, and yuye je a ring in his hond, and schoon in to the feet;
23. and brynge je a calf maad fat, and sle je, and ete we, and plenteouously ete we.
24. For this my sone was deed, and hath lyued azen; he perischide, and is founden. And alle bigunnen to ete plenteously.
25. Forsooth his eldere sone was in the feeld; and whanne he cam, and neiijede to the hous,

**Text.**

- im in to -is tuun, dhat -e shuld-e feed-e nog-iis.
16. And -e kuvait-id to fis-is womb-e of dhe kod-iis white-sh-e dhe nog-iis eet-en, and noo man waav to nimm.
17. Sooth-lii nee, turn-id azen- in to nimm sylf, said-e, Huu man'i nii-rid men en mi faa-Dir hius, haan plente of loovis; forsooth-e li per'ishe heer thurk-eh nuq-gir.
18. li shal ri-see, and li shal goo to mi faa-dir, and li shal sae to nimm, Faa-dir, li -aav sin-ed azen- neev-eene, and bi- foo-ere dheee;
19. nuu li am not wurdh-ii to be klep-ivd dhii suun-e, maake mee as oon of thii nii-rid men.
20. And nee, riis-iq kaam to nis faa-dir. Sooth-lii whan -e was set fer, nis faa-dir sikh -im, and nee was stir-id bii mer-sii. And nee, ren'iq to, feld on -is nek-e, and kist -im.
21. And dhe suun-e nee-de to nimm, Faad-dir, li -aav sin-ed azen- neev-eene, and bifoore dheee; and nuu li am not wurdh-ii to be klep-ivd dhii suun-e.
22. Forsooth dhe faa-dir said-e to -is ser'vauntis, Soone briq-e je forth dhe first-e stoole, and kloodh-e je nimm, and riiv je a riq in -is hond, and shoone in to dhe feet;
23. and briq-e je a kalf maad fat, and slee je, and eete we, and plenteucusly eete we.
24. For dis miis soo-ne was deed, and nath liived azen; nee per'ish-id, and is fund-en. And aleig bigun'en to eete plenteucusly.
25. Forsooth his el-dere suun-e was in dhe feeld; and whan -e kaam, and naih-ihd to dhe huus,
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 re-
ceuyede him saf.

28. Forsoth he was wroth,
and wolde not entre. Therfore
his fadir, gon out, bigan to preie
him.

29. And he answeringe to his
fadir, seide, Lo! so manye ^eeris
I serue to thee, and I brak
neuere thi comaundement; thou
hast neuere ^ouun a kyde to me,
that I schulde ete largely with
my frendis.

30. But aftir this thi sone,
which deuouride his substaunce
with hooris, cam, thou hast
slayn to him a fat calf.

31. And he seide to him, Sone,
thou erte euere with me, and alle
myne thingis ben thyne.

32. Forsothe it bihofte to ete
plenteuously, and for to ioye;
for this thy brother was deed,
and lyuede aeyn; he peryschide,
and he is founden.

he herd a sim'fonii' e and a
kruud.

26. And -e klep' id oon of the
ser' vaunt'is, and ak'sid, what
thiq'is dheeze wee' ren.

27. And -e said'e to nim, Dhiu
broo'dir is kuum'en, and dhiu
faa'dir nath slain a fat calf, for
nee resai-v'id -im saaf.

28. Forsooth: née was revooth,
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'ie
ree'ris li serv to dhee, and li
braak nev're dhiu komaan'de-
ment; dhuu hast nev're jooven
a ki'd'e to mee, dhat li shuld'e
ete ' laar'dzheli with mi
frend'is.

30. But aft'ir dhis dhiu suu'ne,
whitsh devuu'rid -is sub'stauns
with noo'ris, kaam, dhuu -ast
slain to nim a fat kalf.

31. And -e said'e to nim,
Suu'ne, dhuu erte ev're with
me, and ale mi'ne thiq'is been
dhiu' e.

32. Forsooth: ãt bïnoof'te to
eete plent'evusli, and for to
dzhui'e; for dhis dhiu broo'dir
was deed, and liv'id aen'; ne
per'ish'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 \(5\frac{1}{2}\) by \(3\frac{1}{2}\) inches, and including the margin of the cut copy in the general library, the pages measure \(7\frac{1}{2}\) by \(5\frac{1}{2}\) inches. It contains \(6\frac{1}{2}\) 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 ñ 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 Welshe, whereby an Englysh man shall not onely wyth case reade the fayde tonge rightly: but marking the same wel, it shal be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronounciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salebury, 1550. And now 1567, pervsfd and augmèted by the same.

This Treatife is most requisite for any man, yea though he can indifferently well reade the tongue, who wyl be thorowly acquainted with anie piece of translatioun, wherein the fayd Salebury hath dealted. (*)

Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, for Humfrey Toy, dwellyng at the fygne of the Helmet in Paules church yarde. The .xvij. of May. 1567.


[4] . . Some exclauned . . that I had perverted the whole Ortographie of the [English] tonge. 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 euyry worde as he souëd it: As for example, they than wrose, Ego dico tibi, and yet read the same, Ego deicu teibei, they worste, Agnus Dei qui tollis, but pronounced Angnus Deei qui tollys.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 (eg'u deii'ku tei'bei, Agnus Dei'kwe toul's). Probably (Deei') should be (Deeei'), but it is not so marked. The phonetisation is not entirely Welsh. The pronunciation (toul's) was in accordance with the general sound of long o before l, see supra p. 194.

² The English examples were probably pronounced (bei'r laad', nuqk'I, missh-gud-it-ru, 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 confirme their vskylfual custome . . . . Or shall I prope
what playne Dame Truth, appearing in hir owne lykenes can
woorke against the wrynckled face neme\(^1\) Custome? . . . .
Soiurning at your house in Paules Churchyarde, the 6, of Maij.
1567. Your, assuredly, welwyller W. Salesbury.

[6] ¶ To hys louing Friende Maister Richard Colyngborne,
Wylliam Salesburie wysheth prosperous health and perfect felicitie.
[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 building 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 toungue.

And so than, in as much as I was not onelye induced wyth the
premises, but also further perswaded, that neither any inconvenience
or mischeife 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 wyle, to suche as
be desirous to be occupied there aboutes. As for all other, even as
it shall neuer worke 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 rudimenteres of the Welsh pronuncia-
tion of the letters, most humbly desiring the Readers to accept them
with no lesse benouolent humanitie, then I hartily pretended to-
wards them, when I went about to treate of the matter.

[10 Blank.]

The letters in the British toungue, have the same figure and
fashion as they haue in Englysh, and be in number as here vnder-
neath in the Alphabet appeareth.

good, you, which was not pronounced in
the sustained form. See p. 165, l. 24,
for Cotgrave's account of this phrase.
Salesbury does not recognize (z, w) as
different from (i, u), but I have always
used (z, w), as the difference of ortho-
graphy is merely theoretical (p. 185).

\(^1\) Thus printed in the original; the
word has not been identified. Wright
quotes William de Shoreham for kope
neme, 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.  

w. in auncient booke hath the figure of 6: and perhaps because it is the sixt vowel.

These be the vowels.

a e i o u w y.

These two vowels

a. w. be mutable.

The diphthonges be these, and be pronounced wyth two soundes, after the verye Greeke pro-
pronounciation.

Ae ai au aw ay  
ei ew  
ia ie io iw  
oe ow oy  
uw  
wi  
wy.

These letters be called consonauntes;

b. c. ch. d. dd. f. g. ff. k. l. ll. m. n. o. p. r. s. t. th. v.


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 tounge 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 deuide, as b, c, d, f, or t, in Englysh.

The pronounciation of A.

In the British in euery word hath ye true pronounciation of a in Latine. And it is neuer sounded like the diphthong au, as

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1 Here the modern Welsh alphabet introduces ng = (q).
2 Not used in Modern Welsh.
3 Here ph (f) is introduced in mo
dern 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 lih, M m, N n, O oo o, P p, PH f, R r, S s, T t, TH th, V v, U y, W u, Y y. The pronounciation 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 barad [sacerdos], pl. beirad; corn [cornu], pl. cyrh; dervn [pugnus], pl. dyrnau.—B.D."

7 This is by no means a complete list of modern Welsh diphthongs, and no notice has been taken of the numerous Welsh triphthongs. The Welsh profess to pronounce their diphthongs with each vowel distinctly, but there is much difficulty in separating the sounds of ae ai au ay from (ai), and iw from uo (iu, iu), oe, oy fall into (oi), and ei sounds to me as (ai). In ia ie io initial, Welshmen conceive that they pronounce (ia je jo), and similarly in wei, wey they believe they say (wi, wy).

This is doubtful to me, because of the difficulty all Welshmen experience, at first, in saying ye woo (si wu), which they generally reduce to (i uu).
8 That is the Welsh pronounce Latin a as their own a. Wallis evidently heard the Welsh a as (aæ, æ), supra p, 66, l. 18. Compare p. 61, note.
the Frenchmen sound it commyng before m or n, in theyr tounge,¹ nor so fully in the mouth as the Germaynes sound it in this woorde wagen:² Neyther yet as it is pronounced in English, when it commeth before ge, ll, sh, tch. For in these worde and such other in Englyshe, domage, heritage, language, ashe, lashe, watch, calme, call, a is thought to decline toward the sound of these diphthonges ai, au, and the worde to be read in this wyse, domage, heritage, language, ashe, wachtche, caul, caulme.³ But as I sayd before a in Welsh hath always but one sound, what so ever letter it follow or go before, as in these worde ap, cap, whych haue the same pronounciation and signification in both the tongues.⁴

[13] Much lesse hath a, such varietie in Welshe, as hath Aleph in Hebrue (which alone the poyncts altered) hath the sound of euery vowel.⁵ Howbeit that composition, and derivation, do oft tymes in the common Welsh speache chauce a into e, as in these worde, enueith {semel} soithfed {septimus}. So they of olde tyme turned a into e or ai in making their plural number of some worde reserving the same letter in the termination, and the woord not made one sallable longer, as apostol {apostolus}, epeystyl {apostoli}: caeth {servus}, caith {servi}: dant {dens}, daint {dentes}, map {filius}, maip {filii}; sant {sanctus}, saint {sancti}: tat {pater}, tait {patres}, etc., where in our tyme they extend them thus, apos- tolion, or apostoliteit, caethion: dannedd or dannedde: maibion, santie or seinie: taidie or tadeu. But now in Northwales daint & taid are become of the singular number, taid {avus} being also altered in signification Neuertheles e then succeedeth, & is also wrytten in the steede of a: so that the Reader shall neuer be troubled therewith.

¶ The sound of B.

B in Welsh is vniuersally read and pronoiced as it is in Englyshe. Albeit whan a worode begynneth wyth b, and is ioyned wyth moe worodes commyng in a reason, the phrase and maner of the Welshe speach (muiche like after the HEBRUE idiome) shal alter the sound of that b, into the sound of the Hebrue letter that they call Beth not daggessed, or the Greek Veta,⁶ either els of v being consonant in Latine or English: as thus where as b, in thys

¹ Après p. 143, l. 1, and p. 190.
² Meant to be sounded as (vaeg'en, vaehg'en, vaag'en)? The ordinary pronunciation of modern Saxony sounds to me (bhaagh'en).
³ Probably (dum'aidzh, her'taidzh, laq'waithzh, aish, waitsh, kaull, kauml). For the change to ai see pp. 120, 190; for that to au see pp. 143, 194.
⁴ Probably ap means ape; it does not occur in Salesbury's own dictionary, but he has "ab ne siak ab An ape," and "kap a cappe." The word siak is meant for (shak), and (shak) for (dzhak).
⁵ The Welsh now sometimes pronounce si as (sh), as ceisis petere (kai'sho), and they use it to represent English (sh, tsh; zh, dzh), which sounds are wanting in their language. Hence the passage means (ab ne dzhak-ab), an ape or a Jack-ape, as I learn from Dr. Davies.
⁶ As aleph is only (j) or (c) in pointed Hebrew, (p. 10,) it has no relation to any vowel in particular.
⁷ The Greek Β, is called (vii'ta) in modern Greek (pp. 518, 524). Salesbury seems to have pronounced (vee'ta).
So doe these welsh words cuvit, cuvicul, vioses, which be deriued of cubitus, cubiculum, bisextus. Walshe [14] word bys a fynger, is the primitiue (or if I should borow the Hebrue terme) the radical letter, which comming in the context of a reason, shall not than be calle d b, but c, as in thys text: ei vys his finger. And sometyme b shall be turned into m, as for an example: vymys my fynger: dengmlvvydd for deelvvydd, ten yeare old. And yet for all the alteration of thyts letter b, and of diuers other (as ye shall perceyue hereafter) whych by their nature be chaungable one for an other, it shall nothyng let nor hynder anye man, from the true and proper readyng of the letters so altered.

For as soon as the ydiome or proprietie of the tungue receuyeth one letter for an other, the radical is omitted and left away: and the accessorie or the letter that commeth in steede of the radical, is fortheith written, and so pronounced after his own nature and power, as it is playne inough by the former example. Whych rule, wrytyng to the learned and perfectly skilled in the idiome of the tongue, I do not always obserue, but not vnblamed of some, but how justly, let other some iudge.

Proidued alwayes that such transmutaion of letters in speaking (for therein consisteth all the difficultic) is most diligently to be marked, obserued, 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 vowell, 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, beare witnes, as, accen of accentu, Caisar Cessare, cicut of cicuta, cyst of cista, croc of cruce, raddic of radice, Luc of Luca, Iuc also of luce, Lluci of Lucia, llucern of lucerna, Mauric of Mauricio: natalie of nataliciis.

How be it some of our tyme doe vse 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 permutation, 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:

| radical | p t c | b d g | ll rh m |
| vocal   | b d g | f dd - | l r f |
| nasal   | mh nh ngh | m n ng |
| aspirate| ph th ch |

The (-) indicates the entire loss of q as gafs goat, dy afs thy goat; mh nh ngh are not (mh, nh, gh), but (mh nh gh) and consequently if there is no preceding vowell which can be run on to the (m, n, q), a murmur is inserted as ('mh, 'nh 'qh).
sound now c, as g, in the last termination of a word: Example, oe [juvenus], coc [moles], lloc [agger]: whych be most commonly read, og, cog, illo.

Furthermore, it is the nature of c to be turned into ch, and other whyles into g. But I meaneth thys, when a word that begynneth wyth c. commeth in construction as thus: Carv a Hart, Envie a' Charvv, 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 compouded of an and of craff, cred, Christ.

The sound of Ch.

Ch doth wholey agree with the pronunciatiō of ch also in the Germayne or *Scottysh* toungue, of the Greeke Chy, or the Hebreue [16] Cheth, or of gh in English. And it hath no affinitie at all wyth ch in Englyshe, except in these wordes, Mychael, Mychaelmas, and a fewe such other. ch also when it is the radical letter in any Welsh woord, remayneth immutable in every place. But note that their tongue of Southwales giueth them to sound in some wordes h onely for ch, as hvvech, for chveech [sex], hvvaer for chvear [soror]. Further ch sometyme 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 shulde haue been sayd i godi and not i chodi, i gar, and not i char. &c.

The sound of D.

D is read in Welsh e none otherwyse then in Englyshe, sauynge onelye that oftentymes d in the fyrst syllables shalbe turned into dd, resembling much Daleth the Hebreue d. And sometyme

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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 anngraff hebes, annghred infidelitas, annghrist anti-Christus.

3 Where it has really three sounds (kh, kh, kh) dependent on the preceding vowel (p. 53). Probably Salesbury only thought of (kh).

4 The Scotch words cited in the margin, are pronounced (rekht mekht).

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 נ and כ are by Euro-

peans confounded as (kh); taking the Arabic pronunciation of the corresponding ע ע they are (צ, krh).

7 This therefore confirms the existence of a sufficiently distinct (kh) in English, which may have been occasionally (kh).

8 It is not to be supposed that ch in these words was (kh) at that time. But the text certainly implies that the ch was not (tsh), and was therefore probably (k) as at present. All that is meant, then, probably, is that (kh) is more like (k) than (tsh).

9 The modern use in South Wales is to say (wh) initially for (kwh), as (whekh) for (k shekh).

10 Hebrew נ נ = (d, dh).
when a word beginnyng wyth d, is compounded wyth an: the d shall slyp away, as *anaven [in-donum] of an [in] and *dawn [donum]; *anoeth [in-doctus] of an [in] and *doeth [doctus].

*dd* is nothing lyke of pronunciation to *dd* in Englysh or Latine. For the double *dd* in Welsh hath the very same sound of *dhelta\(^1\) or *dhaeleth*, dashed wyth *raphe,\(^2\) or of \(d\) betwyxt .ij. vowels in the Hispanysh tongue,\(^3\) eyther els of \(th\), as they be commonly sounded in these Englysh wordes, the, that, thys, thyne.\(^4\) Neither do I meane nothyng lesse then that *dd* in Welshe is soundad at any tyme \([17]\) after the sound of \(th\) these wordes of Englishe, wyth thynne, thanke.\(^5\) But ye shall fynde in olde wryten Englysh bukes, a letter hauing the fygure of a Romayne \(y\), that your anucesters called *dhorn*, whych was of one efficacie wyth the Welsh *dd*.\(^6\) And this letter \(y\) I speake of, may you see in the booke of the Sermon in the Englyshe Saxons tonge, which the most reuenerd father in God D. M. P. Archbishop of Canturbury hath lately set forth in prynt.\(^7\) And ther be now in some countries in England, that pronounce *dd* euyn in these wordes *addes, fedder,\(^8\) 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 \(d,\)\(^9\) 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), shows that the present modern Greek system of pronunciation (p. 523) was then prevalent in England, see pp. 529-530 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 *Dagesh* was not found in any of the הבד אב ד letters, a mark called רפ י *Raphet*, 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 קהลומ, 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 *γ* with *raphe* was equivalent to the ordinary *γ* = (dh).

3 If the Spanish \(d\) in this place is not true (dh), it is so like it that Spaniars hear English (dh) as that sound, and English that sound as (dh). Don Mariano Cubi 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 (c), p. 4.

4 Pronounced (dhe, dhat, dh's, dhein).

5 Pronounced (with, thin, thagk).

6 This alludes to the common practice of printing \(y\) for \(\phi\), 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 addice*, now written *adze*, is generally called (adz). *Fedder* is perhaps meant for *feather* (fedh:) but may be *father*, provincially (feevdh:).

9 The Welsh has *dd*, *ff*, *U* (dh, f, lhh), 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 that he had put h, after the former d, in a signe of aspersion, than to adde 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 tyme by lykely-hoode they usd one constant maner of pronounciation of their letters euyn as the Hebrues did at the beginning.

[18] Dd also beginynning a word, sheweth that it commeth in construction: for there is no woord commyng absolutely that his fyrst syllable begynneth wyth dd.

Moreover, dd relateth the masculyne gender, as (Ai ddewraich ar ei ddvyrion) [illius hominis brachia duo super illius hominis pectora duo] for in an other gender, it would be sayd, Ai deuраich ar ei dvyrон [illius mulieris, &c. ut suprà].

How E ought to be sounded.

E without any exception hath one permanent pronounciation in Welsh,\(^1\) and that is the self pronunciation of Epsilon in Greke,\(^2\) or of e in Latine, being sounded aryght, or e in Englyshe, as it is sounded in these wordes, a weere, vvreke, breke, vvreste.\(^3\)

And the learner must take good heed that he never do reade the said e as it is red in these English wordes, wee, beleue.\(^4\) For than by so doing shall he eyther alter the signification of the word wherein the same e is so corruptly reade, either els cause it to betoken nothing at all in that speche. Example: pe [si] signifieth in English and if, now, ye rede it pi, than wil it betoken this letter p, or the byrd that ye call in Englyshe a Pye. And so give is, a webbe: but if ye sound e as i reading it gvi, then hath it no signification 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: wherby ye shall perceive that the diuersitie of pronounciation of e in these English wordes subscribed hereafter, wyll also make them to haue diuers significatiçs, and they be these wordes, bere, pere, hele, mele.\(^6\)

p. 758; and Dan Michel and others use ss for (sh), (suprà 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, hu, hr, he, suprà 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.

\(^3\) (Weer, wreek, weec, breck, wreest,)

\(^4\) (Wii, biliiv) as appears from what immediately follows.

\(^5\) (Bir) bier or beer, (beer) bear, (piir) peer, (peer) pear, (miil) heel, (meel) heal, (miil) meel = middle ?, (meel) meal, p. 79. Mr. Murray suggests that meal in the sense of food consumed at one time, German mahl, ags. mel, Scotch (mil) may have been (meal), and meal in the sense of flour, German mehl, ags. melu, Scotch (mil) may have been (miil) and that these were the two sounds Salisbury meant to distinguish. This is a priori most likely, but the orthographies leave the matter in great perplexity. Promptorium: meel of mete; mele or mete, commestio cibatus; meele of corne growndyn', farina far. Palsgrave: meele of corne farine, meale of meate repast. Levina: meale farina, by flock meale minutim, meele cana, which would seem to indi-
Neither yet doe we vs in Welsh at any time to write \( e \) in the middle or last sillables, & to leau it vnspoken in reading: as it is done by scheua in Hebrue, or as the maner of wrytyng and reading of the same is accustomed in Englysh, as it shall be more manifest by these wordes that followe: *gold*, *sylke*, *purenes*, Chepe-syde: wherein (as I suppose) \( e \) is not written to the extent it might be read or spoken, but to mollifye the syllable that it is put in.\(^1\)

But now I am occasioned to decline and stray somewhat from my purpose, and to reuеale my phantasie to yong wryters of Englishe, who (me thinketh) take ouer muche paynes, and bestowe vnrequisite cost (hauing no respect to the nature of the Englysh ending \( e \)) in doublyng letters to harden the syllable, and immediatly they adde an \( e \), whych is a signe of mittigatyng and softning of the syllable, after the letters so doubled, as thus: *manne*, *vworshippe*, *Godde*, *vrotte*, *vyshe*, *goodnesse*, *hemne*, *nette*: \(^2\) whych woordes wyth such other lyke, myght with lesse labour, and as well for the purpose, be wrytten on thys wyse: *man*, *vworshyp*. *God*, *vrott*, *vyshe*, *goodnes*, *hem*, *nett*: or rather thus: *man vworshyp*, *God*, *vrott*, *goodnes*, *hem*, *nett*.

[20] And though thys principle be most true *Frusta id fit per plurara, quod fieri potest per pauciora*, 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 syngle, 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 haue 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 wordes:

cate the difference (meel, miil) in an exactly opposite direction, but as Levins has: eale eel *anquilla*, beale beel *spelunca*, deale deele *portio*, he may have meant to imply that these words were in a transition state. The meaning of the two words (miil, 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, pyyrnes, Tsheep-seid).

\(^2\) (Man, wyrship, God, wot, wish, gudnes, hem, net), since *nette* must be a misprint for *nette*.

\(^3\) This may be partly an explanation of the varieties of orthography in the xvth 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 Salesbury's own book: tongue, tonge, tong, toungue, toungue, toung, tungue, tunge, tunge, toug; ags. tunge.

\(^4\) This is west country, still heard in Somerssetshire and Devonshire. In early English books of the West of England \( u \) is constantly used for \( f \). We also find it in Dan Michel's Kentish dialect 1340 (p. 409). The same places give also \( z \) for \( s \).
voure, vinq, disvynque, wish, vox: where they would say, foure, fine, disfigure, fishe, Fox, &c.¹

But who soeuer kneweth the sounde of the letter called Digamma (whose figure is much lyke F, but ouerwhelmed Eolicum & vpsydedowne, as ye see here ꞌ) he shall also know thereby the verye sounde of the syngle f in Welsh.² They of Southwales rather use v,³ where Northwales writers commonly occupye f.

‖ The sound of ff.

ff In Welsh hath but the same sounde that the syngle f hath in Englysh. And they are faigne to vse the double ff for the syngle f, because [21] they haue abused f in steede of v a consonant. But in such wordes as haue p for the fyftr letter of their originall (for to keepe the orthographie) the Learned wryte ph, and not ff; as thus, Petr a’ Phavel, Peter and Paule.

‖ The pronunciation of G.

G In every word in Welsh soundeth as the Hebrue Gymel:⁴ or g in Dutche,⁵ or as g in Englyshe soundeth before a, o, u. And marke well that g newer soundeth in Welshe as it doth in Englysh in these wordes, George, gynger.⁶ 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] aiwen ne’vvd [satisfactio vel sanguis]: koch ne ’las [rufus vel viridis]: and not koch ne glas: dulas [viridis nigrescens] of du [niger] and glas [viridis].

And otherwhyle wordes compounded shall put away g, as these do, serloyve, dulas: whose symple be these, ser [aster], gloyve [purus], du [niger] glas [viridis].

Also g is added to the beginning of such wordes as be derived of the Latine, whych begyn wyth v, as Gvrlim, gvic, gvynt, Gvent, gvin, gosper of WWilielmus, vicus, ventus, Venta, vinum, vesper.⁷

Moreover, g intruded wrongely into many wordes, namely after n, as Llating for Llatin, Katering for Katherin, pring for prin [vix].

[22] Of the aspiration of H.

H In every word that is wrytten in Welshe, hath his aspiration in speakyng also, and is read, euene as in these wordes of Englysh, hard, heard, hart, hurt:⁸ And therefore wheresoeuer h is wrytten in Welshe, let it be read wythall, and not holden styll,

¹ (Fouur, feiv, disfig-yyr, fishe, foks).
² That is, when the sound of the digamma has been previously settled. Was it (f, v, wh, bh)? See supra p. 518, note 3.
³ “Not now.—B. D.”
⁴ i = (g), j = (gh).
⁵ G in high Dutch or German generally = (g) and occasionally = (gh, gh), in low Dutch or Dutch of Holland = (gh), or more nearly (grh, r). Supra p. 209, note.
⁶ (Dzhordzh, dzhüm-dzher.)
⁷ This is common in French and Italian. In endeavouring to say (wa) they say (gwa), and then (ga).
⁸ (Hard, nerd, hard, hart, hurt.)
as it is done in French and Englysh, in such wordes as be derined out of Latyne, as these: honest, habitation, humble, habite. Except when h is setled betwene two vowels in Welshe, wordes: for then it forceth not greatlye whether h be sounded or not, as in these wordes that followe: deheu ['dexteritas'], kyhyr ['musculus'] mehein ['adexit'], gwyncheu, heheu,2 gwenlyyd ['textor'], gohir ['mora']. &c.

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 trugarga, for trugard. Then because ch is not of the essence of the word, I leue 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 vse to sou’d it, and not as they y4 with their Iotacisme corrupting the pronunciation make a [23] dipthong of it, saying: vedei, tebei for vidi, tibi. But looke how i soundeth in Englysh, in these wordes, singing, ringing, drinking, vvinking, nigh, sight, might, right.3 So then i in every syllable in Welshe hath euen the same sounde as e hath in Englyshe in these wordes, eue, see, three, bee. And i is neuer sounded so broade in Welsh as it is in thys English word *I.4 And bysyde that ’ is neuer consonant in Welsh,5 but euer remaining a vowel, as it doth in y*

* Ego Germayne tonge, or as Iota in the Greke. And because they that hau not tasted of the preceptes of Grammer do not lightly vnderstande what thys terme consonant meaneith: I wyll speake herein as playne as I can, for to induce them to vnderstand my meanyng.

when i is consonant, when i is vowel.

Therefore we say in spellynge m a, ma: i e, ie: et 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 thys wyse: i per se i, o r k, ork, and wyth doyng them togyther, reade iork;: then i is not called consonant, but hau the name of a vowel.

1 (On’est, abite’shun, um’bl, ab’it). See above p. 229.
2 The words gwyncheu, heheu, have not been identified.
3 (Siq’iq, riq’iq, driq’iq, wiq’iq, nqkh, sikht, mqkh, riqht). 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, i), but use sometimes one sound and sometimes the other, suprâ p. 112, note 1. The (mèsht) and not (nei) or (neikht) 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 (j) 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 worth- less. 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 (x) in such words iawn tach, Jesus. In English, Smith and Hart consider (i) and (i) to be the same sounds, suprâ p. 185.
And therefore if ye lyst to reade ryghtly Welshe woordes where-
in \( i \) is wryten, an other vowell immediatlye folowing (for therein
else is there no hinderaunce for the straunge Reader) than must you harken how \( i \) (whych
I wryte for \( y \)) is sounded in these Englysh woordes: \( i \)-ane, \( i \)-arde, \( i \)-elde, \( i \)-elk, \( i \)-elle, \( i \)-elovv, \( i \)-ere, \( i \)-ok, \( i \)-ong, \( i \)-ought, \( i \)-orke, \( i \)-ou:
And thoughghe
these woordes bee wrytten here \( [24] \) now
wyth \( i \), in the first letter of evry one, yet it is ment that you
should reade them as the \( i \) were \( y \), and as they had been wrytten
on thys fashion: \( yane, yarde, yolde, yell, yelovv, yere, yok, yong,
yought, yorke, you. \) 

Now I trust that the dullest witted chylde that neuer read but
two lynes, perceaueth so familiar a rudiment.

† The sound of \( K \).

K Fowloweth the rule of \( c \) in evry poynyt, and therefore looke for
the effect of \( k \), where it is treated of the letter \( c \).

‡ The sound of \( L \).

L Hath no nother difference in soud 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. \(^3\) And for
the playner vnderstandyng therereof, looke in the rules that
do treat of the sounde of \( a \) and \( o \).

And marke whan seuer ye see \( l \) to be the fyrrst 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 \( l \) haung \( ll \) in his \([25]\) radical, maketh
relation of the masculin gender, as \( yn \ y \) lawv in his hand: for \( yny
llawv \) is in her hand.

Item thys lysping letter \( l \) is now smotheley receyued in some
woordes, contrary to their original nominations, as \( temstl \) for \( tempest; \)
\( rrisel, trisclyn, \) for \( rrise \) or \( rriscyn [cortex]: pymysl \) or \( pymystl \) for
\( pemblys \) [quinne digit]: so named of the resemblace that the
rootes haue wyth mans fingers: which is now better known by a
more vnpathe name euyn \( Ceeut \ y dver, \) and in Englysh Water small-
edge. \(^4\)

So likewyse to this letter \( l \) a loytrinyg place is lent to lurk in this
English word \( syllable. \) \(^5\) 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) in the Scotch word \( ee \) for \( eye. \)

\(^2\) (Jaun, yard, iulde, iel, yelovv, iir, joak, juq, junte, Jorke, jiu). The ort-
thography \( yough \) for \( youth \) is peculiar.

\(^3\) This alludes to the old English
pronunciation of \( tall, toll \) as (taul, toll), supra p. 193-4

\(^4\) Apparently \( cicuta virosa, \) Water
cowbane, Water Hemlock, now spelled
\( ceigid \) in in Welsh.

\(^5\) This, in conjunction with the pre-
ceding, is meant to point out the syl-
labic (\( i \)), see p. 195.
Of the straunge sound of double ll.

Il can not be declared anye thyng lyke to the purpose in wryting, but onely by mouth: if ye thē 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: 2 but looke how Lambda com¬ming before Iota is sounded in the Greeke: 3 euen so pronounce we ll in the Welsh. And if ye could hyt kyndely on the right and iust pronunciation of lh thus aspirated: not leauyng unsouded 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 lyttle to the roufe of the mouth, and with that somewhat extendyng it selfe betwyxt the fore teeth the lyppes not all touching together )but leauyng 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 Ecolampadius, 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 (tabl'h) for (tabl') see p. 52, and in Icelandic, p. 645. 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 cl'ck (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-an) when shouted sounds like (tlan). 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 (ljjh, ljhh). All these forms with (hh) 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' cambiamenti iniziali, sia nel suono della lettera l, del Principe Luigi-Luciano Bonaparte, Londra 1866, it is stated that (lhh, lhh, ljjh) occur in the Sardinian dialect of Sassari, and (lhh, lhh) 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 (th, 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 (l) first into (l) and then into (ljjh). See also p. 646, n. 1.
thys letter, geue eare to a Welshmā when he speaketh *culltell*, which betokeneth a knyfe in Englysh: or *ellyll* a goste.

The Welshman or the Hispaniarde compose their mouthes much after one fashion when they pronounce their *l*,1 sauyng that the Welshman vttether it with a more thicker and a more mightier spirite. The Englyshe mans tounge when he would sound *ll*, slydeth to *l*.

The Germanes lykewyse, as writeth John Auentin, as we do now, did in auncient time aspire *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 thyng manner *H L.*2 Thus you see how tONGEs though far distant, haue som affinitie in one thynge or other.

The sound of *M.*

[27] 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 channgeable in construction as thus: *mvvy*, moe, *llai ne vvy*, lesse ormore, *mvyvyvy*, 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]: *ampvyyll* [impatientia], or *an & pryvyll* [prudentia].

N also is often times accessory, I meane such as intrudeth into many wordes, namely beginning with *c* or *k*, as *vynnar* [meus carus] *vy-car*, *vyndev* [meus deus], for *vy-dev*, or *vynyev*.

And because in suche woordes it is nothyng of the essence thereof, I doe, but not without offence to some Readers, oftentimes omit the writing of it, thynckynge that it is not more meete to admitt *n* in our so sounded wordes, than in these Latine vocables *agnus*, *magnus*, *ignis*, at what tyme they were thus barbarously sounded, *anngus*, *mangnus*, *ingis*. After this sort crept *n* into *messanger* comming of *message*. By ye like analogie *potanger* (which I thynke no man doth so write) must be written for *potager*, and so corrupt *Portingal* for *Portugal.*3

[28] But I will prescribe nothing herein, least of some Remissian I be termed a Precision.

1 The Spanish *ll* is (*j*), 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 *hl* see supra pp. 513, 540.

The sound of **O**.

O In Welsh is sounded accordyng to the right sounding of it in Latin: cyther else as the sounde of ō is in these Englyshe wordes: a Doe, a Roe, a Toe:₁ and ō neuer soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these words of Englysh: to, do, tvvo.₂ But marke that ō in Welshe going before ū, soundeth nothing more boystous,₃ that is to say, that it inclineth to the sounde of the diphthong ōv (as it doth in Englishe)₄ 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 com-
myng in construction foloweth the rules of the Hebrue Phē,⁵ sauing that somtyme it is turned into b, as thus: peďvir neu bemp [quatuir vel quinque], for pemp. And sometyme p in composition is chaunged also into b, as when we say ymbell [longe], for ymPELL. And one whyle it is left out of the compounde wordes: as when these wordes: kymell, kymORTH, be wrytten for kymPELL [compello], kymPORTH [comporto].

And an other whyle our tongue geueth vs to sound it as it was an h, as when we say: ymhl [29] ymhlvyy, ymhlas for ymPLE [ℶ], ym-plvyy [in plebe] ym-plas [in palatio].

But p turned into ph, maketh relation of the feminine gender, as O'i phlant, of her children, gewise i phon, the attire of her head.

The sound of **Q**.

Q Is not receiued amŏg the numbre 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 Kyrii AO is written for Quirino, Quarto for Quarto.⁶

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 observa-
tions 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 xvrth century I infer as in p. 95.

₂ (Tu, duu, tuu).

₃ Boystous, probably (buistus) does not appear to be a misprint, but a more correct form than the modern boisterous. The Promptorium has boy-
stous, the Catholicon bustus, the Ortus Voc. boystous, Chaucer boystously 8667 (Wright reads boystrously incorrectly, the r not occurring in Harl, 7334, Cam. Univ. MS. Dd. 4, 24. has bois-
tously,) and in several other places, the Wycliffe version has bostous, Math. 9, 16, as pointed out by Mr. Way on the word in the Promptorium. The origin seems to be the Welsh bwyst wilderness, bwyst savage, bwystfiL wild beast, bwystrus brutal ferocious, which ac-
count properly for the diphthong in the first syllable. Mr. R. Morris re-ers the word to boost, Welsh bost.

₄ This again refers to the English toll (= (touil).

₅ B = (p), D = (ph) not (f).

put to $r$, as they play by $d$ and and $l$, euen thus: $rrvvygvyd$ [fractus], $rrodore$ [vanitas], $rringell$ [miles], $Rufain$ [Roma]. But the maner of some is to wryte one great capital $R$ (when it is the first letter of a word) for the twoo double $rr$. Also $r$ serueth the turne that $n$ doth in English, that is to wyt, to be put betwene vowels meeting together in two sundry wordes, for to stop the vncomely gaping in spech, as ye shall perceyue by these wordes of both the [30] tongues: $yr$-$aevr$: $a$-$n$ houre: for mother nature wyll not admyt that we should pronounce $y$ $aevr$, or a $hour$. But stepmother Ignorance receyueth both $r$ and $n$ into some places where they are abused, as $yr$ $Llatin$, for $y$ $Llatitude$.

\[ The\ sound\ of\ S.\]

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 vowels 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 manifestly proued, $Feisant$ a $Fesant$.^3

\[ The\ sound\ of\ T.\]

T Lykewyse hath but one sounde, and that as the Latines sound it in these wordes: $alat$, $ute$, $tegit$: Neyther do I meaneth that $t$ in Welsh is sounded at any tyme lyke $th$, as some barbarous lyspers do, who depraueth the true Latine pronounciation, reading $amath$, for $amat$, $dederith$, for $dederit$, &c.^4

Now be it marke well thyss exception, that $t$ is neuer read lyke $c$ thorowouthe the Welsh tongue, as it is commonly read of Englyshemen in Latine verbales ending in $tio$, as $Exception$ pronunciatio, electio, subjunctio.

[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 thyss is to be vnderstande when $t$ is the first letter of a word set in construction to be construed or buylt together on thys fashion: $Na$ $thric$ $yuhy$ $dvvy$ $aevr$ $ne$ $daiv$ [Ne mane in domu duas horas vel tres]. For before they be hewed, squared, and jotyned together wyth theyr tenantes and mortesses, they lye in rude and vndressed timber after this maner of sort: $Na$ $trye$ $yn$ $ty$ $dvvy$ $aevr$ $ne$ $taiv$. Furthermore $t$ in deriuation is left out of the deriued wordes or turned in $n$, that they myght sound more pleasaunt to the eare, as ye may take these for an example: $chwanoc$ or $chwaa$

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1 To $r$, that is, two $r's$, or $rr$. The modern form is $rh$, rather ('rn) than (rh), so that $Rhys$ ('Rn'ys) sounds more like (r's) than (r's).

2 Of course "an hour" is the old form, and "a'" comes from the omission of $n$ before a consonant. The ignorance is therefore rather in Salesbury.

3 This occasions difficulties in writ-

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1 Palsgrave says of the French $d$ that he sees "no particular thynge wherof to warne the lernar saue that they sounde nat $d$ of $ad$ in these words adultere, adoption, adeuuer, like $th$, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of Latine $ath$ athiuvandum for $ad$ adiuvandum corruptly."
noc; gwvoc or gwvnuroc monweni or monwenni: heinieu or heinnieu of chvant [libido], gvwnt [ventus], monwvent [monumentum], haint [pestis].

The sound of Th.

Th hath the semblable and lyke sound in Welsh as it hath in English in these worodes, thorowve, thycke, and thynne:\(^1\) but it is neuer so lythly spoken as it is commonly sounded in these other words: that, thou, thine, this.\(^2\)

Moreouer th wrytten for the fyrrst letter of any worde, sheweth the same woroode to be than in construction. For there is no Welshe woorde standing absolutely that hath th for hys fyrrst letter: but t is hys natiue and originall letter, for the [32] which in construction th is commonly vsed. Neither yet do we vse to wryte th, in any woroode, and to reade the same as t or d, as is commonly done in these English worodes: Thomas, throne, threasure, Thauies Inne:

Thauies In which be most uniuersally spoken after this sorte: Tomas, trone, treasure, Dawies Inne.\(^3\)

Item th sometyme signifieth the word to perteyne to the feminine gender, as Oi thuy of her house, otherwyse said, oi dyu, of hys house.

The sound of V being consonant.

V specially being wrytten in thys maner of fashion v, soundeth in Welshe as in Englyshe or Latine, when it is a consonant.\(^4\) And it lightly neuer begynneth a woroode, expect the woord be constructed and ioynd wyth one or more worodes. For other b or m, being the originall or radicall letter, is transmuted or chauged (according to the congruitie of the tounge into v a consonant.

But Latine worodes begynnynge with v, and vsurped in the Welsh, shall receyue g to their fyrrst letter, as is declared more at large in the treatice of the letter G, and sometyme B, as bier 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 worodes of English: trust, bury, bung, Hawberden.\(^5\) But know well that it is neuer sounded in Welsh, as it is done in any of these two Englyshe worodes (notwythstanding the diversiteit of their sound) sure, luce.\(^6\) Also

\(^1\) (Thurou, thk, thn).
\(^2\) (Dhat, dhou, dhein, dhis).
\(^3\) (Tomas, trunm). see next section under Th. (tree-zyr, Daviz 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, biri, bizi, Huberden). (Trist) still occurs in Scotland, (biri) was even then more usually (beri) but is the common Scotch now, and (bizi) remains. Huberden is probably Huberten, 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.
\(^6\) (Syyr, 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 \( u \), in French, or \( u \), wyth two prickes over the heade in Duch, or the Scottish pronunciation of \( u \) alludeth somewhat nere vnto the sound of it in Welshe, though he yet none of them all, dooth so exactly (as I thynk) expresse it, as the Hebraick Kubuts doeth.\(^2\)

For the Welsh \( u \) is none other thing, but a meane sounde betwyxte \( u \) and \( y \) byeng Latyne vowels.\(^3\) And therefore who so euet wyll distinctlye learne the Welsh sound of \( u \) let hym once geue eare to a Northen Welsh man, when he speakeh in Welsh, the wordes that signifie in English obedient (or) * chaff singlerly: which be these in Welshe, \( u\)\textsuperscript{wudd}, \( u\textsuperscript{usun}.\)\(^4\) And this vowel \( u \) alone amone all the letters in Welsh, swarueh in sound from the true Latine pronunciation.

Thys \( u \) is more in vre wyth vs of Northwales than wyth theim of the South parteis: whose wryters abuse it, when they wryte thus, \( u\textsuperscript{n} y\textsuperscript{n} \) for \( y\textsuperscript{n} u\textsuperscript{n}.\)

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**The sound of \( W \).**

W In Welshe and Englyshe hath but one fygure and power, though it chaunceh 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 indeed this passage is sufficient to shew that he did not mean (syur). Smith and Bullock both give (luk).

1 All meant for the sound of (yy), although at present there are occasional faint differences of sound, but not acknowledged, French (yy), German (ir), Swedish (\(uu\)), Scotch (\(w\)).

2 This of course means that Salesbury pronounced the Hebrew \( \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{P} \) (xibbus), generally considered as (\( u \)) in the same way as Welsh \( u \); also he shewes 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 conjunction with his opening sentence, that his sound of Welsh \( u \) did not much differ from (\( i \), \( o \)), and that where he uses it for the representation of English sounds, he certainly meant (\( i \)) or (\( o \)).

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 \( Du\text{uw} \) appeared to be (\( i \)), in \( lle\text{wyrchu} \) it was not distinguishable from (\( i \)), in \( dechreuad, go\text{leuni} \), I could not distinguish the diphong \( eu \) from the English (\( ai \)), though the sound of \( ai \) in \( gair \) was distinctly (\( ai \)) 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 attempt was made to preserve the sound, but that usually \( u \) became (\( i, i \)) 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 Swedw the \( y \), theoretically (\( y \)), becomes (\( i \) or, to my ear, practically (\( i, i \)).

4 Theoretically (\( yy\text{y}yd\text{h}, yy\text{y}sy\text{m} \)), practically (\( iiv\text{ydh} ii\text{sin} \)) or even (\( iiv\text{ydh}, ii\text{sin} \)) 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 pronunciatiō or ells as you now sounde your oo.  
But the lesser Greeke o ioyned togyther wyth the Greke y made a diphthong;  
or Hebraic Vau cum puncto schurek in ventre, either oo in these English vocables: booke, looke, boorde, woorde, shall rather expresse hys name, than hys proper nature.

But hys owne power, and peculler office in Welshe, shall there no letter nor letters more preciselye set it forth than the vv it selfe, or oo wyth the Englishy pronunciation. For all though the Germaynes vse a vv yet in some worde sounde they it (to my hearing) as the forther u was a vowel, and the latter o consonant,  
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 Englishyse on thys wyze:

wyth aw: and in Welshe as thns: evyth, avven.

And though, as I sayd before, I fynde in som auncient writers 6 for vv, yet in other I find vv in words now usuallly written w[+]v or f as eithavv, for eithav or eithaf. In which kynde of worde, bycause they of Southwales vse yet to kepe ye pronunciatiō of it, saying tavly where we saye tavlu or toflu [jacio], I doe rather vse for the more indifferencie to wryte v than f, evē that they may the more aptly resolve [35] it into their wonted vowell vv, and we maye sounde the same after our more consonaunt acceptation. But contrarily, we saye deynydd where they sound deynydd 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 Welshe woordes as be deducted of the Latine, turne their x into s, as doe these: nos, estenna, escommun, estran, bices, escuso, escutio, Sas or Saiš, which come of nox, extendo, excommunicatus, extraneus, bisex-tus, escuso, escutio, Saxo.

1 Meaning (uu, u).
2 Modern Greek pronunciation (uu) for ou.
3 Hebrew פ, נוע (shuarek*), meaning = (uu).
4 (Buk, luuk, buurd, wuurd). Bullokar and Gill also give (luuk), the shortening of the vowel into (luk) or rather (luk) is quite modern. North country pronunciation is still (luuk), though Mr. Malvyle 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, wuurd). Boorde was the spelling at that time for board, as in 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 ω, as he prints it, into vv, which he immediately calls uu, 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 ω as (yu), thus wann = (yuan), nearly (ywan) or perhaps (yvan). 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 evyth, vv is in the "forther" part, and in avven in the "latter" part of the diphthong, which ought to make Salesbury’s German ev = (uv), as (uvan), which being disyllabic is im-
The sound of \( Y \).

\( Y \) is sounded in Welsh, as it is in these English words: \( yn, synne, ys, thynne, vvynne. \)

The English Scolers tongues be maruicely tormentet in soudyn the Greke \( ypsi\)\( \tilde{\nu} \) and yet atain not to the right sound.\(^3\)

of \( Le \) in Frenche, or of the Articles \( Ha, Ho, \) in Hebreue and Greke, as thus: \( y dyn, \) whose proper sygnification in English is not commonly vset, except a man should saye, the person: \([36]\) but \( Le \) homme shall well declare it to any that shall be skilled in the French: And by, meanes hercfe we vse to expresse the excellencie that the Evangelistes attribute to \( Iesus, \) when they add the Greke article thereto: which they seeme advisedly to do, omitting to write it when they speake in the name of the Fewes or Gentiles.

The sound of \( Z \).

\( Z \) in Welsh is vununknown, in so muche that it was neuer placed in possible. As Salesbury does not recognize \((z)\) he also does not recognize \((w)\), hence \(wsyth aw = \) with awe, is to him \((wth\ an)\), not \((wth\ an)\). It is hopeless to look for agreement upon this point of theory. Supra p. 513, n. 2.\(^1\)

\(^1\) (In, \( \sin, \) \( iz, \) 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 \( = \) Eng. as \( Seen \) (\( \text{dim} \)), in polysyllables as \( dyion=wu \) in but \( \text{den-ion}. \)." On which Dr. Davies observes, "rather \( i \) in \"(\text{dim} \)-ion.\" In the examination of this sound as pronounced by the Welsh students at Regents Park College, (supra p. 763, note 3), the word \( dyion \) seemed more like \( \text{den-ion} \) than \( \text{den-ion} \), but I noted the following pronunciations, \( gyd \) (\( \text{gad} \)), \( yn y \) (an \( \alpha \)), \( truw\text{yd} \) (\( \text{truw}-\text{idho} \), \( ynd\text{do} \) (\( \text{ar}-\text{dho} \)) \( bywyd \) (\( \text{bau}-\text{id} \)), \( syd \) (\( \text{siuh} \)), \( l\text{lewyrchu} \) (\( \text{bhewerch}\), \( \text{tswaw\text{-}ruko} \) and \( \text{taw\text{-}ruko} \) 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 \( (o) \), 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 \( dy, \) \( dy\text{d}, \) \( dy\text{t}, \) \( fy, \) \( myn, \) \( y, \) \( yd, \) \( ym, \) \( yn, \) \( yr, \) \( ys, \) it is pronounced \( (o) \), in all other monosyllables \( (y) \). In final syllables it is always \( (y) \). In the prefix \( cyd, \) and sometimes \( cyn, \) as \( cydeistedd, \) \( cynehood, \) and in adjectives and adverbs prefixed as \( cry-\text{afog}, \) it is also \( (y) \). After \( w \) it is generally \( (y) \) as \( gwynfyd, \) \( mynwbyd, \) \( bu\text{ysta}, \) but to this rule there are several exceptions especially if \( w \) is short or follows a vowel, as \( chwyru, \) \( chwysu, \) \( ll\text{lewyrchu}, \) \( t\text{wynil}, \) \( a\text{wyrdu, \) \( e\text{wyllys in which it is \( (z) \). In all other cases not specified in these rules it is \( (z) \).

\(^2\) (Weid, \( \text{weid} \)). The first word is clear, but the second is doubtful. \( Wynge \) should = wing, which was certainly called \( (\text{wia}) \). There is a Norfolk word \( winge \) to shrivel, in Wright\'s Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English, but that is probably \( (\text{windh}) \). Most likely \( vynge \) is a misprint for \( vvynde, \) which, even as a substantive, is called \( (\text{weid}) \) by Bullokar, and \( (\text{weid}) \) by Gill.

\(^3\) The Greek \( \upsilon \) 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 speak of it, but because I would put the reader vitterly out of doubt in this behalfe. How be it, z may conueniently 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.

[This section has no interest.]...[37]

[38] Annotation. [This also has no interest.].......[39]

[40] A briefe reherasall of all the rules before, with certayne other additions thereto pertayning.

A comparsio of the pronuntiati of the letters in Welshe, to the pronuntiatio of the Greeke and Hebreue letters.

C and K be not vnylyke in sound vnto Caph and Kaph.²

Ch, chi, cheth and caph wyth raphe,³ be of one sounde.

D soundeth as Daleth, Daghessata.⁴

Dd contayneth the power but of one letter, and that of Dcheth, or of daleth not daggesset.⁵

[41] E is much spoken after the sounde of the vowels Segol or Epsilon.⁶

F and Beth wythout the poynt Dagges or the Greke Veta be as one in sounde.⁷

ff (or) ph agree in pronunciation with the Greke Phy or the Hebreack phe not poynted wyth Dages.⁸

G is sounde as Gimeel or the Dutch g.⁹

H and th' aspiration He be equal in power.¹⁰

I in euerye poynt agreeeth wyth the Greke Iota.¹¹

L Lamedh, and Lambdha, disagre not in sound.¹²

Ll countreyayleth 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 s when necessary, as indicated by other authorities.

² Ʃ = (k) in ܚ= (kaph), ܐ= (x) in ܐ= (xooph).

³ That Ʃ without the dagesh point = (kh).

⁴ ܝ= (d).

⁵ ܕ= (dh), ܕ= (dh).

⁶ ܒ= (seeghool) is the short (e), w was the same.

⁷ ܒ = (bb), ܒ = (v) or (bh), suprā 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 β. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that this is a mistake, and that the Constantinopolitans Greeks invariably say (v). See remarks on Icelandic v. supra p. 549.

⁸ φ = (f) or (ph) see supra p. 513, note 2; ܒ = (ph).

⁹ ܓ = (g), German g = (g) generally.

¹⁰ ܢ = (n).

¹¹ “Except in being occasionally a consonant as (q).”—B.D.”

¹² ܝ, ܠ = (l).

¹³ ܠ = (li), see above p. 756, note 3, and p. 757, note 1.

¹⁴ ܒ, ܒ, ܡ = (m, n).
O and Omega shall sound as one.\(^1\)

P doth as well imitate Phe and Phy in sound as in other conditions.\(^2\)

R hath a peculiar concinnitie with Rho.\(^3\)

S Samech and Sigma may go togyther well enough for their tune.\(^4\)

T soundeth as Teth or Tav dagesset in the Hebrew.\(^5\)

Th hath the very sound of Theta or Tav hauing no Dages.\(^6\)

V beyng consonante soundeth as Both wythoute Dages or as Veta doeth.\(^7\)

V beyng vowell is read as Kibuts and not much vnlyke vnto Ypsilon.\(^8\)

Y hath the verye sound Ypsilon.\(^8\)

\(\mid\) What further concinnitie the Letters in Welsh chawe 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 thyrce 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 neuer the like sounde in the Welshe tong, as they haue in these Englyshe wordes, chere, gentle, Iacke.\(^9\)

[43] Of contraction vset in welshe.

[This section possesses no interest].

Of accente.

The observation of accente is it that shall do muche towarde the attaynyng of the natuine pronunicatyon 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 Welsh: gwydddd, gwyllll, gwyrrr: and in English: these, differ, provide, denye. &c.\(^{10}\)

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1. \(\Omega=\omega\) in modern English pronunciation of Greek, but \(\omega\) in modern Greek, supra p. 523, as in modern Welsh, where \(\text{po}b\) \(\text{peth}\) is called \(\text{poob peeth}\) not \(\text{poob peth}\), and the older English, p. 96.

2. Phe means \(\Phi=(p)\), but what does \(\text{phy}\) mean? It should be \(\Phi\), but that has been already appropriated to \(f\) = \((f)\). Probably \(\text{phy}\) is a misprint for \(\text{py}=\pi\).

3. The "peculiar concinnitie" refers perhaps to the aspirated form \(\Phi\) which Salesbury accepts as his \(r\), modern \(rh\), now (\'rh\) rather than (\(rh\)).

4. \(\text{D}, \sigma\) taken as \(= (s)\), as they were certainly then pronounced though the determination of the original sound of each letter presents difficulties.

5. \(\text{D}=\langle t\rangle, \text{N}=\langle t\rangle\), they are generally confounded.

6. \(\Theta, \Pi=(th)\).

7. Supra p. 747, n. 6, and p. 764, n. 7.

8. Kibuts here is kibuts on p. 761, where see note 2, Greek \(\nu=\langle i\rangle\), formerly \(\langle y\rangle\).

9. (Tsheer, dzhentl, Dzhak).

10. \(\text{N}\dot{e}\dot{o}\) young, \(\text{ve}\dot{o}\) fresh land, fallow and the Ionic gen. of \(\text{va}\dot{u}\) a ship; \(\tau\dot{o}\text{mos}\) a cut, a piece cut off, \(\tau\dot{o}\text{mos}\) cutting, sharp; \(\phi\dot{a}\dot{p}\) any large piece of cloth, a cloth, sheet, shroud, cloak, \(\phi\dot{a}\dot{p}\) lighthouse from the island \(\phi\dot{a}\dot{p}\).

In the first three words the position of the accent mark causes a difference in modern Greek pronunciation, (\(\text{ne}'\text{o}s, ne'o\), to'mos, to'mos') 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. G\(\text{bydd}\) (gu\(\text{yd}\)h) pasture.
Certayne Englishe wordes wher of ye may gather the Welshe pronunciation of the letters.

Archangell, Beynge, Called, Michael, Discomftyed *Dde, Euer
*Fillaynous. Fend, Gget Him, Itch I-eldynge, Kest,
Laye, Mellett, Murrmyrnyge, Not Ouer, Preuayled,
Rauenyng, Horrible, Satan, Tormented, Thorowe,
Ualien, Busines, Worthye, Yll.¹

Certayne wordes wherein the letters be most unlikely sounded to Welshe pronunciation of them.

[44] All, Combe, Dombe, Cesse, Cyue, Checke, Adder, Ele,
Fyshe, Gender, Engyn, Humour, Honour, In, Jaundice, Fall,
*Osyll, Reason, Season, Thomas, Thavies Inne,
The blacke byrd That, Vnle, 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, *gwydd (gwydth) wood,
or a weaver’s loom; *gwyll (gwyrllh) a bag, goblin, ghost; *gwyll (gwlth)
shade; *gwyrr (gwyr) oblique, sloping, see supra p. 726; *gwyr (gwiir) fresh
vigorous verdant. The English examples are more difficult; differ is probably
differ differ; provide is unintel-
ligible for only provide occurs, not
provide, though we have provide.
Mr. Brock suggests that provide may
be meant for proved; deny only occurs
as deny, but deny is both denier a French coin, accented denier (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 denier one who denies.

¹ These words seem to be, Archangel (ark’-an-dzhel), being (bi’-a), called
(kaul-ed), Michael (Meik’-el), dis-
comftyed (diskum’-fited), the (the), ever
(ever), villainous (vil’a-nus), fleend
(fennd), get (get), him (him), itsh (ish),
yielding (yild’-i), kest 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 = kissed,
but the word is doubtful; lay (lai),
mellett has the second l battered and
looks like mellett, but the l is plainer
in the Grenville copy, it is possibly
meant for millet (mil’-et), murrmor-
ing (murr’mig), not (not), over
(ov-ver), prevailed (prevailed’),
ravelling (rav’-enig), horrible, (horrib’),
Satan (sa-tan), tormented (tormented’),
through (thr-u), valiant (val’-ant),
busines (biz’-ines), worthy (wurth’),
till (til).

² Probably all (aul), comb (kum) as
a hill, dumb (dum), cease (secs), sieve?
“as water in a sive” Much ado, act 5, sc.
1, v. 6, 1623 ed., (siv), check (shek),
adder (ad’-er), eel (ill), fish (fish), gender
(dzhend’-er), engine (en’-dzhin), humour
(nuy’mur), honour (on’-ur), in (in). f.
jaundice (dzaun’-dis), fall (faul); osyll
is explained in the margin as the black-
bird, which answers to the osyll of
Levins, osyyl of Huilet, the modern
ouzel or ouzel (uuz’-el) is sometimes used
for a blackbird merula vulgaris, though
more commonly for the water ouzel,
dipper, water crow or py特 merula
aquatica, cinclus aquaticus, reason
(rees’-un), season (secz’-un), Thomas
(Tom’-as), Thavies Inn (Dav’-iz in), that
(dhat), uncle (uak’-l) or perhaps (nuak’-
1 see p. 744, and note 2; idle (i-dl),
(sindzh’-i), singing because (sieg’)
would be like the Welsh sound of the
letters.
[45] ... ¶ A generall rule for the readyng of VWelsh.

T Hough there be diuers precepts here tofore wrytten of the Welsh pronunciation of the letters, I would thinke it not ouermuch dissonant, nor yet to wyde from the purpose, to admonishe you in thyse behalfe, that is, that you ought not to reade the Welsh accordyng 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 thà the expressed letters do giue. Which maner of reading is so vterlye eschued in Welsh, as ye perceyue it to be exactly obserued of them that perfitelye reade the Latine tonge: Nei[46]ther do I meane here to cal them perfit and Latelike Readers as many as do reade angnus, mängnus, for agnus, magnus, ignis, for ignis, santus, for sanctus, savel, for sal: sovel, for sol: and for mihi, meichæ: and egov, for ego: twv for tu: and quith ligith, in stede of quid legit. &c.1 Therefore ye must learne to forget such maner of pronunciation, agaynst ye prepare your selues to reade ye's Welsh. Moreover, ye ought to know, that these wordes: dringo [scandere], gvingo [calcitre], kynga [sermo], myngen [juba], anglod [reprehensio], angred [infidelitas], and the most part of suche like Welsh wordes, having ng in them, and being of mee 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 euen as ye do not rede them Kyn-ges, ryn-ges, bryng-eth, syngeth: but rather in thyse wyse, Kyng-es, ryng-es, bryngeth-eth, syngeth-eth:2 euen so do we sound dring-o, and not drin-go: gving-o, not gevvin-go: myng-en and not myn-gen. Albeit, yet as ng may be seuered and parted in this Englyshe word syn-geth (but the significacion 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. Colingborne, least peraduenture, where I thynke my selfe but familiarlye to talke here wyth you, and other

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1 Agnus magnus (aq-nus maqnus), ignis (iqnís), sanctus (santús), sal (saal), sol (sooul), mihi (mei'khel) compare the present Scotch sound, ego (eg'goon, egn) see p. 744, tu (týy), quid legit (kwìth liidzth f). "The Scandnavians have lost the sound (ng), 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 (gn), forming an accidental analogu with the mn which arises from an original fn, bn gn?"—Rapp, Phys. der Spr. 3, 241.

2 (Kiqz, rqz, breq'eth, sqzqeth),

3 (Sndzv'eth) = singes, most probably.
my familiars (as my meanying is none other in deede) some thank-les taunter entermeddle and say vnto me, alluding to that mocke of Diogenes, O viri Myndi portas occludire, ne quando vrbe vestra egrediatur, meanying this therby, O my good friend haue done with your Welsh confabulation, haue done:

for els your ioyl proemion, and your goodly parergon 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 יִלּוּ in the central one of the four inner interstices, and the word יִבְּהַ in each of the three outer openings, between the horns of the crescent, evidently referring to Psalm 72, v. 7: וַיְבַלְּ יִבְּהַ יִלְּוּ והָּוֵר (gad b’lil: sawce:at), 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 i, 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, 8, 25), and one in the Grenville Library (7512). The volume is a small quarto, 7¾ by 5½ inches, including the margin; the letter-press, without the headline, measuring 6½ by 3½ inches. It is in black letter, unpagd. The signatures are: none to the first sheet, Bi. Bii. Biii. C.i. Ci. 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 Englyshe and Welshe moche necess-fary to all suche Wellhemen as wil spedy learne the englyshe tongue thought vnto the kynges maiestie very mete to be sette forthe to the vfe of his graces subjectes in Wales: wherevnto is prefixed a little treatysfe of the englyshe pronunciacion of the letters, by Wylyam Salesbury.
The colophon is

¶ Imprynted at London in Foster lane, by me Iohan 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 Engelande, Fraunce and Irelande defender of the saythe And of the Churche of Engelande and also of Irelande in erthe the suprême Hedde be al prosperitye in continuall honour." This dedication extends over three pages, and concludes: "Youre poore and humble subiecte Wylliam 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: "LADDEE  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.

Onid odit ddarlleudd bonheddigaidd nid anghyssylltbell vyseii ddangos a datclario pa lesaad pa vudd a phwy broffit a ddelais i'r neb a dreuliais ddif amser wrth ddallen a mefyriaw ar y llyfer hwn Oni byssee ddarford o blaein i oruwech-  
dab awn harglywydd vrenhin ay gyncor  
edrych arnaw ai dderyn eisoes yn lowedic  
gymradw o help a chanhorthwy kyehwyniad  
tywysogaeth at Iaith saesnac A chan vod  
hefyd llwyadraeth kalon brenhin (vyegs y kyttystia rystrythur lan)  
drwy law ddew, yr hwn a gatwo eu ras yn hirhoedloc lwyddianus  
ffynadwy Amen. Onid bellach i nessau tu ar peth kyfreitiaf a  
chyssonaf yngan a sonio a am tanaw yn y vangre hon Sef er mwyn  
Kymbry o'r hyn am hyn o gwythychant vyegs y dylent vynny kyfrywddyt i ddarllen  
da deal i Iaith Saesnac iahth heddyw yr hyn ymddiddoc  
eithyfawnydd o ddawn a buddygoliaeth ac iath ac ni chwaith  
anhawdd i diseg vyegs y may pop hassiwn yn i hafedyr ddysyeb  
edrych yn llygat y boen nag gyst yng angenheitiach i ni'r  
Kymbry no neb wrth ei eseuiluseth genym am y peth: Ir hau  
an y nyseddie rhyn meddyd yd yserfifennydd yw hon[6]atara- 
waeth ac ni'r Rai tra chyffarwydd. Onid atolwg i ei chwi yr  
Rei sydd a mowrddysen genwech ac ac wydodd Raec mor merthfawr  
yw Dyscymwneuthur aeth unain yn ol ddull saint Pawl ymphop  
peth i pawp A moesch hefyd (val y dywaid yr vnrhyw Pawl)  
modd yr abwydir rhai bychain a bara a laeth borthi o hon- 
awch chwitheu yr anysedie a mwydion ych goruchelldysse  
ae ni a godid o wociwrd (athronhysyst) ac ym chwyddol ni  
chuddiwhch dryssor yr Arglywydd onid i gyfrann add y gyfle i  
angenfhyddiant ddyseidaetha doethineb ai gyfrywth bethu i'r Iaith  
Gobeitho i ddyry duw vath ym chwyddol deb duddant hwythey eu  
asathrunt val moch dim och gemau nach main gythrhafwr ac  
ae chodant id erbyn val kwn ar vedryr acwch brathy/  
Eithyr eto eilwaith i ymad a chyfeilornson /ac o or dewddi ddechreu ar hysbysy  
asilltaw hanes ac ystyrichiaeth y llyfer yma Ac yn  

Ystyrchiaeth y  

llyver oll.

Enwr llyfr.

gymteint nad ynt y llythyrhenn eu yn ddywediant  
nac yna yn drathhid yna sasnecc ac wythynmarch:  
Yn gystaf dim y ddysyn anyn dan yna yr hynny  
paddelwy darlleir ac y trayther hwy yna ol  
fafodiad y Sasan ac yno esample o ciriw kwyddaddas  
yn kynlyn/ A chwedy hynny y maes y Gairllyfyr ner Geiriauw  

saesnec yna dechryn yr hwn a elwir yna yna saesnec an English dicionary ys es yw hynu kynulu o ciriw seisnic/aches akhy- 
nulledfa o ciriw seisnic yd ywfr holl hafygar yvaclh/  

Trefyny  
geirieu.  

yn yr hwn os deliwch yn dda arnaw yr ddysyn  
kadw order a threfyn ynto: o bleit ni chymysced  
dim o geirieu bendromwngwyl ynto val o damwyniai vddunt  
syrthio ym meddwall tro kynaf: Eithyr ef adfeddylied yth 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,
Mwyn yr a[7]nyscoedd gyfryw vodd ac y darfy helkyt pop gair (hyd y deuei kof) yw van gyfaddas chunau: Ac velly yr holl eirien ac / a / yn y llwythryn gyntaf o dechreu a gynullud i gyd yr vnlle: A phop gair yn dechryn a b / yn y llwythryn kyntaf o honaw a ossodet or neulltuy / Ar geirieu a c / yn eu dechreuad a wahaned hwytheu or neulltuy: Ar geirieu a ddechreant ac ch, a ddidolet hwnynt eunauin / A rhei a d / yn i kychwyn a gaslet ac a ossodet mewn man arall / Ac val hyn y rayed y llaill pop vn i seflyd dan vaner i Capestilyth ddechreuol / Ac wrth hynnyn pan chwe nychoch gaffael Saesneg am ryw air kamberae: Yn gyntaf / edrychwch pa lythyr en veunychreu r gair hwnw yn anianol / o bleit os / a / vydd hi / spiwech am tanaw ynpith y Restyr eirieu a vont yn dechryn ac a / ac yn y van hono ar y gyfer yn y rhes o eirieu saesneg y keffwch Saxonae i Johnson / Eithyr gwiliwch yn dda rhac ych twylo yn kam geisio gair allan oe van briod gorfaddas / vegys pe i keisiech vn or geirieu hyn yr ystym ar agwedd y maent yn gorwedd yn y penill yma Mae i mi gangen deo o vedwen Achos ni wasnaeth ywch wrth geisio saesneg am (gangen) chwilio am danaw ymynsgeirieu yn dechryn a g / namyn ymhlith y geirieu a vo k yn y dechryn / y dylech o esio am danaw / ay Saesneg vydd gar i vrón: Canys y gair kroyw kyssefinwyd kangen ac nid gangen kyd bo r ymadrodd kymrae yn kyfleddfy k yn g / ac yn peri sonio t / val d / a b / val v / yn y geiriey hyn deo o vedwen / Ac am hynny rhait i chwi graffy byth pa lythyr en a vo yn dechryn r gair pan drather ar y ben ehun allan o ymadrodd vegys y dangosseis vchod / Ac velly yn oI y dadawr naturiol draethiad y mae i ch[8]wi geisio o mynwch chwi gael pop gair yn y gairlyfery yma / O bleit vegys na ddysgwyl neidin ymynfyl pan el i wiala i koet gaffael gwiai' y tyfyy yn vn ystym y byddant wedy r eilio am gleddy y plait / velly r y plaid yr vn modd ni ddisewyl neidin ohyange-ffydd gaffael pop ryw air yn y gairlyfyr yn vn ystym nag yn vn agwedd i ddywediat a chwe dy i blethi ym- parwyden ymadrodd / Ac eb law hyn oll a ddywedais ymlaenllaw / Kymerwch hyn o gyngor gyd a chwi y sawl gymry a chwennyoch ddysy gartref wrth tan Saesneg / Nid amgen no gwybod o honawh na ddarlleir ac na thraethir pop gair saesneg mor llawnlythryn ac mor hollawl ac yd scerfenner. Vegys hyn God be wyth you yr hwn a draetha r kyfresidin / God biowio: A swm o eirieu cereill a yscerfenir hefyd Ryw sillafed uynhunth ym vn ffynut eithyr ni ddarlleir ddin honunt or vn ffynyt val y rhai hyn or naill ddarlleyd bowe, crowe, trowe or hain a ddarlleir bo bwa: kro / bran: tro / tybyeid: A rhai hyn hefyd a escerfenir y pen diwaythaf vdddent yr vn ffynut ac ir llaill or blaen eithyr i ddarllen a wnaig yn amgenach cowe, lowe, nowe, narrowe, sparowe y rhai a ddywedir yn gyffredin val hyn kow / buwhch: low / lowio: now yn awr: narrw kyfing: sparw ederyn y to / Ae am gyfryw ddamwynieu yr hyn y byddei ryddgyyn ir ddarlleydd i nodi pei doe kof chwaith i scerfeny mae goreu kyngor a vetrewg vi ir neb (val y dywedais ymlaen)
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 \( c \), and \( ch \), and \( d \). 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

\[
\text{Mae i mi gangen dec o veduen [Est mihi ramus pulcher betullae].}
\]

For it will not serve you to look for the English for gangen among words which begin with \( g \), but under \( k \), because the pure radical word is kangen not gangen, 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 dec o veduen [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 Welshmen 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 God biwio (God bii-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) huw [arcus], kro (kroo) bran [cornix], tro (troo) tybyeid [opiner]. The following also have precisely the same termination as the above but are differently read, cowe, lowe, nowe, narrowwe, sparowe, which are usually spoken kow (kou) buoch [vacca], low (lou) lovio [mugire], now (nou) yn awr [nunc], narow (nar'u) kyfing [angustus], sparw (spar'u) 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 anghaffael iddo vyned i loecr lle mae r iath yn gynenid/ymofyn o honaw ac yn a wypo Saesnee (o bleit odi o blwyf ynkymbry eb Sasniygddion yntho) [9] paddelw y gelwir y peth ar peth yn sasnee. Ac yno dal a chraffy pa vodd y traythai ef y gair ne r geriieu hyn y saisnigaddd/ a chyd a hyny kmeryd y llyfer yma yn angwane o goffaduriaeth yn absen athrawn/ac yn diffic dyseyawdwyr yr iath. Dewch yn ach a Dyscwch nes oesswch Saesnee
Doeth yw e dyse da iath dec.

¶ Y gywddor o llythrenneu bychain.
A a. b. c. ch. d. dd. e. f. ff. g. gh. h. i. k. l. ll. m. n. n. o. p. r. t. f. ff. s. ff. t. th. v. u. w. y.
¶ Egwyddor o llythrenen kanolic o vaint.
\[ a. b. c. d. e. f. g. gh. h. i. k. l. m. no. o. p. q. r. t. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. ff. st. w. &. 2. 9.
¶ Gwyddor o vath vwyaf ar lythyreu.

**ABCDEFGHILMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ**.

[10] blank

A. Seisnie sydd yn natur ac (a) gymreic/val y may yn eglur yn y geriieu hyn o saesnee ale/aal: ac ymhymrae kwwr: pale paal: sale sal: O ddiethyr Ryw amser y kaiff/ a/ sain y dipton (aw) yn enwedig pan ddel ef o vlayn l/ ne ll/ val y may yn egllraech drwy y geriieu hynn: balde bawld moel ball bawl, pel: wall wawl gwal: Ond yn Ryw eirieu i dodant weithie (a) yn llledsegur er a gyfrifwyn a ymarferai oe nerth chunan/ namyn yn hydrach ymhrithio yn Rith yn bocal (e) ni a wnae ir darlliedydd, val hyn ease ies eswythdra: leave lief kenad: sea see mor: yea/’ie Ond nith rwystyr vath eirieu ahyn di ond yn anfynech.

B. yn saesonae a /b/ yn Camberaec ynt vnllais val yn y geirieu hynn: babe baab/ baban: brede bred/ bara. Ac ni newidir b, seisonic am llythren aran val y gwnair a/ b/ gymberraec.

C. wrth i darllen yn saesonae a chambrae sydd yn yn llef onid o vlayn e/ i/ y/ canys o vlayn y tair llythren hyn val s/ vydd i son vegys hynn Face ffas wyneb gracyouse grasiws/ rraddlawn/ codicyon condiswyn.

Ch. nid yw dim tebyc yn saesonae ac ymghamerace: Ac nid oes ynghamrae llythren na llythrenneu ai kyylyba yn iawn/ eithyr may sain/ tsi/ kyn gyflhpet iddi ar efydd ir aur/ val yn y gair hwn church 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 re-

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.
q. n. q. o. p. r. s. f. s. 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.
. f. s. t. v. u. x. y. z. ff. st. w. & x. 2.

T. U. Y.

¶ 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, ALLE aal (aal) kwurw [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 bawll (bawl) pel
[pila], WALL wawll (waul) gwal [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 (ecz) esmwythdra
[otium], LEAVE leef (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) baban [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 ffas (faas) wyneb [facies], GRACIOUSOUS grattius
(graus'i,us) rradlawn [gratiosus], CONSCIOUS condisyon (kondis'ion)
[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 CHURCH tsurts (tshirtsh) eccles [ecclesia].

E. a ddarlleir yn ynasac gweith val / e / gymbereic gwaith val / i / gymbereic / a gweithere ceill yniweddd gair i tai ac i bydd vut val scheua yn hebr iw neu vegys y gwlwilch / w / yn diwed’ y geiriwth hynn o Cambereac kynddelw / ardelw / kefnderw / syberw / bdddelw / marnad / catwderw: yny rhai merch eu darlau ay trathy / w / a dawdd ymaith ac velly y dwyfedt a wnair kyndell / ardel / kefnder / syber / bwdel / marnad / catderw / Velly / e / yn diweddyy geiriwth saesnec a dawdd ymaith a cham mwyafon o ddiwed pop gair wrth i draithy vegys o ddiweddd y geiriwth hynn emperorwre emperwr ac nid emperwre darlleir: yr hwn air saesne arwyddoka yngymhryaer ymmerawtr: Ac velly am auemore efermwr trawogwydd. Ac yn y ddewair saesnec vechoh y ddwy (e / e) gyntaf o bob vn yn vn llaes ac e / o gamberaeic / neu e / llaes neu epsylon o roec. Ar e / ddiwaethaf ynw tewi / val y may / w / yny geiriwth a soniais am tanun gynnef. Ond yn enwedig pan ddel / e / yn ol / 1 ne / r / yniweddd gair saesonac [13] ni chlywir dim o ywtheri ar dauod sais: ond o chlywyt peth o ywtheri / kynt y dyfalyt y bot hi o vlaen 1 / ne r / nag oe hol: val y trathythn hi ar y geiriwth yma / able, sable. twynnele, wrinone, thodore, wondre, yr hyn ei geiriwth ac erell a deruynant yn vn odyl a rai hyn ni chylwn i sais yni darlai onid vegys yn yddem ni yw scruieny drwy daedal / e / heibo / val hynn / abl / sabh / twinklel / wrinkl / thwndr / wndr: neu val pe bay / e / o vlayn yr 1 / ne yr r / val hyn saddel, thonder: Ond ni ddylle vin chwaith dieithyr vath ddarllleyad a hwnw i ni yr kambry paam onid ym nineu yn darlein drwy doddi ymaith dwy ne dair o amrafael Lythyreu vegys yn yeglu yr y geiriwth yma popl dros popol, kwbl dros kwblwl: papr / ac eithrir lle y dylem ddyweddy popyr / ac eythyr / Ond raif yw madde i bob tawfaid i ledlef, a goddef i bob iaith i phriodoldeb. Heuydd natur y vocal / e / pan orphennor air saesonac esmythau u ne vddalau y sllaf a ddel oe vlayn val hynn hope hoop / gobeith: bake, baak / poby: chase / tsis caws. Eithyr dal yn graff ar ddyweddyt y gair aekw chase, o bleit yr e / gyntaf sydd yn llaes i, i, on hiaith ni: ar e, ddiwaithaf yfn seffyll yn vut val y dwyedaor blayn y damwyniai iddi vod ryw amser. E, hefyd o vlayn s, yniweddd euweu lliosaw, sef yw hynny ir anysacdir geiriwth a arwyddcockaunt vch pen rhifedi yn peth, a ddislanna merch eu dwyfedd y val ddiweddd yr euweu neu geiriwth hynn kynges, brenehnedd: fondes, kereint: tentes, pepyll / yr hain a ddarlleir kings / frinds / tents. A gwybyddet y darlleyyd nad
D in Welsh and English do not disagree in their powers, as may be understood in these words from the two languages: *duke* *duc* (dyyk) [dux], *dart* *dort* (dart) [jaculum]. But note this well when you see two dd coming together in English, they have not the power of dd in Welsh (dh), but each retains its usual sound. And it does not soften, on the contrary it hardens the sound, as in the following words: *ladder* *lad-*dr (lad'er) *ysool* [scala], *bladder* *blad-*der (blad'er) *chwyssigen* [vesica]. D also is the termination of the perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect tenses, as in the word *loved* (luvd) *carwen*, *kereis*, *caryssun* [amabam, amavi, amaveram].

E is pronounced in English sometimes as ë Welsh (ë), sometimes as ē Welsh (i), and sometimes at the end of words, it is silent or mute as *sheva* in Hebrew, or as you see w at the end of these words in Welsh: *kynddelw*, *ardelw*, *kysnderw syberu*, *buddelw*, *marwenad*, *catorwer*, in which the w is melted away in reading and speaking and so they are sounded *kyndell*, *ardel*, *ksnder*, *syber*, *buddel*, *marnad*, *catorwr*. Similarly E final in English words is melted away, for the most part, from the end of every word in pronunciation, as in the following words: *emperor* pronounced *emperwr*, and not *emerware* (emperwrw'r) which word in Welsh signifies *ymervaer* [imperator]. And so *evermore* *efermoor* (evermore'r, evermwrwr) *tragovydd* [semper]. In the two English words above, the two first E, ê, of each, has the same sound as the Welsh e or Latin e, or the Greek *epsylon*. And the final E is mute as 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*, *twynce*, *wyynce*, *thondre*, *wondre*, 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, twinkl, wrinkl, thundr, unwdr, (aa'b'l, saa'b'l, twiék'1, wriék'1, thun'd'r, wun'd'r), [potens, niger, scintillare, ruga, tonitru, miraculum]; or as if the E were written before the L or R: thus *saddell*, *thondrer* (sad'el, thund'rer), [ephippium, 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* [populus], *kwebl* for *kwebol* [totus], *papr* and *eithr*, where we should say *papyr* [papyrus] and *eythyr* [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. And the following words: *hope* *hoop* (hoop) *gobeith* [speś], *baek* *boak* (baak) *poby* [coquere panem ut pistor], *chess* *tess* (fshiz) *caus* [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* [reges], *frendes* *kereint* [amici], *tentes* *peplyl* [tentoria],
yw [14] A gwybyddet y darlleydd nad yw y Ruwl yma yn gwasanathwy i bob enw lliosawc 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 drraythir yn vungus neu val yn y, ni: val yn y geirieu hynn dyches deitsys /ffosydd: faces / faces / wynebeu: oranges, oreintsy / afale orayds: trees, triys prenneu.

f, seicsonic ehun sydd gymeint o synnwyrr ynthei ac mewn dwy f, f, gambereic wedy gwasey eu penneu yngkyd val hyn: fol, ffwl, ffol ne ynuyd

ff, ac f, yn sas nec a dreythir yn vnmodd, eythyr ff, yn ddwyscaeh, ac f, yn yseafach a gymerir: f, yn yseafu, val ymay chefe, tsiff pennaf/ff, yn ddwys neu yn drom val yn y gair hwn suffre, swfffer dioddef:

G, seinic a ch/ o saesnec ynt daran debyc eu sain iem mor debyc i son yw gilydd ac yd yscruena sags ny bo dra dysseadic yn aill yn ller llall vegys y damwain yn y gair hwn churge yn lle churche tsiurts eglwys. Etythyr g/yn sas nec o vlaen, a, o, u, a gweithe o vlayn e/ neu y, ni adweynir i llais raeg g, gambereic, val hyn galaunt galaawnt / gelding gelding / plage, plaag pla / God, dytw / gutt / gwt coluddyn/ Gilbert / Gilbert: Ond pan ddel g/ o vlaen/ e/i/neu y/ val ch, seinic neu tsadde o hebrew vydd i llef or rhan vmychaf vegys hyn gynger tsintsir/ sinsir: Gwilia hyn etto yn dda pan ddelont dwy gg/ yngthyd/ kydleisio euulldwydd ac g / gamraec a wnant val hyn beggynge beggig / yn cardota / nageg neg keffyllyn/ egge, eg wy.


Ae etwa mi an gwelaif nineuyn yn mogelud trathyth ch, yn vynych o amser vegys y may yn ddewisach genym ddywedyt (chwegwaight) no (chwechgwaight) a (chwe vgain) na (chwech vgain). Ac im tyb i nid hoffach gan y Groecwyr y llythyr ch, pan ymychweilynt or ebryw Iohnnes yn lle Iochanna/ ac Isaac dros Itschack: A chyyfelyp nad gwll gan y llatinwyr y llythyr vchot prydd bont yn dyslyn yr vnweddr ar groecwyr or drossi yr hebrew ir latin / ac yn dywedyt mihi a nil hy dros michi a nichil Oni d i dibennyt yt/ kymer y chwrnolat hwnw yn yseafach ac y del erot wrth ddywedyt iaith Saxonaec.

H, sydd vnweddr yn hollowl y gyd ar Sason a nineuyn, val y may have haf, hwde / hart calon ne carw / holy hol suntaidd/ ne kelyn. Onid yn rhyw eirieu llatin wedy saesnigod nid anedsir h, val yny
which are read kings (kiqz), frinds (frëindz), tents (tents). [14]

And be it known to the reader that this rule does not apply to every plural, for when c, ch, g, or another k precedes the said k the rule fails, for then k is pronounced obscurely or as our y (i), as in the following dyches deitsys (deitsh'iz) ffossydd [fossac], faces faces (faas'ez) wynbeu [facies], oranges oreintsys (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: folle ffwl (fuul), fol ne ymwyd [stultus].

ff and F in English are pronounced alike but FF harder than F, which has a lighter sound, as in chfffiff (tshiiiff) pennaf [princes]; FF hard as in sufffer suffffer (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 church for churchie tsivrts (tshirits) eglyws [eclesia]. But e in English before a, o, u, and sometimes before e or y is not distinguished from g Welsh (g), thus galant gavant (gal'aunt) [fortis] (p. 143), gelding gelding (geld'iq) [canterius], plage plaag (plaaq) pla [pestis], God (god) dyve [deus], gutte gut (gut) coluddyn [intestinum], gyllbert gilbert (gyl'bert). But when e comes before i, o, or y, it is sounded as ch in English, or as tsadde * in Hebrew for the most part, as egyneg tsintsir (dzhin'dzher) sinsir [zinzier].

Note well this again when two ee come together, they are sounded as one, like g Welsh, thus: reggynge regging (beg'iq) yn cardota [mendicans], nagge nag (nag) keffyyn [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 hweer, and hwech (whair, whekh), where we in the North of Wales say chwaer, and chwech (khwair, kwhewk; kvehair, kvekehk?).

And still I find that even we often avoid pronouncing ch, as we prefer saying chwegwraith (kweg'waith) for chwechgwraith (kvekher'gwraith) [sexies], and chwevgain (kvekher'gain, kvechee'gain?) for chwech again (kvekher yy'gain) [centum et viginti]. And in my opinion the Greeks were not overfond of this sound when they transferred from the Hebrew, Johannes 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 miihi and nihi for michi and nichil (mi'hi ni'hiil, mikhi ni:k'hiil). 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 haue haf (hav) hude [accipe]. hart hart (hart) calon ne carow [cor vel cervus], holy holy (hool'i, hol'i) santaidd ne kelyn [sanctus vel aquilolum]. But in some anglicized Latin words H is not sounded
rhai **honeste** onest / **honours** onor / anhyddedd / **exhibition** ecesibiswn / kynheilaeth / **prohibition** proibisiwn / gwahardd. Nid ynganaf fi yn bot ni y to yr o wrhon mor ddiddarwybot a dyweddyt **gwydd** dros **gwehydd**.

[16] I, oe hiaith hwy sydd gymeint ar ddwy lythyen yma ei, on iath ni / od gwesicir y gyd ai dyweddyt ym yn sillafr neu dyph-thong, val yny gair hwn, i, ei / mi ne myfh. Eythyr pan gydseinion i, a bocle arall ym sain vydd hi yma a, g, seicnig, ac achos eu bot hwy mor gyffelypwn mi weleis rei ymmedruster a dowt pa ym a a c, i, ai ynte a, g, yd scriuenynt ryw eirieu ar rain maestie, gentyll, gelousye: a rhai yn scrifenny **habreionw** ac ereill hebergyn, lluric: Ae well mi welaf yngychll yr yn gyffelybrwydd rwng y tair lythyen seicnig hynn ch, g, i, a rhwng y plwm pewter ar arian, sef yw hynny, bod ym gynheby yw gylydd a r y golwe kynfa ac yn amrafaelio er hynny wtrh graffy armmnt. Esamol o, i, yn gyd-sain **Iesu**, tsiesuw, **Iesu**: *John* tsion a sion o lediaith: ac Ieuan ynghamroec loyw: *ioyn*, tsioynt kymal.

**K**, yngymraec a saesneu ym gyneddf yw/ ond ym saesneu an-uyynychach o beth y dechy air val y gwelwch yma, *bokE* bwk llyfr *bucke* bwck bwch: k, yn dechry gair *kyng* king / brenhin: *knot* klwrm: *kent*.

**L**, yny ddwyatha ddwywedidc nid amgena ond ym anamylair i llais val hyn *lyly* lili / *lady* ladi arglwyddes lad bachken.

**LL**, ym saesneu nid ynt dim tebyc eu hansawd in ll. ni: an ll, ni ny ddysc byth ym iaewn dyn arallia ith i thrathy o ddiethr yny vebyd.

Ll, hefyd ym saesneu nid yw ym dwyn enw ym lly thyren eithyr dwbyl, neu l, ddyplych i gelwir: a llais l, sydd ynthun ym wastat, neu llais lambda pan *dd* [17] o vlai an iota / Ond ym rhyw wledydd yn llcoer val w, y trhaythant 1 / ac ll / mewn rhyw eirieu val hyn *bowed* yn lle *bold*: bw dros *bull* / *caw* dros *cal*. Ond nid yw vath ddwyedidat onid llediaith / ac nid peth yw ddyllyn oni vunyn vloysci y gyd a bloysc.

**M**, ac **n** / kynggany awnant yny ddwyathaethcin / ie ac ympop iaith ac i gwn ni ddin o *ywirthyn* / ym *Saxonec** a dwyts val hyn *man gwr* men *gwyrr*.

**O**, kymyslefn an o / ac an w / ni vydd / ac nid ar vnothawt nac ym yr ym sillafr onid mewn ym sillafr ym o / mewn arall ym w / y trethir val hynn to to / bys troject: so so velly *two* tw / dau / to tw / ar at / i / schole scowl / yseol.

O, hefyd o vlaen ld / neu ll / a ddarlleir vegys pe bay w / rynget ac wynt / mal hyn colde, cowld oer *bolle*, bowl / tolle toawl toll. Eithyr dwy oo ynghyd ym saesneu a soniant val w / yngymraec val hyn *good*, gwd da : *poore* pwr / tlawd:

**P**, ym saesneu nid yw ym ddeddf a phi ym hebruw yngroec neu
as HONESTE onest (on'est) [honestus], HONORE oneor (on'or) anrhydedd [honos], EXHIBITION ecsibisien (eksibis'i,un) kynheilaeth [expositio], PROHIBITION provisiwen (pro,ibis'i,un) gwahardd [prohibito]. I will not mention that we are at present so negligent as to say gwydd (gwydhy) for gwechyd (gwee'nydhy) [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 myfi [egomet]. But when it is joined to another vowel it has the sound of e 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: MAESTE, GENTILLL, GELOUSEYE, and some writing habreione 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 tisiuwu (Dzhee'zyy) Iesus [Jesus], IOWN tisio (Dzhoon) and sion [Shon] by corrupt pronunciation, and IENAN [Iohannes] in pure Welsh, IOYNT tisioynt (dzhoiint) kymal [juncture] (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 buok (buuk) llufyr [liber], bucke buck (buk) buch [dama mas]: k at the beginning of words ENGG king (kiq) brenhin [rex], KNOT (knot) kowsm [nodus]; KENT.

L in the two languages does not differ in sound, as LILY lili (lil'i) [lilium], LADY ladi (laa'di) arglwyddev [domina], LAD (lad) baechken [juvenis].

LL 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 dubyl l (dub'yl el) 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 (boould) for BOLD [audax], bow (bun) for BULL [taurus]; saw (kau) for CALL [voco]. (p. 194.) But this pronunciation is merely a provincialism, and not to be imitated unless you wish to lisp 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) gwr [vir], men (men) gwywr [viri].

O takes the sound of o (o) in some words, and in others the sound of o (u); thus to to (too) bys troet [digitus pedis], so so (soo) welly (sic), two tu (tuu) dau [duo], tu tu (tu) ar, at, i [ad], SCHOLE swel (skuul) yscol [schola]. (p. 93.)

O also before LD or LI is pronounced as though w were inserted between them, thus COLBE coould (kouuld) oor [frigidus], BOLLE bowel (boouol) [crater], TOLLE touel (touul) toll [vectigal] (p. 194). But two oo together are sounded like w in Welsh (u), as good gued (gud, guud) da [bonus], POORE pur (puur) tilowd [pauper] (p. 93).

P in English has not the same rule as phi in Hebrew, Greek, or
yngamroec achos yny teiriceth hyn y try weithie yn rhyw eirieu yn ph:
  Eithyr sain sauadwy sydd iddi yn sasnecc ympop gair val: papyr
  papyr / pappe / papp bron gwraic ne ywd: penne ydyw pinn yscrif
  fenny: Ac val hyn y tryatha Sais y llyther p / mewn ymadrodd /
  and wyth a penne: ac a phinn: ac nid wyth a phenne neu ffenne
  y dywaid ef.

Q, llythyr dieythyr yngamraec yw ac nid mawr gartrefigach yn
  sasnecc yn gyfraith a cha k / [18] y kefif q / val hynn quene kwin
  brenhines: quarter kwater chwater neu pedwyrdan ran: quayle
  sofyliau: A gwybydd may u / yw kydymeith q / can ni welir byth
  q / eb u / yw chynlyn mwy nar goe heb i gwichelll.

R / syddy anian yny ddwyiaith hyn eithyr ni ddybylir ac nid
  hanedlyr R / wyth yn dechreu gair saesnecc val y gwnair yngroec
  ac yncamroedd modd hyn
  Rhoma rrufain ne rhufain: Ond val hyn yd yscrifennir ac y
  treithir geirie seisnic ac r / ynthunt rgyth / rhyf / iawn rent rent
  ros ne rosim,

S / yn yr ieithoedd yma a syrth yn sain val hyn syr syr / seas o
  seesyn amser amserawr ne amser kyfaddas: Eithyr pan ddel / s / ym
  saesnecc rhwng dwy vocal lleddfyy neu vloysey a wna yn wynech
  o amser val hyn: muse muwbs meyriro: mase maa madrondot.

S / o dodir hi o ewhanace at diwedd enw vnic / yr enw vnic / nei
  gair vnic hwun a liosocka ne arwyddocka chwanecc nae yn peth
  vegys hynn hâde hand yw llaw: handes hands ynt llaue ne
  ddwyo: nagle nayl ewin ne hoyl hayarn nayles nayls ewinedd ne
  hoylion heyn: rayle rayl canllaw: rayles rayls canllaweuy / ne
  ederin regen yr yd.

Sh / pan ddel o vlayn yn vocal yn vraint ar sillaf hwn (ssi) wydd
  val hynn shappe ssiapp gwedd ne lun: shepe ssiip daunad ne ddeueid.

Sh / yn dyfod ar ol bocal yn (iss) y galwant: vegys hynn asea
  aiss / onnen: wasshe waiis / golchi. Ac ym pa rwy van bynae ac air
  i del / ssi o neidyr gy[19]ffrous a wna / nid yn anghysylltoll p
  y wrth swn y llythyr hebrew a elwir schin: Ac o mynnny chwanece
  o hyspyrwydd ynkylch i llais gwrando ar bysocot kregin yn dechreu
  berwi o damwain vnwaith vddunt leisio. Kymerwch hyn o a thro
  wlythyr kartrefic rac ofyn na churraydd pawp o honawch gaffael
  wrth i law tafoñodc seisnic yw haddyse.

T / hefyd a wna yr yn wyneb i Sais a chymro val hyn tresuwr
  tresuwr trysor toure towr twr: top top nen.

Th / o saesnecc a chymraec a wydd gyfodyl ac yn nerth ond yn
  rhyw eirieu hi a ddarlleir kyn ysefned ar dd / einom ni: Eglurdeb
  am gyfio wnliais th / eiddunt hwy: through thrwch trywodd: thistle
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, papyrus, papp, bron guerric ne ywd [mamma vel infantium cibus], penne pinn yrcrienny [calamus]. And an Englishman pronounces the letter r thus, in the phrase and wyth a penne [and with a pen] ac a phinn [et cum calamo], and not wyth a phenne or pfenne with double ef (with a fen).

\( \Omega \) is a strange letter in Welsh, and scarcely more at home in English. It is the same in sound as \( \kappa \), as quene kwien (kwïin) brenhines [regina], quarter kwarter [kwart-er] chwarter [quarta pars]; quayle (kwail) sofyliar [coturnix]. And bear in mind that \( \upsilon \) is the companion of \( \Omega \), for \( \Omega \) is never seen without \( \upsilon \) following it, as the cuckoo without her screecher.

\( \mathbf{R} \) is of the same nature in the two languages except that \( \mathbf{r} \) is never doubled or aspirated at the beginning of words as in Greek and Welsh.

Rhoma, rrufain or rhufain [Roma], but English words beginning with \( \mathbf{r} \) are thus pronounced: right richt (richt) iawn [rectus], rent rent (rent) [scissura], ros (rooz) roes ne rosim [rosa].

\( \mathbf{S} \) in these languages is of the same sound, thus syr syr ( sûr) [dominus], season seesyn (see-z'in) amser amserawl ne amser kyfuddas [tempestas, tempestivus vel occasio]. But when \( s \) comes between two vowels it has the flat sound, or it is lisped, thus muse muwvs (myyz) meuyrito [meditari], mase maaa (maaz) madrondot [stupor].

\( \mathbf{S} \) 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 llace ne ddyvelo [plures vel due manus], nayle rayl (nail) evin ne hoyl hayrn [unguis vel ferreus clavus], nayles nailys (nailz) evinedd ne hoylion heyrn [ungues vel ferrei clavi], rayle rayl (rail) canllaw [cancellus], rayles rayls (railez) canllavo ne ederin regen yr yd [cancelli vel creces pratenses] (p. 119).

\( \mathbf{Sh} \) when coming before a vowel is equivalent to this combination ssh, thus shappe ssyapp (shap) gwedd ne lun [species vel forma], shippe ssyip (ship) dauad ne ddeuid [ovis vel oves].

\( \mathbf{Sh} \) coming after a vowel is pronounced iss, thus asshe asis (ash, aish ?) onmen [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 \( \mathbf{v} \). 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.

\( \mathbf{T} \) also shews the same face to an Englishman as to a Welshman, as tresure tresuor (trezz-yrr) trysor [thesaurus], toure tour (tour) tur [turris], top top (top) nen [vertex].

\( \mathbf{Th} \) 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 \( \mathbf{th} \); through thrwch (thruukh) trywodd [per],
Eglurwch ai excommunicatus yvayne throne w/ veluet wynne
Ond a/ henw val hi waw yddein modd i vertuw
chymryd dddyren, yn Eithyr pall-thystl 784 teneu.
estennaf saesonaec Camberaec ddyren darlleant
yn Eithyr palleant.
thynne tau hynn
Hefyd X, daiileir yr, W, man tJ/ y
val wac hyn.

U/ yn gydon sid amrafallia i rhinwedd yn lloeer mwy nac
ynymr val hyn vyne vein gwin wydden: vayne vayn gwyny 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 geirieu hyn true truw kwyr: 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] geirieu hyny/ bucke bwck bwch/ lust lwtw chwant
Eithyr anuynych y kyssona eu bocal u/ hwy an bocal, u, ni/ eisoes
yn y gair hwn busy busi prysur ne ymyrus.

W, seisnic ac w/ gymreic nid amgenant i gallu val hyn/woowo
waw tomm ar vor/ wyne wein gwin: wynne wynn ennill.
Eithyr henw y lythyren w/ o saeson ec vydd dowbyl uw/sef yw hynny u ddyplic/ Ar sason wrthddyscy i blant sillafl ne spelio ai kymerant hi val kyson ac nid yn vocal ne yn w, per se val y ddym ni yw chymrwyd: Ond y ddym ni ar hynny yw,barfer hi or modd hawsef i ieunktit ddyfd y ddarllen yn ddeallus.

Hefyd distewi a wna w/ wrth ddiweddy llawer gair saesneg
val yn diwedd y rai hynn/ aue, bowe wowo/ y rhain a ddarleant
modd hynn: a/ ofyn bo bwa: w/ kary

X, nid yw chwaith rhy gartrefol yn saesonae mwy nac yn
Camberace a llais cs/ neu gs/ a glywyr yntheyi vegys yny/ geirieu
hynn flace flacs llin axex age/ bwyall.
Geiriuc llatin a ledieithantir saesonae neu ir Gamberace a newdiant x/ am s/ val y geirieu
hyn/ crnx crosse croes ne crws/ exemplum esampyl/ extend
estennaf: excommunicate escomyn

Y, a gaiff yn amyl/ enw y dyphthong (ei) val hynn thyne
ddein tau 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 saesneg 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 llaw
wnllythyr a that ddat, hyny ne yr hwn.

Yu, ac u, uwich i phen a wna thou ddo, ti ne tydi
thystle thystl (this’tl) yscall [carduus]. Examples of th like our dd; this ddys (dhis) hwn hon ne hyn [hic haec vel hoc]. So also in familiar conversation we mispronounce dd for th in the word ddialaydd for dialayth [sine tristitia]. Observe also that they read rh as r in these words: THOMAS tomas (Tom’as), THRONE trwn (trum) pall [solut].

U consonant is not distinguished in power in Welsh and English, thus: YNNE vein (vein) gwyn wydden [vitis], VAYNE vayn (vain) gwyythen 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, v, and its usual power is uw, as shewn in the following words true truw (tryy) kywir [verus], vertue vertuw (ver’tyy) rhinwedd [virtus]. And sometimes they give it its own proper sound and pronounce it like the Latins, or like our w, 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 BUSE bisi (biz’i) pryser ne ymyrus [occupatus vel se immiscens] (p. 164).

W English and w Welsh do not differ in sound, as WAWE waw (wau) tonn ar vor [unda maris] (p. 143), YNNE vein (vein) gwyn [vinum], YNNE wyynn (wim) ennill [prentium 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) bowa [arcus] (p. 150), w (uu, wun?) kary [amare, ut procos 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 flace (flaks) LIN [linum], AXE ags (agz) buyall [securis]. Latin words in their passage into English or Welsh exchange x for s, as in the words CRUX CROSS cros, or crics, exemplum exampyl, extendo estennaf, excommunicatus escomyn.

Y often has the sound of the diphthong ei (ei, ëi), as THYNE ddein (dein) tuan 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 YE MAN dde man (deh man) y wvr [vir ille], YE OXE dde ocs [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 hwn [ille vel qui].

Yu with u above it, signifies THOU ddow (thou) ti ne tydi [tu].
Y, ddoedd gan yr hen serifennyddion sasnec lythyren taran
debyc i, y, ond nad oedd i throed yn gwyro i vynu val pladur val y
may troet, y, ac nid antebic i llun yr rhhuweinol, y, neu i ypsylon
groes ne ghayn yn hebrew ac hyd y daw im kof ddorn i klywais
vnwaith hen ddarlelydd o sais yn y he newi yn all an dd ni neu ar
ddelta roec y doedd. Ond nid yw hi arferedig ymthli Sason er
pan ddoeth kelyfuddt print yw mysec onit kymeryd tan yn yr)
drostei: ar (th) weithie yny lle: Ac aros hynny may yn anhaws i
ddyn arallwlad dreuthy eu cu (th) hw y seisinigaidd o achos i bot
ryw anser yn gwasa nathwy yn lle yr hen llythyren a elwyn t dorn
val y gwelsoch yn egur yny geiriou or blayn. Ac velly pan aeth
y vloysclythyr wreigaidd honno ar gy felorn ouyse Sason y derby-
nassom niner Kymbry hihi ac aethom i vloyscy val mamethac ac
y ddywedty dd dros d, th dros t, a dd dros t, b ac ph, dros p, &c.
Ond maddeuwch yn rhac hyyd y tRAWschwedyl yma a mi a dalfyraf
yn gynt am y sydd yn ol orlllythren ereill.

Z, hefyd o yddynt yn aruer yn vawr o honei, yn lle s / yn diwed
ghair val: kynges kings, brenhinedd. A rhai yw dodi dros m, ac
eraill (peth-oedd vwy yn erbyn i natur) dros gh, yn y chymeryd: val
hyn ryzt ricth kyflawn knyzt knicht marchawg vrrddol.

't, nid llythyren yw namyn gair kyfan wedy ddefesio yn vyrh,
val y gwelwch yma / rhac mor [22] vynech y damwain ympop
ymadrod d o bob ryw iai th yr hwn pan yserifener yn llawnlythyr yn
llatin (et) vydd and yn saesnec: ac (ac) yn Cameraca e arwy-
ddocka.

" yn y Gwydhor hon o ddisot y kynwyssir sum a chrynodeb yr
holl ruwls vchet: Ac am hynny tybeid nad rhait angwauec a addyse
na mwy o egldrurc arnei /ir neb a chwenuyn d达尔lein y llyfer or
pen bwy gyllydd.

a, ai c, k tsi d e f ff g e i l
[22] 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, sh, u, v, w, x, y, z, q
l w iss dd/t/ u/ v/ gs i ch/m

\[ Neul val hynn

ai c k tsi e f tsi ch ei l l w k
[22] 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, sh, t, th u, v, w, x, y, z, q
ssi dd uw f gs i ch m
Y, The old English writers had a letter Ѕ 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 υ or the Greek upsilon τ, or the Hebrew ghayn Ѕ, 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 dd (dh) or like the Greek delta δ (dh). But it is not in use among the English since the art of printing was introduced, but в is sometimes used for it, and sometimes th. And on this account it is more difficult for a stranger to pronounce their th 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 KYNGEZ kings (kiqz) brehinedd [reges]. Some also used it for m, and others (which was more contrary to nature) for en in the words RYZT richt (rikht) kysrawn [rectus], KNZT knicht (nikht) marchawg vrødol [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, ae 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a, ai</th>
<th>c, k</th>
<th>tsi</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>ff</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>l</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ψa</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>gh</td>
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<td>aw</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ph</td>
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<td>h</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>w</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ssi</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>uw</td>
<td>fi</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>and</td>
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<td>m, n</td>
<td>o, p</td>
<td>q, r, s</td>
<td>ssi</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>u, v</td>
<td>w, x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>z &amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>iss</td>
<td>dd, t, u, v</td>
<td>gs</td>
<td>i ch, m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\]

Or like this.

\[
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<th>c, k</th>
<th>tsi</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>tsi</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>ei</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ψa</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>d, e, f, g, gh</td>
<td>i, k, l</td>
<td>ll</td>
<td>m, n, o, p, q, aw</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iss</td>
<td>th, t</td>
<td>u, v</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>ei, y</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>r, s, sh</td>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>u, v, w, x, y, z</td>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssi</td>
<td>dd,</td>
<td>uw</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>gs</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ch, m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kamberaec</th>
<th>Sacsonae</th>
<th>walshe</th>
<th>Englyshe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. o vlaen b.</td>
<td>An ape</td>
<td>Achwino</td>
<td>Complaynt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab ne siak ab</td>
<td>Sonne</td>
<td>Achwilm</td>
<td>A roûde knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab ne vab</td>
<td>A ryer</td>
<td>Achub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abe ne afon</td>
<td>Hauen</td>
<td>Achub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aber ne hafyn</td>
<td>The sacra-ment</td>
<td>A. o vlaen d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberth</td>
<td>Sacryng of</td>
<td>Ad</td>
<td>Re, agayne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberth efferen</td>
<td>maffe</td>
<td>Aderyn</td>
<td>A byrde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberth ne of-</td>
<td>Sacryfice</td>
<td>Adarwr</td>
<td>A fouler</td>
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<tr>
<td>frwm</td>
<td>Sacryfice</td>
<td>Adblygy</td>
<td>To folde a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberthy</td>
<td>Hableneffè</td>
<td>Adee</td>
<td>gayne</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abledd</td>
<td>Abraam</td>
<td>Adail</td>
<td>A buyldyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablesen</td>
<td>Abfence</td>
<td>Adeilad</td>
<td>Bylde</td>
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<td>Absewnwr</td>
<td>Bacbyter</td>
<td>Adefyn / edau</td>
<td>Threde</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abwy burgyn</td>
<td>Caryen</td>
<td>Adain</td>
<td>A wynge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abwyd</td>
<td>Bayte</td>
<td>Adain py</td>
<td>A buyldyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abyl</td>
<td>Hable</td>
<td>Adnabot (dyn</td>
<td>Knowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. o vlaen c.</td>
<td>And</td>
<td>Adliw</td>
<td>A brayde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ac</td>
<td>Accent</td>
<td>Adnewyddy</td>
<td>Renewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acken</td>
<td>Yonder</td>
<td>Adwerth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ackw</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adwyth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adwybwlch</td>
<td>A gappe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acoldieth</td>
<td></td>
<td>A. o vlaen dd.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act</td>
<td>An acte</td>
<td>Adda</td>
<td>Adam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. o vlaen ch.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Addas</td>
<td>Mete, apte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aach</td>
<td>Petygrewe</td>
<td>Addaw</td>
<td>Promefè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ach diafcah</td>
<td>Hole, founde</td>
<td>Addoli</td>
<td>Rype</td>
</tr>
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<td>Achchwyn</td>
<td>Accufacñon</td>
<td>Addunet</td>
<td>Rype</td>
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<td>Worpyp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A vowe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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 †.

adder adder (add'er). 766², [44]
addic addices (add'ic-es) provincial. 750⁸, [17]
able able abl (aa'b'l) [potens]. 62, 195
ale ale aal (aal) kwrw [cerevisia]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
and and (and). 787
all all (aal). 766², [44]
†aquis (aqnus), erroneous. 62, 744¹, 767¹, [3, 46]
†amat (am'ath) barbarous. 759¹, [30]
archangel archangell (ark'a'ndzhel). 766¹, [43]
ash ash (aish). 120, 747², [12, A], ash asshe aiss (ash, aish?) onen [fraxinus]. 783, [18, SH]
aue aw (au). 143, 762², [34, W]. awe awn a (aa) ofyn [terror]. 143, 785, [19, W].
axe axe aa-gs (agz) bryawl [securis]. 62, 755, [20, X]
babe bare baab (baab) babin [infans]. 62, 775, [11, B]
bake bake baak (baak) poby [coquire parcm ut pistor]. 62, 777, [18, E]
bald balde bawld (bauld) moel [calvus]. 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
ball ball bawl (bawl) pel [pila] 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
be bee (bii). 754, [23, T]
bear bere (beer). 79, 751⁴, [19, E]
beginn begynge begging (beg'ig) yn cardota [mendicans]. 80, 112, 779⁸, [14, G]
being byynge (bii'ig). 766², [43]
believe belieue (bliu'iv). 75¹, [18, E]
bier bier (bii'r). 79, 751⁴, [19, E]
bladder blad'd blad'er (blad'er) chrysyygen [yesica]. 62, 199, 777, [12, D]
bold bold bosed (boudul) [faudax] provincial. 194, 781, [17, LL]
book boxe buek (buuk) llyfyr [liber]. 99, 781, [16, K]
bow bowe bo (bo) bwa [arcus]. 150, 773, 785, [8, 20, W]
bowl bolle boulle (booul) [erater]. 194, 781, [17, O]
bred bred bred (breed, bred) bara [panis]. 79, 775, [11, B]
break brek (breek). 79, 751³, [18 E]
bringeth bryngeth (brig'eth) not (briq'eth). 767², [46]
buck bucks buck (buk) buch [dama mas]. 165, 781, 785, [16, K, 20, U]
bull bull bu (buu) [taurus] provincial. 165, 194, 781, [17, LL]
bury bury bry (bry') vulgar. 111, 164, 760s, [32, U]
business business (biz'ines). 766¹, [43]
bussy busy (biz'i) vulgar. 111, 164, 760s, [32, U]. busy busy busi (biz'i)
prysur ne ymyrrys [occupatus vel se immiscens]. 112, 165, 785, [20, U]
by our lady byr lady (bel'r laa'di). 744³, [5]
calm calme (caimal). 747³, [12, A]
cease cease (sees). 766¹, [44]
Cheapside chepyside (tsheep'seid). 752¹, [19, E]
check checke (tshek). 766¹, [44]
cheese chese tis (tis'hiz) caws [caseus] 79, 777, [13, E]
chief chefe tsiff (tsiif) penmaf [princeps]. 779 [14, F]
church church tsurts (tsh'irtsh) echcias [ecclesia]: tsurts (tsh'irtsh) eglyoys [ecclesia]. 165, 199, 775, 779, [11, CH. 14, G]
cold colde could (kouold) oer [frigidus] 194, 781, [17, O]
comb, combe (kuum ?). 766², [44]
cow cowe cow (kou) buowch [vacea]. 773, [8]
crow crow kro (kro) bran [cornix]. 150, 773, [8]
damage damage (dom'aizdh). 120, 747³, [12, A]
dart dart dart (dart) dart [iaculum]. 777, [12, D]
†dederit (ded'erith) barbarous. 759⁴, [30, T]
defer differ (difer ?) 765¹⁶, [43]
INDEX TO SALESbury’s TRACTS.

Chap. VIII. § 2.

gallant, galaunt galaunt (galaunt [fortis]). 62, 143, 190, 779, [14, G]
gelding, gelding gelding (geld-iq) [canterius]. 80, 112, 779, [14, G]
gender gender (dzhed’er). 766, [44]
gente gentyll. 781, [16, I]
George George (Dzhordzh). 758, [21, G]

get gyet (get). 766, [43]
Gh Gh eh (kh). 779, [15, GH]
Gilbert, Glybért Gilbert (gyl’bert). 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
ginger ginger (dzhin’dzhier). 80, 758, [21, G]; tsintisir (dzhin’dzhier) sinisir [zinizer]. 80, 112, 199, 779, [14, G]
God Godde (God). 752, [19, E]. God, God (god) dyw [deus]. 99, 779, [14, G] God be with you, God be with you, God bii’wijo. 112, 773, [8]
gold golde (goold). 752, [19, E]
good good good (gud guud) da [bonus]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
goodness goodness (gud’nes). 752, [19, E]
gut gutte gut (gul odulyd) [ntes-intinum]. 165, 779, [14, G]

habergeon hambreigue hebergyn. 781, [16, I]
habit habit (habit). 220, 754, [22, H]
habitation habitation (abitab’sun). 220, 764, where (abitee-shun) is erroneously given as the pronunciation, [22, H]
hand hand hand (hand) llaw [una manus]. 62, 753, [18, S]. hands hands hands (hands) llaw ne ddywyo [duae vel plures manus]. 62, 753, [18, S]
hard hard (hard). 758, [22, H]
hart hart (hart). 758, [22, H], and see heart
have have haf (hay) hudo [accipe]. 63, 779, [15, H]

heal heal heal (heel). 79, 758, [19, E]
heard heard heard (heard). 758, [22, H]
heart heart hart hart (hart) calon ne caro [cor vel cervus]. 779, [15, H]
heel heel (hill). 79, 758, [19, E]

hem hemme (hem). 752, [19, E]
heritage heritage (her’taladh). 120, 747, [12, A]
him him him (him). 766, [43]
holy see holy
holy holy holy (hool’i hool’i)

santaidd santaidd [sanctus vel aquifolium]. 99, 112, 779, [15, H]
honest honest (on-est). 220, 754, [22, H]. honest honeste owest (on-est) [honestus]. 99, 781, [16, H]
honour honour (on-ort) 220, 766, [44]. honour honouruor (on-ort) au-rhydadd [honos]. 99, 180, 199, 781, [16, H]

hope hope hoop (hoop) goeth [spes]. 99, 777, [13, E]

horrible horrible (hor'bl). 766, [43]
hour hour (our), 765, [30, R]

hubberden (Hubberden) vulgar. 111, 164, 760, [32, 32, U]
humble humble (um-blX). 220, 754,
[22, H]

humour humour (hyy-mur). 766, [44]
hurt hurt (hurt). 769, [22, H]

I (ei). 754, [23, I]. I i ei (ei) mi [ego]. 111, 781, [16, I]
idle yile (ed'i). 766, [44]
tignis (iy'nis) bad. 767, [46]
till YLL (iL). 766, [43]
in YN (in). 763, 766, [35, Y. 44]
is YS (iz). 763, [35, Y]
tich itch (itsh). 766, [43]

jaundice jaundice (dzhaun'd/s). 766, [44]
jealousy gelouste. 781, [16, I]
Jesus, Jesu tsieou (Dzhee-ezy) Jesu [Jesus]. 80, 165, 781, [16, I]
Jesus Jesus (Dzhe-esus). 754, [23, I]
John John teion sion (Dzhon Shon)
Iewan [Johannes]. 99, 781, [16, I]
joint joynt tsioynt (dzhoiht) kymal
[junctura]. 131, 781, [16, I]

Kent Kent. 781, [16, K]
king kynge king (kiq) brenhun [rex].
781, [16, K]. kings kyngeis (kiq'es)
ot (kiq'ges). 766, [43]. kings,
kyngeis kings (kiq) brenhinedd
[reges]. 112, 777, 779, [13, E]

KINGEZ. 787, [21, Z]

kissed kest (kist?). 761, [43]

knight knytz knightz mar-chag vradol [eques]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
knot knot (knot) kvulum [nodus]. 781, [16, K]

lad lad (lad) backken [juvenis]. 781, [16, L]
ladder ladder ladder-ladder yscot
[scala]. 62, 79, 199, 777, [12, D]

lad lad (lard) argywydzes [domina]. 62, 112, 781, [16 L]
language language (laq'gwaizdh). 120, 747, [12, A]

lash lashe (laish). 747, [12 A]
lay layz (lay). 761, [43]
leave leave lef, lef?. (Jeef, leef?)
konad [venia, licentia]. 80, 775, [11, A]

†light (lii-dzhhith) bad. 767, [46]
lify lyly lili (lii-l). [lilium]. 112, 781, [16, L]

low lowe low (lou, loou?) lowio
[mugire]. 150, 773, [3]
luck lucke (luk). 769, [33, U]
lust lust luste (lust) chewant [libido].
165, 785, [20, U]

†magnus (maq'nis) bad. 767, [46]
majesty maieste (madzh'est). 754,
[23, I]. majesty, MAIESTI. 781,
[16, I]
man MANNE (man). 753, [19, E]. man
man (man) guur [vir]. 62, 781, [17, M, N]

maze mase maas (maaz) madrondot
[stupor]. 62, 783, [18, S]
meal meal (meel). 79, 751, [19, E]
men men (men) guyr [vir]. 781, [17,
M, N]

Michael MYCHAEL (mei'kel?). 749,
761, [16, CH. 43]
Michaelmas MYCHAELMAS (Mik-el-
mas?). 749, [16, CH]

might MYCHT (mikht) Scottish. 749,
[15, CH]

†mihi (mikht-i) correctly. 779, [16,GH]
much good do it you MUCH GOOD DO IT
you mychydoditio (mtsh'good-itro).
165, 744, [5]
murmuring murmuryng (mur'muriq)
765, [43]
muse muse muncus (myyz) menyrio
[meditari]. 165, 783, [18, S]

nag nagge nag (nag) keffylun
[mannus]. 62, 779, [14, G]
nail NAYLE nail (nail) ewin ne hoyl
hayyarn (unguis vel ferreus clavus).
119, 783, [18, S]. nails, nayles naylis
(nailz) ewinodd ne hoylion heyyn
[ungues vel ferrei clavi]. 783, [18, S]
et bethe (net). 753, [16, E]

night NIGH (nikth). 745, [23, I]

†nith (nikth-il) correctly. 779, [15,
GH]

narrow NARROW NARROW (naru) kyfing
[angustus]. 61, 62, 150, 773, [8]
not not (not). 760, [43]

now nowe now (nou) yn awr [nunc].
150, 773, [8]
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oranges oringes oreintys (or'eindzhiz) afaje orayds [aurantia]. 99, 190, 779, [14, E]
oosel ostyll (uiz'el'). 766², [44]
obver oover (o'ver). 766¹, [43]
ox oxe ocs (oks) ych [boe]. 99, 785, [20, Y²]
pale, pale paal (paal) [pallidus]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
pap pappe papp (pap) bron guriae ne ywd [mamma vel infantium cibus]. 62, 783, [17, F]
paper papye papye (pae-pir) [papyeus]. 62, 112, 199, 785, [17, F]
pen penne. 783, [17, F]
peev fere (pecr). 79, 751, [19, E]
plage plage plage (plag) pla [pestis]
poor poors prur (prur) tlaed [pauper]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
Portugal portugal (Portugall), corrupt. 757, [27, N]
potager potager (pot-andzher?) corrupt. 757², [27, N]
prevailed prevailed (prevaild). 766¹, [43]
prohibition prohibition prohibioun (proo,ibisi'un) guchahard [prohib-}
tio]. 99, 112, 215, 781, [15, II]
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pureness yurenese (pyyt'nes). 752¹, [19, E]
quail quayle soyfiar [cottunix]. 119, 783, [18, Q]
quartern quartern kwaerter (kwarter) chequarter (quata pars). 62, 165, 199, 783, [18, Q]
queen quene kwien (kwien) brenhines [regina]. 80, 165, 783, [18, Q]
†qui (kwe). 111, 744¹, [4]
†quid (kwith) bad. 767, [46]
rul rayle rayl (raid) colauu [cancel-}
lus]. 119, 783, [18, S]. rails rays
rays (rais) colauuo ne ederin
regen yr yd [cancelli vel creces pra-
tenses]. 119, 783, [18, S]
ravening rauenynng (rayenig).
766¹, [43]
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right right right (rikht) sawn [rectus]. 783, [18, E]. hyet right (rikht) kyfawn [rectus]. 112, 787, [21, Z]
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rings rynges (riques) not (riq'ges).
767, [46]
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rose ros ros ne rosim [rosa]. 99, 783, [18, R]
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saddle saddell (ephippium). 777, [13, E]
t'aul (saal) bad. 767, [46]
sale sale sal saal [venditio]. 61, 62, 775, [11, A]
†sanctus (san'tus) bad. 767, [46]
Satan Satan (Satan). 765², [43]
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season season season (see'zin). 766², [44]
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see (see). 754, [23, I]
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[tise [species vel forma]. 62, 783, [18, S]
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diwued [dvis vel oves]. 783, [18, SH]
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siue synne (sine). 763, [35, Y]
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767, [46]
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[18, S]
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†sol (sooul) bad. 767, [46]
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ederyn y to [passer]. 61, 162, 773,
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[pati]. 80, 165, 199, 779, [14, F]
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toria]. 777, 779, [13, E]
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Thomas Thomas (Tom'as). 760³, 766², [32, TH. 44]. Thomas Thomas tomas (Tom-as). 99, 219, 785, [19, TH]
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thon thou (dhou). 219, 760³, 766¹, [31, TH. 43]. thou thou you adow (dhou) ti ne tydi, [tu]. 150, 219, 785, [21, Yʷ]
three three (thriil). 754, [23, I]
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through through thrioch (thrumkh) tryvocch [per]. 219, 783, [19, TH]
thurh thondre thundr (thun d'r) [tonitru]. 79, 99, 199, 777, [13, E]
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to to (tuo). 758², [28, O]. to to tw (tu) ar, at, i, [ad]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
toe toe (too). 758², [28, O]. toe, to to (too) bys troet [digitus pedis]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
toll tolle tolil toll [vitectal]. 194, 781, [17, O]
†tolis (toool-is). bad. 744¹, [4]
top, top top (top) nun [vertex]. 99, 783, [19, T]
tormented tormented (torment'ed). 766¹, [43]
tower toure tour (toure) twor [turris]. 783, [19, F]
trees trees triys (tri'is) prenneu [arbores]. 80, 779, [14, E]
trow trough tro (trow) tybyeid [opinor]. 150, 773, [8]
true true true (trwy) kywir [verus]. 165, 785, [19, U]
trust trust (tristi) vulgar. 111, 164, 760², [32, U]
†tu (tty) bad. 767, [46]
twinkle twynclle twinkil (twik-k'îl) [semillare]. 112, 195, 777, [13, E]
two two (tun). 758³, [28, O]. two two two (tun) dau [duo]. 93, 99, 781, [17, O]
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vain see vein valiant valiant (val'jant) 766¹, [43]
vain vair vayne vayn (vayn) guytheen ne waec [vena vel vanus]. 119, 785, [19, U]
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†vidi (vei-dei). 754, [23, I]
villanus fillanous (vil'anus). 766¹, [43]
vine vyne veyn (veyn) gwyn wydden [vitis]. 111, 119, 785, [19, U]
virtue vertue vertue (vert'vy) rhin-owedd [virtus]. 80, 165, 199, 785, [19, U]
wall wall waal (waal) gwol [murus]. 143, 194, 775, [11, A]
wash washe wais (wash, wasch?) golchi [laveare]. 783, [18, SH]
watch (waitsh). 120, 747, [12, A]
wayne see saw waw wawe wawe (wau) toun ar vor [unda maris]. 143, 785, [20, W]
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weir were (weer) 79, 751³, [18, E]
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wind wynge? (weind). 763², [35, Y]
wine wyne wein (wein) gwyn [vinum]. 111, 785, [20, W]
winking winking (wiq-k'îq). 754³, [23, I]
\(\text{\textquoteleft}\text{\textquoteleft}wyshe} (\text{\textquoteleft}\text{\textquoteleft}wyshe). 752³, [19, E]
with wyth (with). 143, 219, 750⁴, 762⁶, [17, D. 34, W]
wonder wondre wondre (wun'd'r) [miraculum]. 79, 99, 185, 199, 777, [13, E]
woo wowe w (wu, wu?) kory [amare, ut procis petere]. 93, 160, 185, 785, [20, W]
worship worshippe (wur'ship). 752³, [19, E]
worthy worthy (wurdhi). 766¹, [43]

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. 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 paginated 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. I 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. 1858, 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 Orthographic, and no other book. On turning to the dedication to Edward VI., I found (p. 4, l. 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 wistheth all health and prosperitie,” which had not been observed when p. 35, l. 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 ar, 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 therof.” 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 furiosi 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 alpha-
bet, 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 everiwhere de-
fend:
But yf thou maist not now the thing
amend
I shal send this brother soom luk-
kier hower,
yf Atropos doo not hast my lyves
end,
to confound Abuses lothesoom lookes
sower."

"Abuse," meaning the wrongful use
of letters, that is applying them to
sounds for which they were not in-
tended in the Latin alphabet, is a fa-
vourite 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 here-
after 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 moche as a man may
(though lesse wold serve) therwith
sounding from the breas, and he shal
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 toung may touch
the lyke inner part of your [78] upper
iowes you shall with your voice from
your brest make that sound wherfore
we doo often (and shuld alwaies) writ
the e (p. 80): then somthing your
toung further furth with your iowes,
leaving but the forepart open, and
your sound from the brest will make the
voice wherfore we doo often (and shuld
alwaies) write the i: forthli a man
making his lippes in souch a round,
as the compasse of the topp of his litell
finger (his teeth not touching, nor
toung the upper iowes) with the sound
from the brest he shall make the simple
voice wherefore we doo often (and shuld
alwaies) writ the o (p. 93); and last of
all holding so still his toung and teeth
untouched shrinking his lippes to so
litell a hole as the breath may issue,
with the sound from [79] the breast he
shall of force make that simple voice
wherefore we doo sometimes rightly
(and shuld alwaies) write the u [cer-
tainly (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 pro-
perly: as in theis wordes 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
theis wordes sinne, in and him. Where-
fore this letter e, shuld have his aunc-
ient 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
mystating of his sound in i: as we
have longe doone: and therfore (and
partly for lack 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, confusyon 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, dooth of
voice import so moche in better and
ever and in mani other wordes and
sillables, 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 fre 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 geve it a brode sound (contrary to
all peoples but the Scotts: as in this
sentence, [83] he borowed a sword
from bi a mans side to save thie life:
where we sound the i in bi, side, thie
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 a, two waies the one is in consonant indifferentli with bothe his figures u and v... [86]. The other abuse of the u, is that we sound yt as the Skottes and French men doo, in their wordes gud and fust [89]: Whereas most commonly we oue ourselves (which the Grekes, Latines, the vulgar Italiens, and Germanes with others doo alwaies) kepe his true sound: as in their wordes, but, unto, and further. [This thoroughly excludes all suspicion of an (o) sound.] Yet you mark well his usurped sound in gud and fust (and others of the skottish and french abuse) you shall find the sound of the diphthong ïu, keeping both the i and u, in their proper verta, 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 its identification with you makes it (iu): Hart however, in his orthographie also rises (iu) for both sounds, as in the passage reprobated by Gill, suprâ p. 122, where he writes you use as (iu iuz); yet if any value is to be attributed to his description of long u, suprâ p. 167, he certainly meant (iu yyy) 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 you, you, which Sir T. Smith writes (yy, in), 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 fust? Wherefore yt our predecessours 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 uncertainty of the powers of letters, as they used thein. Let us then receive the perfect meaneth betwixt theirs two doubtfull extremities; and use the diphthong ïu alwaies for the sound of you, and of u in suer, shut & bruer, and souch lyke, writing theim thus shut, siuer, bruer: 'not the word shut shut mean suit or shou't see supra p. 216, n. 1, "wherefore in our writings, we need carefulli to put a sufficient difference, betwixt the u and n: as their and the prints geve sufficient example. Now see you whether we doo well to writ the o in theirs wordes do to & other (signifying in latine alius) when yt yis the proper sound of the u: or for [91] the lyke sound to double the o: as in poore, good, root, and sooch like of that sound: but I find the same dooble o, written with reason in some wordes, when yt signyfeth the longer time: as in moost, goost and goo. ... [95] Then the nombre of our voels is five as the Grekes (concerning voice) the Latines, the Germanes, the Italiens, the Spayneyardes and others have alwaies had, declared in souch their singular power, as they hane and doo, use them. ... [96] a diphthong is a joinign of two voels in one syllable keeping their proper sound, onli somewhat shortenig 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 comming together yet serving for two syllables, and therefore ought to be marked with the figure diphthonges, as shalbe said. Among the diphtongs he places first y considered as Greek ù, and recommends its disuse, and then w considered as ùw, for which he would write u. [101] "Wherefore we take the usingle 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 huan, urit and huant: and so if their lyke, cleane forsaking the w. Now the ea, so often as I see yt abused in diphthong, it is for the sound of the long e: wherin 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 a length-[102] ned wil serve for the commune abused diphthongs ea. ai or ay and ei or ey (p. 125): the powers of which voels we now myx together con-
especially reprobes 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 the 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 (ruitsh, 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

fuzibii making the sound of the same long e, and not of any parfait diphthong: as in theirs examples of the ea in fearc which we pronounce sounding no part of the a. And for the ai or ay, as in this word faire pronouncing nether the a, or i, or y: also yn saieth where we abuse a thriphthong. Also ei or ey we pronounce not in theirs wordes theime 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 birds do not feed on our seed: also for the ie in thigh 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 isoferdl, which we pronounce iniperdu. The oo we have abused as afore 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 warre, 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 few for few: in deu, for dew, and souch lyke (p. 138). The ue, as in question: in buen, for when: in uel, for well. Also the in as in trith, for truth: in rebik, for rebuke: and in rule for rule. And the ui alone for our [105] false sounding of we: and as in buich for which: witnes for witnesse, and souch like: [this be identifies with Greek υ]. . . [106] writ for young, yoke and beyond, iong, ioke, and beiong. Then the oi is wel used in app-point, enjoi, poison, and a hoi barke, [here there is a difference from his later orthography (ruuci) (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 suencient power of the u: the same diphthong ou, being sounded farre otherwise then in blood, souch and should, as some ignorantli writ them, when we pronounce but the u, in byr proper sound." This use of ou for (u) is frequent in this MS. souch, toung, 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.1 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 underdotting, 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.

Exam-p'l's hou ser-ten udh'er nas'ions du sound dheed lët'ers, both in Latin, and in dheed mudh'er tuq, dherbei' tu kno dhe beet'er hou tu pronouns' dheed spittish'es, and so tu riid dhem as dheed du. Kap. viii.

For dhe konfirmas'ion ov dhat ruish is seed, for dhe sounds az-uel of vo',els az of kon'sonants: auldhow' ei naav in divers plas'es nier-befoor' sheu',éd iu, nou ser-ten udh'er nas'ions du sound part ov dheed lët'ers: ei thont it gud nier, not oon'-li to rekapti'ulat and short'li rexers; part ov dhe befoor' men'sioned, but aul'so tu giv iu t- understand' nou dheu du sound sutsh dheed lët'ers, az dh- ignorant dher-of shuld áproxtoth' noth'iq neer tu dheed pronunsia'sion bei riid'-iq dheed ureitiqs or prints. Huier', bhu so-iz dezei'-rous tu riid dh- Italian and dhe Lat'in az dheed du, mi must sound dhe vo',elz az ei naav süfis'iental seed treat'-iq ov dhem, and az ei naav yyyd dhem in aul dhis nyy man' er, on'li eksept'-iq dhat dheu maak dhis fig'yrr u, kon'sonant az-uel az dhis v. Dheed c, dheed yyy aftar' aul vo',elz az wi dhe k, (as dheed prodzhen'itors dhe Lat'ins did) and yyy not k at aul; but dheed-abyyz' dhe c, bifoor' e, and i, in dhe sound ov our ch or tsh, az eece and accioche, dheed sound ek'-tshe, aktshioke', francesco frantshe'sko, foe, facendo, amici, fe'tshe, fatshend'o, ami'tshi: and for the sound ov dhe k, dheed yyy ch. Dheed g, dheed kiip az ei naav dun aftar' vo',elz, and befoor' a, o, and u: but befoor' e and i, dheed naav

1 He says: "I leae also all double consonants: haunig a marke for the long vowel, there is therby sufficient knowledge giuen that enerye vnmarked vowel is short: yet wherases 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.


abyyzd: it widh us, for whitsh ei naav yyyzd dzh, and tu kiip dhat sound befoor a, o, and u, dheez uzurp' gi, as muth bin seed, and dherfoor dhee never maak dhee i, kon*sonant, for dhee see not aguto but aiuto, as meee bi dhus ai-uto. Dhe t, dhee never sound in s, az in protection, satisfaction, dhee sound dhe t, nard, and dherfoor dub' t it in dhooz uurdz and man'i-udh'ers: but in giurisdizioni, militia, sententia, intentione, and man'i-udh'ers dhee du not dub' t it, iet dhee sound it as it iz, and never turn it in tu dhe sound ov s, but iv in mark it uel, dhee breth ov dhe t, pas*iq thrum dhe tiith, and turn'iq tu dhe-i, duth maak it siim as it uer neer dhe sound ov dhe, s, but iz not dherfoor so in efekt. For dher gli, dhee du not sound g, so hard az ui uld, but so soft'li az it iz oft'n urit'n and print'ed uihdout' dhe g. Dhee zz dhee sound most kóm'oli dhe first z, in t, as in fortessa, grandezza, destrezza, but at sum teimz dhe sound dhem az dhee du cc, as for dhiz naam dhee-ureit indif*ferentli Eccellino, or Ezellino. Dhee naav aul'so dhe sound ov our sh or sh, ruithz dhee-ureit ze, befoor', e, or i: dhee-yyz tu-ureit dhe th, but not for our th, or th: for dhee naav not dhe sound dherof' in aul dhee spiitch, nor ov dh, and sound it in Matthish, az mee bi matnio, as of th, iz seed in Thomas and Thomess. And for lak ov a knol'edzh for dhe kuan'titiz ov dhee vo'elz dhee-ar konstrecend' tu dub'l dhee kon*sonants oft'n and mutsh: and for dhe loq'er teim ov dhee vo'els, dhee naav no mark: nuer-fooor nuo so'-iz dezei'ruz tu ridd dhee ureit'iq uel, and im'itaat dhee pronunsia'ion had niid tu naav sum instruk'sion bei dhe leiv'li vo,is. And nun dhee du reez dhee tyyn ov dhee urds (ruithz iz oft'n) dhee noot it uihd dhe Latin graav tyyn, dhus andò, parlò, e mostrà la nouitd, al podestà de la cittd. And in ridd'iq dhe Lat-in, aul dhat dhee feind urit'n, dhee du pronouns', iiv'n as dhe dhee du dheed mush'er tuq, in dhee 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 (e) close and (e) open, the intermediate (e) being unknown, whereas it is the only e in Spanish. The vowel o has also two sounds, which have in this work been hitherto assumed as (oh) close and (o) open. The prince does not allow this; to him (oh) is Swedish o long, and (o) is Spanish o. His Italian close o does not differ from (o), and his open o is (a) or (A), probably the former. His theory is that when a language has only one e, o, as in Spanish and modern Greek (supra p. 523, l. 6 from bottom), Welsh, and therefore in Latin and early English, it is (e, o); when it has two e, and two o, they are (e, e) 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. 65, but only emphatic, as if preceded by the sign (') p. 10,—which has been wrongly used (pp. 4, 9) in the combinations (t, t, d) in place of (t, t, d') or "outer" (t, d). The following are the rules he lays down in his Sardo Sassarese example (supra 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 sceempie si pronunzia, tanto in italiano quanto in sassarese, come se fossero scritte doppie, in forza delle seguenti regole generali:
For dhe nix dutsh dhee sound aul dheer vo’, elz in dhe ver’i saam sort: and ne’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 principio di frase, sia al cominciar di un periodo o di una clausula benchè breve, sia dopo una virgola. 2) Allorchè, comincia la sillaba, sono precedute da altra consonante. 3) Allorchè occorrono in fin di voce, come ne monosillabi il, del, &c. 4) Quando la voce precedente, benchè terminata in vocale, sia un ossitono oppure un monosillabo derivato da voce latina terminata in consonante, la qual consonante poi venne soppressa nel farsi italiano o sassarese detta voce latina. Così la preposizione a derivata dalla latina ad, la congiunzione e corrispondente ad et, il si derivato dal sec, il “nè” 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, né questo nè quello, amò molto, potè poco, non si ode altrimenti che: appietro, evvoi, siggrande nequestgo nequello, amommolto, potepoco. 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, amà molto potè poco, molto largo, le consonanti iniziali della seconda voce si pronun- ziano deboli quali si veggono scritte, per essere le parole latine corrispondenti alla prima voce: de, illi, illa, illa, me, te, se, potè terminati 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, t, k, v) becoming (b, d, g, bh). The Prince was also very particular respecting the pronunciation e, g, z in ce, gia, zio, zero, which have been assumed in this work to be (sh, dzh, 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 (ts, dzh), Gill used a simple sign for (dzh) but analyzed it into (dz)’. Hart, however, seems to have considered (ts) 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*z), that is an attempt to make both pairs of effects at once. This results in a closer and more forward contact, nearly (sh, zh, s*, z) but the (t*s, d*z) did not resemble (th, dh). This effect may be conveniently written (jsh, jzh, jz, jz). The effect of (jsh, jzh) on English ears is ambiguous. At one time it sounds (sh, zh) and at another (ts, dzh), with a decided initial (t, d) contact as we pronounce in Eng- lish, and the Prince again hears my (ts, dzh) as his (jsh, jzh). It would almost seem that (jsh, jzh) were the true intermediate sounds between (kj, gj) and (ts, dzh). But a Picard variety of (kj, gj) which may for distinc- tness be written (k’j, g’j) is a still more unstable sound to foreign ears. In precisely the same way (k’s, 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 (q’s, q’sh) in imitation of (qs, sh). Was the Attic initial ξ, re- placing σ, really (q’s), and the original Sanscrit q? (q’s) ? The double con- tact of tongue and lips, which probably occurs in African dialects may be (qp, qp), as slightly different from (kw, kw). The sibilants may now be greatly multiplied. The prince pronounced the following: (s z, sh zh; sj zj, sjh zbh; sz zj, shz zh; s’j zj; shj zjb) all as simple sounds. Emphatic pro- nunciation, simultaneous pronunciation, and successive pronunciation still re- quire much consideration and practical
observation of existing usages. The difficulty in separating the usual speech habits of the listener and speaker, and of not assuming the first to be a correct account of the second, is more and more felt as the knowledge of the phonetic process increases. We have as yet necessarily given an undue amount of consideration to analysis, in order to ascertain the elements of speech, to the neglect of the important study of synthesis, whence alone can result the proper conception of national speech with its whole array of legato, staccato, phonetic assimilation, phonetic disruption, stress, intonation, quantity, emphasis of letter, syllable, word, of the utmost importance to comparative philologist, and almost totally unknown to comparative philologists.

1 The passage referred to is as follows: "The Dutch doe vse also au, ei, and ie, rightly as I do hereafter, and \( \text{\'a}, \) in the founde of \( e, \) or (e) long; \( \text{\'e}, \) in the founde of \( e, \) or (eu); \( \text{\'u} \) in the sound of (yy), or the French and Scott:ish \( u; \) \( \text{\'u} \) for eu, and \( \text{\'u} \) for (uu), 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 (sh) or (jsh). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte
And now last ov ual, dche Frensh, uidd db-abyyy ov dhe u, in dhe sko't-ish leik sound ov dhe iu dipthogh, nuitzh, nor Ital ian, nor Dutch dhid ef'er giv tu u, and yyy'-iq dhe g, and j, kon-sonan' in dhe sound nuer-of, our sh, iz dhe bredh'-ed kon-sonan': and turn'-iq dhe z, in'tu z, nuen ui, uidd aul dhe rest, du sound the s, (eksept* dhe Span'-ard, az ui maav aul-so yyyz betuikst* tuu vo'elz) and kiip'-iq an udh'er teim in dher vo'elz dhen ui du, and yyy'-iq dheer e, in deivers sounds, and dhe o sum'-uat aul'-so: beiz not sound'-iq dhe u, in qui, and quae, but az uii mee kii and kee, uidd lee-v'-iq man'-i ov dheer let'-ers unsound'-ed, duth kauz dheer spittsh ver'-i nard tu bi lernd bei art, dhe not ee-z'i bei dhe lei-v'-li vo',is, az it iz no-tori',uzli knoon. So az if ei shuld ureit Frensh, in dhe let'-ers and or'-der nuitzh ei du nou-yyz, ei-am sert'en dhat iu shuld mutsh suun'-er kum tu dheer pronunsiasion, dheer-bei, dhen bei ureit'-iq az dheer du. And tu eksper'iment dhe mii't'er, and tu maak suth az understand' Frensh, dzhudzh'res dheer-of, ei uil ureit dhe Lords preer az dhee du, nuitzh shuld be prez'en'ted tu suths az oon, az kan riid dhis man'er, and iet under-stand'-eth not dhe Frensh, and pruuv nou ni kan riid and pronouns'- it: and dhen present' it nim in dhis man'er ov ureit'-iq, az mier'-after: and kompaar' his pronunsiasion tu dhe form'er, and iu shuld pruuv dhat efekt', nuitzh kan not bi bront tu pas bei our form'er man'er. And dher-foor hier fol'-ueth dhe lords preer first in Frensh in dhee man'er ov ureit'-iq: Nostre pere qui es et cieux, Ton nom soit sanctifie. Ton Regne aduienne. Tu volonte soit faite en la terre comme au ciel. Donne-nous au-iourd'hui nostre pain quotidien: Et nous pardonne nos offenses, comme nous pardonnons a ceux qui nous ont offensez. Et ne nous indui point en tentation: mais nous delivre du mal. Car a toy est le regne, la puissance, et la gloire es siecles, des siecles. Amen. Nou in dhis nyy man'er az fol'-u,eth. Nootran peeran ki-ez eez sieuz, tun Num soit sanctifie. Tun Riian avienan. Ta volunte soit fetaan, an la taraor kuman ou siel. Dune-nuuz ozdzhuuruii nootran peen kotidian. E nuu pardunan noz ofanes kuman nuu pardinunuz a seu ki nuuz unt ofansz. E ne nuuz indui point an tan-tasion: meez nuu delivran dyy mal'. Kar a toe eet le reen-an, la puy,iisanse e la glocran eez sickles dez sickles Aman. Nou kon-trariueiz uil ei ureit nier-un'der in dheez nyy let'-ers (and kiip'-iq dheer sound az befoor') nou dhe Frensh du pronouns' dheer

denies that (v, dh, z) occur in Spanish, but admits (t, th, s), as sounds of f, z, (or c before e, t) and s. This pronunciation of c, z is doubtful. It may be (s-t), and certainly by some d is pronounced either (dh) or (z-t), especially when final. In the common termination -ado, the d is often quite lost, but the vowels are kept distinct in two syllables, and do not form a dipthong. In the termination -ido, the d is never lost. The (s) sound of c, z, is not acknowledged in Madrid. The letters b, 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). Ll, ñ are (lj, nj). Hart confuses ùl with Welsh ll, as does Salesbury, (supra p. 757), but Hart also confuses the sound with (l), or le in able (supra p. 195); which he probably called (au-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, nuish iz az dhus. Paater noster ki ez in seliiz, santisifettyr nomen tyy,yyym, atveniat reinfym tyy,yyym flat voluntaaz tyya sikytyt in selo e in tara panem nostryym kotidianyym da nobiiz odiee et dimiite nobii debiita nostra, sikytyt et noz dimiitimyyz debitoriyyz nostriiz. Et ne noz indykykaaz in tentasionem: Set libera noz a malo. And ei remem'ber ov a meri' dzhest ei naav herd ov a bee nuishid did melp a French priat at mas, nuo see'iq dominyy yovibikyym, dhe bee neer'iq it sound strandz'h'li-in niz eer, aun'suered, eth kum tirlri tiikyym, and so uent laur'iq nis uee. And so per-adven'tyyr iu-uii at dhe riid'iq, az iu mee biiiv: me-ei did at dhe ureitiq nier-of. Ei kuld ureit aul'so nou dhe frens and udh'er for'ens du spek Iq'lish, but dheer man'er is so plen'tiful in man'i-of our eerz, az ei thiik it super-fluz. Dhe rexon nuei dheee kan not sound our spiitsh, iz (az iu mee perseev' beii dhat iz seed) bikauz' ui naav and yyy zar-teen sounds and breedsz' nuish dheee naav not, and du-aul'so yyy tu sound sum of dhooz l'et'ezr nuish dheee-yyz uidd us, udh'erueiz dhen dheee duu: and dheee for revendzh: sum ov ourz udh'erueiz dhen ui duu. nuish iz dhe kauz aul'so dhat dhee spiitsh-ez ar harde for us tu riid, but dhe sound oons knoon, ui kan eex'ili pronouns' dherz beii dhe rexon abuv-seend. And dhus tu-end if iu thiik it lit'i prof'it tu bi in dhis nuer-in ei naav kaus'ed iu tu f'as iur teim, ei uiel iet disthardzh: mei self' dhat ei-am 'asyy-red it kan du-iu no harm, and so dhe aulmint'i God, gi'ver ov aul gud thiqs, blis ius aul, and send us ris graas in dhis transitor leifi, and in dhe world tu kum, leif ever-last'iq. So bi-it. FINIS. Sat cito si sat bene.

ALEXANDER BARCLEY'S FRENCH PRONUNCIATION, 1521.

In the introductory Authours Epistell to the Kynges Grace, prefixed to Palsgrave's Esclarisement, he says: "Onely of this thyng, puttyng your highnesse in remembraunce, that where as bydes 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, intituled the Introductory to writte and pronouene frenche, compiled by Alexander Barcle, in whiche k is moche vseyd, and many other thynges also by hym affirmed, contrary to my sayenges in this boke, and specially in my seconde, where I shall assaye to express the declinations and coniugationes: with the other congruites observed in the frenche tonge, I suppose it sufficient to warne the lernar, that I have red ouer 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 expressi mention: saine that I have 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 whan it was commanded that the graumar maisters shulde teche te youth of Englande ioyntly latin with frenche, there were diuere such bokes diused: 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 lernyngge 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 instaunce 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. 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 10×7 in., of the printed text 8½ in. × 5½ in.; 32 pages, neither folioed nor paged, the register at bottom of recto folio is: A 1-6, B I-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 compiled by Alexander Barkley compendiously at the commaundement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty pryncе 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 parfite as any other naeyon in Europ[e]."—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 learne the Englysshe and Frensshe. Emprynted 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 Blandfordiensí reperientur, 1812, fasc. 2, p. 8) and was sold by auction at Evans's sale of White Knights Library 1819, to Rodd the bookseller, for 94. 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 Travelers, Dibdins Ames, 1, 315. 316), containing French phrases, but no information on pronunciation. A mutilated copy of Caxton's book is in the Douce Collection.
The prologue of the auctour. On Pronouns.

Also when these wordes. nous. vous. and ilz. be set before verbs begynnynge with any 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 pronouncyng though they be wrytten. But when they are ioyned with verbs begynnyng with any vowell than the _s_. and _z_. kepeth theyr full sounds in pronouncyng.

Here after followeth a small treatyse or introductory of ortographie or true wrytyng. wherby the dyligent rede may be informed truly. and perfytely to wryte and pronounce the frenche tynge after the dyuers customes of many countrees of fraunce. For lykesywse as our englysshe tynge is dyuersly spoken and varyeth in certayne countrees and shyres of Englande. so in many countrees of fraunce varythe theyr langage as by this treatyse evidently shall appere to the rede.

Lettres in the. A. b. c. e. xxii. whiche in frenche ought thus to be sounded.

A boy^1^ coy^1^ doy^1^ e af goy ashe û^2^ ka el am an oo po y cu

And albeit that this lettre .h. be put amonge thelettres of the alphabet. yet it is no lettre. but a note of asperecyon. or token of sharpe pronouncyng of a worde. Also .&. and .o. are not counted amonge the lettres: and so remayneth. xxii. lettres in the alphabete besyde .h. and .o. as sayd is.

1 Compare Palsgrave's Introduction to his second Book: "In the nemyng of the sayd consonantes the frenche-men differe from the latin tong, for where as the latines in soundyng of the mutes begyn with the letters selfe and ende in E, saynyng BE, CE, DE. &c. the frenche men in the stede of E sound Oy and name them Boy, Coy, Doy," etc. Hence the oy in these words was not (ee) as it has now become. Palsgrave adds: "and where as the latines in soundyng of theyr liquides or semi vowels begyn with E. and ende with them, saynyng El, Em, En, the frenche men double the liquide or semi vocale, and add also an other E and name them Elle, Emmie, Enne, geyung the accent upon the fyrst E, and at the last

E depressyng theyr voyce." This is different from Barclay.

2 This must surely be a misprint. The dots are faint. The vowel û 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 Victo Rugo 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. lettres be deuyd all into vowels and consonantes .v. of them be called vowels, whiche be these. a. e. i. o. u. these fyue be called vowels for eche of them by themself ioyned with none other lettre maketh a full and perfect worde. Y. is a greke vowell and is not wryten in latyn wordes, but in greke wordes.

And wordes of other langages without one of these vowels: no lytteral voyce may be pronounced1 of these .v. vowels .ii. leseth theyr strength somtyme: and become consonantis whiche .ii. be these. I. and v. whiche ar consonantis when they are put in the begynnynge of a syllable ioyned with another vowel and syllablyd or spellid with the same, as in these wordes 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 ioyned with some vowel. consonantis be these. b. c. d. f. g. l. m. n. p. q. r. s. t. x. z.

These consonantis be deuyd ayayne 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 eche of them his strength3 in one self syllable: of them be .iii., that is to say, au, eu, ei,4 oy. In latyn tunge ,au, and ,eu be bothe wryten and sounded5 .ay, and ,oy, be wryten but not sounded. but in frenche and englysshe tunge bothe ay oy au and eu be wryten and sounded,6 as in these examples in frenche of au. voyce vng beau filz, here is a fayre some. of eu, deux 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 fait 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 lyberote bothe in frenche and englysshe in presence of aspiration. And this may have been Barclay's 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, supra p. 754.

3 This ought to mean that the sound of each is heard, and ought to distinguishe 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 (supra p. 226, n. 1), gives 3 syllables to aier, 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 ou 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 ay, 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 Palsgrave.
Chap. VIII. § 3. BARCLEY'S FRENCH PRONUNCIATION.

wrytynge and soundynge than in latyn as touchynge the .iii. dyptonges.

Also here is to be noted that of lettres we make syllabes: of syllabes we frame wordes, and of wordes we compyne reasons, and by reasons all scyences and speches 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 all other langages) fyrst I intende by the ayde and socour of the holy goost to treate how the lettres be wryten and sounded in frenche.

Of the soundynge 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 englysse worde. hath. When it is put but for a lettre it is often sounded as this lettre e. as in this frenche worde, st aues1 vous: in englysche, can ye. In whiche worde and many other as, barbe, and rayre. with other lyke this lettre. A. hath his sounde of this lettre .e. But in some countrees .A. is sounded with full sounde in lyke maner as it is wryten as, rayre, and suche other whan this lettre .A. is put for a worde it betokeneth as moche in englysse 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 pronounced in frenche, nor founde often wryten in the ende of ony worde. And though some wolde say in these frenche wordes, 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 whiche is .e.2 and not .d.

[10] Also in true frenche these wordes, auray, I shall have. and, auroy, I had: be wryten 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 wryten in the myddes as thus, auroy, aueroie: which is contrary bothe in the true wrytynge, and also to the true pronunciacyon of perfyte frenche.

How this lettre b ought to be wryten and sounded in frenche themperour for the emperoure, and so of other lyke.

Also this worde auc may be wryten in dyaus maners after the custome and vsage of dyaus countrees of fraunce as thus. aucueque: auque. And some without reason or orthography wryte it with .s. in the myddes as aucueque. but how so euer aucue be wryten in frenche it soundeth as moche in englysse as this preposycyon with. And also this worde solone may be wryten with c, or els without c

1 The words st aues 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 solon, 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 concernynge wrytynge and spekyng of frenche, which were to longe to expres in this small treatys: but the moste perftyenes of this langage is had by custome and vse of redyng and spekyng by often enquyryng: and frequentyng of company of frenchemen and of suche as haue perftyenes: in spekyng the sayd langage.

[11] [Treatysse of dyversse 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, endeble. desoubz. vnder-neth, desubz. aboue, coubte. a ribbe, vng subjet. Also these verbes doubter. to dout, tresdoubter. greatly to dout, substiner with all theyr modes and tensys as well synguler as plurell with all nownes and partycyple descendynge of them, must haue .b. wryten in the myddes of them and not soundyd, as wryten double tres-doubte. and soundyd doute, and tresdoute.

[12] Of. C. ¶ This letter .C. wryten in myddes of a worde hath the somtyme the sounde of this letter .s. or .z. as these wordes. ca. on this half. piec. a whyle agone. racon a ranson. francois. frenche. and in many other lyke wordes whiche soundyth thus with .s. sa pieza ranson francois. Also this letter .c. somtyme hath the sounde of .k. as in these wordes in frenche crou. cru. cause, and ear. Also these wordes done and ioue 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.1 and that namely in the ende of a worde. as in this example. A mon premier commencement soit dien le pere omnipotent. At my fyrste begynnynge be god the father almyghty. Il a vng bon entende-ment. these wordes commencement omnipotent entende ment vent with other lyke. be soundyd with a. as commencement. omnipotent. 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 masculyne gender endynge in the synguler nombre in .c. g. or .f. as blanc. whyt. vyt. quicke. long. longe. shall be wryten in the plurell nombre with .s. hauynge .e. g. or .f. put awaye from them. as bians. vis. lons.

Of. G. ¶ When this letter .g. is wryten in frenche in myddes of

1 Though expressed generally, this remark evidently refers exclusively to the syllable en where it is now pronounced (aə), which we have seen Hart also pronounced (an), supră 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 compaign, compaigne. How be it some wryte suche wordes as they muste be soundyd with \(g\) and \(n\) as compaign. 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 joyned togyder in myldes or in the ende of a worde. when 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 \(l\) or \(E\) shall not be soundyd.

\[\] Also in true frenche these wordes. Ie. ce, are. wryton without o. in theyr ende but in pycard, or gascouygne, they are wryten with o. at the ende, as thus ieo cce.

Of K. \[\] This letter \(K\). in dyuerses speches is put for. ch. As kinal. kien. vak. but in true frenche it is not, but these wordes and suche lyke by wryton with ch. as cheual. a hors, chien. a dogge. vache. a cowe. Also in certaynes countres of Fraunce for c. is wryton ch. as piecha. for a pieca. a whyle ago. tresdoulche for tresdoule. ryght swe. And so of other lyke.\[13\]

\[\] In lykewyse in some countres of Fraunce names of dygnyte and offyce 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 romen, the pope of rome. le roy de france, the kyng of fraunce. le saint esperit, the holy goost. and so of lyke.

Of L. \[\] This lettre \(L\). set in myldes of a worde immedyatly before a vowell shall kepe his full sonde, as nouellement, newly. annulement, yerely. continuelement contynuall parlant, spekyng. egallement, egally. But yf a consonant folowe. I immedatly than \(l\) shall be sounded as \(n\). as loyalmnt. principalment. whiche are sounded thus. loyament, faithfully. principaument, princippally.\[2\] 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 sounde whan \(ilz\). cometh before a worde begynnynge with a vowell. as ilz ont fait: 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 au, but whether as (au) or (oe) cannot be deduced from such loose writing.

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Whan ,l, is wryten in the ende of a worde, and that the worde folowyng begyn with a consonant than shall ,l. in suche wordes lese his owne sounde and be sounded lyke an .u. as ladmiral dengle-terre, the admyrall of englande, but ye the worde folowyngg ,l, begyn with a voweall 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 ,ll. double in myddes of a worde must be sounded with hole and full voype. as fille, a doughter. fillette, a lytell mayde. oraille, an eere. and so other lyke.

Of. N. This lettre. N. put betwene a voweall and a consonant in ende of ony worde whiche is a verbe of the thyrd persone plurell, and the indyctyf, or optatyf mode what tens so euer it be, it shall not be sounded in true pronouncynge of frenche, as ilz ayment, they loute. ilz lisent, they rede. whiche wordes and all other lyke must be sounded thus without ,n. ilz aymet. ilz liset. 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. Whan ,P. is wryten in the ende of a worde in frenche, and the next worde immedyatly folowyng begynnyngge with a consonant than shall it lese the sounde, as thus. if 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.

Of this rule be except proper names endyage in ,p. in whiche ,p, must haue his full sounde, as, philip. But ye a worde ende in ,p, and the worde nexte folowyage begyn with a voweall then ,p, shall haue his full sounde. as mieulx vault asse. queu trop auoir, better is ynothn than to haue to moche. Also these wordes sepmaine, a weke. temps. tyme. corps, a body. and this verbe escrirre, to wryte, with [14] all nownes and participes commynge therof, indifferently may be wryten with p. or without p. but though p. be wryten in them it shall nat be soundyd: as semainey, tems, cors escrirre.

Of. Q. Q. in pronounasyngge muste haue a softe and lyght sounde. And it shall nat be wryten in any frenche worde, without two vowealls, immediatly folowyngge: of whiche two vowealls the fyrste shalbe u. as qui que, the whiche, quar. for. querir, to seke, quest, whan, and suche other, but some be whiche wryte q. in suche wordes without this voweall .u. folowyng as qi. qe. &c. whiche maner of wrytyngge is vnsemely: And also it is contrary to all rules of ortography or true wrytyngg 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 langages and no reason haue they whiche wryte suche wordes without u. to assyst them saue theyr vnresonable 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 car, or els kar. &c.

Of R. ¶ This letter. R. put in the ende of a worde shall kepe his owne full sounde, as ceuer, as thus Iay grant mal au ceuer, 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 myddes of a worde ought nat to be soundyd if a consonant folowe immedyatly: as tresdoulec, ryght swete: tresnoble, ryght noble: tresgracious, ryght gracyous: but s. in myddes of these wordes folowyng hath his full sounde: as thus: prosperite, chestien, substance, esperance, meschant, Institutur, escharuir, transglouter, Augustynes, Inspire, descharger, estaincher, estandre, peschies, constrayndre, despenser, escuser, with al nownes, and aduerbes commynge of them. In whiche s. must be soundyd, if2 a consonant immedyatly folowe s. But if a vowel folowe this letter. s. in the myddes of a worde and no letter betwene s. and the vowell, than shall s. haue his full sounde, as it is wryten, tresexcellent, ryght excellent: treshold, ryght hye: tresholdore, ryght honoured: tresholdumle, ryght humble.

Of double .ss. ¶ When this letter .ss. double is wryten in myddes of a worde it must alway be soundyd: as puissant, myghty with such lyke. More ouer if this letter .s. syngle, be wryten in the ende of a worde, whiche is a pronowne comunificacion verbe or preposicion, if the worde folowyng s. begyn with a consonant, than s. shal nat be soundyd: as dieu vous saune, god saue you. dieu vous gard, god kepe you. voules vous boire, Wyl ye drynke. nous sommes beaupocc des gens, we be moche folke, in whiche wordes s. shall nat be soundyd. But whan 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 folowyng. s. shall haue no sounde, all if the wor[15]de folowyng begyn with a vowell. 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, whan 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. H. it muste be soundyd di. Di. But this nombre ten in frenche moost usuall is spelled with .x. as .dix. and not with .s. as dis. But whan ditz is a participe, 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, supra p. 198.
2 Meaning although, as these are the exceptions to the rule. See “all if” — although, infra p. 812, l. 26.
Of. T. This letter T. put in the ende of a worde beyng a verbe of the thirde persone synguler and present or preterty tens of the indicatyf mode if the worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be soundyd. as est il prest, is he redy. Il estoit aloystel, 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, is he redy. il lust tout esbahy, he was al absashed. 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 plurel nombre with t. e. and z. or s. at the ende after the moste vsed Orthography 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 immedyatly folowyng. as les saintez vierges du ciel ne cessent de louver 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 endyng 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 wryten 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 doublettes made. yet after true ortography of frenche these wordes and other suche muste be bothe wryten and soundyd without t. as lis fays pourpoinz

Also these wordes filz, a sone, mieluz better. fois one tyme. assez, ynoughe. vous poues, ye may. vous prenes, ye take, vous enseignes, ye teche. vous lizez, And suche other ought to be wryten without t. but some be whiche wrongly wryte these wordes with t. As filtz, mieultz, foitz, assetz, pouetz, prenetz. &c. whiche wordes in ryght frenche haue no t. neyther in soundyng nor in wrytynge. 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 scainoir, And I make you to wytte or knowe.

[16] 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 immedyatly 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, quasy. Englysshe men, and Scottes alway sounde u. after the letters both in Latyn and in theyr Uulgayre or common langage. 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 cheualx, or cheualz. hors, doulx, or doulz. swete miculx, 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 vocatyfe case, but by cause of ryme somtyme it hath x. in other cases. And when 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 folowe immediatly than x. shall not be soundyd. as dieux vous sauve, god saue you. dieux vous garde, god kepe you. but if this worde dieux be set in the vocatyfe 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 curysite of the wryter or difficulte of interpretation 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 speycally y: muste be wryten for I, in the ende of englysshe wrodes, and when 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. auez haue ye. lizez, 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 beginne also with another vowell, than both these wordes shalbe ioyned to gyther, as one worde:¹ both in wrytynge and soundyng. As dargent: for de argent. ladmiral, for le admiral, whiche rule also is obscruid in englysshe, as thexchetour, for the exchetour: thexperyence, the experyence.

[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 ploughe And he the whiche it ledeth
Firste ere the grounde After sowe the whete, or barley.]

[30-31] [Fishes. Proceed at p. 31, 1. 14 as follows.]
¶ And also here is to be notyd that many wordes be which
sounde were vnto latyn and be vset in bothe the langages of Frenche
and Englysshe amonge eloquent men, as termes indifferently be-
longynge to both frenche and englysshe. So that the same synny-
gyfycyon, whiche is gyuenn to them, in frenche is also gyuenn to
them in englysshe,¹ as thus.

lite. Humanite. Intelligence. Intellection. Interpretacion. Insur-
able. Uesture.

¶ These wordes with other lyke betoken all one thyng in
englysshe as in frenche. And who so desyret 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, 1. 9; after which: ¶ Here
foloweth the maner of dauncyng of bace daunces after the vse of
france and other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by
Robert coplande. Then follow on p. 32, col. 1, l. 4 from bottom:
¶ Bace daunces; at the end of which come the two concluding
paragraphs in the book.]

¶ These daunces have I set at the ende of this boke to thentent
that euery lerner of the sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may
rejoyce somwhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewyng of ydel-
nesse the portresse of vycses.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete 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 (suprà 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 prôneer. brieue admonition

A  aa  (Q) voelles
b  be  a. e. i. o. u.
c  ce  Toultes auttres letters sont
d  d  eôsonâtes, deusiees en mu-
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  ij  f. l. m. n. r. s.
k  kaa
l  elle  Sur toultes choses doibuit no-
m  eme  ter gentz Englois, quil leur
n  enne  fault acustumer de pronû-
o  oo  cer la derniere lettre du mot
p  pe  frâcois, 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  diroit go o de .iii. sillebes
x  ex  et breade .iii sillebes
z  zedes et &. q con

Ces diptongues some aîsi pronûcees.

Ai  aider, iii.
au  aucun. iii.
ie  faict  meilleur, v. sillebes
cu  eureux iii
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 puttyngre a lytell of wynde out of the mouthe thus, ou, and not you. And ye must also gyve hed fro pronouncynge e for i, nor ay, for i, as do some that for miserere say maysiriri.1

A. also betokeneth, hawe or hat, whâ 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 faingz g is not pronouced. Je consentz, t is not pronounced, but thus ben they wryte bycause if y\textsuperscript{o} orthography, and to gyve knowledge, y\textsuperscript{e} perds cometh of this verbe in latin,

1 This probably indicates an English Salesbury's (tei-bei) with the modern pronunciation (mai-siri’ri). Compare (tab’re), for Lat. tibi.
perdo, and not of pers that is a colour. And thus may ye ymagyn of the others How-be it, I am of opynyon y\textsuperscript{e} better sholde be to pronou\~ncie every lettre and say. . . . [the examples are taken from the French side]. Ye perds yostre accoint\~ace en pron\~nceant le d) que 1e pers. Pron\~nce vng chacun c\^ome il luy pla\~ne, car trop est difficille a corriger vielles erreurs.

S. in the myddle 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 tousiours, desioyndre, despryuer, estre, despryser \textit{Deux}, ss, togyder ben moche pronounced, as essayer, assembler, assurer, assieger.

S. betwene two vowelles, prononceth by .z. as aize. aise, mizericorde mizericorde, vsage. and I beleue that by suche pronuntyacon, is the latyn tongue corruppte for presently yet some say miserere for misere.

Sp, st, ct, ought not to be deuyded asonder, but we ought to say, e sperance, not es perance, and e spaigne, not es paige. And e sperit not es perit. e striuer, not es tryuer, e stoint, not es toint. Satisfa \textit{ction}, non satisfac \textit{tion}. Corre \textit{ction}. &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, cassyr Combyen, couraige, cuider.

G. somtyme is pronounced by i, as, bourgois bourgoisse, gregois, what so euer it be, I conceille, y\textsuperscript{e} they folowe some good autour, w\textquoteleft out to gyue or to make so many rules, that ne do but trouble and marre the vnderstandyng 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 extracts from the “Breffe Introduction of the authour for the more parfyte understandyng of his fyrst and seconde bokes,” ought to find a place here:

“\textit{The frenche men in theyr pronunciation do cheffy regarde and couet thre thynges. To be armonious in theyr spekyng. To be brefe and sodayne in soundyng of theyr wordes, auodyng all maner of harshenesse in theyr pronunication, and thirdly to gyue every worde that they abyde and reste vpon, theyr most audibile sounde. To be armonyous in theyr spekyng, they vse one thyng which none other nation dothe,}\textsuperscript{1} \textit{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 reflection yssueth the sounde of them by the nose. To be brefe and sodayne, and to auoyde all maner harshenesse, whiche myght happen when many consonantes

\[1\] 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 have their distyncte sounde. Most commonly they never use to sounde past one onely consonant betwene two vowelles, though for kepyng of trewe orthographie, they use to write as many consonantes, as the latine words haue, whiche their frenche wordes come out of, and for the same cause, they gyve somtyme unto their consonantes but a sleight and remisshe sounde, and farre more dyuersely pronounce them, than the latines do. To gyue euerie worde that they abyde vpon his most audible sound, ... the frenche men judgyng a worde to be most parfaytly herde, when his last end is sounded hyghest, vse generally to gyue their accent vpon the last syllable onely, except when they make modulation inwardly, for than gyueng their accent vpon the last syllable saue one, and at the last syllable of suche wordes, they sodaynly depresse their voyce agayne, forming the vowel in the brest, ... "Where as I haue sayd that to be the more armonious they make a maner of modulation inwardly, that thyng happeneth in the soundyng of thre of their 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 when E, is in the last syllable, the worde nat hauyng his accent vpon hym ... so that these thre letters M, N, or E, finall, 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 mouth more or lesse, yet when the vowell ones formed in the brest, ascendeth vpwardes and must haue M, or N, sounded with hym, they bryng their chawes to getherwardes 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 mouth agayne, to come to the places where M, and N, be formed, but cheffely bycause no parte of the vowell at his expressyng shulde passe forth by the mowth, where as els the frenchemen soude the same thre vowelles, in all thynge lyke as the Italianis do, or we of our nation, whiche soude our vowelles aryght, and, as for in theyr vowell I, is no diffyculty nor difference from the Italian sounde,1 sauyng that so often as these thre letters

1 This passage, which had not been noted when the observations supra p. 110 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 (ei), 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 shewn 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 first three vowels A, E, or O, they sound an I, briefly and confusedly betwene the last consonant and the vowel following, where as in dede none is written ... which soundyng of I, where he is nat written, they recompense in theyr v, for thoughye they wryte hym after these three consonants F, G and Q, yet do they onely sounde the vowel 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, which euer so often as they vse for a vowel alone, hath with them suche a sounde as we gyue this diphthong eu, in our tong in these wordes, rewe an herbe, a mewe for a hawke, a clewe of threde.

"And as touchyng theyr diphthonges, bysides the sixe, whiche be formed by addyng of the two last vowelles vnto the theyr first, as ai, ei, oi, au, ev, ov, they make also a secundth by addyng of the two last vowelles together vi, vnto which 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 so oi, they sounde oc, and for ay, they sounde most commonly 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 cought 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 alone, in so moche that if two different consonantes, that is to say, nat beyng both of one sorte come together betwene two vowelles, they leue the first of them vnsounded, and if thre consonantes come together, they euer leue two of the first vnsounded, puttynge 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 wordes ende in two consonantes, bycause they take awaye the last vowel of the latin worde, as Corps commeth of Corpus, Temps, of Tempus, and suche lyke, whiche two consonantes shalbe lefte vnsounded, if the next worde folowynge begyn with a consonant, as well as if thre consonantes shuld fortunate to come together in a worde by hym selfe. But yet in this thyng to shewe also that they forget nat theyr ternarius numerus of all theyr consonantes, they haue from this rule prouyledged 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 person plurell of verbes after E. ... .

"The hole reason of theyr accent is grounded chefely vpon thre poyntes, first there is no worde of one syllable whiche with them

1 This gives the following usual, as distinct from Palsgrave's theoretically correct pronunciations: ai = (ei), oi = (oe), au = (ou), meaning, perhaps, (oo).
hath any accent, or that they use to pause upon, and that is one great cause why theyr tong semeth to vs so brefe and sodayn and so harde to be vnderstood when it is spoken, especially of theyr paysantes or common people, for though there come neuer so many wordees 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 poynt be the cause thereof. Seconde, euery worde of many syllables hath his accent vpon the last syllable, but yet that nat withstandyng they use vpon no suche worde to pause, except the commyng next vnto a poynt be the causer therof, and this is one great thynge whiche inclineth the frenchemen so moche to pronounce the latin tong amysse, whiche contrary neuer gyne their accent on the last syllable. The thyrde poynte is but an exception from the second, for, whan the last syllable of a frenche worde endeth in E, the syllable next afore him must haue the accent, and yet is not this rule euery generall, for if a frenche worde 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. . . .

"Whan 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 poynt, he shalbe long in pronunciation. So that there is no vowell with them, whiche of hymselfe is long in theyr tong . . . . As for Encletica I note no but onely the primatiue pronownes of the fyrst and seconde persons syngular, whan they folowe the verbe that they do gouerne."

**French Pronunciation according to the Orthoepists of the Sixteenth Century.**

The following are the principal authorities, many of which have already been quoted, so that it will only be necessary to refer to them, and to complete this sketch by a few additional citations. They will be referred to by the following abbreviations.

| L. | Lambeth fragment, 1528, supplre pp. 815–6. |
| P. | Palsgrave, 1530, supplre p. 31. |
| S. | Jacobi Sylvii Isagoge, 1531, supplre p. 33. |
| G. | du Guez, 1532, supplre p. 31. |
| M. | Meigret, 1545 and 1550, supplre pp. 31 and 33. |
| Pell. | Pellletier, 1555, supplre p. 33. |
| R. | Ramus, 1562, supplre p. 33. |
| B. | Beza, 1584, supplre p. 33. |
| H. | Holyband, 1609, supplre p. 227, note, col. 1. |

See especially Livet (supplre p. 33), and Didot (supplre 589, note 1), for accounts of all these writers except Bar. L. E. H. Didot’s *Historique des réformes orthographiques proposées ou accomplies,* forming appendix D to his work, pp. 175–394, carries the list of authors down to the present day, and is very valuable.

In the following tabular view, simple numbers following any
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, e, e, in all the authorities (except Sylvius, where they could not be clearly distinguished, and where his own signs are é, ë, ë, therefore employed), and n, l, 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 a, o, &, 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, \[ A = (a) \] P. 59, \[ A = (a) \] “ore lariger diducto 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 vocales, sono in radice linguae solis faucibus formato, ore hiane clarea et sonore à Francæ effertur, quum illam Germani obeærion et sono quodam ad quartam vocalem o accente pronuntiant.” B. p. 12.

“You must note that a is not pronounced in these words, Aést, saoul, orner, aoriste, which words must be pronounced as if they were written thus, oöt, soo, orner, oreeste.”

E.

\[ A' = (ai) \] Bar. 806, doubtful, L. 815, \[ A' = (ai el) \] P. 118. “Diphthongos à Graecis positissimun mutuatu videmur, scilicet, a'i, ei, o'i, ay, au, eu, ou. Eas tamen quâm ceteri Europe populi plenius et purius pronuntiatione, sì quid judico, exprimiumus. Sì ipsa simul concretae, debent in eadem syllaba vim sumam, hoc est, potes-tatem et pronuntiationem retinere, ut certe ex sua definitione debent. Frustra enim distinctae sunt tam hiee quam diphthongi, si sono et potesteâ nihil differunt. Namque ait Graecis proprium, Latinis quibusdam poetis usurpatam, non a seu o cum Graecis: non aii divisas vocales cum poetis Latinis, sed a unu syllaba utiriusque vocalis sonum leniter exprimente, pronuntiamus:qualis vox regrotis et derepeute lessis est plurima.” S. p. 8. This should mean, “not (e), nor (a,l), but (ai),” especially as (ai) is a common foreign groan answering to the English (ou)!. But the following passages render this conclusion doubtful: “aï diphthongum Graecam ut sepe dividunt Latini, dicentes pro ãé maior Mai-à, ã tias Al-ax, & Aulâi, aquai, pietai, terrai pro auie, aquae, terra.”

Sic nos eandemmodo conjunctam servamus, modo dividimus ad significationem diversa, ut G-ë trâl [g- is the consonant (zh), è is the muto-guttural] id est trahó et sagittam emitto, quam ob id trâct à tractus vocamus. G-ë trâi, id est prodo et in fraudem trahó, licet hoc à tradó videri queat. G’-hat, id est habes et teneo: infintivo hauoir. G-ë hêi et g-ë hê, id est, haboe odio et odio, infintivo hâir, uti à trâi trair: à trâi trair infintivos habemus.” S. p. 14. “Dièresis, id est divisio unius syllabae in duas, ut Albâi, longae, syllâbæ trisyllabae; pro Albe, longe, syllâba disyllabae. Eodem modo et Galli Borisov bois, id est lignum et sylva, bois, id est buxus. Habeo g’-hat, id est teneo, et g-ë hê, id est odi.” S. p. 56. Hence perhaps Sylvius’s diphthong was really (e) although he claims it. \[ A = (ai, ei, e) \] the last two more frequently, M. 118, Pell., R. 119. B. \[ A = (e) \] in s’eay, ie feray, = (a,l) in Esa-y-a, abba-y-e, = (i) in ains, ainçois, ainai, 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, ays, aye, ayet, ayons, vraye, nayf, M.—pais, payer, naïue, Pell.—pâiant, gaiant, aidant,
Nous avons

mais, au

pour

...
piis praeteriti temporis prae. Sed excommunicem, sacrificiis et similia, quando scilicet i procedit, feret Galli pronuntiant. Deinde exilier, et voce propemodum muta; quod tum, gravis accentus virgula notamus, quoniam vox in eo languescens velut intermorum, et am atimés, Petrus Pierrè. Medio denique modo, quod linea ad sinistra in dextram partem aequaliter & recte ducta ostendimus ut amate atimés. Addo quod syllabam el, nonnunquam voce Latinorum proferimus, ut crudelis cruel, quod modo Gabriel, aliquando autem ore magis hiasti: ut illa illé. E etiam ante r, s, t, x, & quasdam alias consonantes, in omnibus apud Latinos vocem non habet candem. Nativum enim sonum in pater, es à sum, et textus pronuntiatione quorum dignum retinet. In erro autem, gentes, docet, ex, nimis exertum, et, vt sic dicam, dilutum. Sic apud Gallos sono genuine proferatur in pér, à par pars; és à sum; et, con- junctione: in qua t omnino supprin- munt Galli contra rationem. Alieno autem et lingua in palatum magis re- ducta, diductisque dentibus in erra- cer pro eracer, id est, eradicare: es, id est assis; escrire [s means a mute], id est scribere attonête, id est attonitus; à pede pot: appelle, id est appel- lare, extrafré: id est extrafré. — S. p. 2. The passage is very difficult to understand. His é seems to be (ee), his è (u), his ü (e), and his excep- tional e to be (u). E= (x, e ?) M. 119, note, = (u, e, u) ? Pell. R. 119, n. "Tertius huins vocalis sonus Gracis et Latinis ignotus, is ipse est qui ab Hebrais puncto quod Seva raptum vocant, Galli vero e foeminen proper hamellam et vix sonoram vocem, appellant." B. p. 13.—"e Feminine hath no accent, and is sometimes in the beginning or midst of a word, as mesurer, menner, tacent- ment, but moste commonly at the ende of words, as belle fille, bonne Dame, hauing but halfe the sound of the è masculine, and is pronounced as the second syllable of these latine wordes faecere, 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 sillsable, and we make three, as if it were written Ma-da-me and in table the english pronounceth it as if the è were between the b and the l thus, tabell, and the French doe sound it thus, ta-ble; you must take heede not to lift vp your voice at the last è but rather depresse it. e Feminine in these wordes, ie lisoye, l'escriveroye, and such like, is not sounded, and serveth there for no other vse then to make the word long: doe not sound è in this word dea, as, ouy dea Monsieur, say ouy da: sound this word Iehan as if it were written Jan." E. And, similarly: "We do not call, è, masculine for the respect of any gender, but be- cause that it is sounded lúe: as dote, lapide, me, te if Lateine: ... and by adding another, è, it shall be called è, feminine, because that it hath but half the sound of the other, è: as tansée, fouittée, &c, where the first is sharpe, but the other goeth slowly, and as it were deadly. ... Whereafore you find this, è, at the words end, it is an, è, feminine ... pronounce it as the second syllable of bodely in English, or the second of fascere in Latin," H. p. 156. The transition in case of the present è must seems to have been (è, e, è) in French, and in German to have stopped generally at (u), though (è) is still occasionally heard, 195, n. 2. 

EAU = (eno) M. 137. EAU = (vo?) Pel. who notes the Parisian error vsio d'io for un seau d'eau, p. 17, shewing only a variety in the initial letter. EAU = (vo), as cnap^AU, manteau, R. p. 37. —"In hac triphthongo auditur è clausum cum diphthongo au, quasi scribas eo, vt eau aqua (quam vocem maiore nostri scribant et profere- bant addito e feminino eau)," B. p. 52. "Pronounce these wordes beau, eau, almoste as if there were no è," E. 

EI = (ei, eei) P. 118, "ef quoque [see Sylvius remarks on ai], seu è, non : tantum cum Gracis, neque nunc i, nunc è cum Latinis, hanc in hei in- teriectione servantibus, in voce autem Greca in i, aliquando in e permutan- tibus et pronuntiantibus; nec èi di- visas vocales efferimus, sed èf mo- nosyllabum, voce scellet ipsa ex vtraque in unam concreta, ut ingre- nium egen, non engen, nec engin." S. p. 8. This ought to mean "not (i), nor (è), nor (ei), but (ei)," yet the description cannot be trusted, see A1. We find: peine, peintes, cenature, s'émetteullat, &c M. —
Meigret, meilleurs, peine, pareilhe, Pel.—peine, feindre, paindre, reine, Seine, pleine = Hélène, R.—"Hæc diphthongus [ei] non profertur nisi max sequentia n, et ita pronuntiatur ut paululum prorsus ab i simplici differat, vt guine vagina [=gaine], plenus; cuius tamen femininum plene, usus obtinuit ut absque i scribatur et effерatur, Picardis exceptis, qui ut sunt vetustatis tenaces, scribunt et integro sono pronuntiant pleine," B. p. 45.—"'Pronounce these wordes neige, signe, or any words where e hath i or y, after it like e masculine, as though there were no i at all." E.

**EU**=(eu, ey ?) Bare, 306, L. 615, **EU**=(eu, y) P. 137.—"'Eu sonum habet varium, aliquo eundem cum Latinis, hoc est plenum, ut cos cotis cælæt, securus sœur, maturus meur, qualis in euge, Tydeus [this should be (eu)]." aliiolio eodem et propriis accedentem ad somon diphthongi Gaecæ eu, ut œur (in Sylvius the sign is eu with a circumflex over both letters, and a bar at the top of the circumflex, thus indicated for convenience); soror sœur, morior g-æ meur : nisi quod u in his, non velut f sonat (quomodo in av et eu) sed magis in somon u vocalis inclinat (can this mean (ey)?) ; id scribendo ad plenum exprimi non potest, pronuntiando potest. Sed in his forte et in quibusdam alis, hoc vocis eu varie fapser dexter dictionum differentiam inuenta et recepta est. Illam eu, hane eù lincula in longum superne producta, somon diphthongi minus compactum et magis dilatum significante 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, ë), see Hart, suprà p. 167, p. 796, n. col. 1, and B.'s remark below, makes all such descriptions extremely doubtful. S. may have meant (y, ë) or (y, œ) by these descriptions, and these are the modern sounds. **EU**=(ey) M. 137, see note on that page for G. des unets, Pel. B.—"La sixieome voyelle est vng son que nous escripions par deux voyelles e et u, comme en ces mots, Peur, Meur, Seur, qui semble aussi avoir est e quelque diphthongue, que nos anciéres ayent prononcé et escripte, et puis apres, comme nous avons dit de Au que ceste diphthongue ayt este reduite en vne simple voyelle : ou bien que lon aye pris a peu pres ce que lon pouvoit." R. p. 9.—"In hac diphthongo neutra vocalis distinctæ sed sonus quidem [quidam?] ex e et u temperatur auditur, quem et Gracis et Latinis ignotum vix liceat ualla descriptio peregrinis exprimere." B. p. 46.—"e In these words, au feu which signifies fire, en peu a little, doneuere to dwell or tarye, un Jou a Playe or game, tu veulx thou wilt, are not pronounced like these: Je feu I was, I'ay peu I have bene able, I'eu I had, Le les ay veus I have seen them: for these last and such like, ought to be pronounced in this wise Je fu, I'ay pu, In, eus, as though there were no e at all, but u, and in the former wordes, e is pronounced and joined with u." E. As eu is frequently interchangeable with or derived from o, ou, the probability is that the transition was (u, eu, o, œ) both the sounds (œ œ) 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. Félène intended by "Te sourd!" and eu in modern French. I there decided that the former was (œ) and the latter (œ). M. Félène 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 Félène's letters, and that Félène's e œ are my (œ, œ) respectively. Hence wherever I have hitherto cited Félène's pronunciations this correction must be made, and especially on 327, the signs (œ, œ) must be interchanged throughout, as (kœ le siel kelkar zhur) for (ke le siel kelkæ zhur). It will be seen in the same place, suprà 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 is, pœ, de, jœ, meaning, as the Prince informed me (is, pœ, de, jœ), and eu "ouvert" in veuf people, meaning, on the same authority, (yœf, povph). On turning to M. Félène's
Dictionary I find, as interpreted by the Prince, (le, po, doe, zho; veuf, peopl), so that in the two words le, de, Feline 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 (l, d), and the other half (le, doe). In Germany also the sounds (a, oe) are confused, and have no difference of meaning. In Iceland they are kept distinct by the different orthographies u (= 0), ò (= w), 546, 548. Compare also the mutation or umlaut, (o ... i = ah, e, i), 567.

I = (i, ii) L. 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, is, or as the english double, ee as si vous avez tire, sound as if it were written see vos avez tire, sound." E.

O = (o) P. 93. "A, i, o, Latinorum pronunciationem, quod sciam, apud Gallos non mutant," S. p. 2. The traditional pronunciation of Latin o in Italy is (o); and (o), as distinguished from (0) which must be attributed to au, seems to be the sound accepted for French o, by the other authorities. See also B. 151, note col. 2.—"o Is sounded as in English, and in the same vse, as pot, sol, opprobre, sauing that in these wordes following, o is sounded like the english double oo, as mol, fol, sol, col, which must be pronounced, leaping i, thus: foo, moo, soo, coo, except this word Sol, as en escu Sol, a Crowne of the Sun: where every letter is pronounced." E.

OEU. "[scribimus] oeuvre, voeu, ouef ... in quibus tamen omnibus o penitus quiescit. Pronuntiamus enim ouvre, enf, benf." B. p. 54.

OI = (oi, oe?) Barc. 806, OI = (oi, oe, o?) P. 130. "oi, non i, cum Graecis, nec o cum Latinis, sed vi viriusque vocalis seruata, ut monachus moine: datuio moi, id est mihi moit. Eodem sono oy pronuntiamus ut genitivo mouo. id est mei moi." S. p. 8. This ought to mean oi = (oi), and the last remark may refer only to the use of moi in French for both moi, mou in Greek. Again he says: "Quid quod haec diphthongus pro e supposita Parrhissiennisibus adeo placiuit, vt ipsarum quoe mutarum voces in e desinentes, per of Parrhisi-enses corruptè pronuntient, boi, cooi, doii, g-oii, poi, toi, pro be, ce, de, ge, te; Quo minus mirum est Gallos pronoma mi toii soii pronuntiari. Desinant igitur Picardus, puritatem lingue et antiquitatem integrius seruantibus illudere Galli, quod di cant mi, ti, si raro; et mè, tè, sè à mihi vel mi, tibi, sibi, vel ti, si, analogia prime persone, Quan quam moii, toi, sot, tolerabiliora sint, et forté Graecanica, vt in pronomi ne ostendimus. Neque posthac in Normanis caullentur, omniam hae praedica et consimilia non per òi, sed per e pronuntiales, telè, estellè [s used for S.'s mark of mute s], séé, ser, dé, tect, velè, véré, ré, lé, amée, &c, aiméréè, &c [moderne, toile, étolé, soie, soir, dois, toit, voile, voire, roi, loi, amaye? amabam, aimeraye? amavam] Quam pronuntiationem velut postliminio reuersam hodie audimus in sermoac accoluram huius vrbis et incoluram, atque adeò Parrhissiennisium, vt verum sit Hora tianum illud, Multa renascentur, quae iam ceciderè. Esse quid hoc dicam? pro stella estolle dicunt adhuc nonnulli. pro stellatus autem si qui estolle, non estelle, pro aduaeratus (sic enim pro asserta et affirmata loquentur) au-erè, non au-erè [u = (v)]: endobtè ab in debitas, id est are alieno oppressus, non endebtè: softè non seetè, dimini tutium à serieum pronuntiet, omnes risu emori et bårbarum explodere." S. p. 21. Viewèd in relation to modern habits, some of these uses are very curious. OI = (oi, oe, o?) M. 130. OI = (oi, oe, e), Pell. As in the following words: sauroes, Françoises, connoëssances, j'avoë, renoët, auoret = avoët, prononçot, croë, toë, aparotiët, moë, terroët, voyelë, foës, "et certein par les Écris des Vieux Rimeurs Françoises, qu'iz disoit iz aloyët iz fesoët de troës silabès" Pel. p. 127.—"Au jourd'hui les uns diset eimer, les autres eimer, les uns j'emoëe les autres metet i ou y an la penultime e diset j'emoëye, j'oxye e les autres. Les uns diset Réine les autres Rone. Memes a la plus part des Courtisans vous orez dire iz allet, iz venet: pour iz aloyet, iz venot." Pel. p. 85. — OI = (oi) moindre, poindre, point, coin, soin, voyant, oyant, lar-
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 somthyng in the nose, as I have before declared, where I have shewed the soundyng of the sayd thre vowelles [143, 150. and also: "If m or n folowe nexte after e, all in one syllable, than e shall be sounded lyke an Italian a, and some thynge in the nose."] If m, folowyng a vowel, come before b, p, or sp, he shalbe sound in the nose and almost lyke an n, as in these wordes plomb, colombe, champ, dompter, circumspection, and suchlike." P. folio 3, see also suprâ 817. — "M, est ferme au commencement de la syllabe : on fin elle est lique, comme Marie, Martyr, Nom, Bam, Arrierebam : qui a est ceuse a nos Grammairens densigner que m de-uant p, estait presques suprême, comme en Camp, Champ. N est vo- lontiers ferme au commencement du mot, et en la fin : comme Nanin, non, mais au milieu elle est quelquefois lique, 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 (mj) 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, thau is moost 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 somthyng 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 afor declared in the generall
rules. But it is not to be forgotten, that, in the last syllable of the third person plures of verbs ending in ent, is ever left unvounded."  

P. fol. 13.—In the phrase maliant, M. heard en nallant, with the same n at the end of the first word as at the beginning of the second, 189.—"Francici sic recte scripseris Pierre s'en est alle, quod tamen si efferen- dum est, Pierre s'en nest alle. Sic on m'en a parle as si scriptum esset, on m'en na parle, illo videlicet pri oris dictionis n daghessato, et cum vocali sequentem vocem incipiente coniuncta, pro co quod Parisiensium vulgus pronuntiat: il se nest alle, on me na parle, per e fomincum 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 lingue macro dentium radicem non feriat p. 30], nempe hanc literam quoties syllabam finit, quasi dimi diato sono pronuntiandam esse, mucrone videlicet lingue minimë illiso superiorm dentum radiciei, aliqui futura molestissima pronuntiatione: quo vitio inter Francos laborant etiamnam hodie Nortmanni. Greccos autem haud alter hanc literam ante κ, γ, χ, pronuntiati 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.  

A.M, AN = (au, m, au, n) P. 143, 190, but this nasallisation is rendered doubtful by his treatment of final e as (o) 181, note 5, and 817.—For S. see under E, supra p. 822, col. 1. "Vrei et qu'an Normandie, e anchoras an Bretagne an Anjon e an. . . . Meine ... iz prononce l'a dauant n un peu bien grossein, e quasi comme s'il i auoit aun par diffonge [which according to his value of au should = (oan), but he probably meant [aun]] quand iz dist Nor maund, Naunter, Aungers, le Mauns: grand chere, e les autres. Mes 'le manere de prononcer sant son terroe d'une liue."  

Pell. p. 125. "Pronounce alawies an or ans, as if it were written aun, auns," E. that is, in 1609, (aan, aans). "Also in these words following, o is not sounded, vn paon, vn faon, vn tahan . . . all which must be pronounced leaning o thus: paun, faun, vn tawn." E.  

A.I = (in), see under AI, for numerous examples. AI = (in), "Also in these words, ains, ainçois, ainsi, or any other word where a is joyned with in, a losteth his sound and is pronounced as english men doe pronnounce their I, as if it were ins, insce, insois. Also pain, vilain, haut lain, remain, are to be pronounced as the english i." E.—AI = (in ?) "We sound, ain, as, in: so in stead of main, mainatenant, demain, saint . . . say, min, minnen, demain, sint: but when e, followeth n, the vowel i, goeth more toward a; as balaine a whale, seymaine a wecke, . . . . and to make it more plain, romain, certain, vilain, sourvein, are pronounced as romin, certin, vilen: but adde e, to it, and the pronounciation 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, "Quod quid Parrhisieo eso pro a, et contra, præsentem m vel n sequente, etiam in Latinus dictionibus, Caesarini exemplo, et scribunt et pronuntiabat, magna sanct infamia, dum amantes pro amantem, et contra amantes pro amens, aliaque 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. Observe his remarks under E, supra p. 821, col. 2. EM, EN = (em, en). M. 189. EM, EN = (am, an), Pell. who objects to the pronunciation (em, en) of M., and says: "mon ai et de douer ecrire toutes teles diccions plus tot par a que par e. Car de dire qu'il i et difference en la prolacion des deus dernieres silabes de amant et firmament, c'est a fare a eus qui regardet de trop prez, ou qui veulet parler trop mignonement: Samblabamment entre les penultimes de consciencie et alliance. Et le peut on ancor' plus certeinement connour, quand on prononce ces deus proposisions qui sont de maniere ouye, mes de divers sans, Il ne.
m'an m'ant de mot: a. Il ne m'an m'ande mot. Combien que propremant a la rigueur ce ne soient n'a n'i e. E. confesse que les slalas equeles nous metons e'uant n. me semblent autant malesse a representar par tant Latines, que nules autres que nous oyons en notre Françoys. Brief, l'e qu'on met vulguremant an sience sonne autrement que l'e scientia Latin: la ou propremant il se prononce comme an Francois celui de ancien, sien, bien." Pel. p. 25. “Toutefois pour confesser verite, an toutes teles diecions, le son n'est pleineman t ni un' autre lequez a à divers sons, comme divers ses missions de deus couleurs selon le plus e le moins de chacune) toutefois le son participe plus d'a que d'. E par ce que bonnement il faudroit une nouuelle lettre, ce que je n'introduis pas bien hardiman, comme j'e jai dit quelques foiz; pour le voisins an atandant, il me semble meilleur d'me tre un a. E sans doute, il a plus grande distincion an l Italien, e memes an notre Proutaëg, an prononçant la voizelle e auan n. Car nous, e eus la prononçons clereaman. Comme au lieu que vous dites san'tir e mantir deuex l', nous prononçons sentir e mentir deuex l'; e si font quasi toutes autres nacions for les Françoys." Pel. p. 125.—R. writes phonetically: en, différences, envoiler, enfans, &c like M.—"Coalescens e in eandem syllabam cum m, vt temporel temporalis, vel n, siue sola et sonora vt s'entend ego intelligo: siue adiuncto d' vt entend intelligit; vel vt content contentus; pronunciatur ut a. Itaque in his vocibus constant constans: and content contentus, An annus, and en in, duerea est scripture, pronunciato veró recta, vel eadem, vel tenuissimi discriminis, et quod vix auribus percipi possit. Excepe quatus hor voculas, ancient trissyllabum, antiquus; tien vinculum, et moyens medium, fem finus, disyllabas; et quotidien quotidianus, quatuor syllabaram: denique omnia gentilia nomina, vt Parisiam, Parisiessis, Sauviotian Sabaudiensis; in quibus e clauusum scribitur et distincte auditur, et e nequaquam in diphthongum convenientibus. . . . Alter huius littere sonus adulerinus est idem atque litterae 'geminatae duplicis, in unam tamen syllabam coalescentis, quavis scribatur i.e, litera n sequente atque dictionem finiente. Sic in his monosyllabis recte pronuntiatis accidit, bien bonum, vel bené, chien canus: Christen Christianum disyllabum, miens meus, rien nihil: sien suus; tien tuus vel tene, cum compositis; vignon venio, vel veni cum compositis: que omnia vocabula sic à purdë pronuntiantibus offeruntur ac si scriptum esset 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, pronunciatis it almost as enfantement, ammailloter, except when i or y commeth before ts or moyens, doyen, ancien, or in worde of one sillable, as mien, tien, chien, rien, sien, which be all pronounced by e and not by a. Also, all the verbs of the third person plural that doe end in ent, as Ils disent, Ils rient, Ils faisoient, Ils chantoyent, there e is sounded as hauing no n at all, but rather as if it were written thus: ee ditz, e riet, e faizoyet, e shantoyet." E. EIN (=ain, ain), see under AI for numerous examples, and the quota tion from B. under E. It seems impossible to suppose that in the xvi th century it had already reached its modern form (œa), into which modern e has also fallen. IN= (in). 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 quotations from E. and H. under IN. E. gives the pronunciation of honores les princes as ignore le preenches, which seems decisive. OIN= (on?) Bar. 810, (n,n) P. 149.—M. Pel. R. write simply on= (on). E. gives the pronunciation of nous en parlerons après ellas que diira on, as nouon paranveron zappé-elles, ke deera toon. UN= (yn). "V vocalis apud Latinos non minus quam apud Galles, somum duplicum quibus dan exprimit sequente n. in eadem syllaba. Vt enim illorum quidam cunctus, percutantari, punctus, punctus, hanc, et alia quae dam nativu u vocalis sono manen'tle pronuntiant, ita idem cum alius,
pendo, fungo, tanquam per o scripta, pongo, fongor, proferunt, adulterata u vocalis voce genuina. Id quod sequente n. in eadem syllaba omnes Latini vbique faciunt, scannum, dominum, musaraum, et catetera pronuntiantes perinde ac si per o scriberentur: ita vt alius non sonet o, in tondere, sonetes, rhombus, quam u in tundere, sunto, tumba. Atqui o diductiore rietu 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. pro-

The conclusion from these rather conflicting statements seems to be, that sometime before the xvi th century ain, en, ein, ien, in, un were pronounced (ain eên, en, ien, in, yn) without a trace of nasality; that during the xvi th century a certain nasality, not the same as at present, pervaded an, on, changing them to (a.n, 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). In the beginning of the xvi th

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. Mém. 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'in 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'étant 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 an s'est confondu avec le son au, l'on 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 solennel is (solanél) and a large class of words like évidemment (evidamæ) change em 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 con-

founded in French, which is most com-
plete, exhaustive and interesting, does not establish their pronunciation as the modern nasal vowels. M. Meyer gives as the result of his investi-
gation: "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'assembléa 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 passés dans l'anglais," and says we must acknow-
ledge "qu'en ce point comme en plu-
sieurs 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 Eng-
land, we need not be astonished if ai, ei in England also retained the sound (ai) long after it had generally sunk to (ey) in France. These are only addi-
tional instances of the persistence of old pronunciations among an emigrat-
ing or expatriated people.
century these sounds, or else (a, u, u) 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 un, because Englishmen did not confuse it with (aun), many Frenchmen wrote (xn), 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 (xn) 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 regarde), were still distinguished as (regar regard), now (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, e, n). We should then have the four forms (a, n, o, n, e, n, e, 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, e). The change thence to (a, o, a, a, o, a) or (a, a, o, a, a, a) 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, uun), 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 mouillé. The nature of the sound cannot be inferred from Bar. 810, though it seems to be acknowledged. —"When soeuer the iiiii. letters illa, ille, or illo come to gither in a nowne substantue or in a verbe, the i nat hauyn a o, commynge next before hym, they vs to sounds an i shortly and confusely, betwene the last l and the vowel folowyn: aibe it that in writyng they expresse none suche, as these wordes, ribaudaille, faille,
bailler, gaiiart, billart, feuille, fille, chemie, quociuille, ardilion, bastilion, corvillon, and suche like, in redynge or spekyng they sounde thus: ribauellie, feuillie, baillier, gaillart, neullart, billiart, feuillie, fille, chemie, quociuille; ardilion bastillation, corvillon: but, as I have sayd, if the vowe have an o comming next before hym, in all suche wordes they sounde none i after the letter l, so that these nownes substantiyues mouyle, ouille, toille, and suche lyke be except from this rule.

Thus also from this rule wiille which soundeth none i after his latter l.” P. i, 7.—“There is two maner of wordes harde for to be pronounced in French. The first is written with a double ll whiche must be sounded togider, as ila, lle, lly, llo, llin, as in these wordes, bailla gave, tailla cutte, ceouille gader, feuilly lefe, bally bayly, fally flyle, mouillet white, engennouilet knele, mallot a tymer hamer, feuillu full of leaves, howlu.” G.—M. and R. have new characters for this sound; Pell adopts the Portuguese form Ch. E. talks of ll which “must be sounded liquid” in some words and “with the ende of the tongue” in others. But H. explains well: “when two, ll, follow, ai, ei, oi, or ui, they be pronounced with the flat of the tongue, touching smoothly the rooffe of the mouth: yong boyes here in England do expresse it very well when they pronounce luco or saluto; and Englishmen in sounding Collier, and Scollion: likewise the Italian pronouncing voglio, duoglio: for they do not sound them with the end, but with the flat of the tongue, as taliier to cut, treillis a grate, quenouille a distaffe, bonillir to seetho; 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, ll, to be pronounced as liquides.” H. p. 174. The transition from (l) through (ly) to (lj) was therefore complete in H.’s time. The sound has now fallen generally to (i, j, sh).

N mouillé, or G.N. Bar. 899 and note, is indistinct.—“Also when so ever these iii. letters gna, gne, or gno come to gyther, eyther in a nowne substantio or in a verbe, the reder shall sounde an i shortly and confusionly, between the n and the vowel followynge, as for: gaignd, seigneur, mignon, champignon, vergoynge, mainteigne, charoiyne, he shal sounde, gaigna, seigneur, mignon, champuition, vergoynge, charoiyne, mainteignye, nat chaunynge therefor the nacont, no more than though the sayd i were vsound. But from this rule he excepted these two substantiyes signe and regnere, with their verbs signer and regner, which with all that be formed of them the reader shall sounde as they be wryttyn onely.” P.—“The second maner harde to pronounce ben written with gn, before a nowell, as gna, gne, gni, gno, gnn. As in these wordes gagna wan, signa dyd blede, ligne lynce, pigne combe, signe vyne, tigue scabelle, compagnie felowe, laigne swell, mignon wanton, mignarde wanton, ye shall except many wordes that be so written and nat so pronounced, endyng specially in e, as dignie worthye, signe swanne, magninie hyghe corage, etc. They that can pronounce these wordes in latyn after the Italians maner, as (agnus, dignus, magnus, magnanimus), have bothe the understyndinge and the pronouncynge of the sayde rule and of the wordes.” G.—M. & R. have distinct signs for this sound; see R. 826 under N. Pell retains gn.—“When you meete gn, melt the g with the n, as ongnon mignon, pronounce it thus, onion, minion.” E.—“We pronounce gn, almost as Englishmen do sound, minyon; so melting, g, and touching the rooffe of the mouth with the flat of the tongue, we say mignon, compagnion: say then compa gne, and not compag-ne. When the Italian saith quadagno, bisogno, he expresseth our gn, verie well.” H. p. 198. It is not possible to say whether the original sound was (ni, ng) or (qi, qg), but from H. it is clear that at the beginning of the xviiith century it was (nj), as now.

Final consonants were usually pronounced, L. 815, and all authorities write them, although we find in P. i, 27, “When so ever a french word hath but one consonant onely after his last vowel, the consonant shalte but remissely sounded, as audie, soye, fil, beaucoup, mot, shalte sounded in maner aue, soy, fi, beaou, mo, how
be it the consonant shall have some lyttell sounde: but if t- or p folowe a or e, they shall have theyr distinct sounde, as chat, debat, duet, combat, handep, decret, 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 Grecis et Latinis aspiratis, et in Francicam linguam 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), 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. i, 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
Ne sont que fables et mensonges
Mais on peult telz songes songier
Que ne sont nye mensongier
Ayns sont agres bien apparant, &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 lyftinge vp of the voyce, vpon some wordes or syllables in a sentence, aboue the resydue of the other wordes or syllables in the same sentence, so that what seouer 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' è mon éspoer, c'et ma grän'mere, c'et mon bon compagnon, ër et 1 bon amy, jé
voes à toe, à toe à moe, il n'et pas fört bon, ç'et vn bién bon bâton, mon compânnon, à vizion, mon confrere, vit sâjement."

P. constantly admits the accent on the last syllable, M. says it is a Norman peculiarity, which is very disagreeable, and proceeds thus: "il faot premieirement entendre qe jamas l'acerçt eleué, ne se rencontr' en la derniery syllable des dissyllabiqes, ne polisyllabiqes. e qe le ton declinant ou circonflexe, ne se treue point q'en la penultime syllabe, si ell' et long' e la derniere brieue, pourru q'y elle ne sort point terminé' en e brief: car allors il y peut auenir diuersité de ton, selon la diuers' assiète du vocable. . . . car il faot entendre qe le' monosyllabes 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 syllables 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 commyng 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 commyng before hym: and when the redar hath lyftvp his voyce at the soundyng of the said vowel or diphthong, he shal when he commeth to the last sillable, depresse his voyce agayne [compare suprà 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 diuser 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 fresche 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 writtyng is alone." Book I. chap. lviii.

B. is very peculiär; he begins by saying: "Sunt qui contendant in Francia 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 contrá qui in Francica lingua tonos perinde vt in Græca lingua constituant. Magnus est vt rurumque error: quod mihi faciél concessuros arbitror quicunque aures suas attenté consulerint. Dico igitur Francicæ linguae, vt & Grææ & Latinæ, duo esse tempora, longum vnum, alterum breue: itidemque tres tonos, nempe, acutum, grænum, circumflexum, non ita tamen vt in illis linguis observatos. Acuunt enim Græci syllabas tum longas tum breues, & Latinos idem facere magno consensus volunt Grammatici, quibus planè non assentior. Sed hac de re aliás. Illud autem certò dixerim, sic occurrere in Francica lingua tonum acutum cum tempore longo, vt nulla syllaba producatur quæ itidem non attollatur: nec attollatur vlla quæ non itidem acuat, ac præinde sit eadem syllaba acuta quæ producta & eadem græna quæ correpta. Sed tonus vocis intentionem, tempus productionem vocalis indicat . . .
Illa verò productio in Francica lingua etiam in monosyllabis animali, 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 gives his examples, marking those which he objects to. Correct mèstrêssé messé fèstè prêphètè misèricôrdè pârôlè. Right maîtrestè messè faitctè prêphètè misèricôrdè pârôlè; ie veu, tu veux, il veut; veu vatum, veux vota; beuf beufs, neif neufs, cellx, celix; fit fecit, fist facet, fit fuit, fust esset, cüt habuit eust habetet, èst, röst, töst, plaist placet, plûst plueret, èt et, pláid contentio iudicallis, pleût placuit, plût pluit; ie meûr morior, tu meûrs morris, meûr maturus, meûrs maturi, meûrê matura, si ic dî, qu'est cê. Rule 1, misèricôrdè, entendement, ènvîe = èn vie, ènvîeux. Rule 2, èn- dôrmîr, feûndrê, teïndrê, bôntè, tœmpôrêl, bôn pâls, sömmë çommë dônne bônne sônne tônne, cônsmômë orôonné rêsônnë èstônnë, söngër besôngne; ènmémî. Rule 3, âmê fônûè véluë; mûc nûë, duë fië âmiè jouë louë móûë noûë aljë, plâjë iotjë voljë, ènvîjë; mûer nûer fier lier iôuer loûer noûer, ènvîjour. Rule 4, âulytë, aûtânt, haîtlatn, hâultêmënt, haultaine, haît et drotët. Rule 5, s = (z), iûsèr bràlsè saisûn plaisûr caûseâ bistë misë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë èssë é

1 Beza’s treatise is now very accessible in the Berlin and Paris reprint, 1868, with preface by A. Tobler. Unfortunately the editor sometimes corrects the original in the text itself.
last contains what is now mute e, 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 Teuton 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.

Achepte ashté, accoustements acco-
tremans, advancerez anaunserb, aiguillon égelleecoon, ainsi insee, on'ameine ma-
méne, d’Anglois daungléz, au b, aucun ókun, aucune ókune, au-iour-d’hay
oioordwee, l’aulne lónè, aultre ôtre, aultrement étremen, d’aultruy dótwee,
lausmonies lémónier, aussi óssée, autant étäun.

Baillés ballié balliez, baptizes batezée,
beognes bezoonies, blancs blauns, boeuf
beuf, boiste boîte, bordeure, bordure,
bouche booshe, bouillë boillee, bouillió
boillió, bracelets brasilë, brillands
brilliaüns, brualer brüler.

Caillites kalliette, coiunture sìnture,
cette sto, chair sher, chaud shé, chezanye
shénye, cheuauix shénòs, cheuureure
shéuurel, cheuille sheueullëe, cheueuons
kretiens, eignet sencet, ciueus seuce eueus,
coeur keur, coiufere coïufure, col cóo,
commandé commandé, compagnie
companie, concepuoir coosceoir, con-
noissance koonéssance, corps cór, costé
kóté, cousteau kooter, couster coozer,
crespe crépe, crespelus krélpeu, cure-
oreille curreörellie.

Dehuons deuoons, demanderoons de-
maundoons, démester démëler, de-
sienmer ñümer, desnuvënt dënooet,
despouiliez depooliez, diët deet, disuer
derer, doigs ñoi, doube doote, doux
dou.

Enfants anfauns, enseignant ans-
neeaut, enseignant asséniet, l’entends
fantan, m’entortiller mantortellier,
achorchée ékoreée, escondre écon-
dweère, d’escarlate dékarlate, l’éscripray
léereerë, escuir éguier, d’essgard dëgar,
dëgar (before a vowel), esgaré egaré
m’egratignës mégratienës, esguie-
erie, l’esguier légu-yzer, esguilles
eguëllë, l’esquillette légëllëtëë, estleux
elus, esloignës æmëi, l’esmeraunde léme-
rôde, d’espargar déparner, espaulles
épölë, espingle épeengle, l’espingeray
lepeengleré, esprit espreet, est è, qu'estant ketan, estes ète, estes étéée,A
l'estomach lestomak, estirllier étredier,
l'esturgeon léturgeon, l'estuy letwee,
enceilléé ëueiléé, essentail étantail,
mescurers mesouercé.

Fagots fagos, faillent falliet, fait fêt, faité fet, faudra fo'dra, faut-il fô-tee, fenestres fenêtres, fêtes fêrées,
felle féelle, fillel féellel, fileule féelleule, fils feez, fondements foon-
demans, François Fraunces, fruitt frweet, justaine fûtaine.

Gaillard galliard, gands gauns, gauche góshe, gentilhomme ianteieloomme genouz, genoos, goust goot.

Habille abelié, m'habiller mabeellier, hastez hâté, haulet hót, heure eur, hiersoir esoir, homme oomme, homeur oonmeur, houppe hoope, huitet wheet, l'huis luee, humains vmins, humbles vmble, humilité vmeelecet.

D'icluuy decelwve, qu'ils kee.
Jesus Christ Lesu-kreet, ioyaux ioyós.
Lict leet, longs loon.

Madamoiselle madmoyselle, man min, maitresse, métresse, maluase mouéée, mancheon manuhsloon, marastre muratre, meilleur méillieur, meittes meete, melan-
cholie melanckolie, merveille meruellie, mesme même, mets mé, monstrez moontré, morfonds morfoons, moucheor mooshoir, mouiller mouoller, mount, moo.

Neantwoings neaunmoins, nepeue neueu, n'est né, niepeee nieee, noeud neu, nom noon, nostre nostre, nouveauté noo-
voûté, nuict newet, n'ont nóunt.

Obnetons ometos, ceillades cul-
lidé, œuvres eure, oestés été.

Parapetz parapéz, parce ore parure, paste pâye, poignéu pinie, peignes pinies, peignoir pinoir, poignez péniez, pié, plaiz plé, pleu plu, plusot plutò, poitrine poitreme, poignards porians, poignet poniet, poudreux poodreux, pour poor, pretès prêtes, prez', prochais proshins, propisciation prop-
pesceasseecon, pcesaunés sébones, puis-
saunt pueessaut.

Quatrainz kadrins.
Racontres racootrez, receu resu, ronds ran, rescomf récomf, reponse repone, repandre répondre, rheunme rume, rideaux redeed, rognes roomié, ronds rooons, roomarin roomarin, royaulx royos, rubends ruban.

Sans sauns, saint s'mt, sainte sinte, saints sinz, saisle sile, sauegarde soue-
garde, saycis sé, secondz segoon, seich sèse, sept set, soeur seur, solz soo, spirituels speeceute.

Tailleur talieur, tant taum, tantost tauntot temps, tan tans, teste tête, tost tot, touche tooshe, tousious toooir, tout too, toutes toote.

Venze oonze.

Veoir voir, veoy voy, verdes vers, vestir véeteer, vestu vétu, veu vu, veuul veu, vey see, visee veese, viste vette [veyte ?], vistement veetemant, vous voo.

At the close of the xvmth 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 regeyewsrs aw nool otruhr parelluyh,
Onue aw bo law preeay :
Law croellelyub kellay suh boushuuh lays orellyuh,
Ay noo laysuh creey.
Lub povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh couvruh
Ay soosycé tw saay lwaw,
Ay law gawrduh kee velly d bawryayruh dyoo Lovruh
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 and French English, in Punch’s Alphabet of 25 Sept., 1869.

M a y oon Mossoo kee ponz lwemayym tray
Bowkoo ploo bong-regardong ker vraymong ilay !
N iz é Ninglicheman ! Rosbif!! Oraï!
Milor ! Dam! Comme il tourne up son Nose ! O maïe aïe !!
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 Palsgrave. 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. Diceo gallica dictata habens primam silabam vel medium in E. stricto ore pronunciatam, requirit hanc literam I. ante E. verbi gratia bien. chien, rien, pire, miere, et similia.” Here is a distinct recognition of a “close e,” and the examples identify the sounds in pere, mere, 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. Quandocumque hec vocalis. E. pronunciatur acute per se stare debet sine huius I. processione verbi gratia .beuez, tenez. lassiez.” 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 the “feminine” and in “lasses” the “open” according to other writers. Nor is this obscurity much lightened by the following rules: “3. Quamvis E. in principio alius silabae acute pronunciatur in fine anterioris silabae I. bene potest preponi vt bies. priez. lassiez &c.” Here if bies = biets, 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 feminine generis terminatis in E. plene pronunciata generetur. E. vt tres honoure dame. 5. Quamvis adiectium masculini generis terminatis [in ?] E. plene pronunciatur non gaminabit. E. vtre honoure sire nisi ad differenciam vne Comitee anglice a shire. Vu comite anglice a counte . . . . . . 6. Quamvis adiectium masculini generis non terminet in E. E. vne honome vient. home adiectuum tamen feminine generis terminabit in simplici cum se implore [?] pronunciatu vt mente femme vne femme.” There can be no doubt that e feminine was fully pronounced, but how far it differed from the E “stricto ore,” and e “acute pronunciation,” it is not possible to elicit from these curt remarks. It is observable that eo and e are noted as indifferent spellings in certain words now having the “muto-guttural e.” “8. Item ille sillabe. ie. ce. ceo. indifferenter possunt scribi cum ceo vel ce sine o.”

S.

“12. Omnia substantiara terminarum per sonum .S. debent scribi cum .S. vt signaurs 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 gents or gents, 14. in filia, 15. or x for s in deux talxe, 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 an (s) was sounded in the following case: “18. Item quandocumque aliqua sillabe pronunciatur cum aspiracione illa sillaba debet scribi cum s. et t. loco aspiracione 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 mutet in fames, duresmes, mandames, and probably by 96. in feist toust, and possibly also in: “73. Item in verbis presentis et preteriti temporum scribatur. et a pres .E. o. v. com bap- tiste fist est test lust &c.”, though this partially clashes with 18.

U after L, M, N.

“23. Item quandocumque hec litera I. ponitur post .A. et O. si aliquod consonans post I. sequitur l. quasi v. debet pronunciari verbi gratia. malme
mi sole. loialment bel compaigneoun." This does not mean that all 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 s'onsabitur cum ascun sonabitur acum," aucun? as M. Génin transcribes. "36. Item iste sillabe seu dieciones quant grant Demandant sachtant et huismodi debent scribi cum simpleci .n. sine .v. sed in pronunciatione debet .v. proferri &c." This can scarcely mean that au 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 au as (aun) to which Palsgrave refers and which introduced an English (aun), supra p. 826, col. 1, and therefore confirms the older English accounts.

Oy and E.

"26. Item moy, toy. soy. possunt scribi cum e. vel o. per y. vel i indifferenter.— 58. Item in accusatiuso singulari scribetur me in reliquis casibus moy." This, together with Barcely's names of the letters, p. 806, is well illustrated by the curious passage from Sylvius, p. 824.

Final Consonants.

"27. Item quandocumque aliqua dictio incipiens a consonante sequitur aliquam diccionem terminantem in consonante in racionibus pendentibus [in connected phrases] consonans interioris diccionis potest scribi. Sed in pronunciatione non proferri vt a pres manger debet sonari a pro manger.— 29. Item I. M. N. R. T. C. K. quamvis consonans subsequitur bene possunt sonari per se vel per mutacionem literae." Does this mutation refer to the following? "51. Item scias quod heo litere C. D. E. F. G. N. P. S. et T. Debent mutari in sono in strictura c. ante uocalem vt clerici. cleris et debet in gallico cleris rudi homines ruds homes et debet sonar ruz homes. bones dames debent bon dames et tunc .u. sonari solempe vys hounte [homme?] loget vis homme et sic De alijis.— 52. Item quando ista dioicio graunt sight magnitudinem adjungitur cum feminino genere ita vt e sit sequens t. mutatur in D. vt grande dame grande change." Observe this xv th century use of English sight for great, as an adjective.— "53. Item quando grant adungitur masoniano generi vt grant seignour vt quando signat confessionem non mutabitur t. in D. quamuis E. sequitur vt iay graunte." GN.

"39. Item quandocumque hec litera .n. scribitur immediate post g. quamuis sonet ante g. non debet immediate prescribi vt signifant &c.— 40. Item si .n. sonat g. et non subsequitur bene potest A immediate prescribi.— 41. Item seignour ton seignour son seignour. — 92. Item quandocumque .n. sequitur I in media diecione in diuersis sillabis g debet interponi vt certaignment beignement &c. sed g non debet sonari." All these seem to refer awkwardly and obscurely to (nj).

GU, QU.

"46. Item qi qe quant consueuerunt scribi per k sed apud modernos mutatur k. in q. concordant cum latino I k. non reperitur in qü qd" quis sed I.— 54. Item posr G. vel E. quamuis v scribatur non debet sonari vt quatre guerre. Debent sonari quatre gerre." Words Like and Unlike.

"50. Item diversitas stricture factit Differentiam aliquam quamuis in voce sint consimiles verbi gratia ciel seel seal ceel ceele coy quoy moal moel cerf serf teindre. tenir attendre [Génin has: teindre tendre tenir attendre] esteant estevant ayner amor foail fel stal [Génin: feal] veele viel veile veile ville vill [Génin: veiele viel ville villi] brahel breve erde herde euerde essil huiessel assel nief nief swef noef [Génin: soef] boaille. baile baile litter littere formier former forier rastel rastuer mesure meseire piel peel berziz berzi grasul greele grele tonne townx neym neyn." 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 diversitas inter apprendre prendre et reprendre oez oeps vys et huys kunyl et kenil. — 90. Item habetur diversitas inter estreyym straye et estreyam hansel.— 91. Item inter daym et dayn."

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 xvii century as 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 kiou, 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 Vinculo (supra 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 xvii 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 á, é, ý, ó 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 ζ which he uses for
both s and z, but which he identifies with s. It will be trans-
literated (s) or (z) according to circumstances. Bullokar's gram-
matical "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.

¶ The 12. Chapter.

Sheweth the vse of this amendment, by matter in prose
with the same ortography, conteining arguments for
the premisses.

Hiir-ìn iz sheu'ed an ek'sersüz of dhe amend'ed ortogra'fii biifoor-
sheu'ed, and dhe yys of dhe priks, strî'ks, and noots, for devi'd-iq
of sil'lab'iz akord'iq tuu dhe ryylz biifoor' sheu'ed. Wheer-ìn iz
tuu bii noot'ed, dhat no art, ek'sersiiiz, miik'styyr, si'ens, or okky-
pas'ion, what-soe'ver, iz ink'lyyd'ed in oon thiq oon'li: but nath
in it severa'l ðistîq'sionz el'ements, prin'siip'iz, o devi'zionz, bi
d dhe whiit's dhe saam kum'eth tuu ûiz per'fet yys. And biika'z
dhie siq'g'l devi'zionz for iiq'lish spitsh, aar at dhis dai so unper-
fetli' pik'tyyred, bi dhe el'ements (whit's wii ka'let'zerz) pro-
vi'id'ed for dhe saam (az mai appiir' plain'li: in dhis foor'mer
treet'is) Ëi nav set furth dhis wurk for dhe amend'ment of dhe
saam: whit's Ëi noop wîl bii taak'kn in gud part akkor'd-iq tuu
mi'meen'iq: for dhat, dhat it sha'l sav tshardzh'ez in dhe elder
sort, and sav greet tîim in dhe juth, tuu dhe greet komod'ëti
of a'll estaats', un'tuu whhuum it iz nes'esari, dhat dheer bii a
knou'ledzh of dheir dyy'ti', un'tuu God tshif'li', and dhen dheir
dyy'ti oon tuu an udh'ër: ën knou'iq of whit's dyy'ti konstis'et
and hype' i estaa't of manz liif': for ìg'norans kauz'eth man'i tuu
goo uut of dhe wai, and dhat of a'll estaats', in whhuum ìg'norans
duuth rest: wheer-bi God iz greet'li disp'yeez'ed, dhe kom'on
kw'ëtnez of men mínd'ed: greet komon welths devii'd'ed,
madzh'straats dis'oeei'ed, and ënfer'ëorz despûz'ed: privat gain
and eez sowski and wheer-bi a kom'on wo wrowhht.

And az dhe dzhudzh'ment of dhe kom'on welth and wo, duuth
not li in priv'at pers'onz, (and spes'i'lli of dhe ënfer'ëor sort,) yet
owht dheer tuu bii ën ev'er'i oon a kaar of ûiz dyy'ti', dhat ûiz
priv'at liif bii not kon'tra'ri tuu dhe kom'on kw'ëtnez, and welth
of a'll men dzhen'era'lli', (and spes'i'lli of dhe wel miind'ed sort,
whu aar tuu bii boor'n widha'l in sum respeks for dheir ìg'no-
rans, when it reesth'eth not tuu dhe giiv'iq okkzation of liik offens
in udh'er: for whu can wash ûiz handz kleen of a'll fa'Its?

And syy'erli (in mi opînion) az fa'Its nav dheir biig'in'iq of dhe
first fall of Ad'am, so 'iz dhe saam enkre'es-ed bi 'ig'orans: dhohw sum wuuld ter'm it tuu bii dhe mudder'er of god-lines: for if men weer not 'ig'orant, but did knoo wheer-in tryy felis'iti did konsist, dheii wuuld not fall in tuu soo man'ie'r-orz, tuu dis-kwir'et dheii miindz, and enda'nd'zher dheii bod-iiz for trans'sitori thiizq, and sum'tiin for ver'i trif'ilz. But sum wii sai, a'll thiizq in dhis world aar trans'sitori, whitsh JI wiI konfes', az tuutsh'iiz a'll kreeq'yyr and ek'sersizze dhe in dhe saam.

Jet dhe gift of spitsh and wriit'iq iz liik-liest tuu kont'iyy with dhe last, az loq az dheer 'iz an'i bii'iiz of man: and for that, it 'iz dhe spes'i'll gift of God, wheer-bi wii bii instrukt-ed of uur dyy'tiz from tiim tuu tiim, booth nuu, nav biim, and shai bii az loq az dheer 'iz an'i bii'iiz of man, let us yyy dhe saam in dhe per'festest yys, for eez, prof'it, and kontin'yyans, whitsh dhis amend'ment wiI perfoo'r'm in iiq'lish spitsh, and uundereth not dhe reed'iiz and wriit'iq of udh'er laq'gadzhex: for JI nav left uut no let'ter biifoor in yys. And dhohw wii duu sum-what var'i from udh'er nas'ionz in dhe naam'iiz of sum let' terz, (spes'i'lli wheer wii nav dif'req' uuund in voin,) jet dheer 'iz no fa'lt in it, as loq az wii yyy naamz agrii'iiz tuu uur oun laq'gadzh: and in udh'er laq'gadzhex, let us yyy naamz akkord'iiz tuu dhe saund of dhaa laq'gadzh, dhat wii wuuld leer'n, if dhe bii provid'ed ed of sufis'ient let' terz: and if dhe ortografi for dheir laq'gadzh bi unper'fet, whuu niid tuu bii offend'ed, if wii (for spiid'i leer'n'iiz) yyyz fig'yyrz and naamz of let' terz, akkord'iiz tuu dhe saundz of dhaa spitsh.

Dhe Lat'in mai remain' az it duuth, bikauz: it 'iz yyyz'ed in so man'i kun'triiz, and dhat buuks print ed in iiq'land mai bii yyyz'ed in udh'er kun'triiz, and liik-wiiz dhe print'iq in udh'er kun'triiz, mai bii yyyz'ed uii: but if a teets'h-or (for dhe eez of a suq iiq'lish leer'nor of dhe Lat'in) duu ad dhe struu'k tuu c. g. i. v. 1 bikauz' of dheir dier'ez sev'er'al uuundz, and naam th az it weer but oon let'er, az th: and sai dhat: u: after q iz syyperflyyus: 2 and tsha'andzh :z: for z: so uuund ed bitwiiin twuin vuul'elz, whuu kuulid dzhust'li fiind fa'lt with-a'l? when dhe Lat'in iz so uuund ed bi us iiq'lish: whitsh unper'fetes must bii maad plain bi oon wai or udh'er tuu a leer'nor and must bi duunn eidend'er bi per'fet fig'yyr of per'fet naam agrii'iiz tu niiz uuund in a word, or biI dub'1 naam'iiz of let' terz dub'1 uuund ed: udh'erwiiz, dhe leer'nor must of nes'siti leer'n bi root, ges, and loq yys: az uur nas'ion waz driv'en tuu duu in leer'niiz uq'iiz of iiq'lish spitsh whitsh waz hard'er tuu bii lee'r'ned (dhohw nii had dhe saund and yys dhee'er'of from niiz in fansi) dhan dhe Lat'in, wheer-of nii un'derstued ne'er a word, nor skant nii'ardd an'i word dheer-of, uuund ed in a'l niiz liif biifoor; dhe rez'n neer-of waz, bikauz' dhe let' terz in yys for Lat'in, ddd a'l'moost furn'ish ev'er'i sev'er'al diviz'ion in dhe saam spitsh: eksep'tiq dhe dub'1 uuund ed let'terz afoor'-said:

1 Bullokar uses c', g', e' for (s, dzh, y), and i, for (dzh)). Italics here indicate ordinary spelling.

2 Bullokar writes q alone for gu in the sense of (kw) or rather (kve).
whisth dub'1 and treb'1 suund'iq (no duut) gryy\(^1\) bi korrup'tiq
dhe saam from t̄īm tuu t̄īm, bi udher nas'ionz, or bi dhe Lat'inz
dhemselyvz' miq'g'led with uth'er nas'ionz: for (\(\ddot{I}\) suppooz') dhe
Ital'ian duuth not at dhis daik : i: a kon'sonant biifoor' an'i
vuul, el giiv un'tuu ñ dhe suund of :dzh: az wii iiq'lish duu
a'l'waiz in dhe plas; but maek'eth it a sil'lab'1 of ñt-self, az
in dhis word : iacob: of thrii sil'lab'1z in Lat'in: iacobus of fouu'ri
sil'lab'1z; and wii iiq'lish sai, dzhak'ob: of twuu sil'lab'1z,
dzhakob'us of thrii sil'lab'1z; and in miir iiq'lish: Dzhaimz:
of oon sil'lab'1; dhe Ital'ian a'l'so for dhe suund of uur: dzh: wriit'-eth
gi: whisth iż not yyz'ed in dhe Lat'ın but : g: oon'li for dheooz
twuu suundz of ,g, and, dzh: or, i, biifoor' a, o, u, and sum'tīm
biifoor' ,e, in Lat'in: bi whisth wii mai a'l'so ges, dat ,e, in Lat'in
at dhe biigin'iq mad dhe suund of ,k, oon'li, for dat, dat dhe
Lat'ın nath dhe suund of :k; and noo udh'er let'ter jiild'ed dat
suund, but ,e, oon'li in dhe Lat'ın: ekssęp't: qu: supliv'ed dhe runum
sum t̄īm: for dhe Lat'ın receiv'--\(^2\) not ,k, in'tuu dhe num'ber of dher
let'terz. And for dhe nis'iq suund of ,e, (thoyn't radh'er tuu bii
krept in br li't'1 and li't'1) dhe Lat'ın was sufis'ientl' provid'ed bi
dheir let'er ,s, whuu suund wii iiq'lish duu moost t̄īmz in dhe
Lat'ın, and in uur o'ld ortog'rafi, yyyz in dhe suund of ,z, when ,s,
kum'eth biitwii'n: twuu vuu'elz: whisth ,z, iż thowht tu bii no
Lat'ın let'ter: and dheer-foor it mai bii thowht dhe Lat'ın
rint'li: suund'ed did not jiild so groon'iq a suund in dheir his'iq
suund of :s.

And for uur thrii suundz yyyz'ed in ,e, dhe Frentsh duu at dhe
cai yyy oon'i twuu un'tuu ñ: dat iż, dhe suund agrii'iq tuu niz
o'ld and konti'n-yed naam, and dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant ,e,
wheer-bi wii mai a'l'so ges, dat dhe Lat'ın at dhe biigin'iq yyz'ed
,e, for dhe suund of dhe kon'sonant: and yyyz'ed :u: for dhe suund
of dhe vuul'el.

But nuu-soe'ver dub'1 or treb'1 suund'iq of let'erz kaam òn:
whi iż ñt not lau'ful tuu enkrees' let'erz and fig'gyryz, when suundz
in spiitsh aar enkrees'ed? for spiitsh waz kauz of let'erz: dhe
whisth whuu-soe'ver first inven'ted, nii nad a regard tuu dhe
diviz'ionz dat mint bii maad in dhe vois, and waz wii'iq tuu
proviid' for ev'eri of dem, az wel az for oon, or sum of dheem:
and if (sins dat t̄īm) dhe suundz in vois nav biin fuund tuu bii
man'i moo and dē'verz, amoq' sum udh'er pi'p'1, whi should not
let'erz bii aksept'ed, tuu fur'mish dat laq gadzh whisth iż prop'r
tuu a god'l'i and siv'1 nas'ion of konti'n-yaa'l guv'erm'ent, az
dhis uur nas'ion iż? and dhe bet'er iż, and ev'er shal' bii if leer'n'iq
(with Godz gras) fur'ēsh in dhe saam: dhe grund of whisth
lee'r'n'iq, and dhe yys and konti'n-yyans dheer-ōf iż 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'u, v, u, e'w. Hence
his gre'w, thre'w = (gryy, thryy) and have been so transcribed.

\(^2\) Misprinted (reseui).
un-perfectnes wheer-of ov'er-thryy man'i gud wits at dheir biigin'q\ and waz kauz of loq tiim lost in dhet spiiidd best.

Dhe Lat'in was moost-eex't tuu us iiq'lish tuu bii lee'r'ned first, biikauz' of xxj. letterz, xiiij. or xiiiiij. wheer per-fet'l per-fet, agrii'q\ in naam and suund, and no letter mispla'sed, syyperflyyus, or suund'ed, and not wriit'n, eksept' in abrevias'ionz, and eksept' bi mis-yyz (az \( R \) taak it) wii iiq'lish suund'ed ignarus az igna'rus: magnus az maq'\nuus. A'lo signum az lig nun, and so of udh'er wordz, wheer a vehu'el kaam nekt biifoor': \( g: \) in oon sii'lab'l, and :n: biigan: an udh'er sii'lab'l fol'ou'q: a'l so dhe un-per-fet letterz of dub'\l or treb\'l suund in Lat'in, nad oon of dhooz suundz, agrii'q\ tuu dhe naam ov dhem, so dheer want'ed but fiv or siks fig'yyrz or letterz tuu furr'nsh 'ever seve'\l diviz'ion of dhe vois in dhe Lat'in, az wii iiq'lish suund dhe saam: whits bii dheez, \( c' g' i' j' v'1 \) (tuu bii suppooz'ed radher ab-yyz'ed bi tsha'ndzh of tiim, dhan so un-ser'\tein at dhe biigin'q\) biisidz'dhis, dhe Lat'in nath dhe aspiiras'ion or letter (\( h \)) veri sii'dum after an'\i kon'sonant in oon sii'lab'l, and dhat after \( :t \) in dhe suund of :th: oon'\i and after :c: in dhe suund of :k: oon'\i, and after :r: in dhe suund of :r: oon'k, in a feu wordz de⁆v'ed from dhe griik : neidh'er nath dhe Lat'in dhe suund of, tsh. ii. uu. sh. dh. w. wh. x, (nor dhe suund of the thrui ha'lf vu'e'la, 'l 'm. 'n. in dhe per-fet suund of iiq'lish spiiitsh) neidh'er in sigq'g\l letter, sii'lab', nor suund in word: a'l whits bii vesi'o'k'on in iiq'lish spiiitsh.

Wheer-for dhe Lat'in teets'horz, with Lat'in ortog'rafi, d\( i \)d not (nor kuuld) suffix'\entli furr'nsh iiq'lish spiiitsh with letterz, but pats'h'ed \( \ddot{\text{\i}} \) up az wel az dhe kiiuld (or at dhe leest, az wel az dhe kuuld) but nothiq per-fet for iiq'lish spiiitsh, az appiire'eth bi dhe foor'mer tree'tis, so dhe of, xxxvij. seve'\l diviz'ionz in vois for iiq'lish spiiitsh,2 oon'\i dheez siks, a. b. d. f. k. x. wheer per-fet'l per-fet, and dheer-bi xxxi diviz'ionz in vois unper-fet'l furnished: wheer-of sum aar ut'er'lis want'iq\, sum dub'\l or treb'\l suund'ed, and sum mis-naam'ed, biisid' sum mis-plaas'ed, sum wr\( i \)tu'n, and not suund'ed dhe suund'ed dhat nor wriit'n. Whits'h un-per-fetnes maad dhe nat\( i \)'v iiq'lish tuu spend loq tiim in lee'r'niq tuu reed and wriit dhe saam (and dhat tshii'li b'i root) mol'p'n bi kantin'yyal ek'sersiz biifoor' nad in niz eerz, bi mii'ariq udh'er, and bi niz oon yys of speek'iq whits'h nii waz fain tuu leen moor untu'n, dhan tu dhe gii'd'iq of dhe o'ld ortog'rafi, so far un-per-fet for iiq'lish spiiitsh: whits'h help of ek'sersiz biifoor: she'ed in dhe nat\( i \)'v iiq'lish, dhe stra'n'dzher was ut'\er'l\ void of, biisid' sum stra'n'dzh diviz'ionz of suundz in vois in iiq'lish spiiitsh, amoq'. stra'n'dzherz, ut'\ter'l\ un-yyz'ed:

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1 Bullokar's 37 letters as given in his eleventh chapter will be found supra 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 Bullokar's signs for (s, dzh, dzh, u, y) respectively, the second and third being the same.
wh'tsh kauž'ed dhem at dhe first sú't, not oon'li tuu kast dhe buuk awai', but al'so tuu thiñq and sai, dhe uur spí'tsh was so ryyd and bar-bärus, dheit it waz not tuu bii lær'ned, bì wruüt'iq or priñt'iq: wh'tsh dispar'in man'i of uur oonn nas'ión (wíl'iq tuu leern') did fål' in'tu: for dhe moor wíl'iq níi was tuu fol'ouu dhe naa'me of dhe let'er, dhe fard'er-of níi waz, from dhe tryy suund of dhe word: and ad'íq mir-untuu' an un-pas'íent and un-dískreet-teesth'or, man'i gud wíts weer over-throu'n in dhe bígin'iq, whuu (udh'erwiiz múnt nav gon foo'r'ward, not oon'lín reed'iq and wruüt'iq dheir nat'ív lão'gadzh, but al'so (bi dhe a bil'i of dheir friínds) prosiú'd ed in gree't'er duu'íqz, tuu dheir oonn próf'ít and steiz in dhe kóm'on wélth al'so: of wh'tsh sort, weer dhe juth of noo'bl' blud, and sutsh az nad par'ents of gree ab'il'i: whuu par'ents (throwh tend'er luvv') kuuld not hard'lí enfo'r' dheu tuu treed dift pain'ful maaž: and dhe juth fiúnd'iq it wárd, and dheer' bi núd noo del'int' dbeer-in, took an'i dhe leest okkazión tuu bii ok-kýyp'íed udh'erwiiz wheer'-bi knou'loydzh waz lak'iq in sutsh, in whuum dhe kóm'on wélth (for dheir ab'il'i and kred'i) re-kwiiz'ed moost, and sutsh az bi a'l reez'n múnt bi línts tuu gíud udh'er, and steiz tu up-no'ld udh'er, nav bin driv'n man'i tuum tuu bii gíid'ed bi udh'er dheir far-infer'íorz: whuu (for neverse'stí or udher okkazión) man'i tuí'm ab-yyz' duu'íqz priv'át, and sum'tiím per'tain'iq tuu dhe kóm'on wélth, wh'tsh iz tshiífl'i mainteín'ed bi leer'íq (Godz gras biífoor' a'l thíqz préfer'ed): wh'tsh leer'íqz in dhe infor'íorz, kauž'eth dyy obei'diens toward: dhe syyp'érvorz, and bi'tíq iñ dhe syypher'íorz téeceheth dyy guver'nnment, and fiúna'llí teetsé-theth a'l estaats' tu liv iñ oon yý-btí of dhe estaat' of dhe kom'on wélth, e'verí estaat' iñ dheir degrí: and ka'l'iq, not without' dhe parti'kýylar próf'ít, kwi'etnes, and saaf-gard of e'verí estaat': wheer-untuú' if Íi náve ad'ed an'i thiíq bì dhís mí amend'ment of ortog'ráff, for dhe yys and próf'ít of leer'íorz and dhe saam aksept'ed akkord'iqz, Íi wíl not oon'ís spíid'ílí 'ímprint. dhe Gram'ar, but a'l sóo put mí nelp'iq nan untu. a nezę'ssári Dik'siúnará' agrií'íq tuu dhe saam, if God lend me líf, and dhe Íi mái bii eex'ed íñ dhe bur'd'n, dhey'tí bi nat'ya'r kompél'eth mií spesia'llí tuu taak kaar of.

**English Pronunciation of Latin in the XVITH 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 aright" (suprà p. 59), implying that there was a wrong, and therefore perhaps a usual pronunciation, which is one the we most desire to learn. By combining these authorities the result seems to be as follows.

A a a, a Æ ee, B b, C k, s, CH k, D d, dh, th, E ee, e, F, f, G g, dzh, GN qu, H n, I ei, i, J dzh, K k, L l, M m, N n, NG qg, O oo o, u, ÛE ee, 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 confermeh hym to the general rules aboue rehersed, so that I se no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar, save that they sound nat d of ad in these wordes, adultere, adoption, adouleer, like th, as we of our tongue do in these wordes of latine ath adjuuandum for ad adjunu-
dum corruptly." I have assumed this th to mean (dh) as being derived from d. But Salesbury writes (kwit) for quid.

E. Besides the regular sound of (ee, e), Salesbury shews that (ii) had crept in occasionally, compare (liidz' 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 stigmatise 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, i) 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, ac-
cording 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 vowell, it shall be sounded et: but neuer est soundig s, nor eth, soundyng t like th, for t hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche tongue," (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 aq' nus, amat am' ath, dederit ded' erith, dei dee'ei, dio de'ku, ego eg' u, ignis ig'nis, Jesu Dzhee-zyy, legit lii'dzhi'th, magnus maq' nus, qui kwei, qui'd kwit, sal saul, sanctus san'tus, sol soul, tibi tei'bei, tollis too' li's, tu tyy, vidi veidei, but objects to every one of these pronunciations.

Bullokar writes, translating his symbols literatim: Cicero rheto-
rura singulos vicit, Sis-ero rethor'ska siq'gyyooz vi'sit, corvus non voce
ceucullum cor'rus non vo'se kyyk'u'um, p. 4. Georgius Gigas et
Gilbertus gerunt gladium ad extinguum gibbum germinanten in
gula Dzheordzhaus Dzhr'gas et Gilbertus dzhurunt glad'im ad
ekstiq'quen'dum gvb'bum dzhermman'tem in qyy'la, p. 5. Injustus
jejunat jactuosè non juxta juramentum Johannis iudizhus'tus dzhed-
dzhyy'nat dzhaktyyo'ze non dzhuks'ta dzhyyramen'tum Dzhonan-
nis p. 5. Invisus miser non delectatur placidis musis inviz'uz mi'zer
non delecta'tur plas'idis myy'zis, p. 6. Vitiosi judicium fugiunt ob
punitionem stullitia sua visio'zi dizhyysis'tum fyy'dzhii'unt ob pynnii-
sionem stultis'iee syy'ee. Unus vestrum cumulavit hunc acervum
yy'nuus vest'trum kyyymylla'vit nuqk acerv'um, p. 7. Thraso,
Thales, Thessalia, Thra'so, Tha'les, Thessa'la. Ignarus, magnus,
lignum, ignarus, maq'nuus, liq'num. Bullokar in these examples
has neglected to use his accents which mark length.

Gill writes a few Latin names thus, the numbers refer to the
pages of his Logonomia: Julius Cesar Dzhyy'lius Se'zar 43. Cicero
Siz'ero 43, 85. Terentia Terent'ia 84. Crassus Kras'us 85.
Hippia Hip'ia 85. Sylla Sil'a 85. Quintius K'win'sius 86. Venus
Ven'us 100. Cynthia Sin'thia 101. Phoebe Fee'be 101. Charissa
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, suprè 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 (shi'), hereby con-
firming the absence of this development in English, suprè 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
eamples to give prominence to what has fallen from his pen. We
have had frequent occasion to lament that Dr. Gill has not ex-
plained the value of all his signs with sufficient clearness. The
reasons why I suppose his j to have been (ai), 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 observations create difficulties:

"Syllabae quae naturâ suâ communes sunt, possunt etiam indifferenter per vocales longas aut breves describi, \textit{vt} (shal) aut (shaAl), (dans) aut (dAnS), (bi bi, ded deed, whom whum, modher, mudher, sai saai, mai maai, &c.) Quædam accenti\textit{u} variant, \textit{vt} ibi dictum est: itaque in his nil titubabis. Errata leuiora præteribis: cognita et ignita 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 \textit{xix}th century on many of the very points respecting which precise information is desirable. I had endeavoured 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 (\textasteriskcenter{}), so that the reader will be able to form his own opinion. I have used (\textasteriskcenter{}) for the short \textit{i}, believing it to have been the sound intended by Dr. Gill. See also § 7 of this Chapter. But I have let (\textasteriskcenter{}) stand for short \textit{i} when it appeared to be a misprint for \textit{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 Shakspeare being quoted throughout the book, which need not excite surprise, as the first folio edition of Shakspeare'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 \textit{aI}, although he does allow (deseev, konseev) which were the current pronunciations of the \textit{xvii}th century, and apparently admitted (\textbullet\textbullet, \textbullet\textbullet) 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 Shakspere'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 trœiz so straikht and nai
Dhe sail'iq pain, dhe see'dar proud and tâal,
Dhe vœinprop elm, dhe pop'lar nev'er droi,
Dhe biild'er ook, sool kiq of for'ests aal,
Dhe as'pin gud for staavz, dhe soi'pres fyy'neral.

1, 1, 8, p. 105.

Dhe laa'dî sad tu sii ùz soor konstraînt,
Kroîd out, Nou nou, sir kneîkht, sheu what juu bii.

1, 1, 19, p. 108.

Nou, when dhe rooz'î-fiq'ged morn'iq fai'er
Wee'ri of aadzhed Toî-thoonz safœn bed,
Had spred ner pur'pl roob thrukh deu'î aier,
And dhe noikh u'îz Tî'tan dîskuv'ered.

1, 2, 7, p. 106.

Az when tuu ramz, stîrd with ambî's'us prai'd,
Feîkht for dhe ryyî of dhe fai'r flîis'ed flok;
Dheir morn'ed fronts so feers on eîd'h'er said
Du miiâ, dhat with dhe ter'or of dhe shok
Aston'ed booth stand sens'les as a blok,
Forget'ful of dhe naq'îq vîktoroi;
So stuud dheez twain unmuuv'ed az a rok.

1, 2, 16, p. 99.

... Mer'sî, mer'sî (Sir) voutsaaî tu shëu
On sîl'î daam subdâzekht tu hard mîstshans'.

1, 2, 21, p. 116.

Hîz dîî'reest Laa'dî deed with feer nîî found,

1, 2, 44, p. 111.

Her siîm'iq deed nîî found, with fain'ed fecr.

1, 2, 45, p. 111.

qi mai frail eiz dheez lainz with teerz du stïp,
Tu thiâq nou shii, thrukh gaiî'ful, han'dîq
Dhokh tryy az tuu, dhokh dauk'h'îer of a kiq,
Dhokh faair az ev'er lîv'iq waikht waz fai'r,
Dhokh not in word nor diid sl mer's'tîq,
Iz from her kneîkht divers'ed in dispair.'

1, 3, 2, p. 114.
Of graiz-li Plu'to shii dhe dâakht'er waz,
And sad Proserpâna dhe kwîn of hel:
Jet shii ðid thiqâ her piir-'erles wurth tu pas
Dhat parentâdzh, with proid shii so ðid swel:
And thun'driq Dzhoov dhat hâikh in hevn duth dwel
And wiil dhe world, shii klaim'ed for her soir;
Or ðf dhat an'i els ðid Dzhoov eksel'
For tu dheer noi'est shii ðid stil aspair,
Or ðf ouukt hâi'er weer dhen dhat, ðid ðt deezâi'.
Feer, siknes, aadzh, los, laa'bor, sor'oun, stroif,
Pain, huq'ger, kool'd, dhat maaks dhe hart tu kwaak;
And ev'er fik'l for tyyn radzh'iq raif;
:Al whitsh, and thouz'andz moo, duu mak a loth'sum laif.

Hii dhat dhe blud-red bil'ouuz, leik a waal
On eider' soid d滓art'ed with niiz rod;
T'il aAl niiz arm'oi dre'i-fuut thrukh dhem jod.

Dhis said, adoun' ni luuk'ed tu dhe ground
Tu naav returnd; but daazed we'er niiz ein
Thrukh pas'iq broikht'nes whitsh did kwait konfound'
Hiz fiib'l sens, and tuu eksid'iq shoin.

So dark aar theqz on eerth kompaard tu theqz dvain.'

So doun niu fel, and fourth niiz loif did breath
Dhat van'sht in'tu smook, and kloud'ez swift:
So doun niu fel, that dh'erth ni'm underneath:
Did groon, az fiibl so greet lood tu lift:

In dheir begi'n'iq dhei ar week and wan,
But suun throughk sufferans, groou tu feerful end:
Wheelz dhei are week, bi'taimz' with dhem kontend';
For when dhei oons tu per'fekt streqth du groou,
Stroq warz dhei maak, and kryy'el bat'ri bend
Gainst fort of Reez'n, st tu overthrou.
Wraith dzhel'osi, griif, luv, dhis skweir nav laid thus loou.

Wraith dzhel'osi, griif, luv, du dhus ekspel'
Wraith is a feir, and dzhel'osi a wid;
Griif iz a flud, and luv a mon'ster fel:
Dhe feir of sparks, dhe wid of lit'1 siid;
Dhe flud 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 driu up, and filth wop kleen awai';
So shal wrath, dzhel'osi, griif, luv, dai and dekai'.

No trii, whuuz bran'tshez did not braav'1 spriq;
No bran'tsh, wheren' a fein burd did not sit;
No burd, but did niis shrill noot swif't-loi siq;
No soq, but did kontain' a luv'lo'i drt,
Triiz, bran'tshez, burdz, and soqz, weer fraam'ed fit
For to alyyr' frail maindz tu kaar'les eez:
Kaar'les dhe man suun woks, and niiz week wit
Waz ov'er-kum of th'q dhat did niz pleez.
So pleez'ed, did niz wrath'ful knur'adzh fair apeez'.

2, 6, 13. p. 123.

And iz dher kaar in neev'n? and iz dher luv
In neev'n'lai spir'its tu dheeze kree'tyrz baas,
Dhat mai komp'as'yon of dheir iv'iz muuv?

2, 8, 1. p. 118.

Aal dhat plees'iq iz tu liv'iq eer,
Waz dher konsort'ed in oon har'monii.

Burdz, vois'ez, in'stryyments, waa'terz, weindz, Aal agrii.

Dhe dzhoi'us burdz shroud-ed in tsheer'ful shaad
Dheer noots un'tu dhe vois attem'pred swiit :
Dh- andzheel'ikal soft trem'bliq vois'ez maad
Tu dh- in'stryyments divoin' respon'dens miit :
Dhe sl'ver sound'iq in'stryyments did miit
With dhe beaz mur'mur of dhe waa'terz faal :
Dhe waa'terz faal with differens diskriit.
Nou soft, nou loud, un'tu dhe weind did kaal,
Dhe dzhent'el war'bliq weind loou an'swered un'tu Aal.

2, 12, 70. 71. p. 118.

Ne let niz faair'est Sin'thia refyyz.
In mir'orz moor dhen oon hersefl' tu sii,
But eih'er Glooriaa'na let mir tshyyz
Or in Belfee'be fash'ioned tu bii :
In dh- oon her ryyl, in dh- odh'er her raar tsha'stiti.
Pref. to 3, st. 5. p. 101.

Hyydzh see of sor'oou, and tempest'eus griif,
Wheerin' mai fiib'el bark iz tosed loq,
Far from dhenoop'ed naav'n of relii' :
Whoi dhu dhoi krry'el bl'ooz beet so stroq,
And dhoi moist mountainz eetsh on odher throq,
Threet'iq tu swal'ouu up mai' feer'ful laif?
O du dhoi krry'el wrath and spait'ful wroq
At leqth alai', and stint dhe storm' stroif,
Whets in dheeze trub'led bou'elz rainz and raadzh'eth roif.
For els mai fiib'el ves'el, kraazd and kraakt,
Kan'ot endyyr.

3, 4, 8, p. 99.

Fordheir' shii gaav niz warn'iq ev'er'i daai
Dhe luv of wim'en not tu entertain' ;
A les'n tuu tu hard for liv'iq klaai.

3, 4, 26. p. 100.

So tik'el bii dhe termz of mor'taal staat,
And ful of sut'el sof'izms whets du plai
With dub'el sens'ez, and with faal's debaat.

3, 4, 28. p. 97.

Unthaq'ful wrethsh (said uii), iz dhis dhe miid
With whets her soverain mer'si dhou dust kwot ?
Dhai laif shii saav'ed bei her graa'sious diid :
But dhou dust meen with vil'cnums dispoit"
Tu blot her on 'or and her neev'ni' loikht.
Doi, radh'er dei, dhen so disloi'alai
Diim of her naikh dezert', or siim so loikht,
Faair deeth 't iz tu shun moor shaam, dhen doi;
Doi, radh' er doi, dhen e'ver luv disloi'alai.

But f tu luv disloi'alai 't bii,
Shal o'i dhen naat her [dat] from deeth'ez door
Mii broukht? an, far bii sutsh reprootsh' from mii.
What kan o'i les du dhen ner luv dherfoor',
Sith o'i ner dyy reward; kannot' restooor?'
Doi, raadh'er doi, and doi'iq duu ner serv,
Doi'iq ner serv, and liv'iq ner adoor'.
Dhai loif shii gaav, dhai loif shii duth dezerv'.
Doi, raadh'er doi, dhen e'ver from ner serv'is swerv.

Diskur'teus, disloi'AAl Brit'omart;
What ven'dzhans dyy kan ek'wal dhei dezart;
Dhat mast with shaam'ful spot of sin'ful lust,
Defoid; dhe pledzh kom't'ed tu dhai trust?
Let ug'loi shaam and end'les in'famoi
Kul'er dhai naam with foul reproo'tshez rust.

Amoq' dheez knoihts dheer weer thrii bredh'ern boould,
Thrli booulder bredh'ern ne'ver wer iborn';
Born of oon mud'h'er in oon nap'i mooold,
Born at oon burdh'en in oon nap'i morn,
Thr'aii nap'i mud'h'er, and thr'aii hap'i morn,
Dhat boor thrii sutsh, thrii sutch not tu bii fond.
Her naam waz Ag'ape, whuuz tsh'il'dren weern:
AAl thrii az oon; dhe first neikht Prai'amond,
Dhe sek'ond Da'i'amond, dhe ruq'gest Trai'amond.

Stout Prai'amond, but not so stroq tu stri'ik;
Stroq Da'i'amond, but not so stout a knoiht;
But Trai'amond, waz stout and stroq aloik'.
On nors'bak yy'zed Trai'amond tu fookht,
And Prai'amond on fuut nad moor deloit';
But nors and fuut knyy Da'i'amond tu wiild,
With kurt'aks yy'zed Da'i'amond tu smoit;
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' ner teerz immiks'iq prai'erz milk,
And with ner prai'erz, reez'nz tu restrain';
From blud' i stri'ik.

4, 2, 41, 42. p. 124.
Shii held nir wrath-ful hand from ven'dzhans soor.
But draa'iq neer, eer mii nir wel biheld:
Iz dhis dhe faith (shii said ?) and said no moor,
But turnd nir fast, and fled awai: for ev'vermoor.

4, 7, 36. p. 103.

Fresh shad'ouz, fit tu shroud from sun'i rai;
Fair landz, tu taak dhe sun in seez'n dyy;
Swiit spriqz, in whitsh a thouz'and nimfs did plai;
Soft rum'liq bruiks, dhat dzhent'l slumb'er dryy;
Heikh reer'ed mounts, dhe landz about tu vyy;
Loou luuk'iq daalz, disloind* from konron gaaz;
Deloit'ful bourz, tu sol-as luverz tryy;
Fair lab'erinz, fond rmrerz eiz tu daaz:

4, 10, 24. p. 114.

But mii her sup'liant nandz, dhooz nandz of goold;
And iik her fiit, dhooz fiit of silver trar
Whitsh sooukht unraikh'teusnes and dzhust'is soold,
Tshopt of, and naild on niirkh, dhat AAl meikht dhem binoold.

5, 2, 26. p. 111.

Extracts from Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia.

. . . Reez'n tu mî pas'yon iild'ed
Paas'gon un'tu mî raadzh, raadzh tu a hast'i revendzh'.
3, 1. p. 110.

And naav'iq plaaest moi thoughts, moi thoughts dhus plaa'sed mii,
Mii thought ; nai, syyr òi waz, òi waz in faair'est Wud
Of Samothe'a land, a land dhat whoil'um stuud
An on'or tu dhe world, whoil on'or waz dheir end.
4, 9. p. 113.

Dhe feir tu sii mii wroqd for aq'ger burn'eth,
Dhe ai'er in teerz for main affik'sion wip'eth,
Dhe see for griff tu eb niz floou'iq turn'eth,
Dhe eerth with pit'i dul her sen'ter kiip'eth,
Faam ìz with wund'er blaa'z-ed,
Teim fluiz awai: for sor'ou,
Plaas stand'eth strl amaa'zed,
Tu sii mai niikht of iiiv'lz whitsh hath no mor'ou.
Alas, AAl oon'leai shii no pit'i taak'eth
Tu knouo moi niz'eriz, but tshaast and kryyel
Moi faal nir gloo'ri maak'ath.
Jit stil niz eiz giv tu moi flaamz dheir fyyel.
Fair, burn mii kwot til sens of burn'iq leev mii :
Ai'er, let me draa dhîs breth no moor òn aq'guish :
See, dround òn dhi of vit'al breth bireev' mii :
Erth, taak dhîs eerth wheerin' moi spir'its laq'guish :
Faam, sai òi waz not born,
Teim, hast mai doi'iq ou'er :
Plaas, sii moi graav upturn:
Fair, ai'er, see, eerth, faam, teim, plaas, sheu juur pour.
Alas', from AAl dheir helps am oï eksold',
For herz am oï, and deeth feerz nîr displeez'yyr;
Fei deeth, dhou art bigoil'ed,
Dhok oï bii herz, shii sets boi mii no treez'yyr.

3, 15. p. 128.

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 veis.
Dhe miid of dhem dhat luv, and du not liv amis'.
2, 17. p. 113.

Gi kaald dhii oons mei dī'reerest Mal in vers.
Whīsh dhus oï kan inter'pret if oï wil,
Moi dī'reerest Mal, dhat iz, moi kost'liest il.
2, 81. p. 112.

Tu praaiz moi weif, juur dāakh'̄er, (so oï gadh'̄er)
Juur men saii shii resem'bleth moost nîr fadh'̄er.
And oï no les tu praij juur sun, nîr brudh'̄er,
Affīm dhat mii iz tuu mutsh laik nîz mudh'̄er.
Ei knoou not if wii dzhudzh arēikht', or er,
But let nûn bii laik juu, so oï laik ner.
2, 96. p. 112.

Markus neer seest tu vēnt'ēr AAl on praim,
Til of nîz adzh kwot waasted waz dhe praim.
2, 99. p. 112.

Whee relz Mister Kaar'les?
Dzhēst'erz nav no dwel'̄iq.
Whee loiz ni?
In nîz tuq boi moost menz tel'̄iq.
Whee boordz ni?
Dheer wheer feests aar found boi smel'̄iq.
Whee boits ni?
:AAl behēind', gainst AAl men jel'̄iq.

Konsern'̄iq wēivz hoould dhīs a ser'tain ryyl,
Dhat if at first juu let dhem naav dhe ryyl,
Juurself' at last with dhem shal naav no ryyl,
Eksept' juu let dhem ev'er-moor tu ryyl.

Songs and Miscellaneous Extracts.
What if a dai, or a munt'h, or a jeer,
Kroun dhai dezairz' with a thou'zand wisht konten'tiqz?
Kannot dhe tshauns of a naikt or an ouer
Kros dhai delōts' with a thou'zand sad tormen'tiqz?
For'tyyn, on'or, beu'ti, jyyth,
Aar but blō'umz dū'iq [dā'iq]:
Want'ōn pleez'yyr, dōot'iq luv,
Aar but shad'dōouz fli'iq.
:AAl our dzhoiz, aar but toiz
Gīd'l thoukhts deeseev'iq.
Noon hath pow’r of an ou’er
In dher loivz bireev’iq.

*Thomas Campion.* p. 144, with the music.

Faaier boi na’tyyr bii’q born,
Bor’ound beu’ti shii duth skorn.
Hii dhat kis’eth her, núd feer
Noo unnool’sum ver’nish dheer;
For from dhens, núi oon’lei sîps
Dhe pyyr nek’tar of her lips:
And with dhez at oons núi klooz’eiz,
Melt’iq ryy’biz, tsher’iz, rooz’eiz.

*George Withers.* p. 98.

Noo dhat dhe nerth iz kround with smoil’iq foier
And sum du driqk, and sum du daans,
Sum riq
Sum sîq,
And aal du stroi’v t-advaans’
Dhe myyz’ik néi’er:
Wheerfoor shuuld oii
Stand si’lent boi?
Whuu not dhe leest
Booth luv dhe kaaz and aa’torz of dhe feest.


Main eiz, no eiz, but foun’tainz of mai teerz:
Mai teerz, no teerz, but fludz tu moist mai nart:
Mai nart, no nart, but nar’bour of mai feerz:
Mai feerz, no feerz, but fiil’iq of mai smart:
Mai smart, mai feerz, mai nart, mai teerz, main eiz,
Ar blaind, draid, spent, past, waast’ed with mai kraiz.
And xi mai eiz dhokh blaind, sii kaaz of griff:
And xi mai teerz, dhokh draid, run doun amaain’:
And xi mai nart, dhokh spent, atendz’ reluíf:
And xi mai feerz, dhokh past, inkrees’ mai paain:
And xi öi lîv, and lîv’iq fiil moor smart:
And smart’iq, krei in vain, Breek herv’i nart.

*Song,* “Break Heavy Heart.” p. 119.

Swiit thoukhts, dhe fuud on whiths sî fiid’iq starv;
Swiit teerz, dhe drîqk dhat moor aegment’ mai thirst;
Swiit eiz, dhe starz bôi whiths mai kours duth swary;
Swiit hoop, mai deeth whiths wast mai laif at first;
Swiit thoukhts, swiit teerz, swiit hoop, swiit eiz,
Hou tshaanst dhat deeth in swiit’nes laiz?

*Song,* “Deadly Sweetness.” p. 119.

Maar’tshîl iz naq’ed, Dhe diil naz-im faq’ed
And bren’ed iz nîz byyks. In nîz kryyk’ed klyyks.
Dhokh Maar’tshîl iz naq’ed Maar’tshîl iz naq’ed


Raaz’iq mai hoops, on nîlz of naikh dezôr;
Thîqk’iq tu skaal dhe neev’n of nîr nart,
Mai slend’er meenz prezumd’ [prezyym’d] tuu nîi a part.
Her thunder of disdain: forst mii retoir;
And thryy mii doun &c.


Kontent: whuu lívz with troid estaat,
Niid feer no tshandzh of froun'iq faat:
But mii dhat siiks, for un'knoun' gain,
Oft lívz boi los, and leevz with pain.

Specimen of Phonic Spelling. p. 20.

Dhe loq ar laaz·zi, dhe lit'1 ar loud:
Dhe fair ar slut'ish, dhe foul ar proud.

p. 76.
Praiz of an naikh rek'niq', an a tri'k tu bii greet'lii renoun'ed
Juu with jurr prik·et pur'tshast. Lo dhe vik'tori fa'amus
With tuu godz pak'iq' oon wum'ran si'l'î tu kuz'n.

Accentual Hexameters. Stanthurt's Translation of
Virg. Än. 4, 93-95. p. 100.

Psalm 62. p. 20.

1 Tryyy·loj mao sooul wait·eth upon' God: from nim kum'eth mai
salu[v] jaa'sion. 2 Hii oon·loj iz mao rok and mao salvaa'sion: Hii iz
mao defens'; oj shall not bi greet'loj muuv'ed. 3 Hou loq wi1 jii
imadzh·in mis'tshii against a man? jii shall bi slain aal of juu:
az a bou'iq waa1 shall j1 bii: and az a tot'eriq fens. 4 Dhooe
oon·loj konsult' tu kast nim doun from mis ek'selensai, dheei deloi't
in laiz: dheei bles with dheeiir mouth, but dheei kurs in·wardloi.
Sel'arn. 5 Maa sooul wait dhou oon·loj upon' God: for mae ekpek·ta'sion
from nim. 6 Hii oon·loj iz mao rok and mao salvaa'sion;
Hii iz mao defens'; oj shall not bi muuv'ed. 7 In God iz maa salvaa'sion
and maa gloo'ri; dhe rok of maa streqth and maif ref'yydzh
iz in God. 8 Trust in nim at aal teimz j1 piip'1; pour out juur hart
bifo0r nim: God iz a ref'yydzh for us. Sel'arn. 9 Syyr'loj men
of loou degrii' ar van'toi, and men of maa degrii' ar a le:i tu bi
laied in dhe bal'ans, dheei ar aalltogedher leikht'er dhen van'toi.
10 Trust not in opres'ion, bikum' not vain in rob'erai; if rift'hez
inkrees', set not juur hart upon' dhem. 11 God nath spook·n
oons; twaeis naav o1 naard dhis, dhaat pour biloq'eth un-to God. 12:
Aal'so un-to dhii, oo Lord, biloq'eth mer'si: for dhou ren'derest
tu everei man akkord'iq tu niz wurk.

Psalm 67. p. 21.

1 God bi mer'isifal y[y[u]n'tu us and bles us; and kaaz niz faas tu
sho1n upon' us. Sel'arn. 2 Dhat dhai waa1 maa1 bi knoun upon
eerth, dhoi saav'iq neelth amaq' aal naa'sionz. 3 Let dhe pip'1
praiz dhi, oo God; let aal dhe pip'1 praiz dhii. 4 O let dhe
naa'sionz bi glad, and siq for dzhoi: for dhou shalt dzhudzh dhe
pip'1 raiikht-eusla, and gove'n dhe naa'sionz upon' eerth. Sel'arn.
5 Let dhe pip'1 praiz dhii oo God; let aal dhe pip'1 praaz dhii.
6 Dhen shal dhe eerth jild miz in'krees; and God, ii'ven our ooun
God, shal bles us. 7 God shal bles us, and aal dhe endz of dhe
eerth shal feer nim.
Psalm 96. p. 22.

1 O siq un'tu dhe Lord a nyq soq; siq un'tu dhe Lord Aal dhe eorth. 2 Siq un'tu dhe Lord, bles niiz naam; sheu fourth niiz salvaa'sion from dai tu dai. 3 Deeklaar niiz gloo'ri amoq dhe needh'en: niiz wun'derz amoq' Aal piip'1. 4 For dhe Lord iz greet, and greet'loi tu bi praiz'ed: Hii iz tu bi feer'ed abuv Aal Godz. 5 For Aal dhe godz of dhe naas'sion ar ai'dols: but dhe Lord maad dhe heev'nz. 6 On'or and Maa'dh zestei ar bifoor'him: streqth and beu'ti ar in niiz sank'tuari. 7 Giiv un'tu dhe Lord (oo ji kin'drez of dhe piip'1) giiv un'tu dhe Lord' gloo'ri and streqth. 8 Giiv un'tu dhe Lord dhe gloo'ri dyy un'tu niiz naam: briq an of'riq and kum in'tu niiz kuurts. 9 O wur'ship dhe Lord in dhe beu'ti of noo'lines: feer bifoor'him Aal dhe eorth. 10 Saai amoq' dhe needh'en dhat dhe Lord reei'neth: dhe world Aal'so shall bi established dhat it shall not bi muu'ved: Hii shall dzhudzh dhe piip'1 reik'h-teuslai. 11 Let dhe heev'nz redzhois', and let dhe eorth bi glad: let dhe see roor dhe ful'nes dheeero'. 12 Let dhe fiild bi dzhoi'ful, and Aal dhat iz dherin': dhen shall Aal dhe triz of dhe wud redzhois'. 13 Bifoor' dhe Lord; for Hii kum'eth, for Hii kum'eth tu dzhudzh dhe eorth: Hii shall dzhudzh dhe world with reik'h-teusnes, and dhe piip'1 with niiz tryth.

Psalm 97. p. 22.

1 Dhe Lord reei'neth; let dhe eorth redzhois': let dhe mul'ti-tyyd of dhe ollz bi glad dherof. 2 Kloudz and dha'nes ar round about him: reik'h-teusnes and dzhudzh'ment ar dhe habita'sion of niiz thron. 3 A fo'er go'eth bifoor' him: and burn'eth up niiz en'emoiz round about. 4 Hii leikht'niiz inoikht'ned dhe world: dhe eorth sau, and trem'bled. 5 Dhe niiz melt'ed laik waks at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord; at dhe prez'ens of dhe Lord of dhe whool eorth. 6 Dhe heev'nz deklaar niiz reik'h-teusnes: and Aal dhe piip'1 sii niiz gloo'ri. 7 Konfound'ed bi Aal dheeij dhat serv graav'n si'madzhz, and boost dhemselzv of ai'dols: wur'ship him Aal ji godz. 8 Sj'on naard, and waz glad, and dhe daakh'terz of Ju'da redzhois'ed: bikauz': of dhoi dzhudzh'ments, oo Lord. 9 For dhou Lord ar hai'kh abuv Aal dhe eorth: dhou art eksal' ted far abuv' Aal godz. 10 Jii dhat luv dhe Lord, naat ii'v; Hii prezerv'eth dhe soulz of niiz saints: Hii deliv'reth dhem out of dhe hand of dhe wrk'ed. 11 Laikht iz soon for dhe reik'h-teus, and glad'nes for dhe up'roikht in hart: 12 Redzhois' in dhe Lord, jii roik'h-teus': and giiv thaqks at dhe remem'brans of niiz noo'lines.

Psalm 104. p. 23.

1 Bles dhe Lord, oo mai soul: oo Lord mai God dhou art ver' greet: dhou art kloodh'ed with On'or and Madzh'estai. 2 Whuu kuv'rest dhoi self with laikht, az with a gar'ment: whuu streth's' est out dhe heev'nz laik a kur'tain; 3 Whuu lai'eth dhe beemz of niiz tsham'berz in dhe waa'terz; whuu maak'eth dhe kloudz niiz tshar'et: whuu walk'eth upon' dhe wiquz of dhe weind. 4 Whuu
maak’eth niz an’gelz spîr’îts: niz mîn’îsterz a flaam’îq foi’er.
5 Whuu laid dhe founda-a’sionz of dhe eeth: dhat it shoul’d not
bi remuuv’ed for ever. 6 Dhou kuv’erest it with dhe dip az with
a gar’ment: dhe waa’terz stuuð abuv’ dhe mound’tainz. 7 At dheai
rebyyk’ dheei fled: at dhe vois of dheoi thund’er dheei maas’t-ed
awai. 8 Dheei go up boi dhe mound’tainz, dheei go doun boi dhe
val’leiz un’tu dhe plaas whites dhou nast found’ed for dheem. 9
Dhou nast set a bound dhat dheei mai ne pas over: dhat dheei
turn ne again: tu kuv’er dhe eeth. 10 Hii sendeth dhe spîr’îq
în’tu dhe val’leiz; whites run amoq’ dhe naiz. 11 Dheei giv drîgk
tu ev’rei beest of dhe fiïld; dhe woid as’es kwentsh dheer thrust.
12 Boi dheem shal dhe foulz of dhe nev’n naav dheer mabtaa’sion,
whitsh siq amoq’ dhe bran’shez. 13 Hii waat’ereth dhe nîlz from
niz tsham’berz: dhe eeth iz sat’isfied with dhe frypt of dheai
wurkz. 14 Hii kaa’z’eth dhe gras tu groou for dhe kat’eel, and
herb for dhe serv’is of man: dhat mi mai brij fourth fund out of
dhe eeth. 15 And wain dhat maak’eth glad dhe nart of man, and
oil tu maak nîlz faas tu shoin, and breed whites streq’heth mans
nart. 16 Dhe triiz of dhe Lord ar ful of sap: dhe see’darz of
Leb’anon whitsh Hii nath plant’ed. 17 Wheer dhe birdz maak
dheer nists: az for dhe stork dhe fîr triiz are mir nous. 18 Dhe
naikh nîlz ar a ref’yydzh for dhe woid goots: dhe dhe roks for
dhe kun’iz. 19 Hii apuuint’ed dhe muun for seez’nz; dhe sun
knou’eth niz goo’îq doun. 20 Dhou maak’est dark’nes, and it iz
noikt: wheerin’ all dhe beestz of dhe fore’st du kriip fourth.
21 Dhe nîq lo’i onz roor aft’er dheeeir prai, and siik dheeeir meet
from God. 22 Dhe sun araiz’eth, dheei gadh’er dhemselvesz tu-
gedh’er, and lai dhem doun in dheeir denz. 23 Man go’eth
fourth un’tu nîz wurk; and tu nîz laa’bor, un’tl: dhe iiv’nîq. 24
O Lord how man’foould ar dhoi wurks? in wiz’dum nast
dhou maad dhem al; dhe eeth iz ful of dhoi riits’ez. 25
So iz dhis greet and woid see, wheerin’ ar thîqz kriip’îq
inn’um’erabl, booth smaal and greet beestz. 26 Dheer go dhe
ships; dheer iz dhat Leyv’athan [Lev’athan?] whuun dhou
nast maad tu plaai dheerin’. 27 Dheez wait al upon dhi dhat
dhou maist giv dhem dheeeir meet in dyy seez’n. 28 Dhat dhou
giv’est dhem dheeeir gadh’er: dhou oop’nest dheai hand, dheei ar
fîl’ed with gud. 29 Dhou maiz’ed dhoi faas, dheei ar trub’led:
dhou taak’est awaiv dhereir breeth dheei doi, and return’ tu dheeeir dust.
30 Dhou send’est forth [fourth] dhoi spîr’ît, dheei ar kreaat’ed:
and dhour eny’yest dhe faas of dhe eeth. 31 Dhe gloo’ri of dhe
Lord shal indyyr’ for ever: dhe Lord shal redzhois’ in nîz wurks.
32 Hii luuk’eth on dhe eeth, and it trem’bleth: miit toutsh’eth
[tutsh’eth?] dhe nîlz and dheei smook. 33 qi wił siq un’tu dhe
Lord az loq as wi liv: wi lwi praiiz mai God whoi wi naav mai
biî’îq. 34 Ma i meditaq’son of hîm shal bi suit: wi il be glad
in dhe Lord. 35 Let dhe sin’erz bi konsum’ed [konsyym’ed?] out
of dhe eeth, let dhe wik’ed bi no moor: bles dhou dhe Lord, oo
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) = (a)
command brand VP 1 2
command hand VP 3 5—T ep.
glance expance LA 1, 20. PP 5.

In the few extracts that are given we find: (Aa) fyvernral 1, 1, 8. wax pas 1, 4, 11. wholer despar 1, 9, 28. luv muuv 2, 8, 1. morn weern 4, 2, 41. feikht smoif 4, 2, 42.) And the following seem to be forced, a double value to -er, and -y being assumed, last hast VP 2, 24 [in all these cases the first word is occasionally pronounced with (a), more frequently with (ah).]

(Britomart dezart 4, 1, 53. narmoni agrii 2, 12, 70. isha-s-titii bil 3, intr., 6. dislovalis dai 3, 8, 45.) The spelling here used is the preceding transliteration of Dr. Gill's, the references are to book, canto, stanza, of the Faerie Queene.
(aa)=(A, AA, o, oo)

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 (o).]

(aa) = (ci, i)

hearth earth T 30. 76

(aa, AA) = (ee)
vase grace VP 2, 6. [the first word is very rarely called (vees), or (veez) generally (vaaz, vanz).]

(A) = (aa), see (aa) = A
(\AA) = (aa), see (aa) = (\AA)
(\AA) = (ee), see (ee) = (\AA)
(\ae) = (aa), see (aa) = (\ae)

(\ae) = (ee)

amber chamber FW 4, 37 [the second word in these cases is usually (tshem-ba), occasionally (tsham-ba).]

clamber chamber FW 1, 8
have grave T 64

dead 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, 8. LA 2, 42. VP 1, 33. 2, 33.

heaven forgiven LA 1, 14. 2, 13. 2, 65.
FW 4, 1. PP 33.

heaven o'erdriven T 61

heaven riven FW 3, 1. LH 6

heaven unriven VP 3, 11

[any attempt to say (mirn) would have doubt been scouted by any poet, but all poets allow the rhyme.]

inhibit spirit PP 14 [(sper-it) is now thought vulgar]
yes this FW 3, 2 [compare Sir T. Smith, supra p. 89].

(c) = (ii)

breath beneath LA 1, 15. 2, 2. VP 2, 31
breath underneath T 98
breath wreath LH 18. 22. VP 1, 9
dead 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
dead faith T 80. 106. 112.
said maid VP 1, 28 [the word said is perhaps occasionally called (seed).]

unsaid maid T 72

\((o) = (oo)\)

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

\((o) = (u)\)

blood good T 3. 33. 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

shut put T 35
thrust push T 89

\((o) = (uu)\)

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 proved 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

(oi, i) = (oi, oo)
curse horse T 6
words chords LA 2, 36. 2, 37. LH 33. VP 2, 17.—T 47
word lord LA prol. 2.

(oi, i) = (001, 00)
return'd mourn'd FW 2, 13
ura mourn 9
[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 51
wears tears s. LA 1, 15

(ee) = (aa), see (aa) = (ee)
(ee) = (ae), see (ae) = (ee)
(ee) = (e), see (e) = (ee)

(ee) = (ii)
today quay T 14

(oi) = (i)

Christ mist T 28
Christ evangelist T 31
behind wind s. VP 1, 8
blind wind s. VP 3, 5
find wind s. T 8
kind wind s. VP 3, 2.—T 106
mankind wind s. T 28

[many readers always read (woind) in poetry instead of wind; Gill has generally (woind) even in prose.]

(oi) = (oi)

I joy T ep. [the pronunciation (oi dzhoi) would be out of the question]

(oi) = (oo, ouu)
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. [the pronunciation (pou) is now vulgar.]
storm form T 16. [some say (foam) always, others distinguish (foam) shape, (foam) seat.]

(oo)=(o), see (o)=(oo)

mode good T 46

(oo)=(uu)

doors moor T 28. [some say (moor).]

hope group FW 4, 16

more moor T 40. [probably a rhyme riche p. 246, as: here hear T 35.]

more poor T 77

(oor)=(x), see (x)=(oor)

foot brute T prol.

good wood VW 2, 33

woods moods T 27. 35. 87

(uu)=(o), see (o)=(uu)

II. An Unaccented Rhyming with an Accented Syllable.

(uu)=(u), see (u)=(uu)

(breathe wreath s. FW 2, 7)

dhz=(ths)

breathes sheathes FW 1, 2

breathes wreathes LH 2

(x)=(x), see (oo), (oo)=(x)

(s)=(z)

bliss his VP 1, 2

else tells T 75

face gaze T 32

grace vase VW 2, 5 [adopting the pronunciation (vaa) or (vees), this is faulty; only the unusual (vees) saves the rhyme.]

house s. boughs T 29

(th)=(dh), see (dh)=(th)

(z)=(s), see (s)=(z)

house s. bows 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.

(is, x) unacc.=(ix, x) acc.

islander myrrh VW 3, 4

universe fierce VW 1, 25

(u, æ) unacc.=(uu) acc.

festival all VW 3, 19

musical fall VW 2, 17

(aan, aen) unacc.=(aan, ahh) acc.

circumstance chance T 62. [some say (ær-kamstens) with a distinct secondary accent on the last syllable.]

countenance chance T 112

deliverance trance VW 3, 13

inhabitants plants LH 10

utterance trance LH 33

visitant haunt VW 1, 12

(u, om) unacc.=(oom) acc.

masterdom home T 100

(aen, an) unacc.=(aen) acc.

Lebanon sun VW 2, 11. PP 22

orison one VW 1, 22

(t) unacc.=(oi) acc.

agonies sees FW 1, 13

armories see VW 3, 1

canopies breeze VW 3, 2

costancy be T 21

desperately sea FW 1, 17

destinies please LA 3, 15

eases ease VW 2, 7

eternities seas VW 2, 7

exquisite sweet FW 3, 13

harmonies breeze VW 2, 10. LH 17

history be T 110
immensity see LA 1, 20
immortality thee VP 2, 9
impatiently me LH 10
instantly sea LH 19
mockeries breeze VP 1, 9
mystery thee T 95
mystery sea LA 2, 38
mysteries these LA, 2, 41

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 &c. boughe &c., ice flies &c.—are about as bad rhymes as can be, the first division being purely consonantal 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-e, -iez) or (-ai, -aiz) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees; energies cries, 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 xixth 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, 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 xvth. 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 e 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.

infusd chusd = chose used 2, 2, 5
fire yeire stire = stir 2, 5, 2.
draws jawes wawes = waves 2, 12, 4.
[see Salesbury, supra p. 785.]
strong hond fond stond = strand hand
found strand, 2, 6, 19. Lond fond =
land found 3, 2, 8. hand understand
fond = found 3, 1, 60. [here the two
first words have been left unchanged.]
aboord afoord foord = aboard afford
ford 2, 6, 19.
enterayne demayne = deeme 2, 9, 40
paramoure succoure floure = floor poore
2, 10, 19.
fayre hayre = heir shaye = share 2, 10,
28.
weet = wit v. feet 2, 10, 71. [weet is con-
stantly used.]
gate hate awate = await 2, 11, 6.
assault exault = withheld
fault 2, 11, 9. fault hault assault 6,
2, 23.
tooke strooke = struck 2, 12, 38. strooke
looke 2, 12, 38. broken stroken
wroken, 6, 2, 7. toke strooke
awooke looke 6, 7, 48.
vele = vein unhele concele 2, 12, 64.
vele appele revele 3, 3, 19. vele con-
cele 4, 10, 41. Florimele vele 5, 3,
17.
paynt faynt taunt daynt = dainty 3,
intr. 2.
way convey = convey assay way 3, 1, 2.
surcease encrase precis = press peace
3, 1, 23. precace = press surcease
peace 4, 9, 32.
fayre debonayre compayre = compare,
reapre 3, 1, 20. fayre prepayre =
prepare 3, 4, 14. chayre = chere, dear,
ayre, fayre 3, 5, 51.
sex wax = wax v. vex flex = flex 3, 1, 47.
beare appeare theare 3, 2, 11.
accomplishid = ed hid 3, 3, 48.

clim = climb swim him 3, 4, 42.
alive deprive atchieve = achieve 3, 5, 26.
strowne sowne overflowne = overflowed
3, 9, 35.
towne crowne downe compassionewne 3,
9, 39.
blood stoud remould = blood stood re-
moved 3, 9, 43.
furst nursed = first nursed 3, 11, 1.
rowne renowne = room renown 3, 11, 47.
food feed = foud blood brood 4, 1, 26.
craft draught = draught beraft = bereft
engraft 4, 2, 10.
burds = birds words lords 4, 2, 35.
appear readl afoord swaerd = sword
4, 3, 31, 33.
speach = speech empace 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.
cliefe griefe = cliff grieff 4, 12, 5.
grieve misbelieve shrieve mieve = move
4, 12, 26.
layd sayd mayd denayd = denied 4, 12,
28.
course soure worse = source worse, 5,
intr. 1.
hard outward shard = sheared 5, 1, 10.
achieved believed prieved = proved 5, 4,
33. grieved relieved reprimed, 5,
6, 24.
enter, bent her, aventer = adventure,
center 5, 5, 5.
knew rew = row vow dew 5, 6, 22.
threw alew = hallow few 5, 6, 13.
hightkeigt = caught dignit pligte 3,
2, 30. dignit keigt 5, 6, 29.
wend fond kond = woned found conned
5, 6, 35.
bridge ride, lidge = ledge 5, 6, 36.
smo = 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.
Occasionally, but not very often, Spenser indulges in unmistakable
assonances, or mere 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 conspyre yre 1, 11, 14 [here
shyr was a mere rhyme to the eye.] 
away decay day Spau 1, 11, 30.
bath wrath hath hath 2, 2, 4.
bough enough 2, 6, 25 [where enough
is quantitative and not numerative.] 
mouth drouth count could 2, 7, 58.
[towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. [cons-
noantall rhyme.] ]
deckt sett decked set 2, 12, 49. [an
assonance.] 
Chrysocone 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 overkost overcast, opprest 3, 6, 10.
more store yore horrore horror 3, 6, 36.
stayd strayed sayd denayd denied 3,
7, 57. day tway denay deny dismay
3, 11, 11.
gotten soften often 4, intr. 5. [an
assonance.] 
health wealth deal th dealth 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),
and occasionally in Gill this will only
be an assonance.] 
follie jollie dallie 4, 1, 36.
evill crevill devill 4, 2, 3. [even when
the two last words rhymed, as they
were usually spelled, as drivel, 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 wren 4,
2, 41. [see above p. 358, note.] 
mid hid thrid thread undid 4, 2, 48
emperishd cherisht gaurish florishd 4,
3, 29 [consonantal rhymes.] 
discover mother other brother 4, 3, 40
[assonance]
aimed ordained 4, 4, 24 [assonance]
ventred ventured entered entered 4,
7, 31 [this would have been a rhyme
in the xvii th century.] 
dum dumb overcum num becum become
4, 7, 44 [here the spelling seems unnecessarily changed, the
rhyme being, probably, good.] 
foure 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, (nee feu),]
which takes off much of the harsh-
ness apparent in the modern (nii
fia).]
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.] 
thonder sondred encomberd nombred
5, 5, 19, encomber thonder asonder
6, 5, 19, [assonance]
endeavour labour favour behaviour 5, 5,
35 [part consonance, part consonantal rhyme.]
attend kempt = hemmed kemd = kempt
combed portend 5, 7, 4. [assonance, it is curious that kemd was unnecessarily forced in spelling.]
discovers lover endever ever 5, 7, 22
[consonantal rhyme.]
stronger longer wronger = wrong doer,
5, 8, 7. [Did Spenser say (stroq’ger)
rwoq’ger), or (stroq’ger, rwoq’ger),
or did he content himself with an
assonance? I lately heard (siq’gr)
from a person of education.
desynes betymes clymes = designs
betimes crimes climbs 5, 9, 42. [assonance.]
temted 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 shew 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, ex-
emplified in Chaucer and Gower, far behind us, and that beginning
at least with the xvirh 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 discsords, in order to produce a

1 See what Chaucer says, suprâ 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. 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)
awat lakt = awaked lacked 2, 8, 51.
blacke lake make partake 5, 11, 32.
lambe came 1, 1, 5. lam sam dam =
lamb name dam 1, 10, 57. ame = am
dame same 1, 12, 30.

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, grinned into grind, or wind into wind" (wind, waind). "A few words have two forms in English speech, as said, which Pope and Th. Moore rhyme with laid 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 rhymner 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

(starr farr ar = are 1, 1, 7.
gard hard ward prepard = prepared 1, 3, 9.
was chase 6, 3, 50.
waste s.aste waste v. 1, 2, 42. past
last hast = haste 1, 4, 49.

(mead of meadow being med and not meed)." In a foot he cites the rhymes: mead head, meads reeds Dryden, tread head Herrick, mead reed Johnson. "CAissa of 334 lines, Sozima of 104, and Laura of 150, are perfect. The Seven Fountains, of 542 lines, has only stone—sun, and stood—blood. The Enchanted Fruit, 574 lines, has sound—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 excus 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 dissontant 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 t'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."
(aa) = (a) or = (a)?

[In most of the following as in some of the preceding one of the words has now (ee).]

ame = aim came shame 1, 5, 26.

prepar'd hard far'd 2, 11, 3. reward hard prepar'd 3, 5, 14. [compare 3, 8, 14, 42, 2, 27, 5, 4, 22.]
hast = haste fast 1, 6, 40. haste past fast hast v. 1, 9, 39. hast = taste cast 2, 12, 57. [compare 3, 2, 17, 3, 7, 38, 6, 10, 35, 5, 12, 16.]
gave have crave brave 1, 1, 3. wave save have 2, 6, 5. brave have selave 2, 7, 33. [compare 2, 8, 24, 2, 10, 6.]
w initial does not affect the subsequent a?

ran wan 1, 8, 42. man wan a. began overran 2, 2, 17. ran wan e. wan a. can 2, 6, 41. began wan a. 3, 3, 16.
farre starre arre = are warre 1, 2, 36.
ward saufgard far'd 2, 5, 8. reward far'd shard 2, 6, 38. 2, 7, 47. hard regard reward 3, 1, 27, 3, 6, 14, 4, 2, 27. ward unbarred far'd 4, 9, 5.
dwarte scarce 5, 2, 3.

was gras has 1, 1, 20, was pas 1, 1, 30. 1, 8, 19. was grass pas alas! 1, 9, 36. 2, 1, 41. 2, 6, 37. was masse 2, 9, 45. has was mas 2, 12, 34. 3, 4, 23. 5, 7, 17. was chace 6, 3, 50.

(aI) = (aI, aal, aAa)?

fall funerall 1, 2, 20. fall martiaal call 1, 2, 36. shall call fall 3, 1, 54. vale dale hospitale avale = hospital avail 2, 9, 10.

(ee) = (aa)

[The following rhymes in one stanza shew that ea could not have had the same sound as long a: speake awake weake shake sake be strake knee bee = be, 1, 5, 12, but the spelling and rhyme would lead to the conclusion that ea and long a were identical in:]

weake quake bespeak 3, 2, 42.
dare spear 3, 10, 28. fare share compare appeare 5, 2, 48. fare whylleare prepare bare 6, 5, 8.
regard rear'd 3, 8, 19.
grace embrace case = case encreaze 2, 7, 16.
late gate retreate = retreat 1, 1, 13.
estate late gate retraite 1, 8, 12, 4, 10, 57, 5, 4, 45, 5, 7, 35. inntreat late 4, 2, 51. treat late ingrate hate 6, 7, 2. entreat obstinate 6, 7, 40

nature creature feature stature 4, 2, 44. receive = receive gave have 2, 10, 69.
endevour, save her, favour, gave her 5, 4, 12. have save gave leave 5, 11, 46. leave have 6, 1, 9. save reave forgave gave 6, 7, 12.

(ai) = (aa)

[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.]
proclame overcame dame same 1, 12, 20. frame same name proclame 2, 5, 1. came game fame proclaime 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, 3, 4. pay day Æmylia 4, 7, 18. say Adicia 5, 8, 20.

staide = stayed made shade displeade 1, 14, 5, 4, 38. made trade waide = weighed 1, 4, 27. made dismaise blade 1, 7, 47, 6, 10, 28. layd sayde made 1, 8, 32. said made laid 2, 7, 32. displayed bewrayd made 2, 12, 66. mayd blaed = 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 previale 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 whyllebar dispayre rare 1, 9, 28 [see p. 858, note.] fayre
EDMUND SPENSER’S RHYMES.

Chap. VIII. § 5.

hayre  share  2, 10, 28, 6, 2, 17. repair care misfure share 4, 8, 5. care aire faire 4, 8, 8. hair = hair [certainly (meer)] bare are [certainly (aar)] faire 4, 11, 48. faire care 5, 9, 40. faire despare empaire misfure, 5, 11, 48.

faire compare, 1, 2, 37 [see: compare appeare under (ee) = (aa),] payre prepare 1, 3, 34. faire preaire stayre declare 1, 4, 13. faire hayre = hair (certainly (meer) even in Chaucer,) ayre prepayre 1, 5, 2. rare faire compaire 1, 6, 15 faire repaire v. restore rare 1, 8, 50. 3, 2, 22. faire dispayre ayre prepayre 2, 3, 12. compare faire aire 2, 6, 23. ayre prepayre 2, 11, 36. 3, 4, 14. faire threesquare spare prepayre 3, 1, 4. faire debonaire ayre compaire repaire 3, 1, 26. 5, 3, 5. faire compare share 4, 3, 39. rare fare prepare faire 4, 10, 6. repaire faire prepayre ayre 4, 10, 47.

grate v. bayte 2, 7, 34. state late debate baite, 4, intr. 1. late gate availte prate 4, 10, 14. gate waiete 5, 6, 4.

dazed raised = dazed raised, 1, 1, 18. amaze gaze plaize 6, 11, 13.

(ii) = (ai) ?

straight might fight 5, 10, 31. straight bright quight despight 5, 11, 14. straight right fight 5, 12, 8; [If we adopt the theory that Spenser’s et was generally (ee), these examples shew a retention of the old sound as in the modern height, slight, although (heet, sleek) may be occasionally heard.]

aught = ought.

raught ought fraught saught = sought 2, 8, 40. raught worse taught wrought 2, 9, 19.

(see) = (ee) = (ii) = (ai)

leach = physician teach 1, 5, 44. speach = speech teach 6, 4, 37.

proceede = (proceed,) brood 1, 5, 22. doth lead, aread, bred, sead = seed 1, 10, 51. did lead, aread tread 2, 1, 7.

reede = read weed steed agreed 4, 4, 39. tread proecd aread dread 4, 4, 13.

wreakd weake, seekes 6, 7, 13.

concealed heald = held conceal’d 1, 5, 29. beheld yeeld 4, 3, 14. beheld wield = wield 4, 3, 21.

beame tene = team 1, 4, 36. esteme extreme misseeeme 3, 8, 26.

demed seemed esteemed stremed 4, 3, 28. dece me extreme 4, 9, 1.

scene beene cleane keeme = (ee, ii, ee, ii) 1, 7, 33. beene scene cleene weene 1, 10, 58. queene unscene cleene 2, 1, 1. meane leen atwere meene = been 2, 1, 58. keene scene cleane 3, 8, 37, 3, 12, 20, 5, 9, 49. Greene cleene besome beene = (ii, ee, ii, ii) 6, 5, 38.

feend = feend attend defend spend 3, 7, 32. frecund = friend weend end amend 4, 4, 45. defend feend kend = kenned send 5, 11, 20.

keep sheepe dece chepe = cheap 6, 11, 40.

heare v. [= (hie) see § 7] neare inquere weare 1, 1, 31. teare v. feare heare 1, 2, 31. feare there requere 1, 3, 12. heare teare s. = fee (fear) inquere 1, 3, 25. heare = hair beare appearre dear 1, 4, 24. dear appearance were heare v. 1, 9, 14. fare whyleare dispayre rare, 1, 9, 28. [see under (ai) ] were appeare feare seare 1, 11, 13. yeare forbearre neare weary were 2, 1, 53. reare clear appearance 2, 2, 40. yeares pears=peers teares 2, 10, 62. were dreare teare v. beare v. 2, 11, 8. deare, meare = mære 2, 11, 34. cleare appeare dispeire whylere 5, 3, 1. beare appearre here fere = companion 5, 3, 22. beare cleare cheare = cheer despeyre 5, 5, 38. neare eare reare 5, 12, 6. fere = companion pere = 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, 8, 41.

weary cherry merry 6, 10, 22.

erce ferce reherce = pierce fierce re-

hearre 1, 4, 50. erst earst = pierced 6, 1, 45.

peace preace = press release cease 1, 12, 19. surcease Enrique press = peace 3, 1, 23. release possess wil-

lingness esse, 5, 25. cease, suppress esse, 4, 9, 2.

beast brest = breast supprest 1, 3, 19. 1, 5, 15. beasts beastes 1, 4, 18. feast beast deatseast = detest 1, 4, 21. 1, 11, 49. beast, creast = crest feast adrest 1, 8, 6. east creast 1, 12, 2.

beasts crests guests 2, 12, 39. east increast gheest 3, 2, 24.

heat sweet eat threat = (ee, ii, ee, e) 1, 3, 33. heat sweat eat 1, 4, 22.

great heat threat beat 1, 5, 7. seat great excheat 1, 5, 25, 2, 2, 20. 2, 11, 32. great treat intretre [see under
(ce) = (an) ] discrete 1, 7, 40. heat forget sweat 2, 5, 30. threat entreat 3, 4, 15. greater better 4, 1, 7. entreat threat retreat 4, 7, 37.
dearth breath unacht 1, 9, 38. 2, 1, 27. together either = either thether = thither 6, 12, 10.
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.
addrest brest wrest = addressed breast wret 2, 3, 1.
sitt bitt forgett sitt 1, 3, 14.

(i) = (ii).
clieffe griefe = cliff grief 4, 12, 5.
field build kid skild = killed skilled 2, 10, 73. wield shield field skild 4, 4, 17.

(i) unaccented = (ii) accented.
tragedie degree hee 2, 4, 27. see jeopardee thee 3, 4, 10.
diversly free he 1, 2, 11.
foresee memoree 2, 9, 49.
bee the perplextie 1, 1, 19. knee see maiestee = majesty 1, 4, 13. batteree bee chasitjee see 1, 6, 5. see libertee jollitez free 1, 9, 12. courtesee moderatees degree nicette 1, 10, 7. bee moderatees see 2, 9, 18.

(ii) = (oi).
alive revive give rive 2, 6, 45. liv'd depriv'd surviv'd deriv'd 2, 9, 57.

(i) unaccented = (oi) accented.
prerogative reprise = reprieve alive 4, 12, 31.
avyse lyes v. melodies 2, 12, 17. jeopardy ly spy descry 2, 12, 18. jeopardy cry enimy 3, 1, 22. supply jeopardy aby lie 3, 7, 8. able remedie 3, 10, 3.
fly fantasy privily sly 1, 1, 46. greedily ny 1, 3, 5. diversly jollity hye = high dauntily 1, 7, 32. envy by continually 1, 7, 43. thereby die eternally 1, 9, 54. incessantly eye industry 2, 7, 61. suddenly hastily cry 2, 8, 3. furiously aby hy fly 2, 8, 33. hy victory readily armory 3, 3, 59. cry forcibly dy 3, 10, 13. fly ear furious diversely 3, 10, 14.
flyes applyes enimies lyes 1, 1, 38. flye dye enimy 2, 6, 39. enimy 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 supplyes progenyes 6, 36. eye villany family spie 5, 6, 35.
victorie lye armory enmie 1, 1, 27. eyes miseries pylies idolatryes 1, 6, 19. thereby memory dy 1, 11, 47. perjury fly injury 1, 12, 27. despite miseries 2, 1, 36. eye skye chivalrye hye 2, 3, 10. I enimy victory 2, 6, 34. arise flies skies injuries 2, 9, 16.
fealty agony dy 1, 3, 1. deiiy flye nye = high 1, 3, 21. cry dishonesty misery chastity 1, 3, 25. eye skye chastifye 1, 6, 4. eye hye majesty tye, 1, 7, 16. enimy tragedy cry libertie 1, 9, 10. mortality by fly victory 1, 10, 1. apply mel ancholy jollity 1, 12, 38. flye hye = hee perplexity 2, 4, 13. skye envye princi pality incessantly 2, 7, 8. thereby sty dignity 2, 7, 46. envy soverainity emnity fly 2, 10, 33. majesty victorie facry dy 2, 10, 75. apply captivity infirmitie tyranny 2, 11, 1. eye tranquilli ty boystrously 3, 10, 58.

[Numbers poeticus proaraparoxonis in [i] sepe vitlitem productam acuet, vt, (mizerai, konstansai, destina'i) :
vnde etiam in prosa fere obtinium, vt vitlma vel longa vel breui equaliter scribatur, et pronuncietur, non acuantur tamen.—Gill Logonomia, p. 130.]

(ii) = (oi).
wild defilde vilde yilde = wild defled vile yield 1, 6, 3.

(oi) = (oi).
chylid spoild beguyld boyld 5, 5, 53. exyled defylid despoyled boyled 5, 9, 2.
beguils recoyld 11, 25.
while toyle guyle style 4, 2, 29. despoyle guile foile 6, 6, 34.
awhile toyle turnoyl 2, 12, 32. spoyle turnoyle while tole 6, 8, 23.
strady ryde annoyd guide 4, 8, 37. replyd annoyd destroyd 6, 1, 7. side annoyde destroyde pryde 6, 6, 20.
vile spoyle crewhile stile 2, 8, 12. pyle guylde spoyle toyle 2, 11, 7. wyld des poyled toyl 3, 10, 39. awhile vile exile spoile 3, 11, 39. while toyle spoyle 4, 9, 12, 5, 2, 11. guile despoyl 5, 4, 31. awhile mile toyle spoile 6, 4, 25.
spych destryd applyde 3, 8, 2.
awhile soyle 3, 3, 35. toyle awhile soyle 4, 3, 29, 4, 4, 48.
(oo) = (uu) = (u).
rose expose lose 3, 1, 46. disposed lood 4, 5, 5. loos'd enclos'd 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 blooth = bloweth 3, 7, 8. alone anone bemonde swoone = bemoan swoon 6, 6, 30.

lord ador' scor'd word 1, 1, 2. sworne retourne mourné 1, 12, 41. sword word word abhor 2, 1, 11. abored ford word lord 2, 6, 4. fouré paramoure 2, 9, 34. paramoure succoure floure poure = floor pour 2, 10, 19. attone done on 6, 6, 17. retourne forlorne 6, 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 long 2, 8, 28. strong along strong emong 2, 12, 10. sprung emong flong 3, 4, 41. hong strong 3, 11, 52.

ou, ou = (ou)? or = (uu) ?
downe swoone = sound swoone = swoon towne 1, 1, 41. bowre howre stove = boorer hour stour 1, 2, 7, 2, 3, 34. towre powre sceowe conqueroure 1, 2, 29. 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 havour 2, 2, 15. towre endure sure 2, 9, 21. wonderous hideous thus piteous 2, 11, 38. hous valorous adventurous victorious 3, 3, 54. Hisperus joyeuse hous 3, 4, 51. hous ungratious hideous 3, 4, 55. hous glorious 3, 6, 12. thus houz 3, 11, 49. thus outrageous 4, 1, 47.

ou = (oo) ?
one owne unknowne 1, 4, 28. foe flow show grow 1, 5, 9. so foe overthow weow 2, 4, 10. overthrowne knowne owne none 6, 1, 14.

(ur) = (ur) ?
foorth worth birth 2, 3, 21.

er = (ar)
harts = hearts smarts parts desarts = deserts 2, 2, 29. desart part 2, 4, 26. serve starve 2, 6, 34. serve deserve swerve 3, 7, 53 [(er) or (ar) ?] dart smart pertvar = pervert hart = heart 3, 11, 30. Britomart part heart desart 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 preferred 6, 9, 40. [In reference to this confusion of (er, ar) it may be noticed that Prof. Blackie of Edin-burgh, in his public lectures, pronounced accent ed in many words, in such a manner that it is difficult to decide whether the sound he means to utter is (er, ar, ar), the r being slightly, but certainly, trilled. A similar indistinctness may have long prevailed in earlier times, and would account for these confusions.] marinere 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 woo'd 5, 6, 15. approve move love 2, 4, 24.

(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 ensu's th'uth rith 1, 6, 12, 3, 2.

use accuse abuse spues 1, 4, 32. vewd rude, 3, 10, 48. newes use 5, 5, 51.

(s) = (z)
blis enimis = bliss enemies 4, 9, 16. prize = prize thrise = thrice cowardise em-prise 6, 3, 16.

-e, -ed syllabic.
to the long raynes at her commandement 3, 4, 53.
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. accomplisid hid 3, 3, 48. led app-areled garnished 3, 3, 59. fed for-wearied bed dread 5, 5, 50. [but -ed is constantly = (-d, -d).]
formerly grounded and fast settled 2, 12, 1. [this is remarkable for both the last syllables].
spright sight quight=quite sight 1, 1, 1, 45. diversely jollity hye=high daintily 1, 7, 32. 1, 8, 2, 2, 8, 33. unites dites=lights smites lites=lights 1, 8, 18. exercise emprize lies thies=thighs 2, 3, 35. bite night 3, 5, 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 (as)=(ai).] bayt wayt strayt=straight sleight 2, 7, 64. [see also (ai)=(ai).]

heard=(hard)=(herd)?
heard embard=embarked 1, 2, 31. regard heard 1, 12, 16. heard far'd prepar'd 2, 2, 19. heard unbard prepar =unbarred prepared 5, 4, 37. heard reward 5, 7, 24. heard hard debard 5, 9, 36.

heard beard afeard seared 1, 11, 26. heard affareed reard 2, 3, 45, 2, 12, 2. heard heard beard seared =steered 3, 8, 30. heard feard reard beard 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)=(inkwoir).
inquire sper=spear 2, 3, 12. nere =near were inquere 3, 10, 19. inquire were nere 5, 11, 48. retire inquire desire 5, 2, 52.

-ifion in two syllables.

submission compassion affliction 1, 3, 6. devotion contemplation 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-ifion, 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 subjaction direction 5, 4, 26. Gergon oppression subjaction 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-

fluous syllables. The stanza begins thus—

But Calidore, of courteous inclination Tooke Coridon and set him in his place, That he should lead the 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 assurance, 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=(litsh).

witch pitch unlich = unlike twitch 1, 5, 28. bewitch sich = such lich = like 3, 7, 29.

love.

love hove move 1, 2, 31. approve move 2, 4, 24. love behave above reprove 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; shewu)?

show low 1, 2, 21. slow show 1, 3, 26. foe floor show grow 1, 5, 9. slow low show 1, 10, 5. shewn known, own thrown 5, 4, 18. show flow know 5, 9, 13. forgoe, 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. subdewd 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 shrew 4, 1, 18. drew threw shew hew 4, 8, 6. trew embrew shew rew 5, 1, 16. vew pursew 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, 6. Gould could would hould 6, 1, 29. bold would hould 6, 5, 16.

wound, swound.

wound round sound 1, 1, 9. stowed ground wound 2, 8, 32. found swound 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.

Apparently imperfect Rhymes.

Cradle able 71, is a mere assonance. Hewne one 80, is difficult to understand, unless heven like shown, had occasionally an (oo) sound.

Abandon randon = random 89, the imperfection is here rather apparent than real, as random is the correct old form.

Proceeding reading 19, it is very possible that in precede, succeed, proceed, the e was more correctly pronounced (ee), or at least that a double pronunciation prevailed. See Spenser's rhymes, p. 368, 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, tast ceste 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 meaner 143.

AI.

Uncertain, (ai) or (ee) : prai's = preys staides tay say ay 28, afraid laide 3.

Probably imperfect, ai = (aa) : praise phrase 34, repair are 91.

Nearly certain ai = (ee), since even Gill writes conceit with (ee), though he admits (ei, cee) in they obey: they saye 3, conceite whoe 20, waite deceite 38, conceite seate 40, obey daie 45.

Quite certain ai = (ee), eas laies 33, sea survey 72, sea way 136, praise ease 10, daies ease 37, pleased praised 22, praise please waies raise 69, staine cleane 32, meane vaine 2, chaine meane 28, streams claims 32, waite greate 26, waiteth seateth 1, dislaying meaning 37, bereaves glaives 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 xvith century among polite speakers, notwithstanding Gill's denunciation.

AU, AW.

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 22, vaunting wanting 52, chaunces glances 52.

E.

Probably Sidney said (frend) and not (friend) supra p. 779, as in: frend wend 38, frend defend 47.

EA.

The confusion of ea and e short in spelling, and the rhymes of similar orthographies, confirm the general pronunciation of ea as (ee): greater better 71, greate set 21, greate seate 48, distress release 74, encrast opprest 25, rest brest neast 4, head spread 3, treads leads 1, leade thread 25, tredeth leadeth 84, seate great 100, 102, encrase prace 144, parded rehearsed 22, break weak 2.
The influence of \( r \) is felt in the following words, where \( ea \) 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: hearre teare, 55, here nere 91, deere heare appeare 20, heare appeare 6, 57, care feare appeare where 55, appeares yearese yeare spheres 39, neere cleere 34, there heare 102, beare there 55, feare bear 34, bear were 22, deere were beare cleare 55, beare ware=ware 48, care oute bare appeare ware beare feare ware 49, sphere enceare 77, heire forbearbe 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 51, desert part hart 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, yu) cannot be determined, and is perhaps not very likely at so early a period. See however the remarks on Holyband's observation in 1566, supra p. 838: true adieu 119, view pursue 46, ensue grew new view 60, pursue dew new 105, you pursue 115, you true renewe 31, renew ensue you 78, knew true rue 18, new you 96, grew imbrue 78, subdued 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 (h). The poets of the xvith century however generally neglected it in rhyming as: prayeng weighing 130, waigh alway alley stay 55, pay weigh 116, surveying weighing 148, day decay stray weigh 107, laide weighd 103, delighted cited 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, alof wrought 77.

GN.

After a vowel the g appears to have been regularly mute as: Assigned kind find minde 44, assigned enclined 11, remaineth raigned 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 33, 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 (oi) and (ii), is shewn by the following examples which are quite comparable with Spenser's, p. 869, col. 1.

High apply perpetually 9, unceasingly cry 77, eye effectually 115.

Sacrifice ly 4, magnify lie 9, fly slippery 35, misery supply 79, memorie file I orderlie 60, injuries sufficient applies lies 58, memory relye 105;—but: be chivalry 20.

Jollity eye 31, jolities tiranize 94, vertic lie 51, verity lie 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 constancy 34.

L.

It would seem that the practice of omitting \( t \) 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, o) : 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 Cod 10, God load 77, upon stone 40, folly holy 43, sory glory 42.

The following imply that \( o \) was also occasionally pronounced as (un) 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, begun undunn doun 11, become dumb 38, sune done 79, slumbered encumbered 76, punished astonished 76, dost
unjust 77, strong tongue 8, wrong long 45, long song 60, strong dunge 83.

OIL.
The rhymes here are insufficient to convey much information, yet perhaps they rather imply (oi) than (ui): annoid enjoy'd 81, destroy'd anois 10.

OO.
This is used rather uncertainly, as (uu, u) and even as rhyming to (oo): good blood 9, brood bloud 57, poore more 69, wordes boordes affordes 78, lord wordo 50. The rhyme: buddies goodes, is strongly indicative of the old pronunciation of (u) as (iu) without any taint of the xvith century (a).

OUI, OW.
The following are quite regular as (ou): wound undrowned 68, wound bound found 105, power hower = hour 22, thou bowe 99, thou now 100.

In: thou two 129, yours towres 69, the older sound of (uu) seems to have prevailed, and in: mourn turn 69, as glorious 115, such touch much 55, we have the regular short (u), belonging to the same class.

In: could gold 21, would hold 27, we have the same curious emancipation of ou from this category that was observed in Spenser, p. 872, col. 2, and is still occasionally met with, as I have heard it in use myself.

In: soule rowle = roll 26, soule extoll 103, we have apparently the regular action of (u) on a long to produce (ou), but the following rhymes shew that even if the (u) had not been developed the rhyme would have been permissible: know so 72, unknown one 10, knowers aftergoers 85, alone unknown none forgone 44, flowes inclose 105, blows foes 3, showes goes 10, bestoe goe 100, throw show goe 18, woe goe show: woe row show 107, repose growes 62, woe growe 41, own one 16—and the rhyme: owner honor 8. 37, in connection with these, shews how indifferent the long and short sounds of o were to the ear of a rhymer.

S.
In: this is 10, is his misse 11, is misse 115, blisse is 4, rased defaced 79, we have a confusion of (s) and (z), but in: presence essence 68, sacrifice cries 50, sacrifices sizes 66, the rhymes may have been pure. In: sent patient 6, we have an indication of si- untransformed into (sh).

§ 6. CHARLES BUTLER'S PHONETIC WRITING, AND LIST OF WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE, 1633-4.
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 xviith 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 (i) should be read for (i), but the whole vowel system is too uncertain to insist upon such minute distinctions.
Extract from Butler's Feminine Monarchy, p. 2-4.

And aul dhis un'-der dhe guv'-ernment of oon Mon'-ark . . . of whuum, abuv'-ul thingz, dhei maav a prin'-sipal kaar and respekt- luuv'-ing rev'-erensing and obei'-ing Her in aul thingz.—If shii goo furth tu soo'-laas nir self, (as suum'-teim shii wil) man'i of dhem attend ner, gard'-ing nir per'-son bifoor' and bineind : dhei whitsh kuum furth bifoor' her, ev'-er nou and dhem return'-ing, and luuk'-ing bak, and maak'-ing withaul an ekstra,ord'-inari nois, as if dhei spaak dhe lang'-gwaadzh of dhe Knikht Mar'-shalz men; and soo awai dhei flei tugedh'er and anon' in leik man'-er dhei attend' ner bak again . . . If bei nir vois shii bid dhem goo, dhei swaarm; if bi'-ing abrood'- shii disleik' dhe wedh'er, or leikh'-ting plaas, dhei kwik'-li riturn'- noom again' ; wheil shii tshiir'-eth dheem tu bat'-el, dhei feikht; wheil shii is wel, dhei ar tshiir'-ful about' dheir wuurk; if shii druup and dei, dhei wil nev'-er af'-ter endzhoi dheir noom, but eider lang'-gwish dheer tel dhei bii ded tuu, or riild'-ing tu dhe Rob'-berz, flei awai' with dheem . . . But if dhei maav man'i Prin'-ses (as when tuwu flei awai' with oon swaarm, or when tuwu swaarmz ar nei'-ed tugedh'er) dhei wil not bii kwei'-et til oon of dhem bii cassiir-ed; whitsh suum'-teim dhei bring doun dhat jiv'-ning tu dhe man'-tl, wheer ju mai feind ner kuv'-erd with a lit'-l neep of Biiz, udh'-erweiz dhe nekst dai dhei kar'-ri her furth eider ded or ded'-li wound'-ed. Konserning whits matter, ei wil rii rilaat' oon mem'-orabl eksperim'ent. "Tuwu swaarmz bi'-ing put tugedh'er, dhe Biiz on booth seidz as dheir man'er is, maad a mur'-muring noiz, as bi'-ing dis'-konten'-ted with dhe sud'-dain kon'gres of strain'-dzherz: but knoou'-ing wel dhat dhe moor dhe mer'-riar, dhe saa'-fer, dhe warm'-er, jue, and dhe bet'er provedeed, dhei kwik'-li maad friindz. And naaving agri'-ed whitsh Kwiin shoulde rein, and whitsh shoulde dei, thri or foor Biiz broukht oon of dheem doun bitwiin' dheem, pul'-ling and naal'-ing her as if dhei weer lead'-ing ner tu eksek'y-y-siuu whits ei bei tshaans perseec'-ving, got noould of ner bei dhe wingz, and with mutsh aduu' tuuk ner from'-dhem. After a wheil (tu sii what wuuld kuum of it) ei put ner in'tu dhe Heiv again : noo suun'-er was shii amung' dheem, but dhe tyy'-mult bigan' afresh' greet'er dhan bifoor'; and presen'tli dhei fel tugedh'er bei dhe eez, feers'-li feikht'-ing and kil'-ling oon an udh'-er, for dhe spas of moor dhan an our tugedh'er: and bei noo miinz wuuld sees, untill' dhe puur kondem'-ned Kwiin was broukht furth slaint and laid bifoor' dhe duur. Whitsh duun dhe streif presen'tli end'ed, and dhe Biiz agri'-ed wel tugedh'er.''

_INDEX OF WORDS LIKE AND UNLIKE._

"Soom woords of lik' sound hav' different writing : as soon filius, sun sol : soom of lik' writing hav' different sound : as a mous mou, mous strues pl. of mou : soom of like sound and writing differ in de accent : as precedent prcedens, precedent exemplum quia precedent: and soom of lik' sound, writing, and accent, differ yet in signification : wie den must bee discerned by the sens of de woords precedent and
subsequent: as ear auris, ear spica, to ear aro: wene, earable arabilis. Of wic 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 r, a turned t, and so on. These will occasion no difficulty. The final (') answers to mute e. It is the value of the simple vowels and digraphs and the effect of this mute (') 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 Coffer, D. Koffer, F. coffre; (yet wee writ' and sound it wit a singl' f, to distinguish it from cowfer wic is sounded coffer).

Devil, or rader devill not divel: (as soon, far feting it from diabolus would' hav' it).

Enow satis, but importing number it is bot' written and pronounced wicout de aspira: as Eeclus. 35. 1. Sacrifices enow. Enow for even nou, modo: In de pronouncing of wic 2 woords, de only difference is de accent: wic de first hat in de last, and de last in de first. For enow wee commonly say ENUF: as for lauy daugter, soon say LAUP,

dapter: for cowg all say COF: and for de Duete akter, whee agoedder bot' say and writ' after.

to Enter intrare, to enter inhumare.

Ear auris, to ear aro, ERE before prius, Erst first primi, (not yet yeest) as in Dute akter, ERST. Hence KEnGOON', BREVIT', and BERRY i. format: as of BERRY tings I WIL DENTEL: for wic is now written (I know not why) ferly.

Certain woords beginning wit es ar sooninin' spoken and written witout e: as ESCAP', ESPECIAL, ESPI; SCape, spe-
cial, SPI; TO ESPous, and TO estrange, [verbs:'] spous, and Strange [nouns:'] ESQR', ESSAY, ESTAT, ESQ',

Say, stablis, stat': so example and EXCUS'; wicout EC, SAML'S squos: and EXCANGE, WICOUT EX, CANGE.

Ey not Yew ovis faemella; as IW not YW, (vid. IW taxus) dowg de y bee vulgarly sounded in dem bo'.

Eengland ... is vulgarly written England; but always sounded Eengland; as wee now bot' sound and writ' many oder woords wit Ec, wic anciently were written wit E: as seem', seebe', seeke', &c.

In steed of our e de Nederlanders hav' v ... wic dialect is yet found in de Western partes.

Hay fenum, de de SEX. HAWEN secure, becas it is cut grass, a hey or cumni-net, of de Fr. hay (wic den sound hey; ... and wee ar as reddy, bot in sound and writing, to follow deir sound, as deir writing: wefr den writ' mouion and say mouion, wefr and say mouion; den writ' quatre and say entre, wefr and say cater: dey writ' bon and say boone, wefr and say boom; dey writ' plaide and say plea'd, wefr and say plead) [a hedg].

IW [thee] not YW, doun it bee so sounded: de Frene being If, and de Duite IIp, IREN OR EIREN: as wey say YEW, and yet writ' EY ovis faemella.

Nic' or coy curiosus, a nias hauk,

For ascertaining and comparing the different accounts of the pronunciation of the xvi th 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 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 *Logonomia*, 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*, *abhorr*, *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 Orosius, and the only means by which we are able to rise to the pronunciation of Chaucer. Thus the certainty of the pronunciation of *on*, *ow* 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 xvth 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 (rw) has been subjoined with a (?) as this is believed to have been the sound. Except in the words *spangle*, *entangle*, where the sound (aq) is especially indicated, G 10, the introduction of (aq) for *ug* in the following vocabulary is quite hypothetical, for none of the writers cited seem to have thought the distinction between (q) and (aq) 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 ë, i are (ei, i) in Smith but (ii, ë) in Gill, and ï, i are 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 y is not unfrequent, but iy, yi may be said never to occur, although he gives both as marks of the long sound, and i is most frequently used for both (ii) and (i) although i 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 i 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 obleege, obleest (oblizdh, oblizst) in Scotland and obleeacht (oblitsht) in English are still existent archaic forms, for which the greater number of English speakers say (oblizdh, obloidh). For the reason why Gill's j has been rendered (ai) rather than (ei) see p. 115, and the reason why his d, au, are each rendered by (áa) is given on p. 145, where we may add that Gill in adducing "HALL Henriculus, Hale trahere, et HALL aula," says: "exilior est a in dubius vocibus prioribus, in tertíae fere est diphthongus," (G. 3) so that he possibly hesitated between (au) and (áa). 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 c for (tsh) and he consequently continually leaves c for (k, s) where his old habits misled him. Gill employed j for (oi), and the confusion between i, j in his book is very perplexing. Extremely slight distinctions in the forms of the letters are also confusing. Thus Smith distinguishes (i, e) as e, e, 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 ee, ea, 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"=(ee) and "ii"=(ii), "ei"=(ai, ee?) "ij"=(ei, ii, iii), "o"=(o) and "u", "oa"=(oo?), "oo"=(oo?) and "uu", "ooe"=(ou), "ou"=(uu) only? "ow"=(ou), "uu"=(yy). The i most commonly did service for (i) and (j), but y was sometimes used as (j), although it most frequently stands for (th) and (dh), for which also l' 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, -bie, occasionally appear in the forms -tec, -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** corrupto; a pronunciation considered as corrupt by the author cited.
- **G** Gill, 1621.
- **H** Hart, 1569.
- **Lin** Lincolnienses, Lincolnshire Pronunciation.
- **Mops** Gill's Mopsae, and Smith's mulierculae, 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** prefatio, the preface to Gill, which is not paged.
- **prov** provincialiter; any provincial pronunciation.
- **S** Smith, 1568.
- **Sa** Salesbury, 1547 & 1567.
- **Sc** Scoti; Scotch Pronunciation.
- **Trans** Transrentani; English Pronunciation North of the river Trent.
- **?** interpretation doubtful, or apparent error, or misprint, in the original.
### Pronouncing Vocabulary of the Sixteenth Century.

| a as G pr
| abandon aban'don G 133
| abbreviation abrev'as'sion Bull
| abhor abhor' Bull, abhorred abhorred G 106
| able aa-bl Sa, S, Bull, G 65, ab'l G 32
| abide = abijd C 2
| Abington Ab'iq'tun see Trumpington G 134
| abound abound' G 89
| about abunt' Bull, about' G 23
| above abuv' Bull, abuv' G 22
| abroad abroad' G 60, abro'od ? G 133, abroad C 6
| absence absens G 66
| absent ab-sent G 84
| absolve abzolv
| accustomed ak'stomed G 84
| ache aach Bull, Hart, see headache, aches = a'kses a'kses C 8
| acknowledge akknowledzh G 32
| acquaint akreant' S, acquainted ak'sainted G 129
| acquaintance akwain'tans S
| acquit akwuit' aut akwuit' G 15, ak-wit' G 65
| acre a'ker G 70
| add ad G 85
| address addressed G 133
| adjudge addzjudzh' G 32
| admonish admon'ish G 85
| adore adoor' G 122
| adorn adorn' G 141
| adulterer adul'vrai G 85
| advance advaands' G 143
| adventure adva'en'tyer G 30
| adverb ad'verb Bull
| advise adviz' G 87, 131
| add addite addres ad'res prov. Sa
| affaire affair' G 37, afairs' G 122
| affections affek'sions G 123
| affect afekt' G 103, affects afekts' G 141
| affirm afir'm G 112
| affliction affek'sion G 125
| afford afor'd Bull
| affray afrair' G 98

**A.**

| afere afor' G 80
| afraid afrid' per prothesin pro fraid G 135
| after after G 79
| again again' G 24
| against against' frequentius, against' docti interdum G pr, against' G 29, 79
| age aadh S, G 70
| agree agrit' Bull, G 118
| ague aeggy G 92
| aid aid' G 14, 113
| air aier G 106, aier' G ? air aier C 6
| airy aeri acces' G 14, aeri fere tri-syllabum G 16
| ale aal Sa, G 37
| algate al'gat' G 109
| all anl S, a Bull, aal G 23, al G 39, aal G 25
| alley alai' G 99
| all hail all'haal' omnis salus G 64
| allure alyr' G 123
| alone aloon' G 45, 145
| aloud alud' Bull, alond' G 109
| also a's'oo Bull, aas Bor pro aal's'oo G 17
| alter = alt'ler C 5
| although ald'hokh' G 65
| altogether aal'togedher G 21
| alum al'um S
| am am G 52
| amain amaain' G 119, amain' G 110
| amate amaat' terreo G 32
| amaze amaze' G 88
| ambitious ambiv'ius G 99
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| among amoe' G 21 amooq' ? G 79, amoe' G 65
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### Pronouncing Vocabulary of XVith Cent. 897

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**Ben Jonson.**

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time time Bull, teim, Lin tuam G 17, times taimz G 21
tin tin S, G 37

tinder tinder G 39
tine tein perdere S
tiny tain'i G 35
Titan's Ta-thoonz G 106
title teitl G 20
to tu Sa, S, Bull, tu G 21, 79, 44, to G 45, to me tu mii S
too too Sa, S, Bull, tose tooz S, G 16,
Lin toaz, G 16
together tugedher G 25, togeedher G 98, together C 1, togerth C 2
toil toil, fortasse tuil S, tuuil Bull,
toil tuuil indifferenter, G 15, tuuil G 106, B
toilsome tvil'sum  G 28
token = tooken C 16
toil tuoul Sa, S, tooul illicere, too'l vexitga'll Bull
toil tun dotlum S
tongs toqz G 27
tongue tuq G 14, 103
too too S, too too tu tu nimium S
took tuuk S, took ? Bull, tuuk G 51,
took C 1
tool tuull Bull
tooth tuuth Bull, G 41, toth C 5
top top Sa, tops tops S
torn = toorn C 27
tose tooz mollire lanas S
toss tos S, tossed tosed G 99
to to to to sonus cornum S
tothing tot'erig G 20
touch touch G 114, toucheth tout'sheth  G 25
tough touh to'ntum durum S
touz touz G 58
too too S, Bull, G 39
toward toward G 28, toward  ? B
toward s toward's G 79
towel tow'el Bull
tower tower Sa, tower H
town town S
toy toil, fortasse tuil, aii to, ludicrum S, toys toiz G 15, 144
trade traad G 147
tragedies tradh edaiz G 141
traitor trairor G 149
transpose transpoz'z G 120
travail travail cor B
tread tread S, Bull, treed C 7, trodden = trodden C 5
treason treez'rn G 83
treasure treaz'yr S, treaz'yr G 77,
treasur C 6
treatise trectis Bull
trees tri'iz Sa, triiz G 22
trembled trem'bled G 23, trembling
trem'bled Bull G 119
tremials trentalz G 117
trick trik G 100
trim trim elegans S, G 68
trickets trickets instrumenta doliario-
rum quibus vinun ab uno vase ex-
hauitur in aliud G 37

triumph troi'umf G 66

Troy Troy'ian G 74

trouble trub'1 B, trou'bl G 69, 153,
B, troubled trabel'd G 25, trable'd C 2

troust trout B

trou troo Sa, troou G 27

true trysy G 39

tre true P, Sa, S, Bull, G 27, B ?

true-turn truteurn [i.e., true rendering
or translation] C 10

truly truy'il G 20

Trumpington Trumpi'g-tun adeo clarus
est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet
positione non elevetur. Hic tamen
cautel'd opus, nam si ad positionem
l. n. vel q. concurrat, media syllaba
productur G 134, [compare Abington
Sempringham, Wymondham, wilful-
ness]

true-trist Sa, trust G 21, 27, 39

true-trust'i G 27

truth truth G 39, tryyth G 22

try trei purgare Bull, tra'i G 111

tuft tuf Bull

tumultuous tymult'tyyus G 106

tun tun G 14

tune tuny S

nume tile tymnungk G 30

turf turf S

Turkey Tur'ki G 147

turnmoil tormoil, fortasse tor'muill labo-
rare S

turn turn G 24, 93, 104

tush tush dens exer tus et interjectio con-
temptus S

twain twain G 99

twelfth tuefth G 71

twelve tnel' G 71

twentie twenti'th Bull, tue'n'th G 71

twenty tue'nti' G 70, 71

twice twois G 21, 89

twine 'twin P, twein S

twinkle twigk'l Sa

twist twist S

twizzle twiz'il or fork in a bun of a
trii, Bull

two tuu Sa, S, G 13, 70, twuun Bull,
twoo C 4, two men tuu men S

tympany tim'panai G 38

U.

udder uder S

ugly ugli'oi G 118

umbles um'bla intestina cervi G 37

unable unabl' G 105

unbid unbibd G 32

unblamed = vnblaamd C 12

uncle nuck'l Sa, uck'l G 10

uncleanness = uncenees C 23

under under Bull, G 34, 79

underneath underneeth G 121

understand understand G 28, understood
understood Bull

uneasy unecke Bull, G 77

unshort unon'est Bull

universites ynuversitaseiz G 77

unknown unknooun G 20

unlucky unluki g 100

unmoved unmuyved G 99

until unt'il G 25, 107

unto un'to G 21, 24

unwitting unwii'tiq G 102, [in a quota-
tion from Spenser, answering to the
orthography ‘unweeting’]

unworthy unwur'dh'i G 83

up up G 79

upon upon' G 20

upright uproikht' G 23

us us G 7, 21, 44

use yzz uii, yys usus S, Bull, yzz ne-
iuz G pr, 1, 75, usu'd yzz'ed G 124

utterly u'terli Bull

V.

vain vain Sa, Bull

valleys valeiz G 24

valour valor' G 43

value val'yy G 89, valew C 6

vane faan, amusium enti index S

vanity van'ti G 21

vanquished van'kwiisth G 105

varlet ver-lat Bull

varnish ver'nish G 98

vault vault insillire eqvo, vaut fornicares,

Bull, vouut camera S, vaut B.

vaunt vaunt' G 89

veat veel G 39

veil vail G 9

vein vain Sa, vein Bull

velvet vel'vet Sa, G 28

vengeance ven'dzhans G 103

venger vendzh'er G 135

vent vent S

verily veriili S

verses versez G 112

very veri S, G 23

vetch vitsh G 37

vicar vik'ar S, G 17, Aust vik'ar G 17

vice vais G 113, vices vaisiess G pr

victory vik'tor'ar G 99, viktoro G 100

view vye G 114, viewed vyy'ed S

viewer vyy'er II

vigilant vig'ilant G 30

vigilancy vidzh'ilans G 129

vile veil S, voil G 105

villain vil'an G 105

villanous vil'enus G 121
vine vein Sa
vinegar vin'-ger S, vineger, Aust fin'-eger G 17
vine-prop vin-prop G 105
vineyard = vinneyard viniard C 20
vina pro vina pro G 30
virgin vir'dzin G 30
virtue vertty Sa, virtty, G pr, 73
virtuous virtuos ? G 77
viscount vis'kuunt Bull
titl vital ? G 125
vitrifiable mirum dixeris si tonum in
quinta reperiris, tamen sic loge,
vitrifiable G 129
voice vois Bull, G 24
void void S
vouchsafe voutshasaef' G 110, voutsaaft-
G 116
vowed vored S
vowel vo',el H, vuu'el Bull

W.
waded waad'ed G 80
waggon wag'onz G 146
wail wait S, G pr
wait wait S, G, 20, 25
wake waak G pr
Walden Wald'n Waldinam S
walk wailk potius quam, waak G pr,
walketh walk'eth G 23, walked
waalkt G 70
waal waal Sa, waal ? S, wal G pr, waal-
G 20, waalls waalz G 98
wallow wallou ? G pr
wan wan pallidus S, G 123
wand wand S
wander wand'er S, Bull, wandered wan-
dred G 102
wane waan immunitio luminis lunae S
want want Bull, G 87, wanting want'iq
G 84
war war S, Bull, G 100, warr war
C 10
warbling war'blig G 119
wards wardz G 117
ware waare S, Bull, G 50
warlike war'lik G 32
warm war'm Bull
warn warn'rn Bull, warns warnz G 147,
warning warn'iq G 100
wary war'ti G 149
warren warren Bull
was was S, H, was was were was
wast weer, G 56, were weer G 56,
weer, Bull, B, weer C
wash wash? Sa, wash G pr, 58, washed
wash't G 113
wasp wasp G pr
waste waast S, G 10, waast C 26,
wasted waast'ed G 66, 112

Wat Wat, lepus S, H, (for Walter,
name of the hare, as chanticlear,
Reymard are names of the cock and
for.)
watch waitsh Sa, watched watsh't G 113
water waa'ter, H, Bull, water G 10,
83, wat'eter S 81, watereth waa'ter-
eth' G 24, waters waa'ters G 23, 24
118
Waterdown Waaterdoun G 124
waves waavz G 117

come who, Sa

come waaks S, waks G 23

come wai, rustici waa'i, Mops wee, Sc et
Transr waa, S, wai non uq G pr
15, waa G 21
wee wii P, Sa, we ourselves wii uurselv-
Bull, wii non wii G pr, 44
weak week S, G
wealth welth Bull, G 39
waaan ween ablatant S
wear wear G 50, 98, waar=waar C 3,
sworn worn G 50
weaving weerring not warling B
weary weer'j G 84, 100, B, wir'i oor B
waasal, wis'l B
weather = weyer C 16
wed wed S
weel wisd S, Bull
weel wiik S
weel wiii naass G 11
ween wiin opinari S, G pr
weetpot wiit-pot farcimen Oec, G 18
weesway wii'swai franum Oec, G 18
weighs waiz G 93
weight waiikt G 9, 131, weights =
waits [the sign Libra] C 20
weir we're Sa
welcome wel'kum G 33
well well bene S, H, G pr, 10
we'll will Bor pro wii wld G 17
wen wen S
wend wend G 65
wenda wents Bull
went went G 65, red, rood Lin, G 16
were [see + was']
weree weree werem G 124
wet wet S, G 13
wevil wiiv'il B
wheal nuual uhaal (=whaal ?) S
what haat uhat S, what G pr, 11, 44
wheal nuuel unuel (=wheel ?) pustulaS
wheat wheat triticiun S, hueet (=
wheel) H, wheet G 37
wheaten wheet'n Bull
wheel whuill, unhiil (=whiill) S, whiil
G 11
where hueer (=wheer) H, B, wheer
G 24, B, wheer C 2
wherry wherei' B
wet whe't G 13, S
whether wheedver G 11, 45
which whish Bull G 14, 44
while uelue ueil (=whel) S, whail
G 112, whilees uels (uieiz ð) or
wheels S, rieiz H
whelere wailancer G 105
whilom whail-um G 113
whirl whel'1, Bull
whirlpool wher'1-pul, Bull
whirlwind whirl-wind G 149
whistled whist'ld G 146
white whib Bull, whait G 74
whittle wheeder, Bull, B
whittle whist'1 with a kniif Bull
who whu Buull G 44, whom huum
(huoom ð), uxum (=whoom ð) S,
whoom G 105, whuum G 44, whooom
C 3, whose whuu G 44, wuu ð ? G
141.
whoever whumever G 135
whole wheol Bull, G 23, hoole C 4
wholesome hoolsum G
whoop whupa Bull
where huur, So hydr S
whoredom =whooredoome C 19
whose whursoever C 33
why huul (ruel ð), hum (=whel ð) S
whoi G 99 whi C 26
wick =week C 12
wicked wik'ed G 23
wide weald S, waid S 70
wield willed G 110
widow wiouu ð G pr
wife wiff, wiive wiivz, Bull
wight wift G 105
wild waid G 24
wile weil G
willfulness wii-lfulness, see Trumpington
G 134
will wili S, H, wii G pr, Lin -1 st
ei-1, diou-1, ni-1, wi-1, jou-1 dhei-1,
G 17, wili wilt G 54
William William G 77
Wimbledon Wim-bldum G 134%
win win Sa, S, Bull, G 7
winch winsh Bull
wind wiind ventus Bull, wind ventus
G 10, 23, winds =vindas C 7
winder wiinder Bul
windlas wiind-lass Bull
window wiindo-or Bull, wind-oou G 81
windy wiindy' Bull
wine wein Sa, S, Bull, woin G pr, 7, 38
winge weinde, see supra p. 763, n. 2, Sa
wings wiang G 23
wiking wiik'ing Sa
wipe wip Bull, wipp G 124
wine weis Sa, weiz H, witz Bull, woiz
G 106, weis C 6
wisdom wiiz'dum Bull, wiz'dum G 25
wisdom G 11

wish wish Sa 10, S, wish Sa, G 48
wished wisht ? G 48
wist wist seksam G 64
wit scio G 64
witcho whish Bull, G 14
wite v. wait vituper, feri evanuit G 64
[the pronunciation assigned was there-
fore probably conjectural]
with with Sa, Bull, with frequensis,
with docti interdum, G pr; with G
20 et passim
withdraw withdraw G 128, withdrew
withdrawn G 91
Witham Wth'am G 70
withhold withhouold G 33, 104
within within G 79, B
without without G 33, 79
withstand withstand G 128
withly wii'dly salic Bull
witness witnes G 42
wizard =wisard wiiszards C 2, 3
wood wod g glastum S
woe wo S, G 81, 142
woeful wuful G 102
wolf wulf S, B
womb womb S, wuum B
woman wum'an G 41, wuerman B,
women wimen G 41, wimen G 77
woon wun S
wonder underr (=werder) Sa, wunder
G 88, B, wonders, wun'derz G 22
wondrous wun'drus G 122
wont wunt G 111, 142, B
woo uu (=wuu?) Sa, wood noed (= wuood ð) à proiis ambita S
wood wud S, G 10, 22, woods wudz G
142
woof wuuf B
wool u-ul (=wul ð) lana S, wul G
39
Worcestershire Wus-tershii G 70, 8
word wurd Bull, G 10, word G 114,
wuord wurd B
wore v. woor G 50
work wurk Bull, G 21, works wurks
G 24
workman wurk-man G 28, warkmen =
woorkmen C 20
world wold Bull, world G 10, 23, 110
B
worm wuwr'm Bull, wurm G pr, B
worse wurs G 34
worship wurship Sa, G 22
worst wurst G 34
worth wurt Bull, G 110
worthly wurthly G 83
wost wust wels B
woot v. wot Sa, G 64
would wuuld S, Bull, B
would'et wuuldst G 54
wound wound vulnus S, wuund, Bor waand [perhaps here to be read (wuand)] G 16, wounds wuund-es in
Spenser G 137
woox woks G 123
wooxen woks-en crevisse S
wrangler wraq’lor (recq’lor) Bull
worst wrath (twath) G 99
worthful wrathful (reath-ful) G 103
wreak week (week) Sa
wrest wrest (reest) Sa
wrestle wrest’l (reest’l) Bull
wretch wretch (wretsh) Bull, G 146, 
wrretched wretched (wretch’ed) G 117
wrinkle wrig’l (wriq’l) Sa
write wrat (recoat), writ (twit) scribe-
ban, wroot (rooott) imperfectum com-
une, wraat (recoat) Bor, ai naav
wit’n (wit’n) scripto G 49, written
writ’n (wit’n) Bull suprad p. 114,
writing C 2
wrong wroq (recoq) G 95, wronged wraqd
(reacoq) Bor G 122
wroth wroth (rooth) Bull, wrooth
(roooth) G 123
wrought wrooh’t, (reouh’t ?) wrootht
(reouhout) Bull, wroonuit wrootht
(reouount reouhht) Bull, wrouoouht
(reououch G 48
Wymondham Wim’und’am media syl-
laba productur [see Trumpton] G 134

Y.
yard yard Sa, jard virga aut area, S, 
seerd G 70
yard behind jark behind: posterioribus
pedibus ineunte, et proprië equorum S
yarn jaar’n Bull, jarn G 10
yarrow jar’ou millifolium S
yate aat quod nunc ‘gate’ gaat dicimus 
et scribimus S

yawen jawn ? Sa
Yazley Jaks’lei nomen proprium S
ye iij Bull, G 20, 44, iij G 141
yea see Sa 35
year siur Sa, Bull, B, jeer G 70
yest yisst (meant for rest ?) cervisia
spuma quod aliis barm vacant S
yeld seld ? Sa
yell sel Sa
yellow sel’ou Sa, S
yoman sem’an ? S, ju’man Bull
yes sis aliis sonant jes S, jis G 10
yesterday yesterda S, siderda G 77
yet jil, aliis sonant set S G 102
yew yy taxus arbor S
yield jiid ? Sa, iild S, Bull, G 22, 86,
ield concessis S, yielded iild-ed G 110,
ijd’ed G 117, ielded C 13
yode sod G 106, see Wente
yoke sook G 10, 43, sook C 11
yolk sook jugum S, jel saltellum G 10
yonder jonder jender’ S, jonder H
York Jork Sa
you jou vos S, juu H, Bull, jou juu
observa jou sic scribi solere, et ab
aliquibus pronunciari at a plerisque
juu, tamen quia hoc nondum ubique
obtinuit palaisper in medio retinuetur
G 46, juu non in G, pr, juu G 45,
jou G 44, jou Mops ja 18, yow C
6, iou you C 10
young juq, Sa, S, Bull, B, G 24, 112
your uur, Bull, uur G 21, 95, yours
juurz G 45, yourz C 6
yunker sunker adolescens generosior S
youth youth ? Sa, ruth Bull, syyth G
13, 46, ruth B, youths sythys G 40
zeal zeel G 13, 105
zed zed litera z, S
zodiak zodiak ? G 29
Zouch Zouth G 42

Extracts from Richard Mulcaster's Elementarie, 1682.

Gill says in the preface to his Logonemia, "Occurrere quidem
huic vitio [ceacographiæ] viri boni et literati, sed irrito conatu ;
ex equestri ordine Thomas Smithius ; cui volumen bene magnum op-
posuit Rich. Mulcasterus : qui post magnam temporis et bone chartæ
perditionem, omnia Consuetudini tanquam tyranno permittenda
censet." 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 xvi th 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 chelefie 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 Vowels Generally.
The vowels generallie sound either long as, comparîng, revenged, enditing, enclosure, presuming: or short as, ran-saking, revelling, penitent, omnipotent, fortunat: [here the example revenged, 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 mute, mete, ripe, hope, duke, or flat as: mat, met, rip, hop, duk. [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 ō. In his "general table" of spelling, these accents seem frequently used to differentiate 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 onele to be set vpon the last syllab, where the sharp bath manie causes to present it self: the flat onlie vpon som rare difference, as refuse, refuse, present, present, record, record, differ; differ, servèr, servère." 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 daileie custom, which is both our best, and our commonest glide 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 number 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 (uir, fir, dir) even in his day, this may be too hasty a conclusion].—124.
A.

A. Besides this generall 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 pretie 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, broche, with the qualifying e, for without the e, t, goeth before ch. as patch, snatch, catch, smatch, watch. The strong ch. is mere foren, and therefore endeth no word with vs, but is turned into k, as stomak, monark.

[This context makes a long and ch = (tsh) in ache = (aasth). Yet in his general table p. 170, he spells both ache and ake. See the illustrations of ache in Shakspere, infrâ § 8.—127.]

AI, EI.

Ai, is the mans dipthong, and soundeth full: ei, the womans, and soundeth finish [= rather fine] in the same both sense, and vse; a woman is deintie, and feinteth soon, the man feinteth not because he is nothing deintie. [Whether any really phonetic difference was meant, and if so of what kind, is problematical. Smith had said the same thing, suprâ p. 120, but with Smith the word dipthong had a phonetic meaning, with Mulcaster it was simply a digraph, and he may have at most alluded to such differences as (œœ, eœ) or (œe, ee). Compare the following paragraph.]—119.

No English word endeth in a, but in aie, as deicaie, assoie, 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. What follows.]—125.

Gaie, graie, traie. And maid, said, quaint, English for coif, quaint, sail, raie, mail, onelasse it were better to write these with the qualifying, e, quale, faie, raie, male. [If any phonetic consistency were predictable of an orthographical reformer.—which, however, we are not justified in assuming,—this ought to in-
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 qualifieth som letter going before, or it is mere silent, and yet in neither kinde encreseth it the number of syllabes. I call that E, qualifying, whose absence or presence, somtime altereth the vowel, somtime the consonant going next before it. It altereth the sound [length] of all the vowels, even quite thorough one or mo consonants, as mäde, stëme, éche, kinde, stripe, óre, cüre, tóste sound sharp with the qualifying E in their end: wheras, mäd, stëm, éch, frind, strip, or eur, tost, contract of tossed, sound flat without the same E. [Now as we know that steam, each, were (steem, eech), it follows that é 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 cüre, cüir, certainly, and in stripe, strip, according to the current pronunciation; but there was or was not in sé, stëme, compared with stëm, and hence we have no reason to infer that there was any in mädé, mäd, óre, ór. 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 mädé, stëme. stripe. óre. cüre. which else would sound, mäd. stëm. strip. ór. cüir.” It is tolerably clear that by using “produce” in place of Mulcaster's “alter the sound,” he intended to avoid the difficulty of considering stëme = steam as (stim), unless, indeed, he meant it to be a contraction for estaem. He omits the example each for a similar reason.—111.

Pert, desert, the most of these sorts be bissyllabs or aboue: besides that, a, dealeth verie much before the r, [meaning probably that er was often sounded (ar)]. By deverue, preservé, 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 (konzerv)] —132.

I.

I, in the same proportion [suprà p. 911] soundeth now sharp, as gine, thrive, alive, veinse, title, bible, now quik, as gine, fine, sive, title, bible, which sounds ar to be distinguished by accent, if acquaintance will not seem in much reading. [As Ben Jonson uses the same words and notation, and we know that he must have distinguished his i, i, as (oi, i) there is no reason for supposing that Mulcaster's i was anything but (ei) or (ei). But at the same time there is nothing to militate against the contemporary Bullokar's (ii). And Mulcaster's pronunciation of ou as (uu), infra p. 914, which is about the only certain result that can be elicited from his book, renders the (ii) probable.—115. But it besides the time and tune thereof noted before, hath a form somtime vowelish, somtime consonantisht. 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 gentlie, 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, ery, defy. [This at any rate goes against Gill's use of final (oi), supra p. 281, which, however, he only attributes to “numerus poeticius,” Log. p. 130, in his Chap. 25, quoted at length, infra § 8.]—113.

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 e, must follow, as, repine, envise, minde, kinde, fiste [foist?]. If it be flat and quik, the qualifying e, must not follow, as, examin, behind, mist, fist. [Observe (beuind') with a short vowel, and hence certainly not (beuind').]—114.

The quik i, and the gentle passant e, ar so near of kin, as theie enterchange places with pardon, as in desired, or deserving, findeth, or findeth, 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, advertis, 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 natural, as in终生, dösen, mother, which o, is still naturalie short, and, hösen, frösen, mother, which o, is naturalie long. In the diphthong it soundeth more vpon the, u, then vpon the, o, as in found, sound, cow, sow, bow, how, now, and bow, sow, wrought, ought, mow, trough. 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 unknown reformation, in such an argument, where acquaintance makes justice, and vse doth no man more 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 agō, tō, sō, nā. saue in to the preposition, 1vō the numeral, do the verb: his compounds as, endō, his deriatives as doing. In the midle syllabs, for tune, it is sharp, as here, or flat if a consonant end the syllab after. For time the polysyllab will bewraie it self in our dailie pronouncing: considering the children and learners be ignorant, yet he is a very simple teacher, that knoweth not the tuning of our ordinarie words, yea theie be enfranchised, as ignorant, impudent, impotent. O vrieth the sound in the same proportion, naie oftimes in the same letters, as dōwe, glōwe, dōne, shōwe, remōwe, and lōwe, grōwe, shriwe, nōwe. This duble sound of o, in the vowel is Latinish, where o, and u, be great cosens, as in voltus, colō. And cultus, cultis, oculos: in the diphthong it is Grecish, for their sound their ow, still vpon the u, tho it be contract of oo, or o & [there is some misprint in these oo, o & which is imitated here], wherein as their president [precedent] is our warrant against ob- jection 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. 916, to the suspicion of sounding along as (ii).]—115.

O, in the end is said to sound lound, as go, shro [shrow?], fro, saving to, dō, twe, etc. . . . O before, I, sounding like a diphong causeth the ü, be doubled, as troll. And if a consonant follow, I, o, commonlie hath the same force, tho the ü, be but single, told, cold, bold, colü, dot, loo, rolü, holü, scold, disollue. [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 omnipotent, commend, 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 deriatives, and compounds as veclem, trublesom, newcom, cumbersom, kingdom. With e, after the m, as home, mone, romé [roam?], and yet whom, from, have no e, by prerogative of vse, tho theie haue it in sound and seming [that is are called (room room), 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, [(furm)?] 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 ou? Bycause of the sound which these diphthongs have 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. Bōw, knōw, sōwe, and Bōwe, sōwe, cow, mōw. [That is (bun, su, kuu, muu), but there seem to be some misprints in what follows, compare the wrought, ought, mōw, troug, given above.] Outeh, crouthe, stouthe. Lowde, lowdle. Hoof, alouf. Gouge, bouge. Cough, ought, ooght, of ow, with, w, from the primitie. Bought, nought, cought, wornught, soight, again, Bought, mought, dought. Plough, rough, slough,
enough. Houl, cout, skoul. Why not as well as with oo? Room, brown, loun. Noun, crown, clown, down. Own, grown, upon the deriavat. Stoup, loup, droup, coup. Sound, ground, found. Our commonlie abrecationlike as our, the termination for enfranchisments, as autour, procuratour, as, er is for our, as exter, writer: Bourn, lour, flour, four, alone upon the, 6. Mourn, ad- iourn. House, louwe, mouwe, the verbes and deriavaties 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 vning of the chefe letters in the two syllabs, o, and u, osus. Clout, lout, dout. [These instances are strongly confirmatieve of the close on having been (uu) to Mulcaster, and his only knowing the open ou or (ou)].—136.

OI.

Thirdlie, oi, the diphthong sounding vpon the o, for difference sake, from the other, which soundeth vpon the u, would be written with a y, as toy, annoy, toy, boy, whereas anoint, appoint, fail, 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 toynt, toyin, which theie shall soon pererce, when theie mark the spee of their pen: likewise if oi with i, sound upon the o, it maie be noted for difference from the other sound, with the streight accent, as boic, 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, triu, vertu. But to avoid the

nakednesse of the small u, in the end we vse to write those terminations with ew the diphthong, as new, true, verties. [Whether this implies that u was called (iu), or that eve was called (yy) occasionally, as in Smith and Palgrave, it is hard to say.]—116.

-URE.

I call that a bissyllab, wherein there be two seuerall sounding vowells, as Asur, rasure, measur, and why not lasure? [Are these words azure, rasure, measure, leisure? If so the orthography, or the confusion of a, ea, ei, into one sound, is very remarkable. Further on he writes: ] Natur, statur, Measure, treasurer. [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, -sar), and not Gill's (-tyrr, -syr). Probably both were in use at that time.]—137. This shortnesse or length of time in the deriavaties 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, perfit, measure, treasurer, with an, e, in the end knowing their deriavaties to be short, naturall, perfittee, measured, treasurer? . . . . And again, futur, profit, comfort, must haue no, e, bycaus futurate, protit, comforter, haue the last same 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 (-ter) or (-tor) prevailed at least as early as 1643. See also the remarks in Mr. White's Elizabethan Pronunciation, infra. The examples futur, fortinate, point to the early origin of the modern vulgarism (faat'n, faat'nte).]—160.

REMARKS FROM AN ANONYMOUS BLACK-LETTER BOOK, PROBABLY OF THE XVTH 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 short and long as having characteristically different sounds, probably ('ei) or (ai):—
GRAMMAR QUESTIONS, XVI TH CENT. Chap. VIII. § 7.

"ea for e full great
ee or ie for i smal greete
ui for i broade guyde."

The following curious passage shews 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 xvi th 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 xvi th 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 things doe yee observe in reading:

R. These two things. 1. { Clean sounding.
   2. (Dewe pawsing.

Q. Wherein standeth clean sounding:

R. In giving to every letter his just and full sounde. In breaking or diuiding every word duely into his seuerall syllables, so that every syllable may bee hearde by himselfe and none drownd, nor slubbered by ill favouredly. In the right pronouncing of ti, which of vs is commonly sounded ei when any vowel dooth follow next after him or els not. And finally in avoiding all such vices as are of many foolishly vsed by euill custome.

Q. What vices be those:

R. Lotacismus. sounding i too breade.
   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. va for f. vat for fat. z for s as muza for musa. sh for ci. as fasho for facio dosham for doceam felishum for felicium and such like.

Q. Wherein standeth due pawsing?

R. In right obseruation of the markes and prickes before mentioned."

Here the Lotacismus may be considered to reprobate the pronunciation of Latin i as (ei). The Labdacismus 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 (feedær) for (faadær), 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 (æe), 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, suprâ p. 794, note 1. It is observable that the use of (z) for (s), in musa, is reprobated, 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 suprâ, 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.1 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 (suprâ 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 (suprâ p. 910), and Edward Coote's Schoole-Master, 1624 (suprâ 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, "Æsops Fables in true Orthography, 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.¹ 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

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 Mac-
milan’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 com-
ence in the Globe edition.**

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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 Shaks-
spere, where the reference is to act and scene only, will readily ac-
knowledge 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

gilt guilt 2 H4 4, 5, 31 (432', 129).

shews that the pun, 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 either word.

The Sonnets are referred to by the number of the sonnet and verse, with the page or column in the Globe edition, so that

prove love S 117, 13 (1045')

shews that the rhyme 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.

Shakspere's Puns.

The word pun is modern and is not used in Shakspere. The following terms have been noted:

Quips TG 4, 2, 1 (35', 12), MW 1, 3, 27 (45, 48). AY 5, 4, 23 (227', 79). H4 1, 2, 11 (383', 51).

Snatches MM 4, 2, 3 (83, 6).

Double meaning MA 2, 3, 81 (120, 267).

Equivocation H 5, 1, 51 (841, 149).
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', 28). AY 3, 2, 9 (215', 9). In the last instance *damned* = *dammed* or wedged. The more solemn instance in MV, discontournances the *damned* usually preferred by actresses in M 5, 1, 15 (806’, 39). Gill’s * kondemn* is probably an oversight.
sink cinque MA 2, 1, 22 (115, 82). This also is in favour of the pronunciation of French in, suprà p. 827.
holiday holyday KJ 3, 1, 10 (340’, 82). This reminds us of Salesbury’s con-
fusion of holy, holly, supra p. 99, n. 3.
glit guilt 2 H4 4, 5, 31 (432’, 129). H5 2, prol. (443, 26). This agrees with the preceding vocabulary p. 892, and shews the *w* was not pronounced in guilt.

Ladies laces 2 H4 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 H4 4, 7, 11 (519’, 32). This cannot be relied on for indicating the habitual omission of *t* in the first word; the joke is one of Jack Cade’s.

The following shew the indistinctness with which unaccented final -al, -el, -il, or -ar, -er, -our were already pronounced.

sallet salad 2 H4 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’, 50) 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), H4 2, 4, 123 (338, 356). This makes *o* short in *choler*.

manner manor LL 1, 1, 56 (137, 208).

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1 "Pun play upon words: the expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained: Serenus would explain it by the Icelandic *funaegr* 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*;’ Ed. Mueller, *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Englischen Sprache*. Wedgwood adopts Nares’s explanation. What is the age of the word? That it was not used in Shakspere, 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.

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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).
lover lubber TG 2, 5, 26 (29, 48).
Cesar, 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, infrà, under TH.
beside, by the side MA 5, 1, 46 (130, 128).
tittle title LL 3, 1, 25 (144, 86). This is a mere alliteration, like the preceding rags robes.
insinuate insensitive LL 5, 1, 5 (160, 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 (suprà 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 4 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 (suprà p. 208). There is also a vague similarity of sound in body, beauty (bod-i beut-ti), but no real pun as Mr. Grant White supposes, see his Elizabethan Pronunciation, infrà, under EAU.

purse person 2 H 4 2, 1, 34 (415', 127).
See next.

care, cure, corrosive H 6 3, 3, 3 (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.**

_hane 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 (keer-ret).
korun whose MW 4, 1, 37 (59, 63).
Countenancing the sound (hoor) 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 (Dzhon’t) in preference to (Dzhon’t) as now, for genitive might have been heard or spoken with (i). See rhymes of (g, i) below.

ad daunghill, ad unguem LL 6, 1, 31 (150', 81). As we cannot suppose
SHAKSPERE'S PUNS.

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unguem to have had any vowel but (u, u), 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 pronunciation (luus) for this uncommon word, to which the French was assimilated, 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', 12).
moy moi Hs 4, 4, 7 (459', 14).
bras brass Hs 4, 4, 9 (459', 18). Probably indicating the continued pronunciation of final s.
pardonnez moi a ton of moys Hs 4, 4, 11 (459', 23). That is, Pistol echoes that, man for I'll have him, as he says the following: "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.

gravity gravel 2 Hs 1, 2, 55 (413, 183).
"Chief Justice. There is not a white hair on your head, but should have his effect of gravity. —Falstaff. His effect of gravity, gravel, gravel." The mocking joke is entirely lost in the modern (grav'iti, grew'vi). The old pronunciation must have had the same vowel in each case, (grav'iti, graa'vi). This instance and the last therefore determine that Shakspere'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. Dem. No die, but an ace, for him; for he is but one." A double pun on ace = ass, and ace = one. "Lys. 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

pardonnez moi as (a ton o moi), compare Hart's (pardonan) for pardonne, supra p. 802, l. 6 from bottom of text.
fer firk ferret Hs 4, 4, 15 (459', 29).
guacelle puzzle Hs 1, 4, 17 (474', 107). This is not meant to be an identity, but merely an allusion, as in the following: "Dolphin and dogfish: "Puzel or Pussel, Dolphin or Dog-fish. Your hearts Ile stame out with my Horses heele." Hence it does not countenance the supposition that the sound of French u was impossible to an Englishman. Guacelle is spelled Puzel throughout in the fo. 1623.
foot, gown, Hs 3, 4, 32 (451, 54). Katherine's unfortunate mistakes as to these words at least show the French ou was = English oo (uu), 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 unintelligible 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.

bass base TG 1, 2, 61 (23', 96). TS 3, 1, 17 (240', 46). R3 3, 3, 23 (372, 180). Both must have been (baas) as both are now (bees).

Marly! marry R3 1, 3, 33 (561, 98). RJ 1, 3, 16 (716, 62). The first was the exclamation, Marly! addressed to the Virgin, which therefore could not have been called (Meerar) as now; marrying marring 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 (maarrig) 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'l, aul) with Bullokar, or (a'al, aal) with Gill, and hence confirms nothing.

A, AI.
bairns barns MA 3, 4, 21 (124, 49).
"Then, if your husband have stables enough, you'll see he shall lack no barns!" Bairns is only a modern orthography. In AW 1, 3, 10 (267, 28) the first folio reads barnes, the second barns, probably only a transposition of the e, and the two last barns. This therefore gives no information respecting ai.
play on words does not require an identity of sound, and is quite well enough preserved in the modern (feet, fixt).

prey pray II\(^1\) 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, 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 stain (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\(^1\) 1, 2, 17 (383', 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 (xeer), the pun is justified, see supra p. 80, note.

reason raisin H\(^2\) 2, 4, 94 (392', 264).

It is probable that raisin as a modern French word was pronounced (rez'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 heier. 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.

Conceal'd 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 biast). Long (ce) and short (e) frequently rhyme.

veal, wcl Dutch LL 5, 2, 121 (154, 247). "Veal, quoth the Dutchman. Is not veal a call?" The identity of both words, as heard by the writer, is evident. They were probably really (veel, beel).

ne'er near R 5, 1, 14 (377, 88). The first is still generally (neel), though some change both into (nix).
dear deer MW 5, 5, 29 (65', 123). LL 4, 1, 43 (144', 116). See suprà p. 81, l. 15.

heart hart AY 3, 2, 73 (217, 260).
JC 3, 1, 68 (776, 207).
at 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 suprà p. 450, n. 1.
lief live v JC 1, 1, 36 (756, 95).
elept elipt LL 6, 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 xivth, (suprà p. 271), and we shall find many similar rhymes in Shakspere. In spirit, syrop, stirrup we have still the common change of (i) into (e), but we cannot suppose that either of these changes was acknowledged.

OA, O, OO.

post post'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) explains 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?
sore soar RJ 1, 4, 7 (716', 20).

Moor more MV 3, 5, 12 (196', 44).

Moor may have been indifferently (mooer, muur), as at present indifferent (mooer, muur).

Pole pool 2H 4, 1, 25 (515', 70). The name Pole is still generally called (Puell). The name Geoffrey Poole, 1562, 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 Yorkshire, both being called (wod).

Rome roam H 3, 1, 11 (480, 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 shows that the old Chaucerian (oo) of (Roo-me) was still known, though the final (e) was still known. See next entry.

Rome room KJ 3, 1, 27 (341', 180). JC 1, 2, 38 (766, 156). Both these alusions are in passionate stately verse. They are generally assumed to determine the sound of Rome as (Ruum). See suprà p. 98, last line, p. 101, line 1, p. 102, line 23. Dyce (ib.) quotes the same pun from Hawkins 1626, and from the tragedy of Nero 1607, and the rhyme tomb, Rome from Sylvester 1641. To these we may add Shakspere's own rhymes: Rome doom RL 715 (1021). Rome groom RL 1644 (1029). Bullok also writes (Rum'm). It is however certain that both pronunciations have been in use since the middle of the xivth century. (Ruum) may still be heard, but it is antiquated; in Shakspere's time it was a fineness and an innovation, and it is therefore surprising that Bullok adopted it.

sole soul TG 2, 3, 1 (26', 19). MV 4, 1, 29 (198, 123). RJ 1, 4, 5 (716', 15). JC 1, 1, 6 (764, 16). Possibly both were called (soou), see suprà p. 755, and note 3. In his list of errata Gill corrects his ol (ool) to ònl = (ool) in the word gold "Igde quotes occurrit, cum similibus itsul, hòul, &c." It will be seen, however, that (oo) often rhymes with (oou) in Shakspere.

so sew TG 3, 1, 88 (33, 307). "Speed. Item: She can sew. —Laurence. 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).

2H 2, 1, 27 (415, 78).

sun son KJ 2, 1, 100 (339, 499).

3H 2, 1, 5 (532, 40). R 3 1, 3, 82 (653, 226).

done dun RJ 1, 4, 12 (717, 39).

cosen cousin MW 4, 5, 35 (63, 79).

H 1, 3, 39 (387, 254). R 3 4, 4, 61 (583, 222).

full fool LL 5, 2, 180 (155, 380). TC 5, 1, 6 (647, 10).

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 H 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), and see Mr. White's Elizabethan pronunciation, infra, under U.

too two R 3 4, 4, 109 (584, 363). too to MA 1, 1, 21 (111, 53).

I, U.


nod-ay noddy TG 1, 1, 47 (22, 119).


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 pronoun you, and perhaps the sheep eve, 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. 225, note, col. 2, l. 14. The pun is quite reconcilable with our modern pronunciation of u, you, eve, 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, we, ewe, iewe, 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
doubtful the exact pronunciation of ai, making it probably the same as (ee) in three words, generally different from (ee), and occasionally approximating to (aa). It confirms the use of ea, oa, and of oI as (ool). In the case of mud, it implies the general pronunciation of short u as (u). It confirms the identity of sound in I, eye, aye. It shews that long i and the pronoun I were identical, and that long u and the pronoun you were either identical or closely related. It is evident that without the external help we should have been little advanced.

**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 disyllabic 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 scansion 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

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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 H 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, and lines with
two superfluous syllables, are well established, by the following
collections. Defective first measures have still to be traced. The

1 The line: Ay, and we are betrothed; may 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. 613; where nu-
merous 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.
Mar. 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, 6
(516', 4).

2 Then the whining schoolboy with
his satchel IY 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.

s′ = he in serious verse KJ 1, 1, 22 (333, 68) Abb. 402.
alderliest H ³ 1, 1, 3, (496' 28).
atonement = reconciliation R ³ 1, 3, 20 (560', 36).

chirrah = sirrah LL 5, 1, 10 (150', 35)
See infrà, Mr. White’s Elizabethan Pronunciation under CH.

Tisicke the debuty H ² 2, 4, 28 (419, 92). Put in the mouth of the Hostess this indicates a mere vulgarity, but Jones recognizes this pronunciation of deputy in 1700, and also Cubid. Tisicke (tiz′k) for phthisic is still the rule.

fet = fetched H ³ 3, 1, 1 (448'. 18).

handkercher AY 4, 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 (853', 237), Abb. 228.

Mytile-ne P 5, 3, 1 (998', 10). Generally -lène makes one syllable.

pet = pet TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 78).

Poules. We might as well push against Poule′s, as stir′em H ³ 5, 4, 4 (620, 16). See suprä p. 707, note on v. 509, the pronunciation is recognized by Butler 1630, Hodges 1643, English Schole 1687, Miege 1688, Jones 1700.

raught = reached H ³ 4, 6, 4 (460', 21).

rening PP [18], 7 (1055', 251), compare reneges AC 1, 1, 1 (911, 8), evidently a misprint for reneges, 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, KL 2, 2, 32 (857, 69). Here Johnson conjectures C for zed. The name zed and not izzard is noteworthy.

BT = T.

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.

Corruptions.

rumbling = 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 rhythmical feelings.

¹ Abb. 452, assumes the ordinary theory, and in 453a, declares that the
SHAKSPERIAN ACCENT.

convert (s) into (sh) before a mute even when not initial that we find in vulgar German, (isht) for (ist), and Neapolitan (ashtar') for (asp-ətə).

Wheeson week = Whitson 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. shools, 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, 3, 3, 39 (379', 119).

Have I not heard these islanders shout out "Vi-lei le roi!" as I have bank'd their towns KJ 5, 2, 5 (352', 104).

Rust, sword! cool, blusses! 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 whal-e's bone LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 332). Folios, except first, read whal-e-his. Of Mars'-s fiery steed. To other

archbishop H 8, 4, 1, 11 (612', 24).
advérit's d' H 8, 4, 5, 1 (547, 9), 5, 3, 4 (552, 18), TC 2, 2, 101 (632, 211). See supra p. 913, end of 1.
aspect H 3, 1, 1 (448', 9), R 2, 1, 64 (559', 155).
characters R 3, 1, 26 (571, 81), chara-c-ter v. H 1, 3, 8 (815', 59), chara-c-ter'd 2 He 3, 1, 54 (610, 300), chara-c-ter'y J 2, 1, 72 (772, 308).
com-merce TC 1, 3, 0 (627, 105), 3, 3, 35 (639', 205).
compara s. TC 3, 2, 49 (637', 182).
complete R 3, 4, 46 (583, 189), TC 3, 3, 31 (639', 181).
confessor R 2, 6, 4 (725, 21), Edward Conféssor H 8, 4, 1, 34 (613, 88).
conjur'd = modern conjuré RC 2, 1, 7 (719', 26), conjur=modern conjure M 4, 1, 15 (801', 50).
consigned TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).
contrary verb RC 1, 5, 24 (718', 87).
contract s. AW 2, 3, 65 (263, 185), H 8, 3, 1, 41 (481, 149).
cornèr 3H 4, 5, 3 (547', 6).
démonstrate Tim 1, 1, 38 (742, 91), Oth 1, 1, 8 (879', 61).
détestable KJ 3, 4, 8 (344, 29), RJ 4, 5, 19 (755', 50), Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 33).

distinct TC 4, 4, 14 (643, 47).
dividable TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 105).
empirics AW 2, 1, 7 (260, 125).
dissolvus H 1, 2, 11 (441', 121).
forlorn TA 2, 3, 30 (695', 153).
horizon 3H 4, 7, 31 (549', 81).
implorators H 1, 3, 24 (816', 129).
indulgence TC 2, 2, 99 (632, 178).
instinct R 2, 3, 20 (569', 42), 0 2, 3, 3 (683', 35).
madam TA 1, 1, 13 (689', 121).
mankind Tim 4, 1, 1 (754', 40).
mervaulous H 2, 1, 17 (443', 50).
obscurc TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 77).
Péntapólis P 5, 3, 1 (998', 4).
perséver CE 2, 2, 77 (98', 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 sé-er, sé-érance, which doubtless influenced the older pronunciation, although not etymologically related; the modern perse-vere, perse-verence, must have been introduced by some Latinist, such as those who now prefer ini-quitous, ini-mi-cal, and were guilty of cu-cumber; but when?
perspective AW 5, 3, 14 (277, 48).
precedéts H^2 3, 3, 1 (450, 26).
précéde H^2 3, 10 (627', 199).
prétést TO 3, 2, 49 (617', 182).
recepte TA 1, 1, 9 (689, 92), RJ 4, 3, 5 (734', 39).
recorder R^3 3, 7, 6 (576', 30).
relapse H^4 4, 3, 20 (449, 107).
revéume MN 1, 1, 32 (162', 158), TC 2, 2, 100 (632, 206), H 3, 2, 14 (827', 63), révenue R^3 3, 7, 29 (577', 157).
royal R^3 1, 2, 88 (560, 245).
sequester'd TA 2, 3, 9 (695, 75).
sinister H^2 2, 4, 10 (447, 55).
successors H^2 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, supra p. 265.
toward prep. JC 1, 1, 35 (765', 85) toward froward TS 1, 1, 12 (232', 68), adj. TS 5, 1, 89 (258', 182).
triumph H^4 3, 3, 6 (406', 15), 5, 4, 6 (407', 14), triumphing R^3 3, 4, 31 (575, 91), triumphant 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, commandable, commère, confiscate, consort, contráry a., contract s., compáct a., different [Ch 5, 1, 19 (106', 6), probably corrupt, the second and third folios read, "And much much different from the man he was"], edict, effigies, envé e., exile, instinct, inter, misery [MV 4, 1, 76 (199', 272), undoubtedly corrupt, the three later folios read, "Of such a misery do she cut me off," 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, precééts, prescience, record [still so called in law courts], sepulchre, sinister, sojourn'd, something?, sweetheart, triumphing, unto, welcome, wherefo're. Words in -ised: advertised, chastised, canonized, authorized, solémnised and solemnized, [rather than make an exception, which is improbable, introduce a second trisyllabic measure, and read: Straight shall our nupti-al rites be solémnized, MV 2, 9, 2 (190', 6.).]

Accent nearer the beginning than with us: archbishop, cément a., compell'd, complète, concéal'd, conduct, confessór, côngeal'd, conjure = entreat, cõsign'd, corrosíve, délectable, détestable, distinct, forlorn, humane, maintain, nature?, méthinks?, mútiners, myself?, Northampton, obscure, observant, persever, péréptive, pioners, plebéians [the word is not frequent, it is certainly plebéians in H^4 5, 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 honours," than "That with the fusty pléb-eians hate thine honours," the italics again shewing the trisyllabic measure; in C 3, 1, 53 (669', 101), I read "Let them have cushions by you. You're plébétians," and Mr. Abbott's scansion seems forced; again, "the senators and plébétians love him too," C 4, 7, 7 (651', 30), but AC 4, 12, 4 (936, 34) "And hoist thee up to the shouting plébétians," (unless we read unto with Keightley and make a trisyllabic measure: And hoist thee up unto the shouting plébétians), and C 5, 4, 12 (685', 39) "The plébétians 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 trisyllabic first measure,) seem real cases; but they are the only ones in Shakspere and, as we have seen, the reading may be faulty!; pursuit, purveyor, quintessence, récordeur, relapse?, rheumatic, secure, sequester'd, successor, succes-sive, towards, utensils?, 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 AND METRE.

Cap. xxv. De Accentu.

Vocum prosod ia vsu potius quam regulis perceipitur: 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 altius infingendum, emfasin in vnâ voce habet potius quam aliâ. Monosyllaba omnia per se accepta accentum acutum habere intelliguntur: at composita, nunc in priori tonum habent; vt, (hors' man, ship-muuk), nunc in posteriori; vt (withstand, withdraa, himselye). Quaedam ita facilia sunt, vt accentum vtrobius recipiant, vt (tshurtsh-yard', out'run', out'radzh').

Dissyllaba quâ oxytona sunt, (biliiv; asyrr, aswaadzh', enfoors, konstrain'): quâ paroxytona, vt (pît', kul'er, fol'ou). Trissyllaba quædam paroxytona sunt: vt, (regraat' er, biluv' ed, akweain't ed); quædam paroxytona; vt (miz'er, des'ten): quae dam indifferentia; vt, (foar'goo'ing, foar'staal'er).

Animaduertendum autem nos tanto impetu in nonnullis vocibus accentum retrahere, vt nulla syllabarum longitudo, naturâ aut positione facta contraueniat: idque non in nostris tantûm (forester, kar' penter): sed etiam in illis quae doctuli à Latinis asciuerunt: vt, (aa'dîtor, kompet'itor, kon'stansi, redzh'ister, tem'perans, in'stryny ment, mul'tîtyyd). Hie autem duplici cautelâ opus: primâ, vt illa excipias quae ad nos integra transierunt; quibus ea humanitate vtimur quâ peregrinis, quie suo iure et more viuunt, vt (Amîntas, Erîn'nis, Barîka' do). Secundî excipias illa à Latinis in io, quæ quanquam in nostrum ius concesserunt, proprium tamen accentum retinent in antepenultimâ; vt (opîn'ion, satisfak'sîon) et alia sic exue ntia (màn'îon, fran'îon), etc.

Plurisyllaba etiam (quod in alij quas scio linguis non fit) accentum sæpius in quartâ recipiunt; vt (ok'yypaier, vîdz'h'lansî, lit'eratyyr): et omnia fere illa quae in (muoger)4 exuent aut(ab)l: vt (kos'terdmuqger, ai'erhmugger, mar'tshantabl, mar'v'dzhabl, miz'erabl, on'orabl). mirum dixeris si tonum in quinta repereris, tamen sic lege (mul'tîpliabl, vîrîfiabl, Kon'stantînopl), et alia fortasse plura.

Duo sunt quæ tonum variant: Differentia, et Numerus poeticus. 1. Differentia est, qua vox voci quodammodo opponitur: hae accentum transfert in syllabam vulgariter accentuatae praecedentem, 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: "Capite 25 et deincepe; accentuum notatio longarum vocuum quantitati veniam inueniet." I have, therefore, in my transcription restored the quantity, and replaced i by j (=oi) and u by v (=yy), when it appeared necessary.

2 Gill writes no accent marks in these two words.

3 The term antepenultime here determines the dissyllabic character of the termination -ion (=ion) in Gill's mind.

4 Gill does not distinguish (muoger) from (muqger); my transliteration is, therefore, also an interpretation.
gill on accent.

933

yuuk taak mii raikh, or mis'taak mii?) sic (with'mould, un'thaqkful, dis'onestoi, dis'onorabl, dis'onorabli) etiam, et (un'meezyyrabli); huc refer (dezert') meritum, et (dez'ert) desertum aut solitudo, etc. Numerus poeticis proparoxytonis in [i] saepe ultimam productam acuit, vt, (mizeraii, konstansa, destinai); vnde etiam in prosa ferer obstinuit, vt ultima vel longa vel breui æqualiter scribuntur, et pronuncentur, non acuantur tamen.

De Rhetorico accentu difficilium est iudicium; quia suum cuique est, et varium. Exemplo res melius intelligetur.

(Moii song, if an'i; ask whuuz griii'vus plaint iz sutsh, Dei, eer dhou let niz naam' bii knoun, niz fol'i shouuz tuu mutsh, But, best weer dhi tu noid, and nev'er kum tu laikht:
For oon dhe erth' kan noon but o'i, dhaik ak'sents sound araikh'.

Diximus monosyllaba omnia acui, hoc est accentu Grammatico: at in orationis contextu illis tantum vocibus est accentus oratorius, siue quaedam toni évèryeia, quibus sensus vis et évèryeia inest: relique omnes præ his quodammodo barytonæ habeantur. Ego igitur sic ista lego, vt versus primus vnus tenore, et æqualis fluent. In secundo tribus vocabis accinitur (doi naam, fol') quia, ex sensu apparenti moriendum potius est carmini, quàm nomen auctoris indicandum; cui tanta stultitia malum est omen. At ex implicita Antanaclasi, sine diastola Tilev (doi'), et (er, let dhou niz naam bi knoun Dei'er); etiam cum priori tepidius erit, et sine accentu oratorio efferendum. Duos sequentem versus licet ego sic legam, vt (noi voir), et (nevi'er) in priori accentuem: (erth', ei), et (dhaik), in posteriori: alius tamen fortasse aliter: idque cum bonâ vtrinque ratione. Atque hae de accentu acute Grammatico, et Oratorio, praecpta sunt. Grauis ubique intelligitur, vbi alius non est accentus. Circumflexus ['] in alijs dialectis frequentius auditur quàm in communi; vbi tamen ea est aliquando vocis alicuius prosodia, vt sensum mutet. Exemplo (oi am afraid of him) i. metuob ab illo: (oi am afraanid' ov him). i quid de illo futurum sit timea.

Accentum inseruuent interpunctiones: quiâ illæ vt sensum aperimt, ita quantum possunt accentui viam sternunt. Eadem sunt nobis quæ Latinis, et vsus idem: sunt autem Kómmu siue incisum [], 'Τποδιωστολη aut subdistinctio [], Kólv siue membrum ['], Pérlodos siue sententia et sensus integra complexio [']. His adjunge interrogradionis notam [?] et exclamationis [!].

1 The accent is not written here, but is inferred from the context. Observe that we had (des-tens) a little above.
2 Erroneously printed (doin).
3 Gill writes afraid, afraid. He had long previously explained å to mean (λλ), 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 'Τποταρενθεσεi [; i] illustr quod abesse quidem potest, sed cum aliâ aliqua sententiae voce constituatur.

Exemplum.

(Dhe best (said nii) dhat ci yan yu adviez;
In tu avoid: dh- okaa'ziōn of dh cl,
Dhe kaaz remuved whens dh- ivl duth areiz.
(As sunn it may; dh- efekt sursees-th stild.)

Huc accedit Απόστροφος in (dh- efekt), et in vocibus compositis Τφη siue maceaf [-] vt (hart-eeiting griif). Et vltimò (si tu concedas (lector) in Δαιρέσεi, Δαιστολη [-] in συναιρέσεi, 'Αρη [-] vt in (okaa'ziōn) trissyllabâ; sed his et 'Τποταρενθεσεi in vsu frequenti, locus raró conceditur.

Cap. xxvi. De Metro.

Metrum apud nos largè acceptum, aliquando significat ipsa in carmine omoioteleuta: nonnunquam ponitur pro omni oratione adstricta numeris; sic enim metrum, et prosam opponimus. Sed híc pro omni mensurâ syllabae, pedis, metri propriè dicti, et carminis vsurpo.

De Syllaba.


Satis aparuit in grammaticā, quae syllaba longa aut breuis censeri debet, ex vocalibus, quas longas aut breues esse diximus: 1. Poëae tamen illa in (ai) desinentia hiccenter corripiunt; quia in fluxu orationis accentus in prōpinquā syllāba eius longitudinem absorbet. At si syllaba accentu vīlo grammatico, vel rhetoricō affiliatur, non corripitur; vt, (mēi monr)

2. (Yy) in fine anceps est; vt (uyy, tryy): at consonâ in eādem voce monosyllabâ sequente, longa est; vt, (yyr, pyyr). sic in distyllabis, si accentum habeat: vt, (manyyr, refyyz') verbūm: at accentus in priori, ultimam ancipitem relinquit; vt, in (refyyz, ref'yz) subst. 3. Vocalis, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem non cor-

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 S'efekt.
4 Gill seems to intend to say that (okaa'ziōn), which is really of four syllables, here reckons as three, from the rapidity with which (i) is pronounced. See infra, 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 (a) not an (sh), and see suitor, suprâ, pp. 215, 922.
7 The word is only written once ref'z in Gill, but is repeated here to exhibit the "doubtful" quantity.
GILL ON METRE.

935

ripitur necessariò ut apud Latinos. Sed contrà, vocalis longa, aut diphthongus, ante vocalem semper productur, si in se accentum habeat,  
vt (deno'aiing, displai'ed).  
1 4. Vocalis, aut Diphthongus per synalepham licentia poetica nonnunquam intercipitur: sed frequentissimè intercedit (u), in (tu) datiui et infinitiuii signo; et (e), in articulo (dhe), tamen non semper. in (Dhou) ante (art) diphthongus sepe deficit.  
2

3. Accentus.

Omnis syllaba, accentum acutum habens aut circumflexum, longa est: idque maxime si syllaba dictionis prima non sit. Nam prima natura sua breuis, accentum sepe admissit, vt (go'ing, du'ing, an'í, spir'ít, bod'í), quæ etiamsi ex vocali breues esse intelligitur, accentum tamen subinde communes fit vt in illo Choriambo (Laa'dré, ladii').  
3

2. In trissyllabis etiam, acutus in breui ante liquidam, syllabam aliquando anicipitem facit, vt in (mal'adsí, sím'óní, dzhen'eral, ben'efft).  
4

3. Vocalis breuis in vtilmá, ante duplicatem, aut etiam ante solam liquidam, accentu aniceps sit. Vt (beg'ní, dist'lí, def'er, proloq'). Idipsum etiam in monosyllabis accentu acutissimis facet; vt, (aks', dzhudzh', fel', sín', soq', war', dzhar.) Quam formam quædam etiam ante mutam sequuntur; vt, (bud') gemma, (but') meta.  
4

4. Omnis syllaba ante accentuatam breuis est: vt, (dezöir', abrooa'dí?), aban'don, devai'ded, dívoí'lon, bllib'-ving, preven'ted): nisi obstet natura; vt, in (foorgo'ing, foorspee'king); aut positio, vt, (foorg'ín forgv'iq). Sed hic tantum valet accentus, vt in multis duplicatis alteram elidat, vt, (atend', apiir'íq, oppoo'zed, adrees'ed); pro (attend; apiiir'íq, oppoo'zed, adrees'ed): Sed vt consonam elidat vel non, poëtae in medio relinquitur.  
5

5. Syllabæ quæ solis constant consonantibus, quia accentum nunquam recipiunt, breues iudicantur; vt, (sad'lí, trüb'lí, moist'un).  
6

6. Accentus Rhetoricius longas praecedentes sæpennumero corripit: vt, (If yi bi Aál thiiw, what noop nav oi?) vbi vocales naturæ longæ in (yií, bií, haav) ratione accentuum in (Aál) et (ai) correptæ sunt.  
4

4. Positio.

In diuersis dictionibus positio sepe valet vt apud Latinos, in êadém dictione, accentus positioni præualet; ita vt in trissyllabis,  
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 thou'rt as (dhart) and not (dhourn).  
3 No accent marked in Gill. The assumption of the choriamb - - - , shews that the accents were intended as I have placed them. This passage should have been referred to supra p. 281, l. 34.  
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, abbreuieit vtraque sequentes; vt, in (Tshes-ttertun, Wîm-bldun). Nee quisquam, qui Anglîcē nouit, negare audebit (Ten'terden stiîp) esse carmen Adonicum. nam hie adeo violentus est accentus, vt etiam in diuersis dictionibus positionem auferat. Idipsum affirmabis, si Sussexios audias in (WAA'terdoun for-rest). Adeo clarus est accentus in primo trissyllabo, licet positione non eleuetur. Hie tamen cautelâ opus, nam si ad positionem (l, n) vel (q) concurrat, media syllaba producitur: vt (Sem-prîq'am, Trum-prîq'tun, Ab'îq'ton, Wîm-undam, Wîl-fulnes) etc. Quod dixi apparebit exemplo.

(What if a daai, or a munth, or a jeer) hemistichium est, duobus constans dactylis, et choriambo, nemo dubitat. (Soo ét befel' on a Pen'tekost dâi). Nee quisquam hie magnopere hèreit, nisi quod particula (êt) tardius sequi videtur ob positionem: at Metaplasmus occidentali (ivel') pro (bifel') nihil occurrit rotundius; nam positio illa in (kost), nullo modo tempus propter accentum in (Pen). Positio aliâs valet ad Longitudinem; vt, (Gîlz'land, Lon'don, har'vest).

5. Deriuatio.

Deriuatiua eandem cum primitiuis quantitatem plerumque sortiuntur; vt, ( doi, doi'êq; dezoi'r, dezoi'red; profa'an', profa'an'loî). Excipiuntur illa, quæ á longis enata, vocalem naturâ longam corripiunt; vt, a (mei'zer, miz'erabl, miz'eri): Et anomala coniugationis primæ, quæ figuratiam comutant: vt, à (reed, red); à (sweet, sweet); à (wroît, writ; streik, strêk), etc. His addè vnum tertias (duu, dîd). Secundo excipiuntur illa á peregrinis deducta, quibus syllabarum quantitas naturâ, positione, aut accentu mutatur; vt á noto as, (tu noot'ei), á magnifico (tu mag'nifai), á potens, (poo'tent) etc. At (im'potent, omni'potent), suam naturam sequuntur: quod etiam in aliis fortè pluribus observabîs.

6. Præpositio.

Præpositiones inseparabiles (a, bi, re), etiam (un, dis, mis) si positio sinat, corripiuntur. Reliquarum omnium quantitas ex suis vocalibus satis intelligitur.

7. Metaplasmus.

Est, quem necessitatis, aut iucunditatis gratía, syllaba, aut dictio à formâ propriâ in aliâm mutatur. Huc refer omnes antedictas dialectos præter communem. Et licet omnis Metaplasmus ad syllabarum quantitatem agnoscendam non sit utilis: tamen quia plurimæ eius species hic multum possunt, eas omnes simul explicabimus.

1 Written Waterdoun, the first vowel probably stands for d = (AA') in Gill’s notation.

2 In the vocabulary I have introduced a second accent mark thus (Sem-prîq’-am), to represent this presumed lengthening.

3 There seems to be some misprint here; the original is followed literatim, with the exception of the accents, which were not marked.
Prothesis apponit caput id quod Aphaeresis aufert:
vt, (ar̆ikh't, emmuuv'v): pro (roikh't, muuv): et eleganti imitatione Latinae compositionis, (efraid'), pro (frai'd, vendra'zher), pro (aven'dzher).

Syncope de medio tollit, quod Epenthesis insert.
vt, (hum'bles, whuuve-ver), pro (hum'blnes), et (whuusoe-ver); (err'and) pro (ee'rand).

Aufert Apocope finem, quem dat Paragoge.
vt, (What ai dhe bet fordhai') Spens. pro (bet'er, tel'en) et (displeez'en), Chausier pro (tel, displeez')

Consonam vt Ethilpesis, vocalem aufert Synalapha.
Exempla.
(Faam with abun'dsans maak'eth a man threis blessed an nap'pi) pro (and nap'pi).
(First, let Simmer'ian dark'nes bi mi oon'1- habita'sion) pro (oon'lei).

Systola longa rapit, breuiata Diastola longat.
vt, Sidn. (un'tu Kyppid dhat boi shal a pedan'te bi found:) ubi prima in (pedan'te) à παιΔος corripitur.
Diastola Ταοις, Εκταοις siue extensio dicitur. Exemplum reperies apud eundem Sidneium.
(Dhat baie a bod'i it gooz, sins boie 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'ivant vir'tyyz, AAl kwal'litiz of bod'i and soul.)
Plus satis huiusmodi exemplorum inuenies apud Stanihurstum, et alios.
(Sins mei nooz out'peek'iq (gud Sir) yuur lip'labor hinv'dreth).
Neque enim verum est quod scribit quidam, Syllabarum regnum illis concessum, qui primi suo exemplo illarum quantitatem definirent: Syllaba enim natura suâ; id est, cuiuscunque linguae idiomate, aut longe sunt, aut breues, aut indifferentes, vtceunque mali poetae illarum quantitate abutuntur.

Syllaba de binis confecta, Synaeresis extat.
Visitatissimus est hic metaplasmus in verbalibus passuis in (ed);
vt, (luv-d) pro (luv-ed) et vbique alias; vt (ey'-rai) pro (eversai; whatsoe-ver, okaa'zion), trissyllabis.1 Neque in vna tantum dicione synaeresis est, sed etiam in diuersis; vt (Is-t not inukh')?

1 These are accentual hexameters, the author not named. Hence the final (-sion) of (habita'sion) reckons as an single syllable. Compare suprâ p. 344, 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 "synaeresis" is not written. There can be no thought of (okaa'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 loquenti formulæ pro (much gud du-t yuu) pro (du it). ¹ Sic (was-t, for-t, whuuz deer²) pro (waz it, for it, whuu iz deer²).

**Διαίρεσις** siue **Διάλυσις**.

*Dicitur in binas separare Diacresin vnam.*

Vt Sp. (wuund-’es, kloud-’es, hands-’es); pro (wuundz, kloudz, handz.) Huic cognata est.

**TYMΗΣΙΣ, ΔΙΑΚΟΠΗ,** siue Intercisio.

*Dat Tnesin partes in binas dicitio secta.*

Vt (Tu us ward) pro (toward’ us.)

**Μετάθεσις.**

*Fit Meta rilet thesis, si transponas elementa.*

Vt (vouched saaf), pro (vouch-saaf’ed). Spen. (Loom whøil) pro (whailoom’)

**Αντίθεσις,** melius **Αντιστοιχία.**

*Est Antistecllon tibi litera si varietur.*

Spens. (foon, ein, mond, lond) pro (foon, eiz, hand, land.) hune referre potes illa tertia personæ Indicatiui presentis in (s, z, ez) pro (eth): vt (mi speeks, luvz, teech-’ez); pro (speck-eth, luvv-eth, teech-’eth). In quibus non tantum est Antistecllon sed et synæresis

*Ista Metaplasrum communis nomine dicus.*

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 nuius temporis concedatur, longa duorum; ego veritatem appellò indicem, auresque musicorum testes: his causam omnem permitto. Ipsos autem, qui me iudicio postulauerint, adhortor, vt meminerint quà multa Latini à Græcis discesserunt Atque, vt mittam significationem, genus, syntaxin aliquibus; in prosodìa too célo aberrarunt, omega vix productam in ambo; et ego, et Noster Apollo veta. Sed quia de his paulò fusiùs dicendum est postea,³ in presens missa facio.

¹ See suprà p. 165, 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 preo (look thee, pray you): mitt goodetoo (much good may 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, (luud’-i pri’u; mtsh gwad’iitu) the last (ii) being long but unaccented. In the north (diit) is very common for (duu), so that the analysis of the words is (mtsh gwad-dee-iti-u). (Ludh’i) is also heard in Yorkshire.

² Probably a misprint for (dheer) in both cases.

³ This refers to “Cap. xxvii., Carmen Rhymicum,” 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 feré carminis genere contenta sunt: illud est vt plurimum pentametrum. Spenceri tamen Epicum, siue Heroicum, nonum quemque versus habet hexametrum: ad grauitatem, et quandam stationibus firmitudinem. In scenicò, poetæ malè negligunt διαολέυτα, que in EpicÒ continuasunt.” &c., p. 142. In Cap. xxviii, Dr. Gill treats “De Carminibus ad numeros Latinorum poetarum compositis.”
Pedes, quibus Anglica poesis vititur, sunt dissyllabi tres; spondeus — , trocheus — , iambus — . Trissyllabi quinque; tribra-chus — , molossus — , dactylius — , anapaestus — , amphimacus — —. Tetra syllabos tantum duos animaduerti: quorum vnus est pæon 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 xvith century to be given in Chapter IX. When þ prefixed, the instance is not from Shakspere himself. A subjoined (?) indicates that the passage cited in proof does not appear decisive.

Prefixes dropped. — *(em)boldened, *(a)bove, *(a)bout, (up)braid, þ(re)call, (be)came, (be)cause, (con)cerns, (de)side, (re)cial, þ(re)collect, (be)come?, (en)couraging, *(ac)count, *(en)dear(e)d, *(a)llotted, *(al)lured, *(a)gree, (be)haviour, (en)joy, *(a)larum, (a)las, (be)lated, (un)less, (be)longs, (be)longing, *(a)miss, *(a)mong, *(a)nighted, *(a)pointed, *(an)noy-ance, (im)pairs, *(im)pale, *(ap)pared, (com)plain, (en)raged, *(ar)ray, *(ar) rested, *(as)ayed, *(e)cape, *(ek)oscope = (excuse, (in)stalled, þ(fore)stalled?, *(a)stonished, (de)stroyed, *(at)tend, (re)turn, *(al)lotted, un(re)sisting?, (be)ware, (eu)ironed, (re)course, (re)venge. In some cases, the contraction is not written, Mr. Abbott assumes it, although the use of a trisyllabic measure would render it unnecessary.

Other contractions.— Barthol(o)mew, Ha(ve)rford, þdis(c)ple, ignom(in)y, þgen(d)leman, gent(le)man, gent(le), þteas(ily), par(i)lous = perilous, inter(ro)gatories, can(d)e)stick, þmar(ve)le, þwhe(ther), God (b(e with) y, see supra p. 773, in (h)i, th(ou) wert, you (we)re, h(e) were, y(ou) are, she (we)re. In these five last cases, notwithstanding the orthography, the sound may have been, (dhou-rt, juu-r, xii-r, xiiu-r, xiii-r), but in the passage cited for she (we)re, "Twere good she were spoken with: for she may strew," H 4, 5, 5 (836, 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, Knightes 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 short and playn," where we may either contraction "en-dure't," or make is the short 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've for I shall, but this does not seem advisable. Wi(th) , þw(ith) us, þw(ith) ye, were probably (wi, w'i, w'i). To these he adds d(o)ff, d(o)on, d(o)ut, proba(b)le(e).

Words contracted in pronunciation.— Abb. 462, desires 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 dipthongizing, 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 destroy's a following vowel, the vowel being nearly lost in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the v," Abb. 463, as alar(u)m, war(r)(a)nt, flour(i)shing, nour(i)sh, barr(e)ls, barr(e)n, spir(i)t; "R often softens a preceding unaccented vowel," Abb. 464, as confed(e)rates; "Er, El, and Le 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 v 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 dissyllabically. A few words as or, ill, e'er, have established themselves. It is impossible to say what liberty of contraction or change the xvith 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, flourishishes, par(i)ous. "Any unaccented syllable of a polysyllable (whether containing i or any other vowel) may sometimes be softened and almost ignored," Abb. 468, as barberous, company, remedy, implements, enemy, messengers, passenger, conference, majesty "a quasi-dissyllable," 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-mono-syllables." Abb. 471, remarks that "the plural and possessive cases of nouns in which the singular ends in s, se, 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, 1. 53), and Abb. 474, shows 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 'binest' becomes 'binst,' 'eatest' becomes 'est.' Our 'best' is a contraction for 'bet-est,'" Abb. 473, where he cites, sweet'st, kind'st, stern'st, secret'st, eld'st, dear'st, loyal'st, great'st, near'st, unpleasant'st, strong'st, short'st, common'st, faithfull'st, far- rant'st.

### Trisyllabic Measures

Unmistakeable trisyllabic 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 trisyllabic 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 Trissyllabic.
Barren winter with his wrathful nipping cold 2H 8, 2, 4, 1 (506', 3), Abb. 463.

Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me 3R 1, 2, 88 (560, 235), Abb. 496.

I beseech your graces both to pardon her 3R 1, 4, 10 (557, 84), Abb. 496.

Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow R 1, 1, 13 (567, 98).

By your power legatine within this kingdom H 8, 3, 2, 91 (611, 339).

In election for the Roman empery TA 1, 1, 3 (688', 22).

Second Measure Trissyllabic.
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', 53).

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 hatcht.

That would I learn of you, As one that are best acquainted with her humour R 3, 4, 4, 79 (584, 269). Observe the construction, you as one that are.

Be chosen with proclamati-ons to-day TA 1, 1, 25 (600, 190), Abb. 479.

Third Measure Trissyllabic.
[This is by far the most common and most musical position of the trisyllabic measure.]

Crouch for employment. But pardon, gentles all. H 8, 1, prol. (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 8, 4, 1, 67 (457, 256).

And then we'll try what these dastard Frenchmen dare H 8, 1, 4, 17 (474', 111).

Myself had notice of your conventicles. [Or else: Myself had notice of your conventicles] 2H 3, 1, 25 (509, 166).

To prove him tyrant this reason may suffice 3H 8, 3, 3, 18 (542', 71).

Look, therefore, Lewis, that by this league and marriage 3H 8, 3, 3, 18 (542', 74).

The common people by numbers swarm to us 3H 8, 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. Tush, 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, 3, 5, 26 (576, 109), Abb. 460.

Thy back is sacrifice to the load. They say H 8, 2, 1, 10 (595', 50).

The gentleman is learnt, and a most rare speaker H 8, 1, 2, 18 (596, 111).

Melt and lament for her. O! God's will! much better H 8, 2, 3, 2 (602', 12).

Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the king's coin H 8, 2, 87 (611, 325).

Quite from their fixture. O when degree is shacked TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 101), Abb. 343, in reference to shacked.

To doubtful fortunes: sequestering from me all TC 3, 3, 1 (638, 8). As sequester occurs, suprā p. 931, this might be possibly, though harshly, read: To doubtful fortunes sequestr'ing from me all, pronouncing (sek'estrig).

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 gift 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 suprā p. 940, col. 2.

As of a father: for let the world take note H 1, 2, 16 (814, 108).

My father's brother, but no more like my father H 1, 2, 20 (814, 192).

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 0th 3, 3, 130 (896, 366).
As Dian's visage is now begrim'd or black Oth 3, 3, 135 (896, 387).
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 2, 2, 18 (445, 55).
Which haply by much company might be urged R 3, 2, 2, 38 (569, 137).
Then is he more beholding to you than I R 3, 3, 1, 40 (571', 107).
I was then present, saw them salute on horseback H 3, 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 2, 2, 48 (602, 136).
To see the battle. Hector, whose pati-ence TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 4).
Co-rivall'd greatness. Either to har-bour fled TC 1, 3, 2 (626', 4).
Let me not think on't—Fraility, thy name is woman H 1, 2, 20 (814, 145).
This hideous rashness, answer my life, my judgment KL 1, 1, 40 (848', 163).
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, 7, 2 (576, 3).
Put in their hands thy bruising irons of wrath R 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 2, 2, 9 (601, 22).
Or maid it not mine too? Or which of your friends H 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 (628, 5).
And curse that justice did it. Who deserves greatness C 1, 1, 50 (655', 180); or we may contract didn't, and beginning with an accented syllable after the pause thus avoid the trisyllabic measure.

Which would increase his evil. He that depends C 1, 1, 50 (655', 183).
Except immortal Cesar; speaking of Brutus JC 1, 1, 30 (765', 60).
Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade. Beware H 1, 3, 8 (815', 65).

Two Measures Trissyllabic.
Of your great predecessor king Edward the third H 3, 1, 2, 25 (442', 248),
Abb. 469. The Collier MS. avoids the two trisyllabic measures by reading Edward third.
Foul devil, for God's sake hence, and trouble us not R 3, 1, 2, 9 (558', 50).
Either hea'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 (599, 114).
Into a general prophecy: That this tempest H 1, 1, 20 (593', 92).
My surveyor is false; the other great cardinal H 1, 1, 57 (594', 222).
To oppose your cunning, you'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 medicinal eye TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 91).
My surname Coriolanus; the painful service C 4, 5, 42 (678, 74).
Of impious stubbornness; 'tis unmanly grief H 1, 2, 16 (815', 94).
But suck them up to the top-mast. A kind of conquest Cy 3, 1, 5 (956, 22).

Three Measures Trissyllabic.
To the discontented members, the mutinious 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 trisyllabic measures being now established, there seems to be no ground for such a violent remedy. Such trisyllabic 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 Shakspeare has no such scruples.
Light Trisyllabic Measures.

Was aptly fitted and naturally perform'd TS ind. 1, 25 (320, 87). 
Abb. 472. Writers in the xviiith century would use nat'rally and even said (met'r1l) as we now frequently hear (metsh'r1l). But the real number of syllables in the word appears from—

Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural.
R³ 1, 2, 9 (558', 60).

Whom I unnaturally shall disinherit, 
? unnaturally. H⁸ 1, 1, 95 (528', 193).

Your high profession spirit'tl that
again H⁸ 2, 4, 18 (604', 117), or
spirit'tl that, a trisyllabic measure,
feel as a trisyllabic.
Her tears should drop on them per-
petually RL 686 (1020').
For he would needs be virtuous, that
good fellow H⁸ 2, 2, 47 (602, 133).

His vacancy with his voluptuousness
AC 1, 4, 3 (915, 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 receiv-
ing earth H⁵ 1, proil. (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 6, 2, 172 (910, 355).

To the king I'll say't, and make my vouch as strong H³ 1, 1, 40 (594, 187).

To the water side I must conduct your
grace H² 2, 1, 30 (600, 95).

In following this usurping Henr-y
3 H¹ 1, 1, 32 (527, 81).

Not well dispos'd, the mind growing
once corrupt H¹ 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-
tonation H³ 3, 2, 77 (610', 285).

Would seem hyperboles. At this fusty
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 trisyllabic measures. Some of these Alex-
drines 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 superfus-
sious syllable, than a distinct measure by themselves. See suprà 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 wāves | my life|less limbs | are toss'd'—
Dryden, is seldom found in Shakespeare,' Abb. 493, but he admits
also that lines with five accents are rare, suprà p. 929, n. 1. As
he intentionally confuses the number of accents (or syllables bear-
ing 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 Shakspeare'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 *slurred,*" (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 compañía. | Anón | a cáre|less hérd," *AY* 2, 1, 6 (210', 52), is made to have only five "feet," i.e. measures, as is also "To call | for récompense: [ap-|pér| it tó | your mfdn," *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 dâre| abide| no lónger (454).| Whither (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 púr| pose(s) (471), and, ] béïng (470) royäl," *AC* 5, 2, 123 (943, 339). Here there are two trisyllabic measures, and no Alexandrine. "All mór|tal cónsé|quence(s) (471) háve | pronóúnced | me thús," *M* 5, 3, 1 (807, 5). "As mís|ers dó | by béggers (454); | neïther (466) gáve | to mé," *TC* 3, 3, 30 (639, 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, adduces 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 unemphatic 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 "Trimeter 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 (595, 26).
The monk might be deceiv'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'topping woman's power. Madam, you do me wrong Hs 2, 4, 17 (604', 88).
And patches will I get unto these cudgell'd scars Hs 5, 1, 27 (646', 94), Abb. 501.
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue Rs 1, 1, 11 (557, 94), Abb. 498.
Say that I slew them not. Why then they are not dead Rs 1, 2, 20 (558', 89), Abb. 500, cited in index only.
I did not kill thy husband. Why then he is alive Rs 1, 2, 22 (558, 9).
I would I knew thy heart. 'Tis figured in my tongue Rs 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 R's, and that the odd line can be explained by an amphistych, supra p. 928, n. 1, Abb. 500.
And hugg'd me in his arm, and kindly kiss'd my cheek Rs 2, 2, 9 (568, 24).
Which since succeeding ages have re-edified Rs 3, 1, 20 (571, 71), Abb. 494, cited in index only.
Thou'rt sworn as deeply to effect, what we intend Rs 3, 1, 70 (572, 158), Abb. 491.

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', 61).
Speak, Prince of Ithaca; and be't of less expect TC 1, 3, 4 (626', 70).
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 83).
What honey is expected. Degree being vizarded 'Tis TC 1, 3, 5 (627, 190).
And 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, 168).
To see us here unarm'd: 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 belittled H 1, 2, 1 (813, 2).
'Tis sweet and commendable in your nature, Hamlet H 1, 2, 16 (813', 67), Abb. 490, who accentuates commendable, 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 survivor 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).

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, 183).

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 hadst 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', 79).
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).

Lightly-marked Alexandrines,
or Verses of Five Measures with Two Superfluous Syllables.

And that you come to reprehend my ignorance R3 3, 7, 25 (577, 113), Abb. 487.
The supreme seat, the throne majestical R3 3, 7, 28 (577, 118).
All unavoided is the doom of destiny R4 4, 4, 58 (583', 217).
Which I do well; for I am sure the emperor H3 1, 1, 42 (594', 186).
Wherin? and what taxation? My lord cardinal H8 1, 2, 8 (595, 88).
That's Christian care enough for living murmurers H8 2, 2, 47 (602, 131).
Is our best loving. By my troth and maidenhead H8 2, 3, 6 (602', 23).
But what makes robbers bold but too much lenity 3H3 2, 6, 1 (537', 22).
Her looks do argue her replete with modesty 3H3 3, 2, 61 (540', 84).
I that am rudely stamp'd and want love's majesty R3 1, 1, 1 (556, 16), Abb. 457, cited in index only.
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery R3 1, 1, 8 (557', 75), Abb. 494, cited in index only.
I was: but I do find more pain in banishment R3 1, 3, 54 (562, 168).
Go to, I'll make ye know your times of busi-ness H8 2, 2, 24 (601', 72),
busi-ness in three syllables, as usual in Shaksper.

Or touch of her good person? My lord cardinal H8 2, 4, 26 (605, 156).
Believe me, she has had much wrong, lord cardinal H8 3, 1, 13 (606', 48).
You're full of heav'ly stuff, and bear the inventory H8 3, 2, 63 (609, 137).
I am not worthy yet to wear: I shall assuredly H7 4, 2, 17 (614', 92).
'Tis like a pardon after execution H8 4, 2, 31 (615, 121).
Heav'n knows how dearly! My next poor petti-on H8 4, 2, 37 (615, 138).
He chid Andromache and struck his armourer TC 1, 2, 4 (623', 6).
They tax our policy and call it cowardice TC 1, 3, 10 (627', 197).
As feel in his own fall: for men, like butterflies TC 3, 3, 24 (638', 78).
The reasons are more potent and heroical TC 3, 3, 33 (639', 181).
Flowing and swelling o'er with arts and exercise TC 4, 4, 29 (643, 80).
Like labour with the rest, where the other instruments C 1, 1, 31 (655, 104).
And, mutually participate, did minister C 1, 1, 31 (655, 106).
Shaksperian "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 Synaeresis, 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, incidentally 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 2H i. 1, 3, 14 (414', 77).
Here's Glou-caes-ter a foe to citizens H i. 1, 3, 25 (473, 62).
Abominable Glouces-ter, guard thy head H i. 1, 3, 33 (473', 87).
Well, let them rest. Come hither, Ca-tes-by. R 3. 3, 1, 70 (572, 157).
Or horse or oxen from the le-opard H i. 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), Abb. 484.
Divinest cre-atures, Astrea's daughter H i. 1, 6, 2 (475, 4), Abb. 479, where he cites: You have done our ple-asures much grace, fair ladies Tim 1, 2, 37 (746', 151). 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 ladies | just as the next line but three: You have ad-ded worth | unto t | and | us-]; 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 R 3. 5, 3, 10 (587', 29).
His regi-ment lies half a mile at least
R^3 5, 3, 11 (587', 37).
But deck'd with di-amonds and Indian
stones 3 H^6 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 4, 1, 26 (515', 87), Abb.476.
To shew her bleeding body thor-ough,
Rome RL 1861 (1030').
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan,
Grey R^3 1, 3, 102 (563', 333). This
name appears to be always dissylla-
abic. See the next two instances.
With them Sir Thomas Vaughan,
prison-ers R^3 2, 4, 24 (570, 43).
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey; and so
'twill do R^3 3, 2, 26 (573, 67).
Till in her ashes she lie buri-ed H^5 3,
3, 1 (450, 9), Abb. 474, cited in index
only.
The lustful Edward's title buri-ed
3 H^6 3, 2, 81 (541, 129).
That came too lag to see him buri-ed
R^3 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 advertis-ed
2 H^4 4, 9, 7 (521, 23).
For by my scouts I was advertis-ed
3 H^6 2, 1, 18 (533, 116).
As I by friends am well advertis-ed
R^3 4, 4, 163 (586, 501), Abb. 491.
And when this arm of mine hath chas-
tis-ed R^3 4, 4, 88 (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 mo-
ments to pronounce this -ed,
that I have heard the line left imper-
flect, or eked out by repeating—
banish, banish.
Sanctuary.
Go thou to sanct'r'y and good thoughts
possess thee R^3 4, 1, 28 (579, 94)
Abb. 468.
Of blessed sanct'r'y! not for all this
land R^3 3, 1, 13 (571, 42).
Have taken sanctu-ry; the tender
princes R^3 3, 1, 11 (570', 28).
You break not sanctu-ry in seizing
him R^3 3, 1, 14 (571, 47).
Oft have I heard of sanctu-ary men
R^3 3, 1, 14 (571, 56).
The Terminations, -tion, -sion.
Whose manners still our tardy apish
na-tion.
Lims 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 4, 1, 67 (457, 271).
Will'd me to leave my base voca-tion
H^4 1, 2, 49 (471', 80).
First will I see the coronati-on 3 H^2 2,
6, 22 (538', 96).
Tut, that's a foolish observa-tion 3 H^4
2, 6, 25 (538', 108).
O then hurl down their indigna-tion
R^3 1, 3, 63 (562', 220).
Give me no help in lamenta-tion R^3 2,
2, 20 (568, 66).
To sit about the coronati-on R^3 3, 1,
74 (572, 173).
It is and wants but nominati-on R^3 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 3,
7, 16 (576', 73).
And hear your mother's lamenta-tion
R^3 4, 4, 2 (581', 14).
Thus will I drown your excla-ma-
tion R^3 4, 4, 29 (582', 153).
Now fills thy sleep with perturba-tion
R^3 5, 3, 45 (589, 161).
A buzzing of a separa-tion H^4 2, 1, 38
(600', 148).
Into my private medita-tion H^8 2, 2,
22 (601', 66).
Only about her coronati-on H^8 3, 2,
106 (611, 407).
Besides the applause and approba-tion
TC 1, 3, 3 (626', 59).
As he being drest to some orati-on TC
1, 3, 8 (627', 166).
To bring the roof to the founda-tion
C 3, 1, 91 (671, 206).
Abated captives to some nati-on C 3,
3, 55 (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', 156).
Of Hamlet's transfor-mation; 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 observati-on 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 e, 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 acciden-
tal, and not designed. The instance cited below p. 952, as an Alexandrine by resolution, Mr. Abbott would pro-
bably scan: For depri-vation to square the gen'ral sex TC 5, 2, 102 (649, 132), admitting a trissylla-
abic foot to avoid an Alexandrine.

But yet an un-ion in partiti-on MN 3, 2, 43 (171', 210).

We must bear all. O hard condi-tion.
Hs 4, 1, 67 (457, 250).

This day shall gentle his condi-tion Hs 4, 3, 10 (468', 63).

Virtue is choked with foul ambi-tion 2 Hs 3, 1, 25 (508', 143).

Than a great queen, with this condi-
tion R3 1, 3, 35 (561', 108).


Thrice fam'ld beyond all erudi-tion TC 2, 3, 93 (634', 254).

I do not strain at the posi-tion TC 3, 3, 29 (686', 112).

To undererest your good addi-tion C 1, 9, 11 (661', 72).

Meanwhile must be an earnest moti-
ton Hs 2, 4, 31 (605', 233).
God shield I should disturb devoti-
on RJ 4, 1, 24 (733, 41).

Enforced us to this executi-on R3 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 (768', 18).

The brightest heav-en of inventi-
ton Hs 1, proli. (439', 2).

Did push it out of further questi-
on Hs 1, 1, 1 (439', 5).

All out of work and cold for acti-
on Hs 1, 2, 10 (441', 114).

After the taste of much correc-
ton Hs 2, 2, 17 (445, 51).

To scourge you for this apprehensi-
on Hs 2, 4, 37 (478', 102).

To ques-tion of his apprehensi-on 3 Hs 3, 2, 80 (541, 122).

Thy son I kill'd for his presumpti-
on 3 Hs 5, 6, 11 (554', 34).
E'enh for revenge mock my destructi-on R3 5, 1, 3 (587, 9).

To keep mine honour from corrupti-on Hs 4, 2, 12 (614, 71), compare: Cor-
ruption wins not more than honesty Hs 3, 2, 109 (612, 445), where there must be a trissyllabic measure.

To us in our 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, 2, 4 (708, 17).

When sects and facti-ons were newly born Tim 3, 5, 6 (752', 30).

But for your private satisfacti-on JC 2, 2, 20 (773, 72).

As whence the sun 'gins his reflecti-on M 1, 2, 5 (788', 29).

O master! what a strange infecti-on Cy 3, 2, 1 (956', 3).

For, by the way, I'll sort occasi-on R3 2, 2, 43 (569, 148).

This we prescribe through no phy-
so-an

Deep malice makes too deep inesi-on R3 1, 1, 19 (357', 154). The quartos read phisition, the first two folios physis-
ton. Thus justifying the rhyme, which is on the last syllable. When they next wake, all this deri-
on Shall seem a dream and fruitless vis-ion. MN 3, 2, 92 (173, 370). The rhyme is on the -on, to make it on the -is-
to would be to lose a measure in each verse.

Some say the lark makes sweet divi-
si-on RJ 3, 4, 5 (730', 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, fesh'en), as this would make each line defective by a measure. The following exam-
ple shew that passi-on, fashi-
on, were really trissyllables. The apparent double rhyme passion, fashion, which occurs three times, is really an assonance of (-as-, -ash-), and will be so treated under ass-
sonances, see S with SH and Z, below. It is necessary to be careful on this point, because readers not aware of the trissyllabic 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, supra p. 916.

Bear with him, Brutus, 'tis his fashio'n.

You break into some merry passio'n.

'Twas to plead Hortensio's passio'n.

This is it that makes me bridle passio'n.

I feel my master's passio'n! this slave.

Whilst our commissi-on from Rome is read.

He speaks by leave and by permissi-on.

Other Terminations in -ion.

It is religi-on that doth make vows keep;

But thou has sworn against religi-on.

Turns insurrec-tion to religi-on.

'Twas by rebellio'n against his king.

I would not for a milli-on of gold 

Could never be her mild compani-on.

And formless ruin of obli-vo'n.

Swill'd with the wild and wasteful 

Final -ience, -int, -ious, -age, -ial, -ier.

Then let us teach our trial pati-ence.

Lost to thy harm thou move our pati-ence.

Right well, dear madam. By your pati-ence.

Then pati-e nt-ly hear my impi-ta-ence.

To see the battle. Hector whose pati-e nce.

Fearing to strengthen that impi-ta-ence.

Dangers, doubts, wringing of the cons-ci-ence.

For policy sits above cons-ci-ence.

And yet 'tis almost 'gainst my cons-ci-ence.

Know the whole world he is as vali-ant.

For I do know Fluellen vali-ant.

Were not revenge suffici-ent for me.

If you should smile he grows impati-ent.

Be pa-tient, gentle queen, and I will stay.

Who can be pati-ent in such extremes?

I can no longer hold me pati-ent.

How fur-ious and impati-ent they be.

Than the sea monster! Pray, sir, be.

Heav'n, be thou gracious to none alive.

The forest walks are wide and spaci-ous.

Confess yourself wondrous malici-ous.

Hath told you Caesar was ambiti-ous.

But Brutus says he was ambiti-ous.

Did this in Caesar seem ambiti-ous.

There fore 'tis certain he was not ambiti-ous.

Why so didst thou: seem they religi-ous.

Methinks my lord should be religi-ous.

To England's king in lawful mar-ri-age.

Is now dishonourd by this new mar-ri-age.

And in his wisdom hastes our marri-age.

For honesty and decent car-ri-age.

Too flattering sweet to be substanti-al.

He would himself have been a soldi-er.

With some few bands of chosen soldi-ers.

The counsellor heart, the arm our soldi-er.

You say you are a better soldi-er.

Final -or, -ir, -er, after a Vowel.

May-or, farewell, thou dost but what thou mayst.
The *weird* sisters hand in hand M 1, 3, 12 (789', 31), *Abb*. 484.

I mean, my lords, those *paw-er* that the queen 3 H 3 5, 3, 1 (552, 7).

But you have *paw-er* in me as a kins-

man R 3 3, 1, 41 (571', 109).

The greatest strength and *paw-er* he can make R 3 4, 4, 138 (585', 449).

But she with vehement *pray-ers* urg'd 

still RL 475 (1019).

I would prevail if *pray-ers* might pre-

vail H 3 3, 1, 20 (480', 67).

With daily *pray-ers* all to that effect R 3 2, 2, 6 (567', 15).

And, see, a book of *pray-er* in his hand R 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 sacri-

fice H 2 2, 1, 27 (600, 77).

Almost forgot my *pray-ers* to content 

him H 3 3, 1, 29 (607, 132).

Men's *pray-ers* then would seek you, 

not their fears H 3 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 

*pray-er* one who prays (pre-er), and 

*prayer* the petition he utters (preer), 

but both were (prai'er). The possibility of the r having been vocal (x), how-

ever, appears from the next list of 

words.

**Syllabic R.** *Abb*. 477. 480.

You sent me deputy to *I-re-land* H 2 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).

And in compassion weep the *fe-re* out 

R 3 5, 1, 4 (376', 48).

Away with him and make a *fe-re* 

straight TA 1 1, 14 (689', 127).

As *fe-re* drives out *fe-re* so pity, pity 

JC 3 1, 65 (775', 171). Here I read the 

second *fe-re* as also dissyllabic, 

introducing a trisyllabic measure.

Should make *de-ri-re* vomit emptiness 

Cy 1, 6, 9 (949', 45).

We have no reason to *de-ri-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 *hou-r* of my life 

2 H 4 5, 31 (432, 109).

How many *hou-rs* bring about the day 

3 H 2 5, 1 (536', 27).

So many *hou-rs* must I, etc. 3 H 2 2, 5, 

1 (536', 31-35).

If this right hand would buy two 

*hou-rs* life 3 H 2 6, 21 (538, 90).

'Tis not an *hou-r* since I left him there 

TA 2, 3, 60 (696', 256).

Richly in two short *hou-rs*. Only they 

H 3 7 (592, 13).

These should be *hou-rs* for necessities 

H 5 1, 3 (615', 2).

One *hou-r's* storm will drown the fra-

grant meads TA 2, 4, 8 (697', 54).

Long after this, when *Hen-ry* the 

Fifth H 6 2, 5, 11 (479', 92).

But how he died, God knows, not 

*Hen-ry* 2 H 3 2, 29 (512, 131).

But let my sov'reign vir-tu-ous *Hen-ry* 

H 2 5, 1, 8 (522', 48).

In following this usurping *Hen-ry* 

3 H 1 1, 32 (527, 81).

I am the son of *Hen-ry* the Fifth 3 H 2 

1, 1, 46 (527', 107).

So would you be again to *Hen-ry* 

3 H 3 1, 26 (539', 95).

You told not how *Hen-ry* the Sixth 

hath lost All that which *Hen-ry* 

the Fifth had gotten 3 H 3 3, 23 

(542', 89).

So stood the state when *Hen-ry* the 

Sixth R 3 2, 3, 13 (569', 15).

As I remember, *Hen-ry* the Sixth 

R 3 2, 45 (580', 98), *Abb*. 477, cited 

in index only.

In our sustaining corn. A *sen-try* 

send forth KL 4, 4, 1 (870, 5), an 

Alexandrine, the word is spelled 

variously, *century* in early quartos 

and late folios, and *century* in 

the first two folios, indicating its tris-

yllabic pronunciation.

Who cannot want the thought how 

*mons-trous* M 3, 6, 1 (800', 8), *Abb*. 

477.

But who is man that is not *ang-ry*? 


Lavinia will I make my *en-pr-ess* TA 

1, 1, 37 (690', 240).

And will create thee *en-pr-ess* of Rome 

TA 1, 1, 64 (691, 320).

And make proud Saturnine and his 

*en-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), 

unless we venture to read the line as 

an Alexandrine, thus: Our *em-

pr-ess-es* 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).
Farewell: commend me to your mis-
ter-ees RJ 2, 4, 81 (723', 204).
Make way to lay them by their breth-
ren TA 1, 1, 9 (569, 89).
Good, good, my lord; the se-er-ets of
nature TC 4, 2, 35 (642, 74).

Syllabic L.
Me thinks his lordship should be
hum-bler Hs 3, 1, 16 (480', 56).
You, the great toe of this assem-bl-y
C 1, 1, 45 (655', 159), Abb. 477.
While she did call me rascal fid-al-er
TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158), Abb. 477.
A rotten case abides no han-dal-ing
2H 4, 1, 26 (427, 161), Abb. 477.
Does thoughts unveil in their dumb
or-a-lis TC 3, 3, 35 (639', 200),
Abb. 487. This line has much ex-
ercised commentators, who propose
to read dumb crudities, dim crudities,
dumb oracles, dumb orat'ries, dumb
crudes laid, dumb radicles, dim par-
ticles, dumb characters. The pre-
ceding and following examples shew
that there is no metrical, as there is
certainly no rational ground for such
dim crudities.
Than Bolingbroke's return to Eng-l-
-and R 3, 4, 1, 4 (373', 17), Abb. 477.
And mean to make her queen of Eng-
l-and R 4, 4, 74 (584, 263), Abb.
477. The folios read do intend for
mean, and thus avoid this resolution.
Lies rich in virtue and unming-Led
TC 1, 3, 1 (626', 30).
O me! you jug-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 following, which are only an extremely small sample out of
an extremely large number, as trissyllabic measures, and Alexandrine
verses, or lines with two superfluous 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
them have
That mercy which true pray-er ought
to have,
R 8 5, 3, 36 (379', 107, 109).
Upon the power and pu-issance of the
king 2H 1, 3, 2 (414, 9).
The prayers of holy saints and wrong-
ed souls R 5, 3, 61 (589', 241).
Or but allay, the fire of pas-sion. Sir
Hs 1, 1, 37 (594, 149).

Alexandrines with Internal Resolutions.
His eyes do drop no tears, his pray-ers
are in jest R 5, 3, 36 (379', 101),
Abb. 497 or 501, cited in index only.
So tediously away. The poor con-
demn-ed English H 4, prol. (464',
22).
To wit, an indigested and deform-ed
lump 3 Hs 6, 6, 12 (564', 51).
Environ'd me about, and hostl-ed in
mine ears R 1, 4, 2 (564, 50), Abb.
469, where he avoids the Alexan-
drine by pronouncing 'viron'd m'
about.

Alexandrines with Final Resolutions, or Five-measure Verses with two
Superfluous Syllables.
Weren't not that, by great preservati-on
R 3, 5, 14 (575', 36).

That I have been your wife in this
obedi-e Hem 2, 4, 9 (604, 35).
Shaksper'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. Shaksper, however, did not allow himself quite so many liberties as Spenser, although his rhymes would be in themselves quite inadequate to determine his pronunciation. His poems are not in this respect more regular than the occasional couplets introduced into his plays. But the introduced songs are the least regular. He seems to have been quite contented at times with a rude approximation. 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 different,) are liberally sprinkled. The combination of the two renders it quite impossible, from solitary or even occasional examples, to determine the real pronunciation of either vowel or consonant. It is therefore satisfactory to discover that, viewed as a whole, the system of rhymes is confirmatory of the conclusions drawn from a consideration 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). invisibili sensi-Va 434 (1007).

The rhyme is on -ble.

bilberry sluttry MW 5, 5, 13 (65, 49). The rhyme is on -ry.

crèmor-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 -tion, giving two superfluous syllables to each. Hence we must consider 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 identical rhyme is, however, not unfrequent in Shaksper, 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 (1020). These are both lines with two superfluous syllables, so that the rhyme is (oo-sian, moo-sian), the indistinct un-accented syllable not coming into account, compare suprà p. 921.
Compare also the double rhymes:
cantis manus LL 5, 2, 272 (157', 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 Hs epil. (621', 9). This couplet is manifestly erroneous some-where. 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 folly RL 654 (1019').
daily 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).
derparture shorter KL 1, 5, 29 (855', 55). See suprà p. 200, l. 11, and infrà p. 973, in Mr. White's Eliza-bethan 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 beat, suprà 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 cer-tainly (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 in-troduces the common modern pronun-ciation (wim-rn) 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 "rhymer-ster to the eye" could scarcely con-sider "legitimate." See Gill's pro-nunciation, suprà p. 909.

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 (oo, ou) were pronounced, as they are now when these sounds are replaced by (oo, au).]
sycamore hour LL 5, 2, 42 (152, 89). Moor defend TA 2, 3, 41 (696', 190).
down bone TC 5, 8, 4 (652', 11).
ASSONANCES, arranged according to the corresponding Consonants.

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 doggerel.

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).
Jamypenny many in a proverbial jungle, TG 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, Gower (987, 31).
run dumb P 5, 2, Gower (998, 266).
sooon doom P 5, 2, Gower (998, 285).
replenish blemish RL 1357 (1026').
tempering venturing VA 565 (1008),
ventring quartos.
sung come P 1, Gower (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').

General Rhymes, arranged according to the Combinations of Letters which they illustrate.

A long or short.

Have rhymes with cave AY 5, 4, 50 (228, 201); slave AY 3, 2, 34 (216', 161); VA 101 (1004); RL 1000 (1023'); grave R 2, 1, 20 (963, 137); RJ 2, 3, 15 (722, 83); S 81, 5 (1041); Cy 4, 2, 104 (966, 280); VA 374 (1066); 757 (1010); gave RL 1561 (1023); grave PP 10, 7 (1054, 137). Kate ha't TS 5, 1, 87 (253, 150), 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 blast VA 527 (1008). The length of the vowel in all these cases is uncertain. Gill has (naast-ed, naast-ed, naast-ed, last). The modern development has been so diverse, however, (naest, teest, last last last, fast fast fast, blast blast blast) that a difference of length is presumable.
sad shade MN 4, 1, 26 (174', 100); babe drab M 4, 1, 8 (801', 30); chat
gate VA 422 (1007); grapes mis-
haps VA 601 (1008). These are
instances of long (a) 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); vant RL 41
(1015); pant grant RL 555 (1019).

The insertion of the (u) sound be-
tween (a) and (n), 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-a-les P 1,
Gower (977, 5); thrall perpetu-al
RL 725 (1021); fall general RL 1483
(1027'); perpetu-al thrall S 154, 10
(1049'); falls madrigals PP [20], 7
(1056', 359); shall gall RJ 1, 5, 25
(718', 93). The influence of i in in-
roducing (u) after (a), or in chang-
ing (a1) to (Aa), does not seem to
have been regarded in rhyming.

wrath hath MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 20); LC
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, 146 (823', 457);
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 a 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
Foot's prophecy (853, 81); flatter RL
1560 (1028). Gill is very uncertain
about water, having (warter, wa-ter, waa-
ter). Here it rhymes simply as
(water).

amber chamber song, WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
224). Compare Moore's rhymes,
supra p. 899, col. 1.

plat hat LC 29 (1050). We now write
plait, but generally say (plait).

AI and EI with A and EA.

Gait rhymes with state T 4, 1, 21 (15',
101); consecrate MN 5, 1, 104 (179',
423); 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, 186); 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];
slam 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
(see, e).

Said rhymes with read LL 4, 3, 50
(145', 193); maid MN 2, 2, 13 (167,
72); H 4, 7, 6 (489, 37). The
word said was spelled with ai and e
from very early times, supra pp. 447,
484. It has still two sounds with
(see, e). Gill especially objects to call-
ing said, maid (sed meed), 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 (consec, staa). It is there-
fore possible that Shakspeare may
have pronounced (bait), as Gill did,
and left both rhymes false.

Wait rhymes with conceit LL 5, 2, 192
(156', 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 (konsect, gaal).

receive leave AW 2, 3, 43 (282', 90);
TC 4, 5, 20 (644, 35); LC 308
(1052'); deceive leave AW 1, 1, 62
(256, 243); TC 5, 3, 39 (650', 89);
RL 583 (1019'); S 39, 10 (1036); repeat
decit 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, 135 (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
(leceyrr).

survey sway AY 3, 2, 1 (215, 2).

key survey S 52, 1 (1037).'
pleadeth dreadeth leadeth RL 268 (1017). These rhymes with sense CE 2, 1, 8 (95', 20); please LL 1, 1, 5 (135' 49); Simonides P 3, Gover (987, 23). Pericles sense 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.
deal 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).

eats gets song, AX 2, 5, 13 (213, 42).
great get RL 876 (1022).

better greater S 119, 10 (1045')
entreats frets VA 73 (1004).
steps leaps VA 277 (1006).
bequeath death MN 3, 2, 33 (171, 166).
Maebeth rhymes with death M 1, 2, 16 (759, 64); 3, 5, 6 (800', 4);
heath M 1, 1, 5 (788, 7).
death breath bequeath RL 1178 (1025).
deck speak P 5, Gover (987, 59).
oppress Pericles P 9, 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, 15 (277', 71).
confess decease VA 1001 (1012).
East rhymes with detest MN 3, 2, 109 (173', 432); rest PP 16, 1 (1004', 193).

Feast rhymes with guest CE 3, 1, 10 (98', 26); H 13', 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, 145).
Beast rhymes with rest CE 5, 1, 39 (107, 53); jest LL 2, 1, 92 (141, 221); VA 997 (1012); blest VA 326 (1006); possess'd least S 29, 6
(1034').
crest breast VA 395 (1006').
congest breast LC 258 (1053).
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 orthoepical authority, retained its old sound (beseech'), as
leech retained the sound of (leets), beside the newer sound (litish), supra p. 936.

discreet sweet RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 199).

Crete sweet H* 4, 6, 5 (498, 54).

up-heaveth relieveth VA 482 (1007), leaving grieving WT 4, 1, 1 (317, 17).

teach beseech TC 1, 2, 159 (526, 218). beseech you, teach you P 4, 4, Gower (993, 7).

beseech thee, teach thee VA 404 (1007). immense ditty theft field field spirit yet mirror supra 958

reading proceeding weeding breeding LL 1, 1, 15 (136, 94).

eche v. speech P 3, Gower (986, 13).

deems extremes RL 1336 (1026).

seems extremes VA 985 (1012).

Sleeve rhymes with Eve LL 5, 2, 162 (154', 321), believe CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 21).

These may be perfect; the first is rather doubtful.

EE or IE with short E or short I.

she sheds S 34, 13 (1035).

field held S 2, 2 (1031).

field build KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 89), see supra p. 136, n. 1.

Short E with short I.

[See the remarks on civil Seville, supra p. 925.]

hild=held fulfill'd RL 1255 (1025).

mirror error P 1, 1, 8 (978, 45).

theft shift RL 918 (1022).

sentinel kill VA 650 (1009).

Yet rhymes with sit RJ 2, 3, 11 (723, 75); wit LL 4, 2, 10 (146', 35); VA 1007 (1012), agreeing with Smith and Gill.

ditty pretty PP 15, 7 (1655, 199).

im-pressure cem-mission VA 566 (1008).

spirit merit S 108, 2 (1044).

Hither rhymes with weather song, AX 2, 5, 1 (212', 5), RL 113 (1015'); leather CE 2, 1, 34 (96, 84); together song, AX 5, 4, 35 (227, 116).

whether thither PP 14, 8 (1054', 188).

Together rhymes with thither TC 1, 3 (623', 118); whither VA 902 (1011).

Though not precisely belonging to this category, the following rhymes are closely connected with the above through the word together. See p. 129, note 8. either neither hither CE 3, 1, 44 (99, 66); neither together LL 4, 3, 49 (148, 191); together neither PT 42 (1057); whether neither PP 7, 17 (1054, 101).

devil evil LL 4, 3, 91 (149, 286), 5, 2, 42 (152, 103); TN 3, 4, 142 (297', 403); RL 85 (1015'), 846 (1022), 972 (1023). It is probable that all these should be taken as (di-)v, (iv-ville), but Smith also gives (diivii). Compare modern Scotch deal = (dill).

uneven seven RL 2, 2, 23 (366, 121), heaven even AV 5, 4, 35 (227, 114); VA 493 (1007).

never fever S 119, 6 (1045).

privilege edge S 95, 13 (1042).

Myteline 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 (1057, 402); end AV 3, 2, 84 (216', 142); AC 4, 15, 28 (938', 90); CY 3, 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, 2), Bullokar, and Gill.

Fiend rhymes with end PT 6 (1057);

S 145, 9 (1048); friend S 144, 9 (1048'). Shakspere therefore apparently pronounced both friend and fiend with e. Salesbury has (fiund, feund), which is just the reverse of modern use.

teeth with VA 269 (1005).

sin bin = been RL 209 (1016').

give believe H* 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).

field gild RL 58 (1015); killed RL 72 (1015).

yielded shielded builded LC 149 (1051).

Long and Short I, -IND.

[These rhymes were "allowable," perhaps, in the same sense as poets in the xvith and xixith 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 Shakspere's company would have pronounced them so as to rhyme. We find Tennyson 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 ə as (ii) or (ii), and not as (oi).]

Longavile rhymes with compile LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 133); mile LL 5, 2, 29 (152, 53); ill LL 4, 3, 36 (147, 123).

line Collatine RL 818 (1021).

unlikely quickly VA 989 (1012).

deprived unlied derived RL 1752 (1030).

live v. contrive JC 2, 3, 1 (773', 15).

lives s. restoratives P 1, Gover (977, 7).

Ilion pavilion LL 5, 2, 320 (158, 658).

grind confined S 110, 10 (1044).

Inde blind LL 4, 3, 69 (148', 222).

kind mind KA 1016 (1012).

Wind rhymes with behind hind CE 3, 1, 51 (99', 76); mind LL 4, 2, 9 (145, 33); find LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 105), RL 760 (1021); unkind AY 2, 7, 26 (215, 174), VA 187 (1005).

Ind lined mind AY 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 (ii), are very frequent in Shakspeare as well as in Spenser, supră p. 869. But final unaccented y also rhymes with long ee or as (ii), and hence we gather that the original (-e, -ii, -ive), 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, supră p. 861, the old licence prevails, although the rhyme (-i, -ii) is now more common than (-i, -ii), 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, 115); 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 2, 3, 31 (372, 202); infirmity P 1, Gover (977, 3); justify P 1, Gover (977', 41); majesty satisfy RL 98 (1015); secrecy RL 99 (1015'); dignity RL 455 (1018'); 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 minstrelsy LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 175); remedy RJ 2, 3, 8 (721', 61); subtlety S 138, 2 (1047); rarity simplicity PT 53 (1057').

Die rhymes with philosophy LL 1, 1, 3 (155, 31); misery H 6, 3, 2, 45 (483, 136); eternity H 1, 2, 12 (813', 72); testify P 1, Gover (977', 39); dignity S 94, 10 (1042).

dye fearfully PP [18], 40 (1056', 284).

Flies rhymes with enemies H 3, 2, 61 (829, 214); adulteries Cy 5, 4, 4 (970, 31).

fly 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 amazingly M 4, 1, 42 (802', 126).

spy jealous VA 655 (1009).

advise companies TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 246).

exercise injuries miseries Cy 5, 4, 12 (970', 82).

modestly 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 AT 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 2 1, 1, 26 (358, 182) [this is (oon dun)]; Sone M 5, 8, 23 (810', 74); shoon H 4, 5, 9, song (836, 25); thrown Cy 5, 4, 8 (970', 59) [this is (throurn 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 (1008); 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 3, 5, 17 (377, 99); RL 1360 (1026); stone H 4, 5, 11, song (836, 30); bone VA 56 (1008); on P 4, 4, Gower (993, 19); Oth 1, 3, 45 (884, 204); sun VA 188 (1005).

Long O with short O.

not smote LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 24).

note pot LL 5, 2, 405 (160', 929).
o'clock oak MW 5, 5, 16 (65, 78).

not boat H 4, 6, 3 (488', 32).

moment comment S 15, 2 (1033).
frost boast 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 (996', 13).

lost boast 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).

troth oat growth RL 1059 (1024).

Long O with open OW= (oon).

[These rhymes shew 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 xixeP 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 xvith century. The changes of (ee, oo) into (ei, 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, au), 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 tom mow no T 4, 1, 10 (15, 44). A writer in the Atheneum for 20 Aug. 1870, p. 255, proposes to alter the last no into mow, stating, among other reasons, that "now enjoys the advantage of rhyming with mow, which it was meant to do," but mow in this sense was (mou), according to Sir T. Smith, and all five lines are meant to rhyme together.

bow = arecus doe TC 3, 1, 68 (635', 126).

No rhymes with blow CE 3, 1, 31 (99, 54); show AY 3, 2, 34 (216, 134).

So rhymes with crow CE 3, 1, 57 (99', 84); P 4, Gower (990, 32); know CE 3, 2, 3 (100', 53); LL 1, 1, 11 (135', 59); Oth 4, 3, 41 (905, 103); VA 1109 (1013); blow LL 4, 3, 36 (147', 109); owe TN 1, 5, 118 (286, 329); show MN 3, 2, 32 (171, 151). [Hence probably Shakspere said (shou) and not (shen); see Spenser's various uses, supra p. 871.] shrew 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 (715', 91).

Woe rhymes with show LL 4, 3, 4 (147', 36); flow H 4, prol. (592', 3); show H 1, 2, 15 (813', 86).

suppose shows P 5, 2, Gower (998, 5).

Rose rhymes with grows LL 1, 1, 24 (136, 105); flows LL 4, 3, 4 (146', 27); throws VA 590 (1008').

snow foe VA 362 (1006').

foes 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).

foal bowl = up MN 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 (!) 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).

Long O with long OO.

Shoot do't LL 4, 1, 11 (143', 26).
do too Cy 3, 5, 10 (969', 61).
to 't foot LL 5, 2, 50 (152', 146).
to 't 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);
doom S 116, 10 (1045); 145, 5 (1048);
roam TN 2, 3 17 (287', 40); master-
dom M 1, 5, 9 (791', 70).

Moon fordone MN 5, 1, 101 (179', 379).
doeth tooth TC 4, 5, 113 (646', 292).

Look Bolingbroke R3 3, 4, 23 (373, 98).

Store poor LL 5, 2, 178 (155, 377);

RJ 1, 1, 88 (714', 221).

Whores with more rhyme TC 4, 1, 19
(641, 65), 5, 2, 92 (649, 113);
poor KL 2, 4, 19, song (859, 52).
do woe F 1, 1, 8 (978, 47).

No man, woman TG 3, 1, 18 (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); H4
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 3, 2, 13 (170, 74);
stood VA 1121 (1013), 1169 (1013');
understood mood LC 198 (1051');
wool = mad H4 4, 7, 5 (489, 35);
wood VA 740 (1010).

Flood rhymes with wood VA 824
(1010'); stood PP 6, 13 (1053', 83).

Foot rhymes with boot H4 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 (should), suprâ p. 871, and p. 968, under L.

Short O or OO with short U.

[See the puns depending on the
identity of these sounds, suprâ p. 925.]

Crump some KL 1, 4, 74, song (853', 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', 20); drum H4 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 Thibe (179,
334); AW 2, 3, 57 (263, 146); RL
1121 (1024'); S 83, 10 (1041); 101,
9 (1043').

Sun won LL 1, 1, 14 (136, 84).

done won M 1, 1, 2 (788, 4).

done sun Cy 4, 2, 93, song (965', 258).

VAT 197 (1005).

Begun done R3 1, 2, 8 (358', 60).

Nuns 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 (861', 22).
trouble bubble M 4, 1, 5 (891', 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 (977, 25).
forage courage VA 554 (1008).

-ONG, with -OUNG, -UNG.

[The following list of words in -ong = (oq, uq), now (oq, uq), shews with what laxity this termination was used for convenience, so that consonantal rhyme is constantly employed. See Spenser's rhymes, suprè p. 870.]

Young rhymes with long LL 5, 2, 386 (159', 545); 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 (1054, 166);
strong VA 419 (1007); RL 683 (1022);
belong AW 1, 3, 35 (258, 134).

Tongue rhymes with belong LL 5, 2, 181 (156, 581); 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 (102', 1);
LL 1, 1, 39 (136', 167); 4, 2, 34 (146, 121);
MN 2, 2, 169, 9; 2². ind. (409', 39);
VA 217 (1005); 327 (1006); 427 (1007); 1008 (1012);
RL 78 (1015); S 89, 9 (1042);
chron. KL 3, 2, 1 (583, 87);
strong MM 3, 2, 65 (51, 198);
song LL 5, 2, 192 (155, 193); VA 775 (1016); S 17, 10 (1033);
stung MN 3, 2, 12 (170, 72).

sung among KL 1, 4, 70; song (853', 12).
belong among strong LC 254 (1052).
along sung VA 1094 (1013).

Long U, UE, EW, IEW, and YOU.

[The following examples shew, that whatever was the pronunciation, Shakspere found these rhymes sufficiently good for his purposes. According to Gill, he must have rhymed (yy, eu, juu). The modern pronunciations are (iu, uu, juu) in various words, and are generally 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 o, ò, eu with e, ì, ì, would admit of us supposing that they would endure the former vowels, received as (eè, òè, òè, ay oy ol), to be reduced to the second, which are received as (èé, ìì, ìì). This is a most instructive example, because this custom of rhyming is universal among German poets. The corresponding pronunciation is extremely common, and it is as much shunned by all who have any pretense to orthoepical knowledge, as the omission or insertion of the aspirate in English speech. We may, therefore, well understand Shakspere using rhymes and making puns due to a perhaps widely spread pronunciation, while he would, as manager, have well "wagged" an actor who ventured to employ them on the stage in serious speech,—a fate impending on any German actor who should "assist" his author's rhymes by venturing to utter ò as (ee), ò as ( riot, or eu as ( ai).]

You rhymes with adieu LL 1, 1, 25 (136, 110); 2, 1, 55 (141, 219); 5, 2, 116 (153', 240); MN 1, 1, 48 (103, 221); Hû, 4, 4, 21 (438', 45);
VA 535 (1008); S 57, 6 (1088);
new CE 3, 2, 2 (100, 37); S 15, 13 (1033);
grew S 84, 2 (1041);
view LL 4, 3, 40 (148, 175); true T epil.
(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 adieu MA 3, 1, 26 (121, 107); RJ 2, 2, 32 (720', 136);
Montague RJ 3, 1, 54 (726', 135);
view RL 454 (1018');
new S 65, 10 (1039');
grew LC 169 (1051');
subdue LC 246 (1052).
viewing ensuing VA 1076 (1013).
blue knew RL 407 (1018).
hue Jew MN 3, 1, 32 (168', 97).
beauty duty RL 13 (1014'); VA 167 (1004').

Short U.
us thus guess 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).
Antiphonal ruinous CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 2).
doing glorious P 2, Gower (981', 13).
fullness dulness 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 (16, 116).
excuses abuses sluices RL 1073 (1024),
pollute fruit RL 1063 (1024).
suit mute LL 5, 2, 138 (154, 275);
VA 205 (1005); 335 (1006).
suitor tutor TG 2, 1, 73 (25', 143);
KL 3, 2, 14 (863, 83).
youth ruth PP 9, 9 (1054, 125) ; S 37, 2 (1035').

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 yow is a rhyme, the common you adore in the last list, is not.]
suing woeing VA 356 (1006').
lose it, abuse it H 5, 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 4, 3, 41 (148, 183);
why TS 1, 1, 16 (232', 79); die RJ 1, 2, 7 (715, 50); lie RJ 1, 3, 23 (716', 85).
Eyne rhymes with shine LL 5, 2, 8 (153, 205); mine TS 5, 1, 56 (250', 120); vine AC 2, 7, 66, song (924', 120).
die ay R 2, 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 = oyex toys MW 5, 5, 12 (65, 45),
in ludicrous rhymes.
moi Fr. destroy R 2, 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 joint, as identical in sound;
he probably said (dzhois), a pronunciation still common among carpenters.
swine groin VA 1115 (1013). Here possibly (grain) may have been said.

Close OU (ou),
with special reference to the word wound, called (wound) by Smith, and (wouand), in accordance with the present general use, by Gill, who gives (waand), or perhaps (wound), as a Northern pronunciation.

Wound rhymes with ground MN 2, 2,
18 (167', 100); R 2, 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, 179', 42 and 1); sound
RJ 4, 5, 40 (736, 128); P 4, Gover
(990, 23); sound VA 265 (1005');
round VA 368 (1006'); hound VA
193 (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.
Maeduff enough M 5, 8, 9 (809', 33).
laugh draft MW 4, 2, 41 (60, 104).
laugh staff CE 3, 1, 25 (99, 56).
hereafter laughter TN 2, 3, 20 (287', 48),
after daughter TS 1, 1, 59 (234, 244).
This may be meant as ludicrous.
daughter after WT 4, 1, 1 (317', 27).
In the speech of Time, as chorus.
caught her, daughter, slaughter, halter,
after KL 1, 4, 101 (854', 340). In a Song of the Fool. These last three examples are very remarkable, especially the last, including the word halter. When this rhyme occurs in modern ludicrous verse it is usual to say (aai-ta) daai-ta. Whether any such ludicrous pronunciation then prevailed is not clear, but (-AA-ter) would save every case, as halter might well sink to (HAA-ter).

oft nought PP 19, 41 (1056, 339).
Mr. Shelly, of Plymouth, says that he has heard higher lower pronounced in that neighbourhood as (hooif oof-e), and that (thAAft, soif) are common in Devonshire for thought, sigh. See p. 212.

GH written as TH.
mouth drouth P 3, Gover (986', 7);
VA 542 (1008). See Jones's pronunciation, supra p. 212.

GH mute.
[This is entirely comparable to the disregard 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 confessedly gentle, and not so harsh as the Welsh ch, supra pp. 210, 779. But it favours Gill's (raikht), etc., for Salesbury's (rikht).]

Light rhymes with bite R 2, 1, 3, 57
(361, 299); white 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 (1009).
spite knight MN 5, 1, 83 (178', 281).
Delight rhymes with quick LL 1, 13
(155', 70); white LL 5, 2, 404 (160,
905); sprite M 4, 1, 42 (802', 127).
sight white VA 1166 (1013).
sleights 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, 153); eye VA
341 (1006).
high rhymes with eye AW 1, 1, 62
(258, 235); dry VA 551 (1008).

Effect of R final.

Unaccented final ar, er, or.
near Jupiter T 4, 1, 17 (15', 76).
worshipper fear cheer RL 86 (1015').
appear murderer P 4, Gower (990, 51).
characters bears bears LC 16 (1050).
stonachers dears WT 4, 4, 48 (321,
226).
harbingers near PT 5 (1057).
character where Ay 3, 2, 1 (215, 6).
conspirator ravisher RL 769 (1021').
orator harbingers CE 3, 2, 1 (100, 10).
orator singular publisher RL 30 (1016).
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 5,
6, 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 proloc. (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).
warn'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 M W 5, 5, 20 (65, 90).
athwart heart LL 4, 3, 38 (148, 135).
Heard rhymes with reward P 5, 3,
Gower (999', 85); regard RL 305
(1017).

sighs eyes RJ 1, 1, 78 (714, 196).
nebour = neighbour LL 5, 1, 6 (150, 27).
fray weigh MN 3, 2, 27 (170', 129).
weigh'd maid RJ 1, 2, 28 (715', 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 (335', 168).
bough now VA 37 (1005').
vows boughs Ay 3, 2, 34 (216', 141).

-ED = T after S, K.
kissed whist T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
deck'd aspect LL 4, 3, 75 (149, 258).
breast distress'd VA 812 (1010').

EAR, -ERE.

[These seem to have been in a transitional
state between (iir) and (eer),
(p. 81), probably for this reason the
rhymes are rather confused. But the
general pronunciation was evidently
(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 s. RL 1126
(1024'); bear hear RL 1327 (1026);
swear bear RL 1418 (1027); bear
S 8, 6 (1032).

Hear rhymes with chantecler T 1, 2,
101 (5', 384); swear LL 4, 3, 38
(143, 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 v. bear RL
667 (1020'); cheer PP [21], 21
(1056', 393).

Here rhymes with were CE 4, 2, 4
(102', 9); swear ear LL 4, 1, 23
(144, 57); ear 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); wear MN 2,
2, 13 (167', 70); spear R² 1, 1, 24
(357', 170); tear s. Hè prol. (592,
5); bear 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 v.
fear RL 737 (1021); tear s. RL 1373 (1026).

Where rhymes with sphere MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 6); clear S 84, 10 (1041); severe CE 4, 2, 13 (103, 19); near S 61, 13 (1058'); were bee Oth 2, 1, 57 (887, 159).

Weat rhymes with dear LL 5, 2, 45 (152', 130); deer AY 4, 2, 6 (223, 11); bear VA 163 (1004'); year S 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 there 2 H 4, 5, 3, 6 (435, 18); deer KL 3, 4, 34 (864', 144); wear KL 1, 4, 68, song (853, 181); forbear VA 524 (1008).

Dear rhymes with wear WT 4, 4, 92 (322, 324); peer R² 5, 5, 3 (380', 67); there S 110, 1 (1044'); year KJ 1, 1, 38 (333', 152).

. Tear s. rhymes with hair CE 8, 2, 2 (100', 48); VA 49 (1005'); VA 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 hair near MN 2, 2, 4 (166', 30); here MV 2, 9, 9 (191, 73); R² 5, 6, 2 (381', 9); there KL 1, 4, 62, song (853, 159); wears P 5, 3, Gower (999', 93); tear s. VA 1175 (1013'); fear RL 456 (1018'); 1434 (1027); were S 311 (1020); pioneer 1380 (1026'); where S 102, 2 (1043'); wear dear LO 93 (1050).

Fear rhymes with there MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 30); 3, 2, 2 (170, 31); H 3, 2, 56 (828', 181); VA 320 (1006); RL 307 (1017'); swear TN 5, 1, 61 (301', 173); H² 4, 5, 6 (488, 28); PP 7, 8 (1053', 99); bear M 3, 5, 2 (800', 30); RL 610 (1020); near H 1, 3, 5 (815', 45); 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, Gower (993, 29); hair tear 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, Gower (993, 27).

fierce=fearce in quarto H 1, 1, 50 (812', 121).

weary merry T 4, 1, 29 (16, 135).

hert' beard S 12, 6 (1032'). This favours J. P. Kemble's pronunciation of heard as bird, supra p. 82, l. 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 accurate VA 1118 (1013).

earth birth MW 5, 5, 17 (65, 84).

birds herd VA 455 (1007').

stir spur VA 283 (1006'); stir, quarter, stir ineur RL 1471 (1027').

IRE.

aspire higher MW 5, 5, 25 (66', 101).

brier fire MN 2, 1, 2 (164, 3).

fires liars RJ 1, 2, 27 (715', 94).

aspire higher P 1, 4, 2 (980', 5).

reliet retire RL 639 (1020).

In all these the r is evidently syllabic, p. 951.

ORE, OR.

before door MV 1, 2, 29 (185', 146).

abor thoe, adore thee PP 12, 9 (1054', 165).

court sport LL 4, 1, 29 (144', 100).

short sport H² 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).

acctest 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 (855', 65); VA 416 (1007); S 38, 9 (1053'); 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 105, 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, Gower (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 palatotypic symbols, are additions.

A.

A was generally (ee) as in ale, make, tame; sometimes (AA) as in awce, saw, fall; the Italian (aa) and short (e) are rarely indicated.

A final was almost always (ee). This is shown by the rhymes: say Seneca, Drayton's Elegies, 1627, p. 197; Remora delay, Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 215; from height of Ida = Ida, Seneca's Ten Tragedies, 1581, fol. 115. [See supra p. 912, under AI. 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-o-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-a 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 Genova, 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 unmistakeably ay (ee) instead of ah (aa). 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 Shakespearean 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 = (ee) or (A), shewn by the co-existence of the spellings an, aun [no instance of aunel 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 haive for have." Leigh Hunt's Autobiography, p. 85, ed. 1860. "My mother, who both read and spoke remarkably well, would say haive and shaul (for shal) when she sang her hymns." Ibid. [Both xvii th century sounds, (eev) being the late form of (aev). The modern (aev) shortened the vowel, without altering its quality. We have (feedr) now as a provincialism, see supra p. 750, n. 8.]

CH

had more frequently than now the sound k. [The instances cited—beseke, belk, stinch, roches, for beseech, belch, stink, rocks,—are only cases of old k not changed into (tsk). The ch can hardly be supposed to represent k; yet Mr. White observes that chaste is cast in the first and second folios of WT 3, 2, 19 (315, 133), which might have been a misprint, and suggests that we should read, "he hath bought a pair of chaste lips of Diana, for "cast lips," in AX 3, 4, 10 (219', 16), which would spoil the joke of comparing Dian's lips to cast-off clothes. It cannot be supposed that there was any
variation between (shb) and (k) in this and similar words. In LL 6, 1, 10 (150', 35), he supposes chirrah to represent shirrah.

E.
The -ed was "rigorously pronounced", unless the contraction was indicated. Thus purpled, shufled, were purpl-ed, shuff- ed. [See supra p. 922.]

EA.
Generally ea = ee. [Here Mr. White recants a hasty opinion that ea = (ii), made in a note on LL 4, 1, 60 (145, 148), 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 thread, 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, art, etc. "The first and last are still preserved, and the others linger among the uncultivated. But heard and earth were conformed to analogy by some speakers and writers, and pronounced heird and airth; and this usage is not yet extinct in New England. Beard appears to have had four sounds, beã (rarely), baird (the most usual), bard 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. 6, and: ocean run; Browne's Pastoral, 1, 25, ed. 1772. [See: ocean motion, supra p. 954, col. 1, and: physician incision, supra p. 949, col. 2.] Ea was short (e) in leag'd, head'.

EAU.
[In a note on H 4 1, 2, 7 (338', 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 was probably always (ee).

EW was often (ee), as it is now in show, strew, as shewn by rhymes, and spelling shrow = shrew, Albion's England, 1602, p. 41; tow = tow, Ib. p. 144; showres = showeres, Ib. p. 193, [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 England." In sue, rue, true, Louis, eu was "very commonly used" for (uu).

GH was more frequently f than at present. Compare the rhymes: daughter after, Pastor Fido, 1647, p. 150, Romeus and Juliet, ed. Collier, p. 65; taught soft, Browne's Pastoralis, 1, 68; and the spelling: daughter = rafter, Lilly's Gallowtree, act 1, sc. 4. But gh was also silent. The following rhymes are cited from Collier, Coloridge, and Shakespeare, 1860: oft naught, Passionate Pilgrim; taught aloft, Surrey's Forsaken Lover; shaft caught, Chapman's Hero and Leander; aloft thought, Chapman's Helen; after manslaughter, Barclay's Eclogue II. [See Shakspeare'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', 29); spleets (= splits) what it speaks AC 2, 7, 67 (924, 129); the breeze (= brize) upon her AC 3, 10, 6 (928', 14); a kind of weeke (= wick) or snuffe II 4, 7, 29 (839, 116), quarto 1604; At whose abuse our flirying (= fleeting) world can winke, Churchyard's Charity, 1595; Doth neither church, queer (= quire, choir), court, nor country spare, Ibïd; In Daud's Psalms true miter (= metre) flows, Churchyard's Praise of Poetry, 1595. The spelling spreet for spirit, sprite, or spright, is very common. "Which the High goat (= he-goat) as one
was generally (ii), but pierce, fierce, were "very generally pronounced purse and purse" [meaning (pas, fis), or (peas, fea), but the xvith century sounds were professedly, (pers, fers)].

L was more often silent than now, as shown by the spellings fauus = faults, haulty = haughty, Ralph, rape = Ralph; but was heard in could, should, would, down to past the middle of xvith century. [In a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (160, 22), Mr. White mentions that in could, would, is heard in the old pronunciation of the eastern United States, see supra p. 371, col. 2, and p. 961, col. 2, under OO.] The spelling jealous (Albion's England, c. 84, p. 348, ed. 1806) 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 toad with a broad dissyllabic utterance of both vowels, the first long, the second short—tōd. The same pronunciation obtains in a less degree with regard to throat, road, load, and other like words." But Shakspere used "the simple sound of o [meaning perhaps (oo), but see supra p. 34]. One was the same as owa. The modern prefixed o is like the Dorsetshire what, wold, whence, dwont, peint, cwoot = hot, old, home, don't, point, coat.

O was simple e in join, point, boil, etc., down to Pope's time, supra p. 194.

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 (a, un?). The use of o-oo 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 (Ruum) 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 (Birum'), apparently because the name hero rhymes with moon, or because Mr. C. J. Fox said Toulon 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 wo and woe had the same sound. But see rhymes to woe, supra p. 961, and Salesbury, p. 785. And on K3 5, 7, 1 (354, 2), reading 'pore 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,*quot, *quod, quit, quot,*and perhaps quart, and quit. [Those words marked * are still frequently so pronounced.] LL 5, 2, 142 (154, 279), perhaps contained the pun qualm, calm; as also 2H2 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. Sewer was pronounced shore in the Elizabethan era. Hence, too, shekels was spelled sickels * in the fo. MM 2, 264 (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 (shek'el) which Jerome Latinized into siclus, of course the im-
mediate origin of Wycliffe's spelling, and hence probably of the folio reading: Referring to LL 4, 1, 37 (144', 169), see supra, p. 215, note: he says this in LL 3, 77 (143, 191), one 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. Compare the common spellings: nostrilo nosethriu, apothecary apothekey, authority authoery, '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 swythy, fifty fifth, sixt sixth, eightt eightt [the last three are quite modern spellings and sounds], Satan Satan, stathorth stathwart, quod, quote, quod, quoth. Less usual examples, whatst yse twice in Wye and Science, Shak. Soc. ed. p. 21 [compare the change of θ to t after a, i in Orrmin, supra p. 490, l. 22, and p. 444, n. 2, but here yse may be simply a misprint]. A pythie pi thin kaye, Robert the Deuill, 6; in gold oue from throne, Senecea's Ten Tragedies, 1581, p. 124 [compare Salesbury, supra p. 760, n. 3]: th' one autentique authentic, Daniel's Rosamond, 1599, sig. C 2; dept depth of art, Browne's Pastoral, 2, 52; Be as cauthering cauthering, Tim 5, 1, 48 (761', 136), ed. 1623 [it is really misprinted as a Canthering in that foilo, the other three folios read as a cauthering, cauthering was Pope's conjecture, other editors read concerning, the instance is therefore worthless]; the Thuskian Tuscan poet, Drayton's Nymphidia, 1627, p. 120; with amatists amethysts, Arcadia, 1605, p. 143; call you this gamouth gamul, four times, TS 3, 1, 24 (240', 71), ed. 1623 [the other folios have smooth, the derivation is obscure]. Observe the interchange of th, th in Japhet, Batsea, Hithite, Galathians, Loth, Pathmos, Swethen, Gotecham, Gotes, Athalanta, Protheus, Anton, Antihmen, "throughout our early literature." See also in Sir Balthazar Gerlier's Interpreter of the Academie for Foreign 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 English pronunciation of the day, and it specially became him to give the best." Thus he spells lefienant, 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 θ (th) sound." The examples are With Sundayes—Whit Sundays, may seth—set, will teach—teach, strenckt—strength, yought—youth, anathomie—anatomy, fourty—forty, seventy—seventy, seventeen—seventeen, dept—depth, height—height, sight, sighted—sight, sighted, rethorike—rhetorick, braught—broth, the French is potage.

To this refer the puns "that most capricious [punning on caper=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 "not having 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 explain), '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 Gerrier's [here misspelled 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 century, d, th, and t, were indiscriminately used to express a hardened and perhaps not uniform modification of the Anglo-Saxon _sound, a sound like which we now hear in the French pronunciation of
meurtre, 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 d = (t̪; d̪) common on the Continent, still heard in some combinations in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, and the Peak of Derbyshire, and probably much more widely; the Irish seems to be complicated with a post-aspiration (t̪h, d̪h). In Yorkshire water is sometimes (waa-'ter) and almost (waa-'tner), and Southerners, in trying to imitate it, call it (waa-thi). In the following notes, Mr. White pursues this subject further.] LL 1, 2, enter Moth (137').

"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. Wieloff wrote in Matthew vi., 'were rust and mought distrhyth' [in Forshall and Madden's ed., Matt. vi. 19, older version, "wher rust and mouthe distruxeth," later version, "where ruste and mouthe destrieth," 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 'mot[e]' are found in Anglo-Saxon, in which language 'moth' is moghte [mogðe, moðe, or moðe, according to Et tmüller, p. 222, who refers the word to the root muga, m adapt, to be able, to cover, to heap up; this accounts for the ð so often found in old writings, and the two sounds (moit, moth) are similar to the two sounds (draut, drauth), see supra p. 963; mite, ags. mite, from mitan, 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 Dictionaries for Young Beginners. London, 4to., 1568. "A moth or motte that eateth clothes, lineas. A barell or great boile, Zina, noth. Sed lineas, cum e, verba M. est, anglicas, A. mought," and from Lodge's Wits Miserie, or the World's Madinnesse, "They are in the aire like otomi in sole, mothes in the sun." On TS 2, 1, 16 (237, 43), he remarks that 'Katharina,' had the th sounded as t, as shewn by the abbreviation Kate. [So also Jones, supra p. 219.] On pother, KJ 3, 2, 9 (862, 60), he remarks: "This word was spelled pouther, pother, godther, and pudder. In the first three cases it seems to have been pronounced with the ð hard; and I believe it to be no more nor less than the word 'pother,' which is used in this, but not, I believe, in the mother country." But the modern (padh-2) favours an old (pudh-er), which, with the interchange of (d) and (dh), explains everything.] Bemoothes, T 1, 2, 53 (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, 43); 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-
spare's day; it is hardly obsolete; and even of the many instances in Shake-
spare's works, I will quote only one, "sling by and note him," from AY 3, 2, 77 (217, 267)." [Compare also LL 3, 1, 6 (142, 25), "make them men of note—do you note me?"
Mr. White then quotes the anasonance, which he regards as a rhyme: 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 inadmissible. Nothing is given as (noth'-q) with a short vowel, the precusor of our (nath'-q), by both Bullokar and Gill, and although the shortness of the vowel did not stand in the way of Shaksper'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 (noot'-q). Still I have heard a Russian call nothing (noot'-q), with the identical (oo) in place of (oo) as well as (t) for (th). Acting upon this presumed punning, 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, Viet 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 petition 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 punned 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 inappreciable 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 Atomy, 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, 52 (138', 94), there can be no doubt that green wit alludes to Dalilah'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 reprobaded by both Palsgrave and Salesbury (supra p. 844, under D and T, and p. 759, 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 villy printed, by-the-bye, and this vnum cita is sufficiently unintelligible; Theobald reads circum circa; another conjecture is manu cita; perhaps intro extra may have been meant, compare Liv. 1, 26, "verbera, vel intro pomoerium . . . vel extra pomoerium," but it was, no doubt, some well-known school urchin's al-

ution 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 (with) to merely add
on the sound of (th), thus (withe), as we now do in the word eighth = (eeth). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters witoll, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (51', 313), into wit-Old, LL 5, 1, 26 (150', 66). But the word withe, ags. wifig, with a long vowel, is otherwise remarkable. It is now called (withe) by most orthoepists, Perry giving (width) and Smart (width). The long ags. i would make us expect (oi), but it is one of the words which has remained unchanged. Even Smart gives (width's), which is the complete word, though Worcester writes (width'). These varieties are due to its being a word which orthoepists are probably not in the habit of hearing and using. The Scotch say (wid'-i), wod't. 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, f, were used in a very haphazard way in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew words in the xvi th and even xvii th 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 Bullok says, supra p. 842, I. 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 Goth as (gooot), AT 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 Wit-Sunday. 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 obsolently. 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 (aab'hber 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 bb, 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 xvi th and xvii th 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 (Antonisus), author (autor), prothornotary (pronotorius); we also find lanthorn as well as lantern (lanterne, 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 k does not appear to have ever been sounded. "Old English often writes t in this way: rethor (rhetor), Sathanas (Satanas), Ptholomey, etc. The modern English anthem, old English antem, ags. antifen, arose from antiphona."]

U.

"U, when not followed by e, had very commonly that sound (very unfily indicated by oo) which it has in rude, crude, and the compounds of lude, and of which the furnisfur, literasoor, matoor," of old-fashioned, though not illiterate, New-England folk is a remnant. Such phonographic spellings as the following, of which I have numerous memoranda, leave no doubt on this point: ugly ougly, gun goon, run roon, clung cloong, spun spoon, curl coorle, and conversely poop pop, gloom gm, gloomy gmungy.'" [In all but the last two instances the sound was (u), and they are corroborations of the statement that short u was (u) or (w) in the xvi th century. See supra p. 167. In a note on Fock, MN 2, 1, 3 (164', 18), vol. 4, p. 101, Mr. White says that previously to Shakspeare it was always spelled pouke, pooke, or poku; and in vol. 5,
p. 143, in a note on "muddied in Fortune's mood," A.W 5, 2, 1 (276, 4), he notices the pun, mood, mud (see supra p. 926), spoiled by Theobald's correction into moat, adopted by Warburton. Possibly we have the same pun, or error spelling, 2H 4, 2, 4, 13 (419, 43), where "muddy rascal" is probably a joke on "moody rascal."

URE.

"That we 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 base that wants discourse of rayson
Would have worn'd longer!'
'0, me prophetic soul! me ooncle!'
'A broken voice, and his whole function 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 have, me, shooting, wit, noting, as representatives of have, my, suiting, with, nothing, — (haav) or (hæav), (mai) or (mi), (syyt:q, with, noth:q), 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 Shakesperian pronunciation, the un-Italicized words being supposed to have their present sounds.

Summary of the Conjectured Pronunciation of Shaksper.

It now remains from these indications to draw up a scheme of Shaksperian pronunciation, sufficiently precise to exhibit specimens in palaeotype. Shaksper was born in 1564, became joint proprietor of Blackfriars Theatre 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 Shakspeare,
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 mi depypyi for Eierland H3 3, 2, 73 (610, 260).
Az fei’er dreiz out fei’er, so pivi pivi JC 3, 4, 55 (775, 171).
Az ei remember Hen’eri dhe Sikst R3 2, 4, 45 (580, 98).
But whuu iz man dhat iz not aqgeri? Tim 3, 5, 9 (752, 57).
Faaerwel, komendë mi tu jur mis’teres RJ 2, 4, 81 (723, 204).
Juu, dhe greet too ov dhis asem’beli C 1, 1, 45 (655, 169).
Wheil shii did kaal mi ras’kal fid’eler TS 2, 1, 45 (238, 158).
Dhan Bul’qbruks return tu Eq’geland R3 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). Shakspeare 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 show that it was not pronounced; compare the analogous rhymes (oo, ou), 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 Shakspeare’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 Shakspeare and other actors, and in which a proprietor had no share, unless, of course, he was an actor as well as a proprietor.”
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\[=(\text{kh}),\] ibid. Hence (\text{u}) will be adopted in the examples.\footnote{Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (suprà p. 917, n. 1) say, "The sound of this guttural must have been atonic and faint, for Baret, Smith and Jonson make it equivalent to \(k\). . . Its sound must have been disappearing in Shake speare’s time, for in 1653 it was a provincialism (Wallis, p. 31). . . It is probable that \(f\) was frequently substituted for \(gh\)." See suprà pp. 963, 967.} See also suprà p. 477, and note 1.

The S was apparently often (\text{z}) under the same circumstances as at present. T, S, were also often (s) where they are now so pronounced in French. The numerous examples of "resolutions," pp. 947-950, must be held to prove conclusively that in these cases the modern (\text{sh}) sound was unknown or at least unrecognized. See the remarks on \textit{fashion}, p. 949, col. 2, last entry, and p. 955, and on \textit{resolution}, \textit{imagination}, p. 953.\footnote{The short \(a\) is considered to have been (\text{e}) 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 \textit{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 (\text{eae}). The case of long \(a=(AA)\) they consider under \textit{au}, see the next note but one.}

Initial K, G, in \textit{kn}, \textit{gn}, was certainly pronounced, and initial \textit{WR} was probably (\text{rw}), but may have been (\text{wr}). There is, however, no internal authority for this conclusion, but on the other hand no puns such as: \textit{knave nave}, \textit{write rite}, against it.\footnote{Messrs. Noyes and Peirce conclude that "\(ai\) was a true diphthong, not resembling our \(a\) long than our \(i\) long," meaning probably (\text{eai}), which would not be quite the same as our \(a\) long, which they consider to be (\text{eet}).}

Vowels present greater difficulties, and must be considered more in detail.

A was certainly either (\text{aa}, \text{a}) or (\text{aah}, \text{ah}). It could not have passed into (\text{ææ}, \text{æ}), and still less into (\text{ee}, \text{e}). The puns with A, p. 929, and the rhymes on A, p. 955, independently of external testimony, can leave no reasonable doubt on this point.\footnote{Messrs. Noyes and Peirce (suprà p. 990, n. 5) say, "The 

\textit{ai, ay,} present much ground for hesitation. They must now be distinguished from \textit{ei, ey,} with which Salesbury confounds them, while Smith makes the difference slight. After Gill’s denunciation of Hart’s pronunciation of \(ai, ay,\) as (\text{ee}), p. 122, we cannot admit that sound as general in Shakspere’s time, notwithstanding the presumption in favour of Sir Philip Sidney’s use of (\text{ee}), p. 872, and the obscurity of Mulcaster, p. 912. Wallis and Wilkins, who are both later, and both apparently said (\text{æi}), confirm this opinion. We see by puns that the pronunciation (\text{ee}) was well known to Shakspere, but we cannot fix it in more than two or three cases. The remarks on p. 924 justify the retention of \(ai\) for general purposes, that is, the acceptance of Gill’s practice. See also suprà p. 474, note, col. 2.}

1. Wallis, supra, p. 975

2. Wallis, supra, p. 975

3. Wallis, supra, p. 975

4. Wallis, supra, p. 975

5. Wallis, supra, p. 975

6. Wallis, supra, p. 975
AU, AW, ought to be (au) if \( ai=\text{(ai)} \). 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 (\( \text{aa} \)), p. 145. But he evidently hesitated at times between (au) or (\( \text{au} \)) and (\( \text{aa} \)), for he says, referring to "HALL Henriculus, HALE tharehe, et HALL aula," that "exilius est a in duabus vocibus prioribus, in tertia \( \text{fore} \) est diphthongus." Compare a similar expression respecting the undoubtedly diphthongal long \( i \), suprâ p. 114, 1. 10 from bottom. The \( \text{au}, \text{au}, \text{au} \) have the true archaic stage twang, and each of them may be occasionally heard, at least before (l), from modern declaimers. Still as I have felt constrained to accept (\( \text{aa} \)) 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 (suprâ p. 146), I have adopted (\( \text{aa} \)) in Shakspere. There is at least one rhyme, \( \text{la! flaw} \), 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 suprâ pp. 225, 227. There was, however, occasionally a tendency to mince it into (i) when short, compare the puns: \( \text{clept clipt, civil Seville} \), p. 925, and the rhymes p. 958. This mincing became very prevalent in the xvith and xvith 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 \( \text{dawn} \) and be made equivalent to \( \text{dawn}. \) Such a sound is, perhaps, given to \( \text{balm} \) in Georgia and Alabama." By \( \text{dawn}, \text{dawn}, \) I suppose these writers mean (\( \text{aa}, \text{aa} \)) by the last-mentioned sound of \( \text{balm} \), they possibly mean (\( \text{aa} \)). 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 \( \text{father}. \) 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 \( \text{au} \) will be that it was always pronounced as at present," that is (\( \text{aa} \)). They incidentally call the pronunciation of \( \text{dance} \) as \( \text{(dams)} \), which is thought refined by many English speakers, "a prevalent vulgarism" in America. On the sound of French \( a \), see suprâ p. 820, and on the English conception of the sound so late as the end of the xvith century, see Sir William Jones's English spelling of French, suprâ p. 835. At present there is a great tendency in French to make the sound very thin. The use of (\( \text{aa} \)) is disliked, and the short sound has dwindled from (\( a \)) to (ah), on its road, apparently, to (e), 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 \( c \) long, as in \( \text{Eve, deer} \), 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 \( \text{et, Caesar, cedar, equal, fierce, Grecian, interfere, thear, etc.,} \) which had the peculiar sound of \( \text{ea} \), 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. 957, 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 xvirth 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.

EE must be regarded as always intentionally (ii).

EI, EY, ought to have followed the fortunes of ai, ay, with which we have seen they were once interexchangeable. Gill is not consistent. He marks prey as (prail), suprâ p. 900, but in they he uses (ei, eci), 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 (eci), will not be far wrong. Neither rhymes nor puns help us here. Hart’s ordinary orthography, as shewn by his own MS., suprâ p. 794, note, proves that ei was to him identical with (ee).

EO had become (ii) in people, and perhaps in yeoman, of which the modern sound (joo‘men) is clearly erroneous. We find leopard trissyllabic, H a 1, 5, 5 (475, 31), suprâ 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.

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 (ei) has been retained in Shakspeare. 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 neither the one [long e] 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, suprâ 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 suprâ 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 ‘end’ instead of the consonant y.” See below p. 980, 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 -eg. As Gill constantly adopts the pronunciation (-ei) in such cases, I shall follow his lead. Compare the puns on noddy, marry, p. 926.1

IE, when not final, was probably (ii), according to the external authorities. When medial, it was still a rare form, and had not regularly 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, ou), p. 960. We must, therefore, follow external authorities. Long O was also occasionally (uu), compare the puns,

1 Messrs. Noyes and Peirce say of i in in, that "words to which we now give this sound had in general the same pronunciation in Shakespeare's day." On the long e, they first remark on the gliding characteristic of diphthongs, referring to Mr. J. Jennison in Hillard's Reader: "None of our diphthongs are combinations of two vowels, but run from the first sound to the last through an infinite number of gradations. 'Ioe,' according to this view, instead of being ah-ee, is more nearly ah, up, err, end, in, eve," that is, instead of (ai), is more nearly (assoei).

"But it is not to be supposed that any abrupt change was made from the Saxon i long to this very complex combination. It is more rational to suppose that the sound grew up by insensible gradations somewhat in this manner," translating the symbols, they become (1. i, 2. ii, 3. ei, 4. oe, 5. ao, 6. aoei). Then quoting Palsgrave as suprà pp. 109, 110, they say: "The unmistakable drift of these citations is to the effect that 'ioe' was pronounced like i in 'wind,' or perhaps 'end-in-eve,'" that is, as (oi) or (ei)? Further on they say, "the Palsgrave pronunciation of 'ioe' in words where the i is now sounded long, appears to have been confided with Mulcaster 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, however, like Gill, preferred the longer pronunciation in all words of this class, not excepting 'wind.' 'And some pronounce these words bind, bind, behind, short: others blinde, finde, behind, with e, long,' (Coote, p. 19).

They adopt (oi) 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 (mois mece; lais lees), is noteworthy: "Many words ending in Dipthongs, or Vowells, take neither a. nor s. [in the plural,] but only change their Dipthongs or Vowells, retaining their last Consonant: as Mouse. Mice, or Meece. Lous. Lyce, or Lecee. Goose, Geese. Foot. Feet. Teeth." B. Jonson, Gram. Chap. xiii. But from the same writer conjugating "Pt. Lye. Pa. ley. Par. pa. lyne or layne," we cannot conclude that layne was pronounced by any one like lyne, but that lyne was a form which he preferred, as one may see from his conjugating: "Pt. Fly. Pa. floe. Par. pa. flyne or flowne," where flyne could never have been the pronunciation of flowne. B. Jonson, Gram. Chap. xix.
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.\(^1\)

OA seems to have been regularly (oo).

OE is only (oo).

OI, OY will be taken as (oi) or (uali), according to Dr. Gill’s usage. When there is no immediate authority, the pronunciation (ui) or (oi) in the xvIIth or xvIIIth century, may be held to imply a xvith century (ui) or (uali), suprâ p. 134, l. 1, and p. 473, note, col. 2, and infrâ 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.\(^2\)

OO was regularly (uu), but there are a few rhymes with long u, see p. 963.

OU, OW, had of course the two sounds (ou, oou), but Shakspere quite disregarded the difference between these two diphthongs in rhyme, p. 961, and also the difference between (oo, oou), 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 (ou, au) or (ou, au). Hence I shall here follow my external authorities.\(^3\)

\(^{1}\) Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to be acquainted with the common English provincial and Scotch sounds (oo, o), although they know (oe, 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 (o, o). The long o they take without any afer sound or “vanish,” that is, as (oo) not (ou). But the diphthongal o before l, and ou, ow, 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 (ou), with a short first element, than (ou), or (ou), with a long first element. It is probably the same sound as orthoepists in the xviith century analyzed as (au, ou), suprâ p. 160. But if so, it is more nearly the closed sound of ou than the open sound, that is, nearer (ou) than (ou).

\(^{2}\) Messrs. Noyes and Peirce do not seem to notice the (uu, u) sounds of o.

\(^{3}\) Messrs. Noyes and Peirce recognize the double sound of i, and quote the passage from Mulcaster, suprâ p. 915. These distinctions are recognized by Messrs. Noyes and Peirce, who, however, infer from the passages quoted from Mulcaster, suprâ p. 914, that he agreed with Bullokar and Palsgrave in pronouncing ou as (uu), where most writers gave (ou), just as when i preceded not he at least occasionally pronounced (i), and not (ei, ei), suprâ p. 913. They also imagine that Shakspere may have occasionally played on the pronunciation of foot as fool. Mr. Noyes, in a private letter, thinks that the reading foute found in three quartos in H 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,  and on the rhymes, 962. There is of course just the chance of an (iu) pronunciation, which we know existed, not only from Holford’s express assertion (supra, 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, 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 two, do, are constantly called (tty, dry), 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 (tiu, diu), sounds of which I am ignorant. But I have noticed a confusion between (yy, io) here as elsewhere. Again, it is generally asserted that in Devonshire they call moon (myrra); but Dr. Weymouth, a Devonshire man, denies the fact, and his pronunciation is (moon), as nearly as I could judge. The sounds (io, 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  with the French sound. Even as late as 1775, Joshua Steele heard French  or (yy) in superfluous, 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 Rationale, 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 . At first a Southerner takes it for (ii), then he is apt to consider it simply (yy) or (io) or (uu), 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, vu). 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 (wu), 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 ‘see’ is described with some unanimity as that of the French , 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 .” But see the passage quoted and remarks on it, supra, p. 168. The short  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)
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 = (ee) or = (ee), rarely = (ai).
EO = (ii) or = (ee).
EU = (eu) or = (yy).
I long = (ei).
I short = (e).

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 xvi and early part of the xvii 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 Cheke attempted a systematic orthography in MS. (supra p. 577, 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 WILYAM TYNDALE: and fynesshed 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: aege, baebes, braeke, caege, caeke, caese, caest, desolact, faere, fase face, faether, gaseinge, gaev, graces, haest haestily, haet, haeth, haeth, haeven, laede, laece, laeme, laetely, maede, maekte, maekinge, naked, naeme, parthaker, place, plaets, range, raetet, raether, saeke, saecke, saeme, saeved, saevoour, scavche, shaeke, shaftem, shaape, space, spaceke, taekte, taeme, taseet, awaeka, waere, waest, waeste.
AE = (a) in: acaenyinge, aengell, maed, maesters, pser, rewaerde, saete,
The pronunciation founded on these conclusions, and realized in the following examples, may at first hearing appear rude and provincial. But I have tried the effect of reading some of these passages.

The pronunciation 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 errors, and Mr. Fry's list is the result of a laborious search. The word maister is said to be nearly the only one which is used with tolerable uniformity, and this might have been used for master, 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, etc., 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 unfrequently overlooked, as they might be by the best press readers, and were sure to have been by such careless ones as those in the xvth century. This hypothesis seems sufficient to account for the phenomenon, though its establishment would require a more laborious 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 xivth century stands in this respect on a totally different footing from that of the xivth. Chaucer's verse and rhyme are quite unintelligible, if he is read with our modern pronunciation. 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 xixth century notions, permit. 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 Pleasing'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, xiv, and xivth 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. 651, and Rapp's on p. 676. The original is also in palaeotype. Mr. Payne has obligingly revised and corrected the proof of this copy.

When that sweet April showers with downward shoot
The drought of March have pierc'd unto the root,
And bath'd every vein with liquid 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 souls 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, supra 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 wander 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 weak.

Mr. Horne’s introduction gives an account, with specimens, of former para-phrases, and an “examination of the versification and rhythm adopted by Chaucer,” (pp. xxxvii-xxi) 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 antithodal to Mr. Abbott’s theories, supra pp. 940, 944. Thus on Prologue v. 184–5 (supra 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. lxxxii.

The following examples of trisyllabic measures in modern heroic verse are borrowed from this introduction, such measures being italicized.

From Wordsworth.

By the unexpected transports of our age
Carried so high, that every thought, which looked
Beyond the temporal destiny of the kind,
To many seem’d superfluous: 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 Volaties 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 casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn—
Bastion’d with pyramids of glowing gold—
Were pent in regions of laborious breath—
Blazing Hyperion on his orbéd fire.

From Tennyson.

Smiling a god-like smile, the innocent light—
Reign thou above the storms of sorrow and ru
Full many a wondrous groat 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 Shakspeare’s Plays and Poems (when not avowedly facsimiles), adopt the current orthography of the time, into which has slipped the change of *whan, than, then* into *when, then, than*. A similar attempt has been recently made with Chaucer,¹ 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 *es*, and shifting the place of the accent, for no apparent purpose but to make the lines scan, has a traily 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:

"Whenné that April, *with his showrês sote,*¹
The drouth of March hath pierced to the rote,²
And bathéd every vein in such lieour,
Of which virtüe engendred is the flow'r;
When Zephirus eké, with his sote³ breath
Inspirèd hath in every holt⁴ and heath
The tender croppèd; and the youngè sun
Hath in the Ram his halfe course yrun,
And smailel fowles maken melody,
Which sleen up allè night with open eye,
So pricketh them nature in their courages,§
Then longen folk to go on pilgrimages,
And palmers for to seeken strange stronds,
To serve hallows⁵ couth⁶ in sundry lands;
And *speclally from every shir[e]s end
Of England 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 *mo*, 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 *mo = 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 thyngh hyseke I tow | and warne also
That je ne pryke | with no turmentynge
This tendre Mayde | as je han don moo.

*Latin—*

Vnum bona fide precor ac moneo ne hanc illis aculeis agites quibus *alteram* agiastis.

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 Shakspeare, Being Extracts from his Plays, Following the Words of the Folio Edition of 1623, with Modern Punctuation and Arrangement.

I.—Martshaunt ov Ven's.

Akt 4, Seen 1, Spittish 50. Kom'ediz, p. 179.

50. Por's'ia.

Dhe kwal'it'i of mer's'i iz not straind,
It drop'eth az dhe dzhen t'l rain from hev'n
Upon dhe plaas beneedh'. It iz tweis blest,
It ble's'eth him dhat giivz and him dhat taaks.
-T iz meih't'iest' in dhe meih't'iest. It bikumz'
Dhe thron'ed mon'ark bet'er dhan hiiz kroun.
Hiiz sep't'er shouz dhe foors of tem'poraal pou'er,
Dhe at'rybyyt tu aau and madzh'estei,
Wherein' duth sit dhe dred and feer of kiiz.
But mer's'i iz abuv' dhis sep'terd swai,
It iz enthroon'ed in dhe narts of kiiz,
It iz an at'rybyyt tu God him'self';
And eerth'lei pouer duth dhen shouw leik' est Godz,
When mer's'i see'z'nz dzhust'is. Dheer'foo',
Dhouz dzhust'is bii dhei plee, konsid'er dhis,
Dhat in dhe kuurs of dzhust'is, noon of us
Shuuld sii salvaa'siun. Wii ddu prai for mer'si,
And dhat saam prai'er duth teets us aal tu ren'der
Dhe diidz of mer's'i.

II.—Az juu leik it.

Akt 2, Seen 7, Spittish 31. Kom'ediz, p. 194.

31. Dzhaak'ez.

:AAI dhe world -z a staadzh,
And aal dhe men and w'm'en miir'lei plai'erz.
Dheec naav dheer ek'sits and dheer en'traansez
And oon man in hiiz teim plaiz man'i parts,

1 Gill's pronunciation of igh as (eikh) is adopted, so far as the vowel is concerned, in place of Salesbury's (ikh), on account of the rhymes light bite, right spite, might spite, etc., supra p. 963. For the same reason, the (kh) has been reduced to (h), supra p. 975.

2 Gill's (throon) is accepted in place of Salesbury's more archaic form (trumn).

3 (Shouz) is preferred to the older (sheuz) on account of the rhymes shew so, woes shew, suppose shews, p. 960, under So.

4 (Tem'poraal) is due to the rhymes fall general, etc., p. 956. (Pou'er) is written to shew the syllable 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 syllable. Bullokar's short vowel is probably due to a mistaken etymology. The word is not ags., (supra p. 394.) Orrmin always writes it with a long vowel, -fore, and forr with a short vowel. Mätzner, Eng. Gram., 22, 370, quotes it frequently in the divided form, per foren, meaning evidently, that being before, i.e. in consequence of that. The old forf split up into the two modern forms because, and therefore.

7 This is conjectural. Smith apparently said (Dzhyyz), but there is unfortunately a misprint in his book where the word is cited.
Hiz akts bii'üq sev'n aadzhex. At ferst, dhe in faant
Myy-liq and pyy'kiq in dhe nur'sez armz:
Dhen,1 dhe whein'q skual'bwoi with niz satsh'el
And shein'iq morn'iq faas, kriip'iq leik snail
Unwil'qilei tu skuul. And dhen dhe luv'er,
Seik'q leik fur'ras, with a woo'ful bal'ad
Maad tu niz mis'tres ei'brou. Dhen, a souul'dier
Ful of strainzhd oodhz, and ber'd ed leik dhe pard,
Dzhee'lius in on'ur, sud'ain, and kwik in kwarc'el,
Siik'q dhe bub''l repytaa'sün
Tv'n in dhe kan'onz mouth. And dhen, dhe dzhust' of
In fair round bel'i, with guud kaa'p'n leind,
With eiz seveer', and berd of for'maal kut,
Ful of weiz saaiz, and mod'ern in'staansez,
And soo nii plaiz niz part. Dhe sek t aadzh shifts
Ztu dhe leen and slip'erd pan'taluun,
With spek' tak'lz on nooz, and pouth on seid,
Hiz zuuth'ful nooz wel saadv, a world tuu weid.
For niz shrucq shaqk, and niz big man'lei vois,
Turn'q again' tourd tsheild'sh treb'1, peips
And whis't'la in niz sound. Last seen of aal
Dhat endz dhis strainzhd event'ful mis'torei,
Lz sek'und tsheild'shnes, and miir oblii'vian,
SAAHZ tiith, SAAUZ eiz, SAAUZ taast, SAAUZ ev'erei thiq.

III.—Dhe Sek'und Part of Kiq Hen'erei dhe Fourth.

Akt 3, Seen 1, Spliitsh 1. Hist-torei, p. 85.

1. Kiq.

Hou man'i thou'zand of mei puur'est sub'dzhekts
Aar at dhis ou'er aalip? Oo Slipp, oo dzhen't'l Slipp,
Naa'tyrrz soft nurs, hou haa'v ei freint'ed dhiiz,
Dhat dhou noo mooor wilt wain2 mei ei'lidz doun,
And stlip mei sens'eiz in forget'fulnes?
Whei raadh'er, Slipp, leist dhou in smook'i kribz,
Upon uneez' pal'adz3 stretsh'q dhiiz,
And huisht4 with buz'q neint'feiz tu dhei slum'ber,
Dhen in dhe pe'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 kuutsh
A watsh-kaas, or a kom'on lar'um-bel?
Wilt dhou, upon' dhe meir and gid' i mast,

1 Deficient first measure, see suprâ p. 927, and p. 928, n. 2.
2 Gill always uses (ai), but as he writes (waiz, waikht) 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 Hush in the folio may have been intentional. Compare whist = huisht, = hushed, T 1, 2, 99 (5', 379).
Seel up dhe ship'boiz eiz, and rok niz brainz
In kraad'1 of dhe ryyd imper'ius surdzh,
And in dhe vizi'taa'sum of dhe weindz,
Whuu taak dhe ruf'ian bll'ouez hei dhe top,
Kurl'iq dheer mon'strus hedz, and nac'iq dhem
With deef'n'iq klaam'urz in dhe slip'ri kloudz,
Dhat, with dhe nurl'eii, Deeth itself' awaaks'?
Kanst dhou, oo par's'sial Slip, giiv dheii repooz:
Tu dhe wet see'boi in an ou'er soo ryyd:
And in dhe kaalm'est and moost stil'est neunt,
With Aal aplei'aanses and meenz tu buut,
Denei' it tu a kiq? Dhen, nap' Loou, lei doun!
Uneez'i leiz dhe ned dat weez a kroun.

IV.—Dhe Fa'amus Hi's'torei of dhe Leif of Kiq
He'neri dhe Eeint.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spiitsh'rez 92-111. Hi's'toreisz, p. 222.

92. Nor'folk.
Soo faar juu wel, mei lit'1 gud lord kar'dimaal.
[Exeunt Aal but Wul'zei.

93. Wul'zei.
Soo faar'wel' tu dhe lit'1 gud juu beer mii.
Faarwel' ? A loq faarwel' tu Aal mei' greet'nes!
Dhis iz dhe staat of man; tudai' mii puts forth
Dhe ten'der leevz of noops, tumor'oou blos'umz,
And beerz niz blush'iq on'urz thik upon' nii:
Dhe third dai kumz a frost, a kl'iq frost,
And when mii thi'qks, gud ee'zi man, ful syyr'lei
Hiz greet'nes iz a reip'n'iiq, nips niz ruut,
And dhen mii faalz, az ei du. Ei naav ven'terd,
Leik lit'1 wan'tun bwoiz dhat swim on blad'erz,
Dhis man'i sum'erz in a see of gloo'ri,
But far bizond' mei depth: mei nei'h-blooun preid
At leqth brook un'der mii, and nou naz left mii
Wee'ri and oould with ser'veis, tu dhe mer'si
Of a ryyd streem, dhat must for eve'rr neid mii.
Vain pumps and gloo'ri of this world, ei naat nii!
Ei fiil meihart nyy coop'nd! Oo, nou r韦tsh'ed
Iz dhat puu'er man dhat naqz on prin'sez faa'vurz!
Dheer i'z bitwin' dhat smeil mii wud aspe'ir tu,
Dhat swiit aspekt' of prin'sez, and dheer ryy inFile,
Moor paqz and feeder, dhen warz or wim'en naav!
And when mii faalz, mii faalz leik Lyys'efer,
Ne'ver tu hoop again'.

[Enter Krum'wel stand'iq amaazd'.
Wheii nou nou, Krum'wel?
94. **Krumwel.**
Ei naav noo pou'er tu speek, sir.

95. **Kardinaal.**
What? Amaazd' At mei misfor'tyynz? Kan dhei spir'it wun'der A greet man shuld deklein'? Nai, an juu wilp, Ei -m faal'n indiid'.

96. **Krumwel.**
Hou duuz jur graas?

97. **Kardinaal.**
Whein, wel.

Never so tryy'lei nap'i, mei gud Krumwel. Ei knou meiself' nou, and ei fiil within' mii A pees abuv' AAL eeth'lei dig'niteiz, A stfl and kwei'et kon'sens. Dhe kq naaz kyyrd mii, Ei um'blei thaq kiz graas, and from dheez should'erz, Dheez ryy'ind pl'l'arz, out of ptil, taak'n A lood, wuuld siqk a naa'vi, 'tuu mutsh on'ur. Oo -t iz a burd'en, Krumwel, -t iz a burd'en 'Tuu nev' for a man, dhat hoops for nev'n.

98. **Krumwel.**
Ei -m glad jur graas naaz maad dhat reint yys of it.

99. **Kardinaal.**
Ei hoop ei naav. Ei -m aa'bl nou, mithiqks', Out of a fort'etyyd of sooul ei fiil, Tu endyyr' moor miz'erceiz and greet'er far Dhen mei week-hart'ed en'emeiz daar of'er. What nyzz abrood?

100. **Krumwel.**
Dhe nev'iest and dhe wurst IZ juur displéez'yyr with dhe kq.

101. **Kardinaal.**
God bles nim !

102. **Krumwel.**
Dhe nekst iz, dhat Sir Tom'as Muur iz tshooz'n Lord Tshaan'selur, in juur plaas.

103. **Kardinaal.**
Dhat -s sum'what sud'ain.

But nii -z a leern'ed man. Mai nii kontin'yy Loq in kiz Hei'n'es faa'vur, and duu dzhust'is

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1 An Alexandrine from resolution (p. 952), unless (kon'sens) be contracted to (kons'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 of ags. laeren, and (lern) for learn, as a form of ags. leornigan. Hence (leern'ed) is here adopted for doctus.
For tryyths saak and hïz kon'siens, dhat hïz boonz,  
When hïi haz run hïz kuurs and sliips in bles'ïqz,  
Mai naav a tuumb of or'fanz teerz wept on him.  
What moor?

104. Krum'wel.
Dhat Kran'mer iz returnd· with wel·kum,  
Instâld· lord artsh·bishop of Kan'terberi.

105. Kar·dînaal.
Dhat's nyyz indiid'.

106. Krum'wel.
Last, dhat dhe laa·dî An,  
Whuum dhe kïq nath in see'kresei loq mar·ïed,  
Dhis daï was vyyd in oop'n az hïz kwïn  
Goo'iq tu tshap'el, and dhe vois iz nou  
Oon'leï abuut· her koronaa'sïun.

107. Kar·dînaal.
Dheer waz dhe waint dhat puld me doun. Oo Krum'wel,  
Dhe kïq haz gon biïond· mii. :Aal mei gloor'ïz  
In dhat oon wum·an ei hav lost for ev'er.  
Noo sun shal ev'er ush'er foorth mein on'urz,  
Or gïld again· dhe noob·l truups dhat wait'ed  
Upon· mei smeilz. Goo, get dhiï from mii, Krum'wel!  
Ei am a puur faîln man, unwurth'ei nou  
Tu bii dhei lord and mast'er. Siik dhe kïq!  
Dhat sun ei prai mai never set!  
Ei -v tooould hîm  
What, and hou tryy dhou art; mii wil advaans· dhiï  
Sum lst'î mem'orei of mii, wil stir hîm—  
Ei knoon hïz noeb·l naa·tyyr—not to let  
Dhei noop'ful serv·is per·ish, tuu. Gud Krum'wel  
Neglekt· hîm not; maak yys nou, and proveid·  
For dhein ooum fyy'tyyr saaft'i.

Oo mei lord,  
Must ei dhen leev dhiï? 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'ooou Krum'wel leevz hïz lord.  
Dhe kïq shaal naav mei serv·is, but mei prai'erz  
For ev'er and for ev'er, shaal bii juurz!

109. Kar·dînaal.
Krum'wel, ei did not thiïk tu shed a teer  
In Aal mei miiz·ereiz; but dhou mast foorst mii,  
Out of dhei on·est tryyth, tu plai dhe wum'an.

The folio prints *weighted*, shewing *wait, weight,* suprà p. 987, n. 2.  
the confusion then existing between  

1 Or (fyy·ter).
Let -s drei our eiz; and dhus far meer mii, Krum'wel,
And when ei am forgot'n, az ei shal bii,
And slip in dul koould mar'bl', wheer noo men'siun
Of mii moor must bii hard of: sai, ei taant dhii;
Sai, Wul'zei, dhat oons trood dhe waiz of gloo'ri
And sound'ed aal dhe depths and shoolz of on'ur,
Found dhii a wai, out of niz reak, tu reiz in,
A syyr and saaf oon, dhouun, dhei mast'er mist ft.
Mark but mei faal, and 'dhat dhat ryy'ind mii.
Krum'wel, ei tshardzh dhii fliq await ambis'un!
Bei 'dhat sin fel dhe an'dzherliz: nou kan man dhen,
Dhe im'aadzh of niz maak'er, hoop tu win bei -t?
Luv dheiself: last, tsheer'iz dhooz uarts dhat naat dhii.
Korup'siun winz not moor dhan on'estei.
Stil, in dhei reiht hand, kar'i dzhem't'l pies
Tu sei'ens en'vius tuqz. Bii dzhust and feer not;
Let aal dhe endz dhou eemst at, bii dhei kun'treiz,
Dhei Godz, and Tryyths. Dhen df dhou faalst, oo Krum'wel,
Dhou faalst a bles'ed mart'er. Serv dhe kiq,
And—pridh'ii leed mii in—
Dheer—taak an in'ventri of aal ei naav,
Tu dhe last pen'v; -t iz dhe kiqz; mei roob,
And mei integ'ritei tu nev'n, iz aal
Ei daar nou kaal mei ooun. Oo Krum'wel, Krum'wel!
Had ei but servd mei God with naaf dhe zeel
Ei servd mei kiq, mii wuuld not in mein aadzh
Haav left mii naak'ed tu mein en'emeiz!

110. K r u m' w e l.
Gud sir, haav paa'siens.

111. K a r ' d i n a a a l.
Soo ei haav. Faarwel.
Dhe hoops of kuurt, mei hoops in nev'n du dwel.

V.—Dhe Tra'dzh'edi of Ham'let, Pr'sus of Den'mark.

Akt 3, Seen 2, Spitshe'ez 1-5. Tra'dzh'edeiz, p. 266.

1. H a m' l e t.

Speek dhe spiitsh, ei prai juu, az ei pronounst' it tu juu, tri'qlei
on dhe tuq. But if juu moudh it, az man' of juur plaier'ez duu,
ei had az liiv dhe toun'krei'er had spook mei leinz. Nor duu not
saau dhe aair tuu mutsh with juur hand, dhus, but yyz aal
dzhent'lei. For in dhe ver'ter'ent, tem'pest, and, az ei mai sai,

1 For this word there is no external authority; I have adopted (eemz) for the reasons on p. 461, note, col. 2, l. 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 H's 3, 2, 49 (609, 124); would testify, to enrich mine inventory
Cy 2, 2, 6 (952, 30).
dhe wherl-weird of pas'sun, juu must akaei'er and biget' a tem-
peraans dah maiv giiv it smuud'hnes. Oo! it ofendz' mi tu dhe
soul, tu sii a robustiis per-wigo'—paa-ted fel'ou teer a pas'sun tu
tat'erz, tu ver'i ragz, tu split dhe eerz of dhe ground'liqz, whuu,
for dhe moost part, aur kaap'bal of noth'-iq, but ineks'plikab'l dum
shouuz, and nuiz.2
dhe waav suthc a fel'ou whipt for oor-
duu'-iq Ter'magaunt; it out-ner-odz Her'od: prai juu, avoid' it.

2. First Plai'er.

Ei war'aant juur on'ur.

3. Ham'let.

Bii not 'tuu taam neeih'er; but let juur ooun diskres'un bii
juur tyy'tur. Syyt dhe ak'siun tu dhe wurd, dhe wurd tu dhe
ak'siun, with dhe spes'ial obzer'veaans, dah juu oorstep' not dhe
mod'estei of naa'tyrr. For an'1 thiq sooo overdu'n iz from dhe
pur'pus of plai'-iq, whuuuz end booth at dhe first and nou, waz and
iz, tu noozd az tweer dhe mudder up tu naa'tyrr; tu shoou vert'yy
her ooun fee'tyrr, skorn her ooun im'aadzh, and dhe ver'i aadzh
and bod' of dhe teim, niz form and pres'yrr. Nou, dheis overdu'n,
or kum tard'i of, dhoom it maak dhe unskil'ful laah kan'ot but
maak dhe dzhyydis'ius griiv, dhe sen'syyr of whits'h oon, must
in juur alou'ans oorwain' a nood thee'ater7 of udh'erz. Oo, dheer
bii plai'ezr dah et naa siin plai, and hard udh'erz praiz, and 'dat
neck'lei,—not tu speek it profaan'lei—that neeih'er naa'-iq dhe
ak'sent of krivist'anz, nor dhe gaat of krivist'an, paag'an, or Norman,4
naav soo strut'ed and bel'ouod, dah et naa thouht sum of naa-
tyrrz dzhur'neimen had maad men, and not maad dhem wel,
dheci im'iitaated hyymun'i'ti soo abhom'inable.i

1 This is adopted, in place of the modern periwig, because the quartos
generally read periwig, and Miège, 1688, gives the pronunciation (pare-
wig), which shews that the i in the periwig of the quarto of 1676 was not
pronounced. The first and second folios have per-y-wig, the third and
fourth have periwig. The pronunciation (perig) given by Jones, 1700,
seems, however, to be really still older, as compared with French perruque,
and the orthography perruce. The order of evolution seems to have been (peryyk',
periig, per-wig, per-wig, wig); compare modern bus from omnibus, and
the older drake, Old Norse andriki, Mäztner, 1, 165; Stratmann, 168.

2 Price seems to give (neiz), suprâ p. 134, a xvir th century pronunciation
confirmed by a xix th century vulgarism, and indicating a xvir th century
(nuiz), which is therefore adopted in the absence of direct authority (p. 979).

3 Notwithstanding the vulgar (thi-
er'ti), 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, 53 (338, 374), R2 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 Norwéyan, a Shaksperian
word, see M 1, 2, 5 (788, 31); 1, 2, 13 (789, 49); 1, 3, 36 (790, 96),
and easily confused by a compositor with the better known word Norman, which
however occurs in its usual sense in this same play, H 4, 7, 20 (598, 31).

5 On the insertion of the aspirate in this
word, see suprâ p. 220. There is
evidently a play on humanity and the
old false derivation ab-homine, so that
abominably = inhumanly.
4. First Plaier.

Ei hoop wii haav reformd' dhat indif'rentlei with us, sir.

5. Ham'let.

Oo, reform et aaltuged' er. And let dhooz dhat plai juur klounz, speek noo moor dhen iz set doun for dhem. For dheer bii of dhem, dhat wil dhemselvz' laar, tu set on sum kwan'titi of bar'en spektaa'turz tu laar 'tuu, dhoouh in dhe meen teim sum nes'esari' kwesti'un of dhe plai bii dhen tu bi konsid'erd. Dhat -s vil'anus, and shouz a most pitiful ambis'iu'n in dhe fuul dhat yyz'ez it. Goo maak juu red'.'

VI.—Dhe Taam'iq of dhe Shroou.¹

Akt 4, Seen 1, Spitts'ez 1-47. Kom'edeiz, p. 220.

1. Gruu'mio.

Fei, fei on aal tei'erd dzhaadz, on aal mad mast'erz, and aal foul waiz! Waz ev' er man soo beet'n! Waz ev'er man soo rai'ed! Waz ev'er man soo wee'ri! Ei am sent bifoors tu maak a feier, and dheet al kum'iq aft' er tu warm dhem. Nou, weer ei not a lit'l pot, and suun noot, mei ver's lips meint friiz tu mei tiith, mei tuq tu dhe ruuf of mei mouth, mei part in mei be1', eer ei shuuld kum bei a fei'er tu thou ² mii; but ei wth bloou'iq dhe fei'er shal warm meiself': for konsid'eriq dhe wed'her, a taal'er man dhen ei wil taak koould. Holaa! nooo'aa! Kurtis!

2. Kur'tis.

Whuu iz dhat kaalz soo koould'lei?


A piis of eis. If dhou dout it, dhou maist sleid from mei shouuld'er tu mei niil, with noo greet'er a run but mei ned and nek. A fei'er, gud Kurtis!


Iz mei mast'er and hiz weif kum'iq, Gruu'mio?

5. Gruu'mio.

Oo, ei, Kurtis, ei, and dheer-foor fei'er! fei'er! kast on noo waat'er.


Iz shii soo not a shrou az shii -z repoort'ed?

7. Gruu'mio.

Shii waz, gud Kurtis, bifoors dhis frost. But dhou knooust wint'er taamz man, wum'an, and beest; for it nath taamd mei oould mast'er, and mei nyy mis'tris, and meiself', fel'ou Kurtis.

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 (knoon), from ags. enawan. The modern (thAA) implies an older (thAAU, thau), which, however, is more strictly a northern form.

Awai! juu thrii-insh fuul! Ei am noo beest.


Am ei but thrii insh'ez? Wei dhei horn iz a fuut, and soo loq am ei at dhe leest. But wilt dhou maak a fei'ær? or shaal ei komplain on dhii tu our mistris, whunz hand, shi biu'iq nou at hand, dhou shalt suun fiil, tu dhei koould kun-furt, for biu'iq sloou in dhei not of'is?


Ei prâdh'ii, gud Gruumio, tel mii, hou gooz dhe world?


A koould world, Kurtis, in everei of'is but dhein, and dheer-foor, fei'ær! Duu dhei dyy'ti, and naav dhei dyy'ti, for mei mast'ær and mistris aar al'moost frooz'n tu deeth.


Dheer-z fei'er red'v! and dheer-foor, gud Gruumio, dhe nyzz!


Wei—Dzhak bwoi, hoo bwoi!—and az mutsh nyzz az dhou wilt.


Kum, juu are soo ful of kun'ikatsh'iq!

15. Gruumio.

Wei, dheer-foor, fei'ær! for ei naav kaahkt ekstreem koould. Wheer-z dhe kuuk? iz sup'er red'v, dhe nous trîmd, rush'ez strooud, kob'webz swept, dhe serv'iqmen in dheer nyy fus't'án, dhe wheit stok'qz, and everei of'iser niiz wed'iq garment on? Bii dhe Dzhaks faier within', dhe Dzhilz faier without, dhe kar'pets laid, and everei thiq in or'der?


:Aal red'v, and dheer-foor, ei prai dhii, nyzz!

17. Gruumio.

First knoou, mei nors iz tei'erd, mei mast'er and mistris faaln out.


Hou?


Out of dheer sad'lz in'tu dhe durt; and dheerbei naqz 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 Jacks fair, thinking of a jakes, so notoriously foult 'within.' The similarity of pronunciation is gua-
CHAP. VIII. § 8. SPECIMENS OF SHAKSPERE'S PRONUNCIATION. 995

Let -s haa -t, gud Gruum'io.

Lend dhein eer.

22. Kur'tis.
Heer.¹

23. Gruu'mio.
Dheer!

24. Kur'tis.
Dhis iz tu fiil a taal, not tu heer a taal.

And dheer'foor -t iz kaald a sen'süb taal. And dhis kuf waz but
tu knok at juur eer, and bisects² a lis't-niğ. Nou ei bigin. Im-
prei'mis, wii kaam doun a foul nêl, mei master reid'vq bineind' mei
místris.

Booth of oon hors?

27. Gruu'mio.
What -s dhat tu dhiiz?

Whei—a hors.

29. Gruu'mio.
Tel dhou dhe taal! But nàdást dhou not krost mii, dhou shuishst
haav harf nou her hors fel, and shii un'ver her hors: dhou shuishst
haav hard in nou mei'erei a plaa; nou shii was bimuild.³: nou hii
left her with dhe hors upon' her; nou hii beet mii bikaaz' herhors
stum'b'ld; nou shiiz waad'ed thruuu dhe durt tu pluk núm of mii;
nou hii swoor; nou shii praid, dhat nev'er praid bifoór; nou ei
kreed; nou dhe hors'ez ran awai'; nou her brei'd'l waz burst; nou
ei lost mei krup'er—with man't thqz of wur'dhei mem'orei, whthsh
nou shaal dei in oblii'vium, and dhou return' unekspeer'ienst tu dheiz
graav.

Bei dhis rek-niğ mii iz moor shrouu dhan shii.

Ei, and 'dhat dhou and dhe proud'est of juu aal shaal seind when
nii kumz noom. But what taak ei of dhis? Kaal forth
Nathan'iel, Dzhoor'sef, Nük'olaas, Fêl'ip, Waal'ter, Sygg'ersop, and
dhe rest. Let dheir nedz bii slik-levi koombd, dheir blyy knoots
brush, and dheir gar'terz of an indif'erent knit; let dhem kurt'si
with dheir left legz, and not prez'ym: tu tuths a heer of mei
masterz hors-tail, til dheei kis dheer handz. Aar dheei aal red'i?

¹ Here is pronounced (heer) for the
play of sound in ear, here, there, hear.
Compare the pun here, heir, supra
p. 80, note, and p. 924, col 2.
² See supra p. 957, col. 2, at bottom.
³ Compare Smith's (tor'muill) = tur-
moil, and Cooper's (moil) = mail, be-
coming (mail) in Jones, supra p. 134.
Dheei aar.

Kaal dhem foorth.

Duu ju heer, hoo! Juu must miit mei maister¹ tu koun'tenaans mei mis'tris!

Whei, shii nath a faas of her oun.

Whuu knoous not dhat.

Dhou, it siimz, dhat kaals for kum'panei tu koun'tenaans her.

Ei kaal dhem fuurth tu kred'it her.

Whei, shii kumz tu bor'ouu noth'úq of dhem.

Wel'kum noom, Gruu'mío!

Hou nou, Gruu'mío!

What, Gruu'mío!

Fel'oou Gruu'mío!

Hou nou, could lad?

Wel'kum, juu; hou nou, juu; what, juu; fel'oou, juu; and dhus mutsh for grüit'úq. Nou mei spryys kumpan'ünz, iz áāl red'i, and áāl thiqz neet?

Aal thiqz iz red'i. Hou niir iz our mas'ter?

In at hand, aleint'ed bei dhís, and dheer'foor bii not—koks pas'úun! sei'len's! ei heer mei mas'ter.

¹ Spelled maister in the folio. Two pronunciations (maister, mas'ter) may have prevailed then, as (meest'j) 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, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESbury ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1667, AND BY BARcLEY ON FRENCH, 1621, 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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PART IV.

pp. 997-1432.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE XVII TH, XVIII TH, AND XIX TH CENTurIES.

LEDIARD, BONAPARTE, SCHmELLER, WINKLER.

RECEIVED AMERICAN AND IRISH PRONUNCIATION OF ENGLISH.

PHONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTS.

LONDON:

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Transition to English Dialects, p. 1432.
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 l) read (u 4).*p. 29, table, col. xvii, for nünt read nünt; and add to table: "(u) is put for (u) in the old pronunciations, owing to uncertainty."

p. 32, against 1547, read 38 Henry VIII.

p. 33, l. 18 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, (mee'z).

p. 67, l. 11 from bottom of text, for Mr. M. Bell's French nasals, read (BA, oHA, oHA, oA).

p. 80, l. 7, and p. 111, l. 16, read deei (dee-ci).

p. 93, col. 4, line 5, read endev'z.

p. 95, l. 2, read stoo-xri.

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 xvth century.

p. 131, l. 8 from bottom of text, read dzhoint.

p. 134, l. 9 from bottom of text, read vai'ildh.

*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 at, nát, brát, bêt.

*p. 173, l. 9 from bottom of second col. of note, for (a, aw), read (a, oh). At end of that note add: "Prince L. L. Bonaparte heard M. Féliine use (o) for e mute; all references to his pronunciation must be corrected accordingly."

*p. 189, l. 7, read (bun, bun'e); and at end of paragraph add: "M. Paul Meyer told me (30 April, 1871) that he suspected Palgrave to allude to the Provençal method of using -e, for what in northern French is -e mute, and to have pronounced this o either as (-o) or (-oh)."

p. 190, last line of text, read (or-eindzhis).

p. 192, last line, read ².

p. 196, l. 12 from bottom of text, read differing nearly as (e, x).

p. 198, lines 10 and 11, for uf, xuf, read uh, uhi, zuhi.

*p. 201, l. 6 from bottom, add as a footnote: "Mr. F. G. Pleay 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 Søonymen, 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. 216, l. 2, read ( kondis'lan).
p. 218, add at end of first column of footnote: "See also p. 922, col. 2, under suitor, and p. 983, col. 2, under S."

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 myy.

p. 236, l. 2, read but.

p. 247, l. 18, add as footnote: "See the investigation below, pp. 453–462, and pp. 820, 822, under at, et."

p. 264, l. 7, read suirz.

p. 265, note 1, add: "See p. 473, n. 1, and p. 1315."

p. 268, l. 8, read 53222.

p. 269, note, col. 1, l. 6, read mouiller.

p. 271, l. 13, read confuses.

p. 281, l. 37, 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-d[e, ladii'), see p. 835, l. 13, below, and (wurdh'i), 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 Dice = (da'e, di'e).

p. 286, lines 9 and 11, read (ti'i, pti'ne).

p. 287, l. 12, omit it.

p. 288, note 1, line 4, read effect is.

p. 294, line last of text, read but (eo, oo).

p. 295, line last but one of text, read were.

p. 301, l. 10, read words in e.

p. 307, l. 22, for (su), read (au).

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 xeer'de.

p. 321, l. 7, read herts'ogh.

p. 323, l. 25, read graas.

p. 323, l. 36, read nse'h-ten.

p. 325, l. last but one of text, read lorsque.

p. 327, throughout the French transcription of M. Félïne's pronunciation interchange (a) and (oe), according to the correction of the meaning of M. Félïne's symbols given me by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, who heard him speak; thus v. 1, read (ko'o siel kelkê zhur), and v. 8 read (mê kê), etc. See p. 173 in this list.

p. 327, note, last line, omit which.

p. 328, l. 7 from bottom of text, read sauto.

p. 330, l. 13 from bottom of text, for be aware, read beware.

p. 331, l. 17 from bottom of text, read désir.

p. 336, commence note with l.

p. 337, l. 9 from bottom, read kouth'.

p. 342, l. 10, read had'.

p. 343, note 3, line 2, read e an e.

p. 345, l. 9 from bottom of text, read restored.

p. 346, art. 14, ex., col. 2, l. 11, read æt ham.

p. 351, line 5, read fixer.

p. 356, l. 4, read Past.

p. 356, l. 3, art. 35, 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. 368, art. 66, under SCHAL, line 2, read (dialectic).

p. 383, art. 82, ex., insert after v. 388: "[See note on v. 386, p. 700, below.]"

p. 386, l. 5, for new fr., read old fr.

p. 387, art. 92, l. 13, read then, and l. 14, read tyme.
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

p. 370, note 1, citation iii. 357, read This touche
p. 374, art. 108, ex., col. 2, line 1, read ret-arter.

p. 381, col. 2, under, hevenrichie, read heofonrice.

p. 386, col. 1, under ill, read gille.

p. 388, col. 1, under lore, read lore.

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. 416.

p. 400, under TH, read in two sounds.

p. 413, col. 2, l. 1, read Paa*t.e.r.

p. 415, v. 489, read Diisentees Ee. vel Aa.

In PART II. pp. 417-632.

*p. 439, note 5, 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.

*pp. 442-3, add as footnote: "For corrections of some quantities, see p. 1270, note 1."


*p. 465, l. 35, add as footnote: "On the confusion of long s and z, see note in Madden's Lajamon, 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, wee, pee, shiip, slhip, mui shiip, siip, mui i, dziheist, dzheint, bEid, pe'ent, e'ent-munt).

*p. 474, l. 22, to the words "dede never appears as deide," add the footnote (?): "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 to'heir,
And Iaphet hight that yonges bror, where Dr. Morris writes 'yonges[f]i,' but this is unnecessary, see p. 1400, Halifax version, v. 12. Here we have a spelling to'heir, 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 o'he For ilkan agh be o'he bror, where o'he, o'he, occur in consecutive lines, and broir is a similar error; o'he is the usual spelling in the Cotton MS., as in v. 1979, but we have broir, to'heir, v. 2031, with bro'er 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 ('r), 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),
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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. Rimbault, 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 (foot) or (ript)? If (ript), then Thorpe consistently attributes modern habits to Ormin; if (foot), 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, praghe, 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 5: "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 1xth century.

*518, note, col. 2, l. 8, after 'teeth, insert: "see p. 1103, col. 1, and p. 1337, col. 2, on l. 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 hindward' is drink backwards, i.e. pass the cup the wrong way; though it would commonly take the form: 'Ne drinke ge hindward,' 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, 1. 3, and v. 13, l. 5, read weakt-e.

*p. 641, 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. 643, l. 8, read (geh, wh, w).

p. 647, l. 13, for "(s) 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, âi) 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 (a), which is also nasalised (æa), see p. 1303, No. 23, vowels 8 and 9. Final and unaccented, this a is nearly (e)."
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

*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 fott. The Alexandrines in Chaucer will be reconsidered in Part VI.;—line 12, after MSS., insert: "in retaining of hem";—line 20, after "unnanious," add: "in inserting poury";—line 25, after MSS., insert as a footnote: "except the Cambridge, which reads—

With a threadbare koe as is a scholar,
where the us, 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 (ce) for (â). 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, perced; v. 3, lâyour; v. 8, yrone; v. 13, palmee's; v. 20, Tabbard; v. 21, 78, piligrimage; v. 24, weel; v. 25, yfalle; v. 29, weel; v. 49, Christendoom; v. 57, Pulmireye; v. 64, 85, been; v. 72, gentel; v. 73, array; v. 85, chevacheye; v. 99, servysabel; v. 104, pococ; v. 107, feth'res; v. 123, nose; v. 138, amiabil; v. 141, dyyin'; v. 157, clook', as; v. 169, byrdel; v. 170, clere; v. 186, laboure; v. 189, prykasour; v. 202, stemed'; v. 209, hymytour; v. 224, pytavence; v. 226, eygne; v. 241, ervyech; v. 245, syke; v. 248, vytayle; v. 255, eer; v. 282, chevysavenece; v. 303, lern'; and; v. 326, wryting.'—In the Pronunciation, v. 41, add comma; v. 76, add period; v. 144, sauzech (wrongly corrected sakhch in footnote 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, âh, ljhâ, ãhâ) 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 ichine from Rothbury, 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. 1859, from which day, therefore, the present researches should be dated."

p. 789, col. 1, art. bold, read (boud).

*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 Errors, 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 (sh†, 3sh), etc. are now (sh†), etc., and (3sh), etc. is now (3s), 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 (z) 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 lip, possibly (th) of p. 1353, No. 143, or (sh) 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, 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 (nun) as (guun, gun) in TS 4, 3, 31 (247, 85), where Katherine 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 Katerina was either (Kat'rin), or more probably (Kaat'rin), 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 Glose.—Valen. Not mine; my Glouses 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 Trissyllabic, 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 gulliness 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, 1874-6. 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 .
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, ã).
p. 1114, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, read being, dr, rv.
p. 1167, col. 2, under sir, read (xe'su).
p. 1180, col. 2, v. 29, read aansering.
p. 1221, col. 2, l. 19 from bottom, read (nuen) or (uu'en).
*p. 1251, add to note continued from p. 1250: "Mr. Elworthy, of Wellington,
Somer set, says he never heard Ise as a pure nominative, but only is standing apparently for us and used as L. 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, 46e) 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, colla, which have open vowels), with the e and o of stelluccia and polliance (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).—L.L.B."
*p. 1323, note, col. 2, l. 7, add: (abstracted below, pp. 1378-1428).
p. 1376, l. 24, read (juu-tar Jot).
p. 1381, col. 1, l. 5, read saa-no.
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 (eã). This use has been subsequently extended to all cases of diphthongs, and uniformly used to mark diphthongs from p. 1091 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; [ ] shew that all included letters are scarcely heard; excessively slight [ ] see p. 1328 in this list.
p. 800, note, col. 2, symbols for advanced s, sh = (ys, ãsh) and retracted s, sh = (ys, ãsh), subsequently replaced by (s, ãsh) 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.
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

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 = (kj, gj) 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 (’r) to (’), as (t, d) (for t`, d`) or (t, d) for the dental t, d.

p. 1096, col. 1, l. 20, and col. 2, l. 28, the use of (t`), (d`) for t, d, with inverted tongue, supposed to be incorrect for Sanscrit, and use of (r, n) for Indian mûrdhanya t, d, and (t, d) for English 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 (r, t), which seem to be the same to a Bengalee, are apparently distinct as (t`, t) to a Madrasee.

p. 1097, col. 1, under (uu); symbol of (‘u) whispered, and (‘u) hissed vowels, see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1097, col. 2, symbols for explosions (truu, tru, tuh, uh, uh) and implosions (’t), see p. 1128 below in this list.

p. 1098, col. 1, under (r); symbol for Bell’s untrilled r = (r.), the (r.) being a turned mark of degrees (’). 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 (oo), symbol of indistinct vowel accompanied by permissive trill (j), so that (j = o) or (j = or) at pleasure. Bell’s point glide is (or.), my (’o), where (’o) 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 (l).

p. 1100, col. 2, l. 8 from bottom; symbol of widening the pharynx, as (e`) for (e) with pharynx widened; supposed to be Irish.

p. 1102, col. 2, Land’s exponent (b), see p. 1292, col. 2.

p. 1104, col. 2, l. 3 from bottom; symbol of advanced s, sh = (s, sh), replacing (qs, qsh).

p. 1105, col. 1, l. 24 from bottom, divided s = (s`), probably Spanish.

p. 1106, 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 = (i, e'; e` t, e`), and of close and open consonants as (ph', ph);—line 28, symbol of more hollowness at back of tongue = (e'), 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` t, e`) ; o`, o`; a`, a'; a, a;.

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 (’); see p. 998 in this list.

p. 1112, col. 1, glottids; clear in (o`), gradual in (o`).

p. 1114, col. 2, last line; symbol for rounding by the arches of the palate as in the parrot’s (p`u`w`)

p. 1116, col. 1, symbol of medial length of vowels as in (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, a, a, a, a),

p. 1116, col. 2, symbol for variety of lip rounding, as in (A`), = tongue for (A), lips for (o`), see p. 1107 in this list.

p. 1119, col. 1, l. 2, symbols for palatal exponents = (kj, gj), see p. 1094 in this list.

p. 1120, col. 2, distinctions of (x, k, kj, tj, t` t, t`) and (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 = (qj), possible as original Sanscrit palatal nasal.

p. 1125, col. 2, to p. 1128, col. 1, Bell’s rudimental symbols reconsidered and re-symbolized.
p. 1128, col. 1, symbols of inspiration (\('i\)'), implosion (\('h')\), click (\(\ddagger h\))\), flatus (\(\ddagger h\)), whisper (\('h')\), voice (\('h')\).

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 glottids, clear (\(\ddagger\)), check (\(\ddagger\), wheezing (\(\ddagger\), trilled wheeze (\(\ddagger h\)), bleat (\(\ddagger\))\).

p. 1130, col. 1 and col. 2, symbols of degrees of force, evanescent (\(\ddagger\)), weak (\(\ddagger\)), strong (\(\ddagger\)), abrupt (\(\ddagger u\)), jerk (\(n\)), and its varieties (\(\ddagger h\), \(nh\), \(ph\), \(n\ddagger h\))

p. 1130, col. 1, to 1131, col. 2, symbols of glides, slurs, and breaks, glide (\(\ddagger\), break (\(\ddagger\)), slur (\(\ddagger\)), relative force and pitch by inferior figures and superior accented figures.

p. 1133, col. 1, l. 1, symbol of short \(l + \) trilled \(r = (\ddagger r)\), Japanese intermediary.

p. 1146, col. 1, relative time by superior unaccented figures.

p. 1147, col. 2, symbol of advanced (\(a\)) = (\(a\)).

p. 1150, col. 2, l. 10, symbol of Helmholtz’s \(u = (\ddagger u)\) = tongue for (\(A\)), lips for (\(u\)).

p. 1156, col. 2, table of the relative heights of the tongue for vowels.

p. 1174, bottom, table of practical glosseic.

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 \(r = (\ddagger r)\), and bi-dental \(t, d = (\ddagger t, \ddagger d)\).

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 (\(e\)), tongue higher (\(e\)), tongue lower (\(e\)), tongue advanced (\(e\)), tongue retracted (\(e\)); whole back passage widened (\(e\)), part in front of palatal arches, only widened (\(e\)), pharynx only widened (\(e\)); all widened, but more above than below (\(e\)), or more below than above (\(e\)); height of tongue remaining, aperture of lips contracted to that for (\(A\)) in (\(e\)), to that for (\(a\)) in (\(e\)), and to that for (\(u\)) in (\(e\)); rounding by palatal arches in (\(e\)), giving 2916 forms of unnasalised 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 = (\(\ddagger L\)).

p. 1335, col. 1, l. 11, symbol of cheek puffs = (\(\ddagger g\)).

p. 1335, col. 2, symbol of inspired breath, oral (\(\ddagger i\)), nasal (\(\ddagger i\)), orinasal (\(\ddagger A\)) flitting (\(\ddagger i\)) and snoring (\(\ddagger A\)).

p. 1334, col. 2, l. 9, symbol of bleated consonants (\(b\), \(d\), \(g\)).

p. 1334, note on symbolisation, shewing the intention of palaeotypic as distinct from systematic 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. 1353–7, table of Prince L. L. Bonaparte’s consonants with palaeotypic equivalents, of which 154 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 xviith 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 ſe s 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 alphabetics as collected, through Prof. Whitney’s translation, from the *Atharva Veda Prātiṣākhya* (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 (*quae nume prae scribere 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 dwell, 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
Anglosaxons), 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 presentment 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, aliēna 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), 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 ee, i ii, o o, u uu, ø ø), although I believe that he pronounced (ə, i, u) in closed accented syllables rather than (a, i, u). His diphthongs will be represented as he has done on his p. 363; his so-called diphthongs u, ææ, on his p. 364, meaning (yi, wu), will be written (i-i, u-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 bady, evidently a mistake for b a d a, as he does not use y in any sense, but employs a variation of it for (o). Virgin is evidently an error for Virdzhin. 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 nuitsch aert in its ven, 

\[\text{Transcript of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.}\]

\[\text{The Lord's Prayer.}\]

\[\text{Conjectured Meaning of Wilkins's Phonetic Orthography.}\]

\[\text{The Lord's Prayer.}\]

\[\text{The Creed.}\]

\[\text{XII. § 1, when considering Mr. Melville Bell's Key Words of modern English pronunciation, under WH. The old ( ) will then receive the distinctive sense of the 'clear glottid.'}\]
kuik ænd dhe ded. qi biliiv.
in dhe nooli Goost, dhe nooli kæthoolik tshirtsh, dhe kammiunian af Sæints, dhe færgivness af sinz, dhe resorrekson
af dhe bædi, ænd loif everkæstiq. Æmen.
dzhædzh dhe kwik ænd dhe ded. qi biliiv· in dhe nooli Goost, 
dhe nooli kæthoolik tshirtsh, dhe kammiunian af Sæints, dhe færgivnes af sinz, dhe rezoreksion
af dhe bædi, ænd loif everkæst'iq. Æwe·men.


The transition period of the xvii th century, reaching from the death of Shakspere 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 xvi th century, though as much needed as one of the xvith, is much more difficult to compile. For the xvi th 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 xvii th 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 the important works of Price and Jones, much difficulty arose from the ambiguity of their symbols. Thus if one were to say that \( \hat{e} \) was sounded as \( i \) in \textit{lie} and \textit{sieve}, it would be difficult to guess that the first was (loi) and the sound (siv), although (oi, i) are two common sounds of \( i \). Still the results are very interesting, because in this xviiith 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 xviiith 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 xviith 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 xviiith century reprobated as barbarisms or vulgarities.

1) \textit{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) \textit{Wilkins}'s list is very short, and has been already given in the example of his writing. In this vocabulary the words are re-spelled to signify the sounds he probably meant to convey.

3) \textit{Price} is uncertain, sometimes even in the accented syllables, owing to the defects of his notation. His short \( o \) has been assumed as (\( \hat{o} \)), but throughout this century (\( \hat{a}, \hat{o} \)) are difficult to distinguish, and perhaps (\( \hat{a} \)) prevailed more widely than at present. Even now \textit{watch, want}, are perhaps more often called (\textit{wotsh, wont}) than (\textit{watsh, want}), the latter sounds being rather American than English, which, again, is to some extent evidence of their use in the xviiith century.

4) \textit{Cooper} is very strict but very peculiar in his vowel system, which has been sufficiently considered, suprà 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 kinduess 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 i (ei).

The following abbreviations are employed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>Cooper, 1688.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>English Scholar, 1687.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Jones, 1701.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Miege, 1688.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Price, 1668.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Wallis, 1653.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 palæotypic spelling. The position of the stress is almost always marked from conjecture.
ach s. ætsh P
ache v. æak P
ached æk'd æeakt C
acorn æw-karn C
aec- k- often J
acquit kwit J
acre æz-k'ar C
action ætikhon æk'shən M
adhere ædheer J
adieu ædii' P, ædi' C
adjour ædzharn: C
adventure ædven-tər C
affairs æfeez' C
afford æfoor'd C, J
afraid æfrəid æfeer'd, freed J
again ægen' ægeen' J
against ægeinst' Wk, ægeenst P, against J
age ædzh C
agnail æn'cel J
ai ay =æi, generally P
air eër C
air-y eër'-ə C
aid æed eed J
al- l- often as loan for aloon' J
alarm lærəm usual J
Albans :AA'banz J
alenbic lemb'ik usual J
Algier Ældheer Æl'dzhur' J
all AAl W, J
Alexander Alesən'dar J
all AAl comme un a François un peu long M
alley æl're P, æl'i C
almacoc æməmək J
almond æməmənd C, J, æmə'mən a-mən E, æmə'mən J
alnomer ænən′ær, ænən′ær J
almost am′æst barəræ C, æmə'moost J
alms AAmz J
am- m- often J
ambiguous æmbig′iəs sometimes J
amb AAmz J
amendment æmən ment J
anatomy ænəm′æn′ often J
another ænən′ ær'kar M
ancient antient æn′shint C, auncient æn′shint ou comme a simple anglois M
andiron ændərən J
Anglesey Äeq'yləs P
anguish æŋgiwʃ J
ann- n- often as neel annəal
annoyance ænoləns noi′əns often, mūstens sometimes J
annual ænəl′iəl occasionally J
anoint ænəint′ ænəint′ C
anon ænən′ ænən J
another ænəd′ər, often nəd′ər J
answer æn′ər C, M, J
antheme ænthirəm′ J
ancient antient æn′shint C
antique æn′tik C
ap- p- often, as pok′ris apocracy J
aposteme imposta'm J
apophthegm apophergəm ap-o- them, may be apopherg'm J
apothecary apot ɪ kəri̇,pət̆ɪkəri̇ usually J
appear æp′ər P, J
appetite æp′əeti abusi′əvəl J
apprehend æpreh′ənd J
apprentice prənt′iəs usually J
approve æprəv P
aprocket æprəkək J
apron æp′ərn C, E, M, J
ar- r- often, as rithmetik arithmetic J
-ar or C, -ər or J
Archibald Äær̆thibaal J
-ar- -ərd -ərd J
ar-eer C, æ r, not eer J
Armagh Äær̆mae J
Arnold Äær̆nol J
arrand AArr′ænd J
arrant AArr′ænt J
arrear AArr′arəir C
arrears ærərs J
arrest rest J
arrow æru P
Arthur Äær̆thur J
articchook mərtʃəhook J
artificial ærtfɪ∫′fəl, and in similar words ei′-sh C
-ary -əri J
as- s- sometimes as stōn′iəsh astonish J
as az en a court M
asparagus æspær′ægas J
aspen æsp′ən J
assume æshəum′ J
asthma æs′me J
assure æs′hur J
atheism æe′θiəzm, æə′θiəzm J
atheist æe′θest, æə′θest J
att- t- as people are aapt to sound teent for attaint J
attorney attər′ni P, attounery attərn′i C
athwart æært′ J
auburn oo′barn, may be aa′barn J
auction ook′shən, may be ak′shən J
audible æud′əbl æd′əbl negligerent C
audience oʊ′diəns may be a′diəns, sometimes a′dəns J
audit oo′dət, may be aa′dət J
audit-or-ə ædət′ər-e, ædət′ər-e negligerent C
augment ægəmt, ægəmt negligerent C, ogment, may be aagment J
augury æg′əri, æg′əri negligerent C
aut =aint ænt M, ænt ænt J
auricular æuər′iəl, æuər′iəl negligerent C
austere æastər J
authentic æauthən′tik æuthen′tik, æauth′ən′tik negligerent C
author aa’tor J
authority aauthar’ete, aathar’iti negli-
genter C, aat’or’iti J
av- v often as vaant avaunt J
avantc Ourier vantcurier ven’kerier J
avarice avaris J
ever aever aever e se pronounce
ai M
aviary aev’vari sometimes J
award award a comme en français M
aol aal W
axetree eks tri facilitates causa C
ay ai C
azure ashe’or J

B
bable baa’b’l en a long M
backward be’k’ard J
bacon beek’n J
bailliff beel’l J
bain b een baleum C
bait bait C
baker beek’ar C
balderdash baa’dardesh J
baldric baerdar C
balk baik P, J
balm b aam J
balsam b aal’sem en a long M
Banbury Beem’bort J
bann b een W, b eean C
banish ban’esh C
bankrupt baek’rop often J
banquet baek’quet J
baptism ba’b’tizm sometimes J
bar beer W, C
Barbara B er berce = Bar berce J
bare be eer W, bere C
bargain baer’gen P, ber’gen C
barge berdez’h C
barley b er’li C
baron ber’an C
barrow ber’u P
bassin bea’n P, bason bees’r C
bastile ba estil J
bate baest W
be bi P, bee C, M, J
be bi J
beacon beek’n C
beadle biid’l J
bear v.s. beer C, P
bear s. = ba’ir beer un ours M
beard beerd C, J, herd P, M, J
beast beast W
bestly bees’li J
beaten bee’t’n M
beau b eaw biu J
Beauclane Biu’kleer J
Beaumont Biu’fort J
Beauvais Biuvar’is J
Beaumont Biu mont J
beautiful biu’t’fai J
beauty beu’ti rectiis, quidam biu’ti W, biu’ti M
because bikeaz’ bikeaz’ J
been bin J
begun big’gin W
behaviour bimeavour J
behold bimund C
behove binevi P, bimuny C, M
bellow bel’oaz C
bellowes bel’oaz, facilitatis causa bel’es G
Belus B eel’as J
bengh bentsh P
beneath binecdh’ P
benign bing’an J
Berks B earks J
besmar bismiri C, M
besom biss’am M
besought bisoot J
betoken bitook’n C
betrho bitroth’ P
beyond bieand C, biron J
bezoar bez’or J
bible baib’l C
bier beer biu J
Bilbao Bil’boo, Bil’buu J
bird berd P, C
bittern bittour bet’or C
birtth barth C
biscuit bis’ket J
bishop bosh’op barbaré C, = boshop
bosh’op pas du bel usage M, bush’op
sometimes J
blain BL een bleen J
blaspheme blasfeem J
blast bleaest C
blasor bleez’n C
blea blee J
blear-eyed bluir-aid P, C, M
blind blaind C
blithe blithl blith C
blomary blam’ari J
blood blod’ blod P, ou = o court M, J
blood-i ly blaid’i li C
boar buur C
board b oord buurd tabula C, J
boil boil, bwoil (bcoil ?) nonnunquam
W, buil boil C, buuil, sometimes
bail J
bold boold nonnunquam bould W, buud
C, booul J
bole boul P
bolster boul’star P, buul’star C, buoul’
star J
bolt boult boovt J
bomb b uum J
bombast bombast J
bone boon C
book buuk C
boor b oar buur J
boose bowze buuz C
BOOT butt C
Bordeaux Bourdeaux Buurdoor J
borne buun bajilatus C, =borne buur porté M
born bahr parturitus C, =bahr baarn né M
borough =boro bahr M
borrage bor'adzh J
borrow bor'u P, baat'a baat'aa com J
bough baw, baw J
bourn buurn rieulus C
bow bow arcus, buu torqueo C
boul boul boul globus W, C, J, bowl
boul poouium W, bole baul patera C,
boll boul J
boy bai, bwal (bwoi?) nonnum quam W,
bur'ai dissyllabum C
bought baal C, boot baat sometimes
boft J
brain brain C
brazer brasier brash'ar, sometimes
breaze'or J
break breek P, breek C
breakfast breekwest in some countries J
breastplate brearespел J
breviary brev'arī sometimes J
brew bry W
brewess breu'es P
bridge bredzh J
Bristol Bris'to P, J
brood braad C, o =a M, J
broil briul brail C, brail sometimes J
brotherhood brodl'arhood C
brought brost P, broo J
brute bruiz C, briz J
bruit bruit J
Buckingham Bak'qem J
build beld C, biuld J
buhl bul M, J
bullion bol'con C
bumble bee om'bl bii J
bwoy bwoy bai C, boi, buui J
bur bar C
burden bardan J
burlesque borlezg' barlesk' J
burt burt brit J
burthen bardhen P
bury ber c C, ber'i M
busy busze biz'ay C, M
business biz'nes C
but bat o court M

C

cabin kab'en J
Caiphas keeos J
cais'iff kai'tif C
cal'dron kaad'ran kaad'orn J
cal'kaff C J
call kaal W
calm kalm P

campaign keempænen' J
can kran W, ken C
candle ken'J
ca'n C
cannot ken J
cause canoo kæmuu J
canonier kenoneer' kenoniiр J
cap, keep, en a bref ou en e ouvert M
capable keep'sbl C, kee'bebl occ. J
capacity keep'se'te C
cape keep C
caper kee'per C
caron keep'n C, keep'n o se mange M
car kar C
card kæerd C
care keer C, =caire kaer M
cared kæerd =card C
career care'er kær C
carking kaerk'tiq C
carp kærk C
carriage kær'adzh C, kær'adzh occ. J
carrion kær'n P, kær'en occasionally J
case keeo C
cashier cashire kæshir J
cast kæast C
certainty keezve'li sometimes J
caterer keet'orar C
Eatleine Ke'th'ern E, Ke't'orn J
catholic kæthol'k Wk
caul kaal W
cause kaaz comme a français M
causeway ka'aze P
cautious'ka'zhos, kaazh'shusnegligenter C
caviling keerv'iq J
ce- see- J
celestial selest'al, and in similar words
ce- see- J
cessure sens'ar C, sens'har J
centenary sentari sentaari J
century sent'ari C, sen'tari J
certain sertan? ai comme en certain M
(exception)
chadron tshaa'dran C, J, tshaa'darn J
chair tahar tsheer J
chalk tahak C
chamois shamois sham'ii J
chamberlain tshæm berleen P
Chandois Shendais abusively J
chandler tahilen J
chaplain tahpe'leen P
chaps tshaps abusively J
Charles Tsharz bargbor C
chariot chariot tshar'et occasionally J
chasten tshæten J
cheer chear tsiir J
Chelsford Tshemsford J
churub tshar'ob W, tshere'ob J
-chester -teshor J
cheveron tshu'vern J
cheu tshiu C, tshoo tshou, may be tshi,
sometimes tshaa J
chicken tshik'ən J
children tshil'tən J
chimney tshim'me P
chirp tsherp J
chirurgeon = sordgin sərdzhən M
chisəl chesəl tshir'zəl J
Chlor Olor Klor'ı C
chocolate tshəko'luəst J
choir chɔr kwoər J
Cholmly Tshəm'li J
chorister kʃər'stəris J
Christ kri'st W, Wk
christen kris'ten J
Christian kri'stən W, kri'stən sometime's J
Christmas kris'məs J
church kʃər'tsh Wk
chuse tshuuəz M
-cial, -shel J
-cite -sheet J
cinque səiq J
cious -shəz J
circuit sər'kət C, sər'kjuət sər'kət J
Cirencester ksei'venər J
cirron sɨərn C, sɨərn M
civil sɨ'vel J
clarion klər'ən occ. J
clear kliər M, J
clerk klərk J
clev klu J
clift klift J
climb kləm P
cloak kluək kluk C
clyster glis'tər J
couch kooθsh O
course kʊərse C
cobiron kəbərən kəbərən J
cocinels kəš'ɨnəl J
cockney kək'niə P
codical kəd'ɪsəl C
coffee = osph kofo M
cognisance kən'ɪsəns, kən'ɪsəns J
cokere kənər J
cohort kʊərət J
coff kəf P, quəf kəf J
coil kʊəl, kəil sometimes J, quəil kəil J
coin kəin J
colander kələndər J
cold kəuld nəmən'kəuml kəuld W, kəuld P, kəuld C
collar kəl'ɔr and in similar words, -er = ər C
Cologene Kulən Cəl'ənən E
colonel kəl'nəl J
colt's foot kəltz'fut J
comb kuəm J
combat kəm'bat C
come kəm W, kəm kəm C
comey kəm'fə C
comfort kəm'fərt J
comfrey kəm'frə P
commandment kəm'ændmənt J
committee = kəm'mit tə kəmi'tə M
companions kəm'pənənən C
company kəm'pənni J
complete = kəmplətn kəmplətn C, M, J
compromise kəntrəl' J
conrad kəmə'red J
concede kən'səd J
conceit kən'seət' P, J
conceive kən'səv' P, kən'səv' kən'səv' C, kən'səv' e məsələn M, J
concourse kən'kəurs C
condign kəndəgən J
condition kən'dɪʃən nələgəntiəs W
conduit kən'duət P, E, kən'djuət C, kən'djuət kən'djuət J
coney kə'nəi P, J
conge kən'dzhə J
conjure kən'dʒər J
conquer kək'rər' J
conscience kən'shəns J
conspicuous kən'spıkə'vəs J
constable kənstəbl abusively J
construct kən'stər J
consume kən'ʃəmən J
contagion kəntə'jədən occ. J
contradict kən'trədəkt' C
controll kəntərləv' P
contrary kəntə'reə C
couven kən've C, kən've C
copy kəp'ı C
coppice kəps J
coral kər'əl C
corrupt kər'əp' often J
coroner kərə'nər J
costly kəs'əl J
couch kəuθsh P, J
cough kəf W, P, = kəf kəfə M
could kəuθd P, kəuθd C, kəuθdJ
couldest kəuθd J
coultier kəlu'tər C
county kəntə'r P, kəntə'r C, J
counterfeit kəuant'tərəft J
couple kəpəl C
courage, kərədəzh C, J, kurədəzh J
courier kəriər J
course kʊərs W, P, kʊərs əʊ = wʊn pəun long M, kʊərs J
court kʊərt P, C, J
courtesan kəur'teəzn kər'teəzn C, kər'teəzn C, kər'teəzn J
courtous kər'təsəs C, J, kər'təsəs J
courtesy kər'təsɪ P, J
courtier kəur'tiə P, kəur'tiə C
courtship kəurt'ʃip C
cousin kəsən P, kəusən kəsən kəsən C, kəsən J, kəsən J, kəsən C, kəsən J
covent (garden) kəvənən J
cow kəə C
cowherd kəu'θərd occasionally J
eey kəi C
ashes kez' n C, ko' zon J
cradle kreed' l C
crazy kreez' J
credit kreed'it J
Crete crit J
cress cris' iz J
crimson krim' izn E
crony crone kroon' i C
crossier croo' yer kroo' zhar M, kroo' zer
sometimes J
crouch krutsh J
cruel' fied' kru' stil'ayed Wk
cruise kriu' J
cube kiub C
cuckoo ku'koo' P
cupboard kub' erd J
Capri ki' bari sometimes J
cure kyr W, kuer C
curious ki' yu' ius C
curtain kar' teen P
cushion kush'en, kushen? cush'en E

daily de'vi' l Wk
dairy de'nt'ri C
dame daem W
damsel daem' sel C, daem' zel J
damson dam' san daem' zin J
dance daans J
dandle deirl J
dandrift dan' druff dan' der fa' cilitatis
causa C
Daniel Daen' el occasionally J
Daphne Daen'ne J
dart dezert G
dash dash C
date dezot C
dughter daaf' tor occasionally J
daunt daant, daunt melius fortasse C,
= daunt deant M, daunt daant J
Daventry Deen' tri Deen' tri J
day dael W, Wk, deel C
de- dec'- J
dear diir W, P, C, M, J, der J
dearth dezht C
debonair debar' er C
decent desct' nonnulli desait W, desect'- P, J
decree desey' W, P, deec' visey' C,
deseey' e masculin M, J
decoy dike' abusively J
deign dein W, deen J
Deitrel Deit' rel J
deity deeti daeti J
demeen deme'en, dumin J
deputy dib' in'ti occasionally J
desper despair C
devise dehom W
deter de- deet' er deeter? e se prononce ai M

devil dey' l C, divl dl sometimes del as
in "del take you" J
diadem do' oderd C
diamond da' maund di- mund E
diaphragm da' earsem J
diary deer' occ. J
dictionary diks' naeri E, diks' naeri cus-
tomary and fashionable J, hence the
old joke of a servant being sent to
borrow a Dik Snear'i asking for
Mister Ritsheard'snears' J
did d'd barbare C
dist dist for speed's sake J
diphthong dip' thong dip' thaq J
dirge dar' dahi C
distrain di'stren di'stroen' J
discrete di'skreit' J
do doo recitius doo W, duu P, doo = deo C,
duo M, J
dole dool P
dolt doult P, dault C
done don W
doer duuer sometimes J
dost duast J
doth duath J
double daivl C
doubt doblet C, J
dough dowr doo C
doughty doort' J
dove doy W, daf M, doy J
doon dosen douzen doz'n C, doz' on J
drach'm draem C, drak' om, dram J
draught draa't C, J
droll droll C, droll a francais M
drought = draunt draut M, draut draat
droot J
dumb dum P
Dunelm Don' em J
dunghill dague' P
Dunstable Dan'stable abusively J
dyer dyr W
Durham Dorh' em J
Dynting dwentin' J

E

e- e' J

ean en C
ear iar C, J
earl eerl C
early eerl' C
earn eern C
earnest eernest C
earth erth, jorth barbarè C, = yerth
yerth pas du bel usage M
earwig iar' wig J
Eastcheap Eas'tsheep J
eastward est'ward J
ebullition balish'on often J
Ecclesfield Eg'sfiild J
eclogue eg' log J
easly eg'stasi J
Edward Ed-ward J
c'eur J
effectual ef-ekt-tawl occ. J
ci never = ii J
eight eit P, eit vulgarit C, ait (?) J
eilet silet J
either eedh'er P, eedh'or C, aedh'or e
feminin M, aedh'or eedh'or J
eke eek J
el-1- often J
Eleanor Ellenor El'nar J
eleven elev-an il'an J
en- m- often after 'the' or a vowel, as
m-al'shan emulsion J
'em om them J
emb- b- often as bodi embody J
embalm embalm' P
embolden embold'en P
emp- p- often as peetz empeach J
en- n- often as nef enough J
-en -on in eaten, &c., J
enamel nem-el J
enamoured nem'ard J
den- d- as dem'edzh endamage J
end iind barbare C
deavour endeavor P
England Iiq-lænd P, Iq-lænd J
English Iiq-tish P, J
engorge gordzh J
engrave græve J
enhance enhaans J
enough inof sat multum W, P, enou
sat multa W, ena' quantitatem deno-
tans, ena' numerum denominats C
environ envai'arn C
enroll enwail C
ensue enshu' J
ensure enshuur J
entrailes en'traiz P
enthusiasin enthvishæzm C, thi-
siasam J
Epiphany Pif-zeni sometimes J
episite pis'í sometimes J
epitome epito'me M
-er -or C
er eer C
err or C
es- s- often J
escape sceap J
eschew estshiu' P, estshoo' estshoo' may
be estshiu' J
esquire skwair J
-es, -is, often in words of two syllables
as gud'his goodness J
essay see J
estates steæts J
eternal eter'nal P
Eton Eaton Ect' n J
etymology timb'lodzhi' J
ev- v- often as vændzhelst evangelist J
Evan Iiv'en Ev'n J
every ev'ori J
Eye liv J
eye liv M
Eveling lvi'liq J
even ii'ven P, J
evening lvi'niq P, J
evil ili C, M, J
ewe en P
eexample ensæmpl sem'pl J
exasperate æ'sperent J
Escoheuer Eschequer tekek'or J
experience ekspe'erens sometimes J
extol ekstol' P
extraordinary ekstra'ordiniar' P
extreme = extrême ekstreem' M
-eye -o J
eyelet oilet silet sometimes J

F

false fe'bl C, = faible fea'-b'l M
fair fe'er C, = faire faer see 'fere'
M by his rule, faer faer J
falchion faa'shon J
falcon faa'k' B J
falconer faa'ker C
fall faa J
fallow fael-u' P, fael'AA commonly J
Falmouth Fa'a'moth J
falter faa'ter J
fare = faire faer M
farrier fae'or occasionally J
farthing far'diç C
fashion faesh'n o comme muet M, faesh-
en J
faster faes'n J
father fea'dher Wk, faa'dher J
favour fae'veur fae'ver J
fealty feel'ti C
fear fiir C
February Feb'beri sometimes J
feign fein P, feen J
fell faelt e en ai M
felo feelo J
female feem'eal J
foodary fad'ori C
peoff faf C, fef J
peoffee feefi P, J
ferule fee riul J
feud faud P
few feu rect'iís, quidam fiu W, feu P,
faa barbare C
tield fiild C
fieldfare fiild-fiir C, fiil'faer J
fiend fiind W, find J
fight fet = fi't C
figure fig'or C
finger fig'or J
far for C, far à peu près comme e ouvert M
first fiirst P, C
fire foi'or C, feir re comme er M, foi'or J
PrOOn Un Un l,eur-eral C
for fon= fur C
furniture for'mitar C, J
furrier furier for-ar sometimes J
further farder C
fusilier fusilier fiussilir' J
fusian foss't'en P, fest'en sometimes J
future fiu'ter J

G

gain gein P
Gabriel Gabriël sometimes J
gallery gakt'ri J
gallimaflry galímAA'fri J
gallon geen in Berks J
gallows gal'ós E
gaul dzaheal dzeheel J
gash gash C
gasp gasasp C
gastly gæs'li J
gate geat C
gave gav gau barbarè C
gazette gazet gezet C
gear gür C, M, J
general, dzen'èral approche du son de notre a M
gentle dzen'tl W
geography dzhèg'refèi sometimes J
geometry dzhèm etri J
Georgius Dzhàr'dhuus J
gesture dzhèst'ar = jestèr C
get gret W, gît facilitatis causa C
gh = n't in bought, etc. P, desuevit
pronunciatio, retinetur tamen in scrip-
tura, C
ghost goost C
ghostly gõol'i J
girl giri à peu près comme e ouvert M,
géi J
glance glàams P
glanders glàan'dez J
glébe gleeb J
glisten glis'n J
glori glàat'ti Wk
Gloucester Glost'ar J
glove glaf M
gnöf glaf M

noun of a M
notre a M

grandchild græn'tshold J
granddame grënt'm J
grandfather grëng'fëdh'er J
grandmother grëng'madh'er J
grende grëngd'h C
grent grënt C
grosshopper gras's'opør J
gruting gre't'iq C
gravity grëvy gri'viti C
great grëck C
Greenwich Grin'idzh J
grænadiæ grænædier' grænædier' J
grey gri P
gridiron grïd'iorn C, grïd'iorn grïd'iorn C
grïdstone grïn'st'en J
griest griest' griest J
groot groot' P, grait C, M, J
groin groin sometimes J
gross groon J
guest gwee'kam J
guardian gïrd'en occasionally J
gudgeon gougeon godzh'on C
guess griess goj J
guild gild C
guildhall gïl'dhal C, goil'hal C
guilt guilt C
gurgeon gurgians gredzh'inz facili-
tatis causa C

H

hail hee C
haak haak J
Hackney Ha'k'n P
hadst hast for speed's sake J
hair heer C
half haal C, J
halfpenny haap'peni J
halfpenny haap'peni J
hallow hal'd P
halm haam C, J
hamp harap'per ham'jer P
handkerchief hankr'chef haq'-
ketshar facilitatis causa C, = hen-
katcher heq'ketshar M, hænd'ker-
tshar J
handle hæn'l J
handmaid han'med C
handel hæn'sel J
handsome han'som J
hardly hærl'i J
harquebus hær'kibas J
harsh haash J
Harwich Har'dzh J
hasten hæsn' J
hat, hæt en ai bref ou en e ouvert M
haukt haart, hænt melius fortasse C
heænt haant J
hauht EO hoo boiz J
haut-gout haut gouzh hoo goo J

havn hëver C
hay heer C
hazelnut haslenut hëv'zlnot C
hazy heez'i C
he hii P, C, M, J
head hord C
heay hii r W, P, C, M, J
heard hord P, C, J, herd J
hearken herk'n a est contë pour rien M
heart hört C, J
hearten hàrt'n C
heartth hæth C
Hebrew Hec'briu J
hecatomb hek'wtem J
Hector Ek'tor J
hedge edzh J
heifer heefer P, hëfer C, hëfer e fem-
inin M, hëfer hëfer J
height hæt J
height hïet, heet negligenter C, = hait
hàit M, hait heet, height th heetth J
heinous hænous heños C, heen'nos J
heir ait P, heer C
held wild barbarë C
Helen El'en J
hemorrhoids em'eredz J
hence = hinere hins M
her har P, hàr e feminin M, =er
after consonants J
herald hërald hee'lal J
herb zarb barbarë C, = verb zarb pas du
bel usage M, erb, verb as sounded by
some J
Herbert Heart'bert J
heri hii P, hëver re commeer M, hiiur J
hërot eriat J
hernit ermit J
heron hørn J
hickough hik'op J
hideous hïd'z las hid'ees J
him im, often, as take 'im J
hire hai'er J
his ië, often, as stop 'is horse J
hither = heder hadh' er e feminin M
hoarse hoots C
hogshead hog'shed J
hoise waz sometimes J
Holborn Hoor'born P, Hoor'born J
hold hould P, hould C
holdfast woul'fest J
holiday = hâldiday hal'idee M
hollow hâl'laa hól'aa commonly J
holm hoon J
holp hoo J
holpen hoo'n J
holster holland'ool'st'oftenool'star J
Holy = høble hool'l M
homage omeedz often J
hood had P, hod', had, better hud J
hord húrd P
I

J

K

L
lance launds P, J
lanch laænsh C
landlord len-lord J
landscape len'skip J
tan leæn C
language leæɡreadzh occasionally J
tass lès C
last læst C
læstly lès'li
laudable laudæbl, laa'dæbl negligeunter C
laugh læf W, P, M, læf laa' J
laughter laat'ør J
laundress laun'tis J
laurel laural, laa'tel negligeunter C
Laurence Leaur'ens Lar-rance E
law = là laa M
lead leed Wk, P
leap lep a est conté pour rien M
leaper lep'ør = leper C
learn leen C
lease lès C
lecture lek'tor C, J
Ledbury Led-beri J
Leicester Leester J
Leigh Lai J
leisure leezhur, P = léjeur é masculin
leezhor M, leeshør J
Leominster Lem'ster J
Leonard Len'erd J
leopard lep'œrd P, lep'œrd C J
Leopol'ed Liverpool Leoo'old J
let læt barbârè C
lever Leaver lev'ør C, Leaver lev'ør
a est conté pour rien M
leveret Leaveret lev'tet C
level leed P
liberty libre'ti P
lice lis liabarè C
livorce li'urice lik:viris J
len lyy W, liu P, liu C
lieutenant = listen'tant listen'tant M, J
Lincoln Lin'kon J
línen = linnis lín'in M
linger li'gor J
liquid lik'œd J
liquor lik'ør J
listen lîz'n J
listless lîst'les J
Liverpool Ler-puul E, Liverpoo' J
Ler-puul Ler-puul J
loan lown = lûne C, loan sometmes J
lodging lod'riq W
loll lôl a françois M
London Lon'dan negligeuntiis W, J
longer læg'ær rectiis loq'er W
look luk, better luk J
lose luu'z M
loss lâs C
lost læst C
loath loâth laâth M
ough lof? J
love loâv W, lôf M, lov J
loyal lôv'el abusively J
luncheon lun'chion lænt'shen J
lure lu'ør C
lute lüt't W, liut P

M
maggot = mauguet magg'ot M
Maidenhead Meed'ned Meed'ned J
main meer C
maintain meer'ten' C
major meer'dzh'ør C
malign meľ'g'n J
malkin maa'kin peniculus C, Malkin, as a name, Maa'kin P, J
mall maal C, = mell mel, jeu de paume M
Malmsley Meam'zi J
mallsterer maal'sterer J
mane meen C
manger meer'dzh'ør C
mangy meen'dzhi C
mann man German C
Mantua Meantiu J
manuscript me'nskrip, me'nsksrip often J
many meer' C, meer' sometimes J
margins meer'dzhent J
marriage meer'odzh C, meer'odzh J
marsh mesh J
mask meesk C
mason mees C
masquerade meer'kiraed J
mastiiff meest'ii J
mavge meog'ør, may be maa'gor J
maund' maud' J
maunder meer'dor maar'dar J
may not meent J
Mayor meajor meer C, J
-mb -m in monosyllables J
me mit P, mee C, M, J
mean mein C
meat meat W
measure meez'uur P, mesh'ør J
Medes Meedz J
medicine med'sin P, M, med'sen C
meet mit C
merchant meer'thsent E, J
merry meersi J
mere meer miir J
mesne wess meen J
metal met' C
meat meat = meat C, J
metre meer'tor J
Michaelmas Miil'maes? Miel-mas E
miée miias barbarè C
minnow menow mee'nò J
-minuter -mister J
miere miœr J
misapprehend mispreprend' J
miscellane miscel'ane mis'lin mees'lan J
miracle mær-wækl, fæcilitatis causa C
might maet med barbaræ C
mn- n- J
-nn -m J
molei moiti J
moil maiil C, mail sometimes J
moisten mois'n J
molten moolt'n P
Monday Muun-dee J
money mæn' P, men' J
monogram mon'korn J
monkey mag'ki P
monsieur monsir' monsir' J
More Muur J
morrow moru P
mosquito maekli'to J
most moest C, most o court M
mostly moos'li J
mother neðhær J
mother muthsh J
would mœuld C
mouler muil-tor C
mourn mœurn W, C, J, mœrn J
-mouth -math J
more muny rectiis moor W, mov P, J,
mœur C, M, J
-mps -ms J
-mpt -mt J
Mulgrave Muug-resay J
murion mar'en sometimes J
muse myyz W, miuz P
musquet maek'et J
mustard, most'ard approche du son de
notre a M
mute myyt W
myrrh mërrh mær C

N
naked neek-ed C
name neem C
napkin næb'kin sometimes J
nation nea'shun C
nature neet'or C, = naeter neet'or
familiar avec e feminin M, neet'or J
naught naat' occasionally J
nauseate nauzeit naa'shet C
nave nev' C
-neh -nsh J
-nd- -n when a consonant is added to
such as end in 'nd J
nep nepe neep J
near niir W, P, C, M, J
need niid C
negro neeg'ro J
neigh nei P
neighbour nei'bor nee'bor P
neither needh'er neðh'er barbaræ C,
neðh'er e feminin M, neðh'er
needh'er J
nephew nee-fiu, neviu J
neither needh'er J
neuter ne-tor rectius, quidam niu'tor W,
neut'er P
new nyy, neu rectius, quidam niu W,
niu P, niu J
nuye noon W
nor nar C
North Noor J
Norwich Nœridzh J
nostrel nostrel J
notable nœræbl C
notary nœtari C
nought nœt P, naft sometimes J
nourish nor'ish C
now nœu J
-nits -ns J
nunciation nœn'shen J

O
oaf aaf aawf oof may be aaf J
oatmeal st'miil ou court M
oats oots, wots barbaræ C
obey obei P, obe' C
obeyance obei'sens P
oblige obliidzh J
obscene obseen J
ocean oor'shen C, J
of af W
oiler au'gar or'gar may be aaf'gar J
oil oil W, iil='il, isle C
ointment aint'ment C
Olive o'liv J
old oold, nonnunquam ould W, ould P,
oould J
-on -om C
-on -on C
once tæns, wænst as in Shropshire and
some parts of Wales J
one oon W, C, wæn J
onion on'Jon, and in similar words,
:on=jon C, on'Jon, sometimes on'en J
only=only on'lit M, J
opinion opin'on, p'Jon by the vulgar J
-or -or C
ordinary or'na C
ordinary or'na J
ordure aar-dor=order C
osier a'oyer oor'zer M
ostrich es'trich es'tridzh J
ostler hostler aas'lor often J
ought oot P, aat C,=aat M
-out=-uur, -ør, -ør
-out=-uss, us, es -es J
out out C
over oor J
ove (oo) C
owl oul W
Owen Ow'en J
P

pageant pudzh‘īn J
pain pēn C
pale pæl W
pall-mall pel-mel J
palm pām J
Palmer pā′m or J
punch paantsh J
papal pæp‘al C
paper peep‘or C
parade perdē’d J
parliament pər′liment C, E, sometimes pər′liment J
parsley pərs‘lī P
pasquil pæski‘l J
pass pæs C
past pæst C
pasture pæs′tər = pastor C
pate pæst C
path pæt C
Paul’s church = Pōл Poolz M, Poolz-tsharish Pōles church E, Poolz, Poolz, may be Pāl J
paunch pawnch paantsh C
pee piι W
pœar = pair pœər une poire M
pearl pœr C
pedant pe′dent J
penal pæn‘əl C
penny = pen‘ə C
pennycorth penn‘o rth pen‘ərth E, pen‘worth, pen‘ərth J
pension = pen′shən pen′shon M
people pəpl P, C, pep‘ pl C
perceive per′sərv‘ e masculin M
perfect pər′fekt sometimes pər′fekt j
periwig per′wi′g J e en ai M, per‘wig F
perryj pər′dzha ri J
perpetual per′pet ual sometimes J
Peter Pī tar J
Pharaoh fər′əro P, Fər′əro J
phlegm = flēm flem M, C, flem, may be fleg‘am M
phonix fək′nks J
phrenetic frən′tək J
phthisick tis‘kək J
piazzas piaz′əzhe J
picture pik′tər = pick t her C, = pie tər avec e feminin fam il ier M
Piedmont pī′mənt J
pillow pī′l or J
pipkin pib′kιn occasionally J
piquant pik′ənt J
pique pi kək J
pique piket J
pilous pɪləs M
poem pəm pœem J
point pəint point C
pouze pəiz sometimes J
poison pοiz n pοiz‘n C, poiz‘n sometimes J
poll pool nonn′nguam poul W, poul C
poltroun polтрouν poltrouν J
pouvid pəvid J
Pontius pən′sios Wk, Pon′shuus J
poonton pəntən J
pour pœur = pœur C
poulterer pəul′torə C
poultsce pəul′təs pəul′tis J
poultry pəul′tri C
pleasure ple′zəyr W, ple′zər P
pleshr‘C, pleshr‘ J
poor pər′er sometimes J
porcellane pərs′sel en J
portree poor′tʃri J
postscript pəskrip often J
pot potw nonnu′nguam W
poter pədər J
potage pətədəzh, some write porridge J
potsherd po′tsheerd C
plain plean C
ploasted plo′sted P
plane plean C
plausible plə′zəbl, pləaz′əbl negli genter C
pleurisy ple′rizi P
plevish plev′ish J
plough plow plau C, plo J
praise preez W, preiz preez negligerter C
prance praʊn J
prayer preer C
pre′ price J
prebendary pre′bænd J
precise prəsəiz C
prefer prier C
pressure preshər J
prey prai P
priest prət J?
Priscian prɪs′ʃæn J
prophesy prəfəsi J
prove prəv P, pruu v C, M
provision prəvəz′ʃæn C
provel π ρ o v l prουl J
ps- s J
psalm saam C, J
psalm saam J
pt- t J
Pagh piu J
pull pul C, pul M, J
pulley pul′e P
punetual pəŋk′tουl sometimes J
pursue pəršhuu J
pursuit pərshuunt J
pus pus M

Q

quality kwəl′sɪ C
qualm kwəam C, kwaam ən ən ləŋg M, J
quart kwərt ən ən ləŋg M
question kwest′ʃən P
quodlibet kəd′lɪbet J
quiff kəf J
quoit kait J
quota koo’tn J
quote koot C, J
quoth koth J
quotidian kot’d-ian J

R
Rachel Ræw’shel W
raddish re’d-ish facil‘tatis caus’a C
raisins rece’sn P, rece’ns = reasons C, =
re’cins re’cinz M, re’e’cns J
Ralph Raaf Rafe E, Raaf J
rarity rece’riti C
re = ree J
-re = -er or
read riid P
read reed lego W, riid lego C
Reading Reed’iq J
reason rece’n o se mange M, J, E, the
last writes ‘reas’n’
receive recez’e’i W, P, rece’e’v C, receez’
é masculin M, receee’v J
receipt reesct P, reeseet J
reckless ree’chales rek’les C
recipe rez’ipe J
recriut rikriut C
red rad e feminin M
refuse riz’u: verb P
regard = reerard regard’ M
rehearze riiehrs’ C
reign reen J
reingage reingae’zhdh’ M
reins reenz J
relinguish ril’iq’kish J
remove rimar’ P
rencounter renk’sun’tar J
rendezvous reen’dvyuuz ran-dy-vooz E,
ren’dveu J
renew riinju J
reprint reprez’int M
vere reer J
vereward riir’ward P
resurrection resarek’shan Wk
restauration restaz’rafshon J
retch rea’ch J
reward ree’vard a comme en français M
rheum rum C
riband rib’an J
Richmond Rith’man J
right rait Wk
righteous ri’toTs roie’tes J
rind rain J
risque rizg J
roast rost roost C
roastneat roost’meet J
roll rol’ nonnuq’num roul W, ruul C
Rome Ruum P, Ruum = room, different
from roam C, M, J
rough rot, W, C, M
royal roy’iel abusively J
rupture ropt’ar C

S
sabbath sob’oth abusively J
saffron seeforn C, E, M
said sed facil‘tatis caus’a C, sed seed J
saints seincs Wk
sald sal’ed J
Salisbury SARISBuRY Salz’beri J
sall saalt P, C
salcellar saltzseller, saal’se’ler J
saltpetre saal’piter’ J
salmon san’mun C, san’em J
salve seev P, saav C, J
same seem W
sanders saan’ dorz J
Saviour seev’viour P
saw saa C
says sais sez facil‘tatis caus’a C
seafold skel’ol J
sceptic skeptik J
scene = scéne seen M, J
schedule sked’iul P, J, sed’el sed’iul E,
sedd’iul J
scheme skem J
schism sizm C, J
scholar skel’ard abusively J
seold skold, nonnuq’num skould W,
skould P, skould C
sournel skon’drel C
sourege skardzh P, C, skwordzh facil.
causa C, skordzh ou-ou court M, J
sourse skuus permuto C
scream skream C
scrivener skriv’nor P
scroll skramul C
scrupulous skreau’pelas facil‘tatis caus’a C
summer skim’ar barb’arè C, = skimer,
skim’ar M
se- see J
sea sii W, see C
seal seel W
search seechish C
sear siir C
source seers C
season seez’n C, seez’n J
seat sect W
seen sin J
seize seez C, J
seize seez J
seize seec, nonnulli seiz W, seez P, M
seraglio ser’al’oo J
serene = seréne seen’ C
serge sergerz chardizh P
sergeant ser’dzhe’ent P
Sergius Ser’dzhuus J
serous seer’as J
servant saerv’ant e en ai M
service seerviz barb’arè C
sevenight = senit ser’it M, sen’it J
shadow shed’u P
shall shal Wk, shaal, signum modi C,
shel M
shalm skaam C, J
shambles skaam'blz J
she shii P, C, M, J
shear sheer C
shears shii'r, M
shepherd shep'ord J
shew shuu, shu C, shoo shoo, may be shiu J
shire shii'r C, J
shirt shert C, shert P, approche du son de notre a M
shoe shuu P, shoo shuu C = cho' shuu M
should should P, shuuld C, shuud J
should should'or C
shouldest shooz J
shovel shoul J
shoe shov J
shrew shru C, shroo shrow, may be shru J
shrew shrosd shrould may be shruid J
Shrewsbury shrewz'beri, Shrouz'beri, may be Shruiz'beri J
sigh saith, un son qui approche fort du th en anglais M, sai soith J
simile sim'il J
sincere sinseer P, J
-sion -shan J
sir sar P, C, ser à peu près comme o ouvert M
sirrh sar'ra C, sar'a approche du son de notre a M
sirrup sar'rap C
skeleton skeleton skeleton J
skink skink skik'k J
sliant sliant J
slouch sluthash J
-som -sam J
snow snau, alii snoo W
snow snue recti'us, guidam sniu, W
so soo C
soft saaft J
Soho Soo'or often J
soil sail sometimes J
sojourn sodz'horn J
sold sould, alii soold W, sould C
soldor sool'dor J
soldier soul'dor P, soord'her I muet M,
souldier soord'her J
Solms Soomz J
Solomon Saa'la'mon J
some som W
Somerset Som'arset J
somewhat som'et J
son son W, Wk
soot suut P, sutt C, sat, better sut J
sorrow sor'ru P
soul soul, alii sool W, sool P, sool C,
soul J
source suurs W, C, M
souse suus J
Southwark Sath'work J
soverign soverain sav'teen J
Spanish Sp'en'erd sometimes J
spaniel spen'el C, J
spear spir C, M
sphere = sphere sfeer M, J
spindle spin'ld J
spoil spal sometimes J
stalk staak C
stamp stamp barbard C, stamp abusively J
Stanck staaand J
stead sted a est contd pour rien M, stiid J
steel steal W
steam stim J
Stephen Steev'n J
stir stor C, ster à peu près comme o ouvert M
-stle -sl J
Stockholm Stak'hoom J
stomach stom'ek J
stood stod P, stod C, stod better stud J
stopp stump stopp C
strange streendz C
stranger stran'dor a non tam requiritur
quam aqre evitatur W, streendzhar C
strut strount abusively J
subtil sot'rl P = sot'tle sot'rl M, sat'al J
subtility sot'al'ty P
succour s'kooar P
sue shun J
suet sewet sruet C, shruet J
suer shuer = sure, or perhaps seu, as shuer is only "facilitatis causa" C
sugar shag'ar (?) facilitatis causa C, shung'ar J
suit sutt P, sute sutt C, shuut J
suitable sutt'abl C
suitor suter suter C
supreme siuppreem J
sure shiru facilitatis causa C, = ch'ure
shiu M, shuur J
surfet sar'fet C, sar'fet e feminin M
survey sarvei P
suture sii'or C
swallow swel'nu P
swear sweer, see forswear fasweer C
see J
sweet sweet C, set J
Swedes Sweez J
swollen sooln J
sword sword P, suurd C
sworn suurn C, soorn J
syncope siq'kope J
syntagm sint'am J
system systems sii'tem J
T

table teeble C
tail teel C
Tabot Taa'bot J
tale teeel C


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talk  taak  rɛktiːs  talk  W
Tangier  Tandzheer  Tandzhiir  J
taper  teːr pauses  C
tar  tar  C
tare  taːrər  tarə  M
tares  teːrəz  C
tart  tarət  C
taunt  taːnt  P, C, J, tənt  J
tassels  təsələs  en  a  long  M
tea  theə  tee  J
teel  teəl  W
tear  teər  laekwə,  tiər  laercymə  C
tem  tiim  J
teire  teərs  J
temptation  temptəˈʃən  Wk
ten  tɛn  tin  M
tenet  tecnət  J
tenure  tenər  =  tenər  C
terrere  teərəə  J
terrible  terəˈbəl  facililitatis  causa  C
Thames  Tenz  J
that  dθæt  en  a  court  M
third  thərd  Wk
thither  =  dədər  dhədθər  e  feminin  M
the  dheɛ  C,  dhe  J
Thebes  Thebz  J
their  dheɛr  J
Theobald  Theeˈβɔld  P
dhere  dheɛr  J
these  dheɛz  W,  J
they  dheɪi  P
Thomasin  Tomˈzɪn  J
thought  thoot  P
thousand  theuəzn  C
threepence  =  thiˈpɛnθəˌsɪnˈfæməlɪər  M,  threepsən  J
thresh  thriːʃ  thərər  B
through  throʊ  J
they  thərt  J
thyme  təim  M,  J
"ti-ante  vocaIem  sh  C
tierce  ters  C
tinder  təndər  thərəˈbərə  B
-tion  -shan  J
tissue  tɨʃuʊ  J
to  tuʊ  M

transient  =  traɪˈjɛnt  tranˈzʃənt  M,  tranˈzʃənt  C,  tranˈzʃənt  J
travail  travəl  P
traveling  travəlˈɪŋ  J
treasure  treshər  J
treble  treblə  J
trifle  triˈflə  W
tripthong  triˈθʌŋ  triˈθəŋ  triˈθəʊk  J
troll  TROWL  tʌʊəl  J
trouble  tɾəblə  C,  J
trough  tɹəʊf  W,  t(roʊʊ)  ouː=ə  un  peu  long  M,  J
trouvel  trɥəˈvɛl  barbərə  C
true  truː  C
tromcheon  tranˈtʃiːn  J
trundle  tranˈdvl  J
turquoise  tɜrˈkwaɪz  J
twang  taʊk  J
Tweed  Twedə  Twiʃd  J
two  tuʊ  C
twopence  =  topˈɛns  təpˈɛns  faməlɪər  M,  topˈɛns  J
tune  tuʊn  W
Tyre  tɪˈɛr  C

U
u,  la  prononciation  commune  de  l'u  voyelle  en  Anglois  est  la  même  qu'en  français  (supra  p. 182)  iu  M
ugly  ogˈliː  P
-um  -um,  may  be  -əm  J
uncoth  ukənθ  -  C,  okəθ  J
up  op  C
uphold  opəʊld  J
upholster  poʊˈʌlθər  poʊlˈʌster  J
to  ap  tu  barbərə  B
-sure  -ər  C,  -ərə,  may  be  sounded  -iər  J
us  =  əs  M,
use  =  jus  pas  du  bel  usage  M
useless  juzəˈlɛs  barbərə  B
usual  jʊzəˈhjuəl  C,  =  jʊʃədən  inzhiələ  M
usury  suˈzərə  barbərə  B

V
valley  valə  P
vanguish  vəŋˈkwɪʃ  J
vapour  veɪpər  C
vary  ˈvɛri  C
vault  VAULT  VΛAT  a  leap  J
vain  vən  C,  J
veil  veɪl  J
vein  veɪn  P,  veen  at  comme  en  français  M,  veen  J
vengeance  vənˈdʒeɪns  P
venison  veˈnɪzn  P,  venˈzən  M,  venˈzən  J
venue 静脉  vəˈniu  J
verdict  vərdɪkt  vərdɪkt  J
verjaice  varˈdʒəs  P,  varˈdʒɪs  C,
varˈdʒes  B,  J
vial  vəˈeɪl  P
vituals  vɪtˈləs  facililitatis  causa  C,  =
vitləs  vɪtˈləz  M,  vitolz  vɪtəlz  J
view yyy W, viu C
villain, vil'èn ai comme en villain M, an exception to his rule
villany vil'n J
virgin var'dzhin J
vurty, or non tam requiritur quan agré evitatur, W
vouc vu'th J
vouchsafe vu'ntsaf J
voyage vo'yædzh eye-age E
volatile val'st il J
vouch vu'th J
vouchsafe vu'ntsaf J
voyage vo'yædzh abusively J
vulgar vul'gar J

W
wafer weef'er C
waf weif weef J
waive eet ween'z koot P
waistband wast'bank was'band J
waistcoat wast'coat wees'koot C
walk waak, rectius wælk W, waak C, J
weal weel'oo P
Walter WAA'ta r J
wane ween C
war waat C
warden waarden C
warm waarn C
warren waalt C
was waz, C, waz en a court M
wash wash en a court M
wasteful wastful wæs'tful C
watch waatsh wæsh C, wæsh en a court M
water WAA'ta r C = ouder WAA'ta r M,
WAA'ta r J
wattle wâttle waat'l C, waat'l en a court M
we wi' P, M, C, J
weal weil C
wean ween C
weer weer C
weary we'rie P, wiir'ri, wa're bærdar C
Wednesday Wenz'dæi P, wenz'dee M, J
weight weit P, weet eit comme en françois M
were wær = wea C, weer J
Westminster Westm'ster J
wh = hou wh M
what what en a court M, waet, better what J
when = hoinns whin M, wen, better when J
wennce = hoinnc whins M
where wheer J
wherry whirry whore C
whether whadk'or bærdar C, wheedh'or J
whey whei P
white hwæt = F, huit W
widow wid'oo P

will w'l, wal bærdar C
who whu Wk, whum P, huu C, J
whole nool W, J
whom whom P, nuum C, J
whoop hup up J
whose nuur P, C, J
whortle hurt'l J
whose nuuz J
Winchcomb Wâns'kam J
wind wînd venus C
wield wyled wold J
willow wîl P
Wiltshire Wîl'shir J
windmill wîn-mil J
wine wain C
Windsor Wîn'zer J
winnow wîn'u P
with wæth cum, wæth bærdar C
wood ood J
woe wuo = wuo C
wolf wul P, wulf C, ufl J
womian wam'ian P, E, um'ian J
vomb wuum C, M, um J
women w'men P, w'men C = oui'menn
wim'en M, wim'en J
wonder wûndær wûndær C
woo = u= uu = J
woe woe uu J
wood wad P, wud C, wad, better ud J
woof waf, better uff J
wool wul P, wad C, wul, better ul J
Woolstead Us'ted
Worcester Wûns'tær, Wêstær, Us'tær J
wordward J
world world P
worldling war-liq J
worldly war'l J
worn woor C
worsted w'rstœd genüs panni, wâsted
facilitatis causa C = ousted wasted M
would would P, wuuld C, wund J
wouldst wûst wûstæd bærdar C, wûnst J
wer-r- may be wr- (?) J
wrestle wûslûst reel J
wrath wraath C, raath en a long M
wrastband r'z-bend r'z-ben J
wrought root P, J

X
Xantippe Sentip'i J

Y
ye jii P, J
yea jii W, C, ÆA rustic, see jii ii J
year jîr P, J, ir J
yeast jîst list J
yellow yel'o J
yeomen yen'æn yen-man E, see-m'en
ni-m'en ii-m'en by many J
ye sîs 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. Publish'd 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>yer' da'   J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>yet  J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yield</td>
<td>yield J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yolk</td>
<td>yolk J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yonder</td>
<td>yonder J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>you C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Z

young yo'g C
your yoor C
youth ju'uth P, ju'uth C, ju'uth J

zoo'ar yed'wa'ri
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 pece 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, Ayres a woman’s Christen name. an idle person, Anne. Alas, a lef (lasse) or a Maid. altar, alter. a ledge, alledge. a lie, alike. a light, alight. a lot, allot. a loan, alone. a lure, allure. aieue, a due debt. he adjoynd me to do it, adjoynd-stool. a judge, adjudge. asson as she came in, she fell into a swoon. awel, al (ail). assault, a salt-cell. assive, a signe. attainted, a tainted piece of flesh. attired, a tired jade. a mate, to amate or daunt. a maze, amaze. a rest, arrest. a pease blossom, appease. a peal, appeal. a tract, attract. abetter, a better colour than the other. appeare, a peer. a wait-player, await, a weight, awry, a wry-mouthed Plaise. a quint discourse, acquaint.

B


C

* Cox, cocks, cocketh up the hay. * coat, sheep-cote, quote. * Coles, coats, quoteth. * clauses, cloweth, claws. cal (call), caul. * course, corpse. *courses, courseth, corpses. *cool’d, could. collar, choler. a puller of apples, a colour. cousin, cozen. council, counsel. *common, commune. cockle and darnel, cockle-shel. champion, the champain field. *choose, chweth. a crue or company, the cock crew. did chase, the chase. * you come, he is comme. crues or companies, a cruse or pot. a cruel master, wrought with crewel. consent, concet of music.

D

*dam, to damne. *fallow-deer, dear friend. deep, Diop a town & call’d. *diverse men, skilful divers. *a doe, his cake is dough. descent, dissension. dollar, dolour. dolphin, the dauphine of France. the deviser of this, multiply the quotient by the divisor.

E

* Easter, queen Hester. * John Eaton hath eaten, a scholar of Acton. eight, alt (islet). * earn, yern. emerods, emeralds. exercise, exorcise. * I eat my meat to-day, better than I ate it yesterday.

F

did feed, was fee’d. * your fees, her feet. I would fain, she did feign. did finde, were fin’d. fellows, fellows. Philip, fillip. the fold, hath fold’d. fore-tel, four-fold. forth, fourth. *furze, furreth, furs. foul, fowl. Frances, Frances. * freeze, friese-jerkin, shee freeth him. * to kil a fle, to fly. of (off) the skin. fleas, fleath, flyeth. to fleer, a fleer’s away. flour, flower. *fourn, floureth.

G

I guess, a very welcome ghost. a ghost, thou go’st. * jests, gests, jesteth. *ox-gals, the gauls, he gaulith. * a
gage or pledge, to gauge a vessel. a gilt-cup, guilt. groan, wel-grown. to glister, a cluster. a guise, Mr. Guy's man.

H

I
I, eye. incite, in sight. inure, in ure, in your account.

J
jest, gest. gests, jests. to jet, a jet-stone. *the juice or sap, a joie to bear up the boards. a jakes, Mr. Jaques. gentle, a gentil or magot. a joiner, a tool to work withal, a woman's jointure. *a jurdon, the river Jordan.

K
Mr. Knox, hee knocketh many knocks. *kannel, the chanel. to kil, the brick-kine.

L
the Latin- tongue, a latten-ladle. *the cow lowed very loud. *take the least, lest hee bee angry. lemons, lemons. lesson, lessen. *titter, the hors-liiter. *the lees of wine, to leese or loose ones labour. leapers that can leap, lepers full of leprosie. to, low, love, lover. a luster after evil things, a bright lustre. out-laved, laud.

M
manour-house, in a good manner. he hanged his mantle upon the mantel-tree. Medes, medas. meat, to mete. *a message, the message. *a menter that giveth meat to the cattel, a corn-meter, a meteor in the air. Martin, martens. Mr. Marshal, martial. *mone and bawil, his corne was maven. moe or more, to move. the cat did mouse well, amongst the corn-moughs. *hawks-muses, he mueth his hawk, to muse. mite, might. a good minde, under-mined.

Maurice did dance the morice. *murrain muron a head piece. *millions, muskmelons.

N
*Nash, to gnash. for nought, the figs were naught. nay, neigh.

O
O, oh! owe. gold-ore, oar, the over of a debt, ours, overers. *ordure, order. our, hour. ours, hours.

P
to pare the cheese, a pair. pause, paws, paweth. the pallet of his mouth, he lay upon his pallet. Paul, pal (pall). parson, person. *pastor, pasture. *prey, preys, preyeth, preyeth. the common plains, please. *Mr. Pierce did perece it with a sword, the scholar did parse and construe his lesson. *she weareth her patents, letters patents. pillers, cater-pillers. pride, hee prid. *profet, prophet. the proper of it up, a proper man. *he hath no power to poure it out.

R
rain, rein, reign. *reins, reigns, raineth, raineth. a noble race, did raise the wals. the raisers of the sun, to raise. ranker, runcour. red, hast thou read? *a reddish colour, a radish root. *reason, raisin. *reasons, reasoneth, raisins. *ream, realin. *reams, realms. Rheemes the name of a place. *Mr. Rice took a rise, the rice. rite, right, write, a wheel-wright, Wright. *rites, right, wheelwrights, righteth, writeth. *the rime wherein the brain lieth, the rime of a pomegranate, the river Rhine. Roe, a roe-buck, a row of trees. roes, rowses, he roweth, a red-rose, Rose. *when there was a rot amongst the sheep, I wrote him a letter. hee caught [misprint for caught - reached] it from of (off) the shelf, when hee wrought with me. *a riding rod, when I rode. *I rode along the road, hard-roed, my daughter Rhode, roved apace. roads, Rhodes. *the highest room, the city of Rome (roume). *round, she rowed him in his ear. *a taffany-ruf (ruffe), a rough garment. *ring, wring, rung, wrung. hee rued, so rude, the cheese-rack, ship-wrack.

S
slight, sleight. he was no saver in buying, a sweet-savour. savers, savours, savoureth. *the seas, to seize. *ceasing
from strife, ceasing him to pay. *cease, of (cease) him so much. seller, wine-cellar. *the one sutler, was subtiller than the other. signe, either a sine or tangent. *censor, ceseur, cesure. the third century, an herb century. he did shew the sheep, in Buckinghamshire. cite, sight, site, cited, quicksighted, 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 sow the seed, to sewe a garment. *the sole of a shoe, the soule and body. *the soles of his shoes, he soleth his shoes, soleles and bodies bought and sold, the shoes were sol'd. *very sound, he fell into a swoun [compare asoon, a swon above]. strict, straight, sloe, slow. *a sore, hee sore or sware. sly, Sligh. a hedge and a stil, 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, suteth, non-suiteth. succour, bloud-sucker. some, sum (summe). sun, son (sunne, sonne).

T

tame, Thame. tamer, Thamar. *tax, tacheeth, tacks. *the treble and the tenor, a tenour or form of words, the tenure whereby a man holdeth his land, there, their. *turkeys, a turquois. time, thyme. the tide, tied together. toe, towe, toes, you touse the wool. toad, fingred and toed, he toved his barge. tolle the bel, pay tol (toll). I told him. I toled the bel. too, two, to. tract, I tractt him. a treatise, diverse treaties. *I had then more work than I could do. thrown, throne. *it was through your help that I came threw. through, if he throwt' away.

V

vain, vein. *a venter or utterer of commodities, to venture. *venters, ventures, ventureth. vial, viol.

W

*a way, to walk in, a weigh of cheese, ways, weighs, weigheth. *water, Walter. *waterers, watereth, Waters. wait, weight. *waits, weights, waiteth. *if you were, you would wear, a witch-tree, a witch. *wood, would. he would her, he was woode. *a wad of straw, wood to die withall.

Y

*yew, you and I, V and I are vowels. *yeus, use. your, put this in are, a bason and ewre. yours, basons and ewres, he in-wreth himself. yee that are wise, yea.

A

ask, ax, acts. Abel, abe. amase, amace. al-one, alone, actions, axioms. arrows, arres. advice, advise. Achor, acre, ant, aunt. accidence, accidents. as, as (asse).

B

(to play at) bowls. (to drink in) boles. baron, barren. barrow, borrow, borough. Boyse, boys. bath, bathe. bands, bonds. bare, bear. begin, biggin. breath, breathe. bauble, Bable, babble (babble). bile, boil. Bruce, bruise, brews (brews), brewhouse. (the little childe began to) batle (when his father went to the) battel. bore, bour. arrant, errand. bowes (and arrows), boughs. bittern, biter. boosters, bolsteres. both, boote. best, beast. (your book is not so wel) best, boast. boots, boats.

C

copies, copise. coughing, coffin. (when hee) coug't, caught, coat. cummin, coming. ches (cheese), chests. chaps. chops. char, chair, cheer. capital, capitol. currents, currants. consequence, consequents. cost, coast. causes, causeys.

D

dun, done. (he was but a) dunse, duns. decent, descent, dissent. descension, dissension. discomfite, discomfort. (backs and) does, (one) dose. device, devise. decease, disease. dust, (why)dost (thou). dearth, death, deaf. desert, desart.

E

east, yeest. earn, yarn. (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.

false, fals. froise, phrase. fares, fairs. fens, fence. fought, fault. follow, fallow. fur, fir. farm, form, form (to sit upon). Pharez, fairies. farmer, former. (a smal) flie (may) flee. fins, fiends.

gallants, gallons. garden, guardian. glaf (glaes), glof (glosse). gesture, jester. (a) jerkin, (never left) jerking (his horse).

Howel, howl, hole. whose, hose. homely, homilie. hallow, hollow. guet (guesse), ghosts. whores, hoarse. horse, his, hit (hisse). hens, hence. holly, holy. Hepher, heffer.

James, jams. ingenious, ingenuous. impassable, impossible. imply, imploy. it, yet. idol, idle. inough, inow. eyes, ice. Joice, joys.

know, gnaw. known, gnawne. knats, gnats.

lines, loyns. lowe, low. lower, (why do you) lowre. (the) lead (was) laid, (he) led. (the) leas (were added to his) lease. lies, lice. loth, loathe. leases, leassees.

Marie, marry, narrow, morrow. mines, mindes. mine, mince. mifs (misse), mists. (to) mowe, (a) mough (of corn). maids, meds. mower, more. moles, moulde, myrre. mirth. (a) mousc, (barley) moughs. morning, mourning. (hawks-) mues, (a) muse. mistref (mistresse), mysteries.

neither, nether. none, nonee. needles, needlef (needless). (his) neece (did) neese. never, neer.

once, ones. owner, honour. ought, oft. owne, one, on.


reed, reade. wrought, wrote. rote, raise. rasen, raiser. rat, rot. real, ryal. reverent, reverend. wroth, wrath, rathe.

S

when they had filled their sives (with onions and) cives. sithes, sighes. science, scions. signet, cygef. cypref-(trees), cipers (hatbands), ciphers. sirra, surrey. sowe (seed), sow (and her pigs). sower, sewre (grapes). Sows, sowse. sorese, source. sleaces, sleeves. seeth, seethe. say, sea. sex, sects. steed, stead. slowe, slough. spies, spice. saws, sense, sens, sees. cease. seizing, ceasing. (why do you wear out your) shoes (to see the) shewes? society, satietie. aloe, sloughs. Sir John (sent for the) surgeon (chirurgion). Cicelie, Sicilie. Cilicia, Silesia. sheep, ship. sins, since.

tens, tense, tents, tenths. tongs, tongues. trough, trophie. tome, tombe. tost, toast. thy, thigh. trope, troop (troup). thou, though.

volley, valley, value. vale, vail. vaction, vocation. verges, verjuice. vitals, victuals.

wilde, wield. weary, worry (the sheep). whether, whither. wiles, wildes. (they took away the fishermens) weels (against their) wils. wines, windes. wick, week. (thou) wast, waste. wicked, wicket. wret, wrist. (the man that was in the) wood (was almost) woode. wisit, wists.
Examples of some words, wherein one sound is exprest diverse ways in writing.

Sea-ted, con-cei-ted, sea-sing, se-zing, se-rious, See-va, ce-dar, Manas-seh, Phari-see, Wool-sey, sche-dule.

See-ded, suc-cee-ded, sie-ling, over-see-ers, pur-see-y or fat men, mer-cie (or mercy).

Si-nister, sy-nagogue, Sei-pio, Sev-thian, Cy-prian, ci-vil, Ce-cil, Se-vern, pur-sui-vant.

Si-lence, ci-ted, quick-sigh-ted, sig-ning, sci-ence, sy-ren, Cy-rene, sa-liety.

These syllables aforegoing, may suffice, to give a taste, of all the others in this kinde.

touch is to bee pronounc't short like tuck.

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 once excepted.

win-der and wil-der where the first syllable in either of them must bee pronounc't long as in wine and wilde ... some men cal the winde, the wind ... in the word wil-der-nes, it must be pronounc't like will.

[see] short, as in these words head, read, head, rea-dy, rea-dy, stee-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 preter imperfect tense.

al words of more than one syllable ending in this sound au ... are written with ous, but pronounc't like us, as in glo-ri-ous, etc.

it is our custom to pronounce al, like an, and to write it in stead thereof, as in balk, walk, talk, stalk, chalk, malkin, calkin, cathers, falcons; as also, in almond, alms, halm, balm, palm, calm, shalm, psalm, malmoosy; and in like maner in these words, namely, in calf, half, salve, salves, calve, calves, halftime: as also in scalp, scalp.

the sound of ee before some letters is exprest by ie as in field, shield, fiel'd. Priest, piece, grief, grievé, thief, thieve, chief, acheive, brief, relieve, relief, siege, Siege, Pierce, fierce, biere, lieutenant, which is to be pronounc't like lief-tenant.

howssoever 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 encouraged yer long, to publish a car 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 all 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.

| ad     | lad | ade lade | ad     | day |
| ed     | led | ead lead | ed     | eu dew |
| id     | rid | eed reed | id     | oi coy |
| od     | lod | aud laud | od     | oi coi-ness |
| ud     | gud | ude gude | ud     | ou cow |
| ood    | good | ood food | ood    |     |
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 iitsb' Quận, on background ul, on background kii, on background kii, on background kii, on background kii, on background kii, on background 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, from, from, from, from; now I have it.

Rob. But Good-man Taylor our 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, bade, bid, 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 see; 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, abêt, dibot, decidence, accident, incident, account, account, account. done, dobor the first valley, the Israelites entred, in the land of Canaan, dovern. affection, affection. all, awl. Ate, ate, aile, aile, aim to level, aimns. alds oogh, wo is me, a Less, dias, aloes. Alexander, alexanders, or alixander a plant. alud, alowed, ditler, diler. Ammon, Ammon. duple, dumble. angel, angle to fish with hook, and line, anele. annual, annals. arrowse to stir up, arrowes darts. ascênt, ascênt, consent, diss. as, ashes any fuel burnt to dust, ash a tree, ask to enquire. acts, ax. asp a serpent that kills with its looks, hasp of door. assemble, resemble, dissimile. ant. aunt, auntère, oyster. aver, airy windy empty. arrant meer, very, right, errand business that one goes about. assdy to try, prove, essay a trial, attempt assistants, assistance. ascertain to make sure, a certain sure. attache to apprehend, arrest, attaque to face about, to charge with a ship. attaint, attain.

B

Bubble, bible a toy fit for children. Bachelor of Arts, bachelor one unmarried. bacon, beacan. badge, batch, bag, balt, bald, bawl, baly. bay a colour, bay an harbour for ships. baiz thin cloth, baizes a garland, or leaves of bay tree. balt meant to allure or entice with, make bate that sets folks by the ears, beat to strike. band an armie, a tie, bond obligation, bill, imprisonment. bane poison, miserie, banes report made of matrimonie. banner, pennier. Barbera a woman's name, Bbaarbarie a part of Africa, bbaarbarie a tree. bark, bauque a little ship, balt a fight, battles diet in a College. bitlement, bittledore. bee, be is, are, béaver castor, béver food eaten between dinner and supper. been wast, were, binn a hutch to keep bread in, beer, bier. bellowes, bélities. bénéfice, bénéfiz. berdy defile, beverud discover, betrayal. beséech, besiege. body, baudy, boll to wash in, boul to play with, bous to drink in. boar, bote to pierce, bore the long hole in the gun. book that we read in, bueck a deer, buck of clothes to be washed.
boult to range meal with, bolt a great arrow, door bar. bow to shoot with, bow, bow to bend. boys little lads, buoy great logs of wood floating in the bay to guide in the ships. burnt, brunt an assault, encounter. berry, berry. buy, by and by. biggin a little coife, begin. boster, boster a great pillow. breach, breaches. bread, bred that is reared, bread. brain, brown boar's flesh, bran.

C

Cabinet, cabin. qualm suddain fit, calm still, quiet. Cales or Cadis a city in Spain, Calis a town in France, chalise. caul a dress for a women's head, caul of a beast, call to name, calle so the Scots call cabbage. canon rules for men to walk by, common a great gun, canon a Cathedral man. capacious, capable. cephal. cepidol. carriage, carrets or carots, chariot. carrier one that carries, careir a gallop with full speed. cavaller a horseman, caviler a wrangling, captious fellow. centorie a plant, centurie any 100 years of the ages of the churches. sentinell one that watcheth in a garrison, kænnet, cinnet, chânet. chattel a mans personal estate, catell tame beasts. case, cause. censor a reformer of manners, censer a perfuming 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, cheer countenance, or good virctualls, chair a seat to sit on. chapp a narrow chink, cheap. champion, campaign large, even fields. check, chick, cheek one side of the face. chest, chess, cheese. child, chill, cidor, drink made of apples, cedar. clamour, clamber. ciltern instrument of music, citron a fruit, cloy, claw. clove, close. clap, claps he clappeth. coat, quote. cote a little plait of inclosed ground, cottage. choler, collar, scholar, collier, colour could, cold. gallop, collop a rasher of bacon. comb to kemb ones head with, honey-comb. come. comment, comet a blazing star. comna, common publick, communique to talk, converse together, common a ground not enclosed, commons a scholars allowance in meat, cumin an herb, cunningseed the seed thereof. complie a partaker, accomplish, confits or confects dried sweet meats, comfort. considerate, considerable. carol a song, coral a red shrub that children rub their gums with. crownor or coroner that makes inquest after a murther, coroner a by private place. colonell ma commandeir of a thousand, colonie a plantation. consumption, consummation. counsel advice, s-o-i. council the Kings council, or a synod of learned men, e-i. course rough, corse dead body, course to go a hunting, curse to wish evil to one. cousin, čözən. currant that will pass, as good money, current a stream, corants small raisins. erasie infirm, sickly, erosed cracket, distracted. erōcidile monster in the river Nilus, cockatrice serpent that kills with its very small. cox a mans name, cocks do crow.

D

Defention, defect. defor, 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, dam a nosyman vapour out of the earth, dame a mistress, or any beast that brings forth young. damson a little black plum, damosel a brave young virgin. declared, disease, desçess departure. deer, dear, dèitte, ditty. dedicate, delegat, deman to behave, demvin the means of a Lord, or a Cathedral, demand, demarre, demur. désart wilderness, desért to forsake, desért merit. descant, dissent, decent. desirous, desirable. discomfort, discomfyt. digest to concoct virctualls, digest to set in order. dev small drops from the skie, due a debt, diven. dont or dunt, din, dine to eat about noon. dissolve, disolute. doe, do, doughe, daw. doth as he doth give, doeth he maketh. draw, drawn. dray a sled, draw. Don Sir, master in Spanish, done, 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, yarn to be moved to compassion, yarn. earth, earth. east where the sun riseth, yeast harm, case. egg to provoke, to set on, egg which the hen layseth, edge, hedge. eldor a tree, elder more old. Elizor, Eldizar. Embassador, embassage. emerald, emeroids, pikes. eminent, imminent. engagement, engage. ephe, ephod, epoch, epod a sort of verses. Esther, Hester a
Saxon Idol, Easter, yesterday. expérience. eyes the windows of the head. ice.

F

Fair, fare, far, fear. fashion mode, manner of apparel, fashions or farsy, running botches upon horses.

Fair, faire, faience, faisseur, fauvorite. felon a thief, fellon a swelling sore on the finger. fiends, fines. findeth, fine. filiphi, Philip. flee to shun, avoid, fleas to pull off the skin, fleas a small creature that doth fly, fleas a small skipping creature, fleeces the wool of one sheep. fleet, swift, flit to waver, flitch, flux or flux bloody issue. floor, floor fine meal, flower of a plant.

Fliers, Friers. foid. foyd. foord. foord a shallow passage in a river, afford. fore, four. forth. friershag'd cloth, freese to congeal. friery where Friers live, farry, ferry. frouce a small pan-cake, phrase. fuse fine, hairy skins, furz prickly shrubs. fundament, foundition.

G

Gantlet a souldier's buff, or iron glove. Gantlop two ranks of soldiers that scourge a malefactor that is condemned to run between, with his back stript. 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, garden an inclosed piece of ground. gentiles heathens, gentil a magot, gentle mild, generous, tractable, genteel curious in apparel or carriage. gesture, jester.

Giart where the King lodges in his journey, or progresses. jest. glutinous, gluttonous. glister, glister or oyster, cluster. God, good, grass, grace to eat grass, grace. gray a colour, grey a badger, an earth hog. Greece a country, greese a small ascent, steps on the floor, ambergrise a perfume, grisst corn brought to be grounded. grin to wry the mouth, grind to bruise small, as we do corn. gown, grown. guess, guest. gun, gone.

H

Hail God save you, hail stones, hate to lug, to draw. hair, hair, haeve. air, are they be. by to make hast, hay, high, highth loftiness, highness. heart, hart. hartsthorn a long leaved plant. hartsbore 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 seafish. heron a man's name. hern a crane. heathens, heavens. horse, hoarse, horse, hallow, hollow, hole to bowl. holly, holy, hole, whole. whom. hore a frizzing frost, whore. hew to cut, to fell trees, hue visage, physionomie. hu and cry, hugh a mans name.

I

Jams, James. idol, idle. Jews, Jewish, juice. imply, employ. impostor a great cheater, impostor one that takes the names of such as are absent, or tardy. incite, intluish, inconsiderate, inconsiderable. inn, in.

Ioab, Job. Joice a womans name, rejoice, joist a little beam in building.

Ich, hitch. its his, it's is, 'tis it is. judge, jugs. judicious, judicial.

K

Keen, ken, kin, kindred. kill, chyle. koel, 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. latten tin, Latine Roman language. leaden, Leyden. league, leg, legman. leaper, leper, leopard. lease (with a soft, s) to pick up shotted corn. lease (with a hard, s) an indenture, writings, least smallest, less smaller, lest a note of forbidding, as lest I chastise you. leoman concubine, whore, lemon a kind of an apple. legion, legends. liturgie, lethargie. lessen, listen. lies false tales, lice small, biting worms. limber weak, limner one that draws pictures. limn, limb. line whereby we work, or write straight, lain flank, banch. Lions a town in France, lion a fierce beast, liorn a great cross beam. letter, litter, lieter a sedan carried between two horses. lose to let go, to let slip unknown, loose (with a soft, s) to undo, to slack, loose (with a hard, s) debauched, lewd. lost, loss.

M

Main might, chiefest, main. prize, sureship, bail, mane of a horse. mare that breeds colts, maior the chief ruler
of a citre, major a commander by one
degree higher then a Captain. more,
moo a marsh, moor a man's name.
mansion a chief house of abode, manchet
a little white loaf. maiden fashion,
manners good carriage, mammour a great
farm by heritage, manure to dung the
ground. map, mop. march the first
moneth, march to go as soldiours
together, Mars, marsh a moor. murred,
murried. martin, martyr. mercer, mer-
chant. mace, mass. mast the biggest
pole in the ship, maste acorn. meat
food, mete to mesure, meet fit, con-
venient. message, messagge. meteor,
metre. might, mite. mind, mine. mine
minist. minister, minist. min-
stered. moat a deep pond about a house,
mote the least dust. morter made of
lime and sands, mortar that we pound
any spice in. moore, mow rick of
corn, move to cut down hay, or corn
mountibank, Mountague.

N

Naught bad, naughty, nought no-
thing. Nazarene, Nazarite. neither
lower, neathmost lowest, neither none
of them. nesh tender, effeminate,
neece ones sister's, or brother's daughter,
nice curious, delicate. nay, neigh, nigh.
nonce of purpose, none the first part of
the moneth in the Roman accompt.
news, noise, noise. notorious, notable.

O

Our to row with. ore metal not
refined, o're for over. odour sweet
smell, udder the pap of a cow. off
with a double, f, after a word of action,
as to cut off, to draw off, of before the
word it belongs to, with one, f, 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 be-
moaning, owe.

P

Palate, palliate, pallet a little low bed
to be roled up. paws, pause. pairs,
pales kind of stakes. pale a compass,
appeal to discourrage. pannes, pains.
pattern coppie, pattern, pattons wooden
soals. patient, patience. please a grain
of corn, poises weights, to a clock, or
jack, peace, peach, piece part. peer,
pear. pare, pair, repair. person the
word man used with some reverence,
parson a kind of minister. pebble,
people. pens, pence. Pilate, pilot,
pirate. pistol, pestil wherewith we

pound in a mortar, epistle. pittious
an object of pittie, pitiful one given to
pittie. place, plaice a little broad fish,
plad a course cloak, such as the Hi-
landers wear, plat a small parcel of
ground, plaie to set the hair in order,
plot a cunning design. play a game, a
comodie, plea a defence, excuse.
Common pleas, please. plash, over-plas,
non-plus. pottle, bottle. preceded a pattern
to authorize any action, preceded fore-
going. President a head of a College, or
chief Ruler. price, PRICE. prize, praise.
principal, principle. private, privets
small trees. privie to, privies. 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, pry. puppies,
puppets.

Q

Quarrel strife bickering, quirel of
glass. quarrie, querie. quench, quince.
queen, quean.

R

Rack, wrack ruin. raie, 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, reach to stretch,
rich, wretch. refuge, refuss off-scour-
ing. relic, reliques. revel, revel.
revel, rivel. rain, reign. reins
of the back, reins of a bridle. raiser,
one that stirrith, rasure that we shawe
with. read I have read, red.
real, royal. reverent, reverend. right, rite,
write. roe, row as slaves do in a boat,
row or row of trees, raw. Romans,
romine. Rome the chiefest City in
Italy, rome to rage, and tear all before
one, room a space, a chamber. rough
ruggard, course, boisterous, ruff plaited
together, as a ruff band, rough-east.
rule, ruel.

S

Sale, sale. saddle, save. same, Psalm.
Saviour, savour. Satan, satten smooth,
silkien stuff. scarce, scarse. scent, scent.
school, scull. scholars, scullers little
boats. see, see an ocean, see the Pope's
jurisdiction, as the sea of Rome. seal
as to seal a letter, or writing, sie to
plais the roof of a room. sealin
possession, season opportunitie. sect,
set. sects, sex. seargant one that
arresteth men, surgeon chirurgeon, that
heales wounds, Sir John a Knight's
name. share, shear, sheir, shire.
shave, sheave as of corn, sheathe, shive
III. Cooper's Lists of Words Like and Unlike and Introductory Remarks.

De Variis Scripturis.
1. Quedam scribuntur vel cum c vel s; ut dace apua, ice glacies, farec farcio, race stadium, rice oryza, sauce condimentum, cesser censor, scarce vix, scissors eisers forfax, cellar cella, siders scoria ferri, sives porrum sectile, cievizibethum, sluse emissarium, source ions, syder me-lites, nourse nutrio, penel penicillus, chef lucus, fugo, etc.
2. Cum unicum literam finali, vel ista duplicata, ut fir, frir, firre, abies; Sic er erro, sum ilius, sum summa, star stella, trespess transgressio, war bellum.

3. Cum dg vel ege aut age; ut allege allego, college collegium, privilegum privilegium; vel alledge etc. cabbidg brasca, sawcidg tomaculum; vel cabbage, sausage.

4. Cum in vel en em en; ut empoiverish depaupero, endure sustento; vel empoiverish, inure, etc.

5. Cum ea vel ee, ea vel e ut in capite 8, reg. 1 [quoted supra p. 82], cum ai vel ei cap. 7, reg. 1 [quoted supra p. 126], cum au vel a; ut chance casus, gard stipo, matt malleus; prance superbe saltio; vel chaunce, etc.

6. Cum unicum literam vel ipsa duplicata; ut hering halec; ut later tardius, latter posterior distinguui debent. Latini derivativa ut plurimum primitivorum in scriptione sequuntur formam, quamvis simplex latinè auditur sonus consone, et anglicè duplicatur; ut abolish abolish, canel canalis, amity amicitia, minister minister, mariner à mare navigat, et littery liturgia.

Si varia hominum scripta præsentim privata consulamus, tantam libertatem, tantam varietatem, tantam incongruentiam et imperitiam videamus; quod satis huysmodi suscepti tum necessitatem tum utilitatem demonstrare possit: In quo analogia et optimæ scribendi regulæ exhibeantur. Légitur apricook abricot malum armenium balet balad canticum bankrupt bankrut dector butcher boucher lanio butcher boiteler promus budget bouyet bulga charet chariot currus clot coph géba cumber comber impedito curd cudag coagulum fäign feign fingo fraight fruit velatura hartechoak artichoak cynara imposthume apostem apostema loricet liquorish glycerrhiza plaignt pelt plico slabar slaver conspergo squiny squinquancy angina vat flat labrum yelk yolk vitellus

Cum plurimum alius; in quibus omni-bus relegare literas supervacanças, atque eas, quæ veram pronunciationem proximè attingunt, solitigè debemus; nisi quodam alia privata ratio aliter suadet; ut in sequentibus observationibus.

I.

Voces quæ tandem habent pronunciationem, sed diversam significacionem et scribendi modum.

A

All omnes, avt subula.
altar altare, alter muto are sunt, air aer, heir, heres, ere long statim ant formica, ant Amita ascent ascensus, assent assensus assault invado, a salt bit bolus salitus

B

baies lauri, baiz pannus villosus ball pila, bail voofler bare nudus, bear fero. be sum, bee apes berry bocca, bury sepelio bit’d rostratus, build edifice bitter amarus, biltour butio bous torquet, bouhs rami, bowse perpoto bread panis, bred nutritus browz frondo, browz palpebrae borne portatus, bourn rivulus buy emo, by per

C

calendar lævitas præsentim panni, Calendar calendarium call voco, caul omentum censor thuribilum, censor censor, censure judico centory herba centaria, century centuria sive spatum centum annorum chair cathedra, charè negotiolum chæd’ fugatus, chast castus chews masticat, chese eligo clause clausula, claus us unguis coat tunica, quota cito cozen illudo, cousin germanus chord chorda subtensa, cord funis collar capistrum, cheller bills conning venicus, cummin cuminum coold’ refrigeratus, could possem coughing tussiens, coffin sandapila coarse levidensis, course cursus counsel consilium, council curia colors colores, cutters ovis rejicula car’d curabam, card pectino.

D

dam mater, dann condemno dear carus, dear fera dissension dissensio [no second word given]
C. Cooper's Words Like and Unlike. Chap. IX. § 2.

doe, dama, do ago, do massa farinaria
don factus, dun fuscus
dew ros, due debetūs

E
emerald smaragdus, emrods hæmorrhoides

F
flea pulex, flay vel flea excorio
fleam philebotomum, phlegm vel fleam phlegma
forth ex, fourth quartus
fair pulcher, fare ligurio
far abies, fur pelles, fur longè, furz
genista aptus,
gestus gesture
fit aptus, fight pugnabat

G
gest gesta, jest jocus,
jester jocator, gesture gestus
gost vadis, ghost spiritus
grene gemo, grown accritis

H
hair crinis, hare lepus
hake seerio, hawk accipiter
hart cervus, heart cor
hard durus, heard auditus, herō grex
hear audio, here hic
holy sanctus, wholy totaliter
hew scindo, hue color
hy festino, high altus
higher altior, hire stipendium
holo vocifero, hollow concavus

I
ire ira, eyer observer
insight prospectus, incite incito
isle volo, Isle insula, oil oleum
in in, inn diversiorum
jerkin tunica, jirking flagellans

L
lamb agmus, laum verbero
lead plumbum, led ductus
lease carta redemptionis, leasch ternio
canum
leaper saltator, leper leprosus
lessen diminuo, lesson lectio
least minimus, lost that ne; (sed potius
vice versa least ne)
leman pellex, lemon malum hesperium
limb membrum, linn miniculor
lo en, low humili
line linea, loim lunabu
lustre splendor, luster lustrum

M
mannor mos, manour præedium
male mas, mail lorica
meat cibus, mete metior
message nuncium, message villa
mouse (mouse) mures capto, mows
familia
muse meditor, mice accipitrem in er-
gastulum compingit, sea mews fullice,
muse cum foramen per seipientum

N
nether inferior, neither nec
naught malus, nought nihil
a notion notio, an ocean oceanus

O
O interjictio vocandi, oh doloris vel
vehementia, ou debeo
car renes, ear ore ballua, o're super
our noster, hour hora
own agnosco, one unus
order ordo, order sterces

P
pair par, pare rescedio, pear pyrus
pause pauso, paus ungues
pastor, pasture pascuum
pleas causa, please place
pickt her cam elegit, picture pictura
prophet propheta, prophet commodum
pray precor, prey praeda
plum prunum, plumb perpendicularis
pour fundo, power potestas

R
rain pluvia, reign regno, reins renes
raise suscito, raise radii
ranker oldior, rancour odium
race stadium, rase expungo
rare rarae, rare attollo
read lectus, red ruber
read lego, read arundo
raison uva passa, reason ratio
right rectas, rite ceremonia, write scripsi
ry secale, uvy obliquus
rue capreolus, row series
rote memoriar, wrote scripsi
ruff sinus, rough asper

S
say loquor, say pannus rasus
saver parsimonius, savor sapor
seas maria, seize apprehendo
sell vendo, sell cellula
seller vendeor, cellor cella
sight visus, site situs, cite cito
size senio, size glutino
season tempestas, seisin possessio
seat sodes, deceit fraus
shave pars, shear tondeo
shoo calceus, show demonstro
C. Cooper's Words Like and Unlike. 1031

Vae usus, use utor: abuse abusus, abuse abutor

clove clausus, close cludo

crus poecillum, cruse prador
diverse diversi, divers urinatores
dose dosis, dose dormito
deso psanerea, ells ulane
exuse apologia, excuse excuso
 falsa falsus, fals cadit
his sibilo, his suus
loof remissus, loose solvo
premiss praemisse, premiss præmitto
refuse quisquilit, refuse abunuo
hous domus, house stabulo
moue mus, mouse mures capto
loue pediculus, loue mures capto
bros ws, braise subero
glas vitreum, glaze invitreo
grafs gramen, graze pasco

III.

Propria nomina cum communibus, quæ eundem vel affinem habent sonum.

Achor, aere juger
Bedo, beda corona, bede tree azedarach
Barbara barberry oxyacantha
Brux, brooks rivuli
Cain, cane canna

Vesce que diversum habent sonum et sensum sed eandem plerumque scripturam; quæ tamen melius hoc modo semper distinguantur
Diep, deep profundus
Francis mas, Frances femina
Joice, joies gaudia
Eaton, eaten pastus
James, Jams parastades
Marshal, Martial Martialis
Martin, Marten cypselus
Mede, mead hydromelum
More, noor maurus, palus, more plus
Maurice vel Morrice, morris dance
chironomica saltatio
Nash, gnash strido
Noahs, nose nasus
Ny, nigh propè
Paul, pall palla, palid mucidus
Filete, pilot naulerus
Rhode, road via publica, rode equitavi
Rome Roma, room spatium
Stye flumen infernale, stieks bacilli
Thamar, tamer mansuetior
Walter, water aqua

IV.

Voces quæ affinem habent
sonum sed diversum sensum et
scripturam.

A

alone solus, a loan vel lone mutuatum
advice consilium, advise consuluo
device inventum, devise comminiscor
adicu vale, adso conatus
alley ambulaerum, ally annexis
auroe resurrexii, arroes sagittae

B

baren sterilis, baron baro
begin incipio, biggin capital
battle pinguesco, battel praelium
beholding aspiencis, beholden obligatus
bor'd terebratus, boord tabula
bos't gibbus, boast glorior
bile ulcus, boil coquo
bauble nuge, bable garrio

C

candid candidus, candied conditus saccharo
causes vise strate, causes cause
currion cadaver, carrying portans
champion pugil, champain campus
citern cithara, citron citreum
college socius, collod collegium
colors, colors colori
copies exemplar, copyis nemus
curants uve corinthiaca, currents amnes
crown corona, coroner, crownner questor
craven pusillanimus, craving regatus

d

Dauphin primogenitus regis Galliae,
dolphin delphinus
decent decens, decent descensus
door actor, door ostium

E

exercise exerceo, exercise conjuro

F

fellows soci, fellies apsides
file limo, foil sterno
fence sepidmentum, fens paludes
find invenio, fiend daemon
flax linum, flakes flocculi
floor pavimentum, flower flos, flour
pollen
fold plico, foal'd peperit equa
froiz vel phrase fricta, phrase phrasis

G

glister mico, glyster vel glyster
 garner granarium, gardian gardianus,
gardener hortulanus

H

hence hinc, hens gallinae
home domus, whom quem
hollow cavus, hollow sanctifico
hose caliga, whose cujus

I

idol idolum, idle ignavus
employ impendo, imply intimo
ingenious ingeniosus, ingemous in-
genius
inure assuesco, in your in vestra
juice succus, joice transtrum

L

lain positus, lane viculus
Latin latinitas, lattin orichaleum
lettice lactueba, lattice tranenna
leasour locator, lesser minor
laud laudo, out-lau'd proscriptus
leaf folium, leave libertas

M

may'st possess, mast malus
metal sigillum fusile, medle tracto
mines fodine, minds mentes
mole talpa, mold humus
moan gemo, moun messus
mover messor, mor plus
melon melo, million 1000000 sive
centum myriades
mote atomos, moth tinea
mile miliaria, moill laboro
§ 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 e, 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 æi, æi 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 (wænd land, wærz skærz), and in care war, declar'd barr'd (keær wær, deklaærerd berd) we have only a long and short vowel rhyming, as is constantly the case. Embraed taste rhymed perfectly as (embræest, tæast), not according to our present pronunciation.

2. With proclaim rhyme name fame tame, that is, according to Cooper, (æem) 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 (feer). 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 (whirz), which is possible, as the pronunciation still exists dialectically.

4. The group years petitioners, fears pensioners, please images, please griev-
fect (oi, oi) according to a prevalent use in the xvii. th 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 (oi, oi) according to Miege, but Cooper has (neet), Jones (neet, neeth). Clearly there was a diversity of pronunciation of which the poet availed himself.

8. The (oun) of the xvii. th century, when generated by a following l or w, was so often considered as (oo) by the orthoepists of the xviii. th century, although the usage varies, that we need feel no surprise at the rhymes soul pole, groen throne, own throne, mould bold, overthrow sue, soul control, blow forgo. But gold sold, gold old, were at that time (guild, could could sold), 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 (oo) 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, blood as (blad, flad), 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, iu), if indeed the distinction had not become altogether obsolete. Poets allow (iu, uu) to rhyme, considering the first as (iuu) or (juu), but the fact that they are now felt not to be genuine rhymes at once discredits the common theory that long (u) is now (uuiu). The first element receives so much stress that it cannot degenerate into (a). Accordingly we find the rhymes anew pursue, Jews accuse, few true, muse 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 strong, were probably quite imperfect as (A, o), although (tho, tso) may still be occasionally heard, and in some dialects all these words end in (-oq). But son crown (son kroun) was altogether unjustifiable at that period.

11. The r seems to have excused many indifferent rhymes. Afford sword, which now rhyme as (abroad sound), then rhymed as (euford sound), 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 abhor'd, restor'd lord, were (oo A). First curs'd was probably perfect as (o o). Art desert was perhaps considered a perfect rhyme. In wone 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 xvii. th 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 Agio (suprà p. 866 noto), where they are cited as anomalies. The authors with their dates are as follows:

Addison, 1672—1719.
Blackmore, 1650—1729.
Butler, 1612—1680.
Cowley, 1618—1667.
Crashaw, d. 1650.
Creech, 1659—1700.
Davenant, 1605—1668.
Dryden, 1631—1700.
Garth, 1672—1719.
Granville, 1687—1735.

Herrick, 1591—1674.
Milton, 1608—1674.
Oldham, 1653—1683.
Philips, 1676—1708.
Parnell, 1679—1717.
Prior, 1664—1721.
Roscommon, 1633—1684.
Rowe, 1673—1718.
Waller, 1605—1687.
Wycherley, 1640—1715.

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 (ae, æ).

2. Complaint elephant, Prior. faint pant, Addison. These differ only from proclaim name in having the second vowel (ae) short, instead of (æe) long.

3. They sea, Dryden. defeat great, Garth. great heat, Parnell. neat great, Parnell. please ease images, Wycherley. praise ease, Parnell. train scene, Parnell. steal fail, Parnell. bears shears, Garth—are all practically perfect (ee, ee) or (ee, EE). State treat, Dryden. errs cares, Prior. retreat gate, Parnell. place peace, Parnell. theme fame, Parnell. are wear, Wycherley—are only (ee, æe). here share, Garth. years shares, Garth. hear air, Milton—may have been taken as (ee, æe) and (ee, ee), instead of (ii, ææ) and (ii, ee).

4. Ear, murderer, Dryden. great debt, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. rest feast, Dryden. contains streams, Dryden. dress'd feast, Dryden. express cease, Dryden. eat regret, Prior. digest feast, Prior. reveal tell, Prior. east, west, Addison. threats beats, Ossian—are all cases of (ee, ée) or long and short vowels rhyming. chin unclean, Dryden. uses (i) for (e), distress place, Garth. uses (æe) for (ee). compelled field, Dryden. held field, Garth. well steel, Dryden. freed head, Dryden—have (ii, e) for (ee, ee).

5. Dress'd fist, Dryden. flesh dish, Dryden. heaven given, Prior—are the usual (e, é).

6. See energy, Roscommon.

7. Defile spoil, Dryden. declin'd join'd, Dryden. decline disjoint, Garth. join design, Butler. vine join, Cowley—were perfect rhymes; and weight flight, Dryden, may be compared with height flight.

8. Doom Rome, Butler. throne gone, Dryden. load abroad, Dryden. food good, 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: strów'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 oou) rather than (oo au), and were therefore not far from (uu, au) in: soon town, Dryden. you allow, Blackmore. now you, Crashaw. pow'r secure, Garth, so that they connect the former with: grout shut, Dryden. proud blood, Garth, or (au, 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, Rev. door poor, Parnell. shoals, fools, Garth.

9. No example.

10. In: rock smoke, Dryden, which was really (A, oo), the intention was (o, oo), and this led readily to tolerating (o, oo) or (e, uu) in: home plum, Dryden. home comb gum, Dryden. some home, Herrick. struck oak, Dryden. grove love, Garth. moves loves Waller. some Rome, Dryden. come Rome, Butler. come Rome, Garth. shut foot, Covenant.

11. Heard bard, Garth, was perfect; but curd hoard, Philips. forth worth, Dryden. where clear, Prior. cord bird, Dryden—show the influence of r.

12. The following seem rather to be oversights than intentional anomalies: ground swoon, Dryden. un bought draught, Dryden. form man, Dryden. wish bliss, Dryden. views boughs, Addison. tree by, Oldham. I she, Oldham.

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 Pær'sn,  
im'tææted fræm Tshaasør ænd enlær'dzh'd.

Æ pæ-r'ish priist wæz af dhe pil'grim treen;  
Æn æa'ful, rev'rend, ænd relidzh'os mæn.  
Hiz oiz dëfiuzd' æ ven'æræbl greæs,  
Ænd tshaæ'r'ti itsel' wæz in hiæ fææs.

Ritsh wæz niz sool, dhoo niz ætö'r' wæz puur;  
(ÆÆ Gæd næd klæhdh niz oon æmæsædor,)  
Far sotsh æn ærth niz blest Redii'mær boor.

:Af siks'ti jirz hii siimd; ænd wel moit læst  
Tu siks'ti moor, bat dhaæt hii livd tuu fæst;

Refönd' himself' tu sool, tu korb dhe sens,  
Ænd mææd Aalmoost' æ sin af æs'tínens.

Jet næd niz æs'pekt nath'iq æf sevæt',  
Bot sotsh æ fææs ææ præ'm'ist hım sínseer r.  
Nath'iq rezervd' ær sèl'ën wæz tu sii,  
Bot swiit regeæædz' ænd pleez'iq sæqkt'àiil:

Moil weæ niz æk'sent, ænd niz æk shæn fríi.  
With el'ækwens imnaææt niz tæq wæz æærmd,  
Dhoo nærsh dhe præ-sept, jet dhe præt'shar tshaææmd.

Far, lët'iq doun dhe guuld'n tshaæ fræm hæi,  
Hii drio niz au'diens op'ærnd tuu dhe skæi:

Ænd æft wût hoo'l hîmz hii tshaææmd dheer iirz,  
(Æ miu'zik moor meloo'd'oæs dheen dhe sfeærz).

Far Dëas'víd left hım, when hii went tu rest,  
Hiz lëaër; ænd æft'ær hım, hii sæq dhe best.  
Hii boor niz greet komis'h'on in niz luk,  
Bot swiit'li tem'pard aa, ænd saf't'nd aal hii spook.

Hii præctsh dhe džhaiz æf hevn ænd peenæz æf hel,  
Ænd wærnæ dhe sînær with bekæm'iq zeel;

Bot æn æter'nael mer'si lëovd tu dwel.  
Hii tæat dhe gas'pel redh'ær dheen dhe lâa,  
Ænd foørst hımself' tu dro'v', bot lëovd tu dâa.

Far fiir bot friiz'ez moindz; bot lëv loik neet,  
:Égææælz' dhe sool søblím tu slik hær nææ't'iv seet.

Tu threts dhe stëb'ærn sînær æft iæ nææd:  
Reapt iæ niz kræizm, ægeænt dhe stærm præpææd';  
Bot when dhe moæld'ær beemz æf mer'si pleæ;  
Hii melts, ænd throuou niz kam'bræs kloek æweæ.'

Aeit'nq ænd than'ær (hevnz æertl'ærail).  
ÆÆ nær'fúndzhærz biñoor' dh:-Aalmoít'fíloí:  
Dhooz bot prækæem: niz stail, ænd dísæpír',  
Dhe stil'ær sound sëksiiædz', ænd Gæd iæ dheer.

Dhe taïdzh niz pær'ish frii'lì peed, hii tak,  
Bot nev'er siud, ær kørst with hel ænd buk;  
With pææ'shens beer'iq ráq, bot æf'riq noon,  
Sins ev'tí mæn iæ frii tu luuz niz oon.
Dhecōn'tri tshərlz, əkur'diŋ tuu dheer koinh,  
(Huu gradzh dheer diuz, end lov tu bii binoind;)  
Dhe lees̄ nii saat niiz afʻriqz, pinsht dhe moor',  
And prezzi də priist kanten'ted tu bi puur.

Jet af niiz lit-l nii hæd səm tu spæær,  
Tu fiid dhe fæm'isht, sənd tu kloodh dhe bæer;  
Far mar'tifəd nii wæz tu dheet digrii',  
Æ puur'er dhen hɪmsɛlf' nii wud nат sii.  
Trin priists (nii seeəld), sənd preets'hərəf də dhe wərd,  
Wer oon'li stīn'-erdz af dheer səv'ren lard;  
Nəth'iq wæz dheerz, bot aał də pəb'lək stooə,  
Intrəsted ritsh'ez tu reliiv' dhe puur;  
Huu, shud dhee steel, far wənt af niiz reliifs;  
Hii dzhədzhəh hɪmsɛlf' əkəm'pləs with dhe thiif.

Weid wæz niiz pər'ish, nat kantrek'-ted kloəs  
In striiə, bot niir ənd dheer æ stræg'-liq nəus;  
Jet stil nii wæz ət hænd, without rekvə'ɛst',  
To sərv dhe sîk, tu sək'-ər dhe distreəst';  
Temp'-tiq, an fut, aəloʊn, without æfər',  
Dhe dəən'-dzhərəz af æ dærk temper'stuiəs nəit.

: Āał dhəs dhe gud oold mən pəfəurəmd' aəloʊn',  
Nər spæərd niiz pəenz; far kiu'-ræst hæd hii noon;  
Nər dorst nii tɾəst ænəd'hər with niiz kæer;  
Nər rood hɪmsɛlf' tu Poolz, dhe pəb'lɪk frəer,  
Tu tʃəəf'ər far prepər'm ent with niiz guuld,  
Whee bish'orpiks ənd sai'nikiurz æə sool';  
Bot diu'lɪ wæstht niiz flak bai noiət ənd dəxe,  
Ænd fram dhe prou'liq wulf reədiimd' dhe pree,  
Ænd hoəq'grɪ sent dhe woəl's faks æweə.  
Dhe prəud nii təəməd, dhe pen'tent nii tʃiərd,  
Nər tu rebiuək' dhe ritsht əfən'-dər fiird.  
Hii prəets'h'-iq mətsh, bot moor niiz prəkt'is ətət,  
(Æ liəv'-iq ər'mənən af dhe tryuθs nii təət;)  
Far dhəs bai riulz seveər' niiz loif hii skwəərd,  
Dhət əał mət sii dhe dək'trɪn wətʃəsh dhee hæərd.  
Far priists, nii səend, æə pət'ərnən far dhe ərest,  
(Dhe guuld af həvən, huu beer dhe Gəd împrəst')  
Bot when dhe prəʃhʻəs kəin iə kept ənkleen',  
Dhe sov'reenə əm'ədəzh əz nəo ləq'gər siiν.  
If dhe bii fəul, an huum dhe pɨp'l tɾəst,  
Wəl mee dhe bəəz'ər brəs kantək'tə æ ərest.

Dhe prəl'æst ər niiz hoo'li loif hii prəizd;  
Dhe wər'li pəmp əv prəl'əsɨ dəsoizd'.  
Hii səən-viər kəəm nət with æ gəə-dɨ shoo,  
Nər wæz niiz kiq'dəm af dhe wərəl rələv'.
Pææ'-shens in want, and pææ'-erti af maënd,
Dheez maëks af tshortsh and tshortsh'men nii desënd,
ÆEnd lëv'-iq taat, and dëv'-iq left biimënd;
Dhe kreu nii woor waëz af dhe point'-ed tharn;
In por-pl nii waëz kriu'ssëid, nat barn.
Dheez nuu kantënd' fur places wënd noë digriii,
Æsëer nat niz senz, bot dhoës af Zeb'-ëdii.
Nat bot nii nuë dhe saënz af erth'li pour
Mëit wel bëlkam' senënt Piit'-ërëz sak'sesër:
Dhe moo'li feæ'dhor nooldz æ dëb'l reen:
Dhe prins mee këip niz pëmp—dhe fish'or mëst bii pleen. 100

Setsb waëz dhe senënt, nuu shoon with ev'ti grëwes,
Reflëkt'-iq, Moo'vez-loik, niz Mëæ'-korz fëëwes.
Gad saa niz im'ædzh loiv'li waëz eksprést;
ÆEnd nis oouë work, æz in kreeæ'-shon blest. 104

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 Shaksperian examples pp. 986–996, observe, the change of (a, aa) into (ê, ëë), the separation of (o, oo) into (A, oo), the entire absence of (yy) and of the guttural (kh), the complete change of (ei) into (ai), and (ou) into (au), with the absence of (ai, au), or rather their absorption into (EE, AA).

As contrasted with our modern pronunciation, observe the existence of (ëë), still heard in Bath and Ireland, in place of (ee, ee'), the existence of words like (meet seet) v. 32, still heard in Ireland and the provinces, in place of (miit siit), and similarly (seven' sënt) v. 12, these (dheez), the broad (EE) which has quite given way to (ee, ee') except before (A), where it does not usually exceed (ee), the pure (iir, oor, uur') in place of our modern (iir, oor, uur).

The use of (A) in place of (o) is probably more theoretical than real; indeed many orthoepists still regard (a, A) as identical. The clear (œ) 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 fast) still often used by refined speakers in the north, golden (guuld'm) still heard from elderly speakers, artillery (ertl'-ærëz) now hardly ever used in educated speech, true (triu), truth (trith), rule (riul) not unfrequent, at least in intention, provincially, sovereign (sev'ën') an obsolescent but not quite obsolete pronunciation. Paul's (Pooélz) is quite lost, and so is worldly (wær'-Ì), at least in intention. Of course many peculiarities, as pointed out in the vocabulary, do not occur in this example, such as -ture (-tër). 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 xviiith 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-county.

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.


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: fear dear, heap cheap, meal deal, foot root, would shoulder; while he confuses as identities the (to Lediard) distinct vowels in: year pear, door blood, porter border, rash watch, deal heart, seize their, feign height, few new, jewel breaver, winter pint, mother modest, Rome come, good root, foot tooth, round mourn, could mould, youth young, flame 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 ah or French ai in mais; [that is, (ex), in-
tended for (æ), because he uses ã without the prolonging å, for a short in glad, had, yet this (æ) is suspicious because of Wallis, as name nähm, shade schähd, face fähs, etc. When unaccented, as short å or e, [that is, (æ, e)], as private prevât, courage kurradsch (ka-razch), desolate desoslät. 2. many mähn, to quadrature quâh-drahte [the e is not meant to be sound-ed], Mary Mahr, except water waterer, [ah should be (aa), but is meant for (AA)]. Observe many (mae-æ) nj. Only the principal examples are given.] 3. hueza hoseah (hæwaæ) ; 4. plague plâhgh. 5. in -ange, as change tschâhndsch, range mähndsch, angel ândschel. In angelical, orange only as short å (æ). 6. in -aste-wâst (wæast), as chaste paste, haste, waste.

II. Like German o, or rather more lengthened almost like German ah, [meant for (AA)], 1. in -all=âbl (AA), as all, call, wall, small. But Malt in the malt game, and shall have short å (æ). 2. in derivatives as already, walnut wahnnot, but challenge, tschâllendesch, tallow, fâllo, gallows gâllus [possibly (gæ-las) and not (ga-las), but observe not (ga-las), and see OW below], cal-los kâllus. 3. in bald baldh, scalded skâlded. 4. in vâlk wahlk, talk tahlk, stalk tschâlkh, but in these and similar words i is not heard in "rapid" pronunciation. 5. in false, balance, pâisy. 6. in malt, salt, hâtt, exalt, but shall schâlt. 7. in -war- in one syllable, as war, warm, toward tuwhârd (twâwârd), reawrd, war, dwarf; but in warren, warrant with a (A) short. 8. in quart, quarter.

III. These two principal sounds of A are long, and each has its short sound, as short åh and short å in German, thus: as short å (æ) in can, man, rash, but as long a (AA) in watch, was, wash [meant for short å, see V. below]. "The short å (æ) really approaches short a, and has as it were a middle sound between å and a, [that is, (æ)], lies between (æ) 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 mârth, branch brântsch, dance dâns [i.e. these words have short å], and this generally before r, n. 2. in derivatives German Deschermân, gentleman deschentlemân; barley bârli, partridge pâtridsch, chamber tschâmber, [compare Moore's rhyme: amber chamber, supra p. 859]. 3. In -arge, -anche. 4. In -al, as general deschenèr, alter altár. 5. in æ, as again ägän (agen) abroad åbrâhd (obrahd). V. Short a is sometimes pronounced as German a, [properly (a), meant for (A) or (ø)]. 1. After qu, as qualify qualifie, quality qualifi. [Here (kee) was certainly also in use, see vocabulary] qualim qualm, quantity, quarrel, squaible, squander. 2. after w, as weak, wallow, wan, wand, wander, want, was, wash, watch, swaddle, swallow, swan. Except, quack, quadrat, quag, quandary*, quash*, squash*, waff*, wog, waggon, waz, which belong to IV., [that is have (ø); observe * words.]

E

I. Alphabetic name ih (ii) has the sound of long German i, and is then called a masculine. 1. in -e, 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 -es as Eve, even, evil ihvir, Eden, Egypt, equal, liquâl. 3. before a following vowel, as idea, idhâh, Châdeane, Deity, Masoleum mosolihum [probably (mosoloi-um)]. 4. ending a syllable, as in Peter, Pihter, etc. 5. in the following monosyllables here hier, Mâe Dihih, Örete Kriht [compare Jones, 1701, supra p. 88], a mere, to mete, vere-admiral, scene sîhn, scheme skîhm, sphere, these dihbs [pronom] . "To these should be added there, were, where, which by bad habit are called dihâhr, wâhr, hwâhr." [Lediard was therefore of the school of the Expert Orthographist, supra p. 88.] 6. in adhier, ausere asthr, blaspheme, cohere, complete, concede, concrete, converse, extreme, impede, intercede, interfere, Nicene, obscene absbhn, proceed, recede, replete, reverse, severe, sincere, supersede, supreme. Except extremity, severity, supremacy, spherical, discretion, etc., which have German e (e).

II. E masculine is pronounced short as German i [probably (i), in Hamburg and North Germany (i) for (j) is common in closed syllables]. 1. in emb-, as embark imibärck, encourage inkurredesch, English Inglish, enjoy inschâi, ensue insu. Except embers, emblen, embryo, emperour, emphasis, empire, imperial, encomist, ennity, ennable, enter, enthusiasm, entity, entrais, envoy, envy and derivatives. 2.
Ending a first syllable, as elect iect. Also in yes, yesterday, devil, Sovid [observe this (siv, dêvil, Sôvîl), but (oes) 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, 
ghithist, courteous koius, every evirî, piity pelli, righteous reitius, soverain 
soverain.

III. E feminine, like the French, only before e, where it has "an obscure sound 
almost like German ő (œ), or a very short obscure e as in her, vortue," etc.

IV. E neuter as German e [I interpret by (e), but really (u) is common 
unlike German, as however Lediard uses ő confessedly (s) for (œ), I think it best 
to sink (e) altogether and use (e, e) in the interpretations], as in end, etc. 1. in -en very short, bitten off, and little heard, as open op'n, often af'ra [observe the ę]. 2. Short or elided in 
-ed.

V. [About e mute, -le, -re, genitive -ea, etc.]

I. Long ï as German et [(ai), as 
many in England still pronounce, but we are not to suppose that Lediard 
would have distinguished (ai, ai, ah, ai). The examples agree with present 
usage, except that live-long has ï short in Lediard, and sometimes ï long now]. "Tewpence is commonly but wrongly called fippens" (fip'sens?). In child, 
mild, wild, find, bind, behind, kind, grind, blind bleind. But build build, 
guild gild, windlass windlass, Wîndor, resind. Use ï 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]. 
Fire feier, etc., but shire schirr, cashire kaschîr, frontiere frontierî [that is 
cashier (kashîr), frontier (frantîr)]. 10. Christ Kreist, clînh klein, indicet 
ment indéctment, pînt peint, tîth teith, with reith [now (taidh, raith)].

II. [Short i generally possesses no interest. Notice] long th (ii) in Price 
explained as German boy, a kind of 
baiuz, gentile or genteel, oblige some 
say obleidzs according to rule, pique, shire, fatigue fatieg, intrigue intrigg.

III. A middle sound between French 
e feminine and German õ, before ſ only, as in bird, etc. In sirrh, õ is almost 
pronounced as short õ (sêr œ), in hitther, thither, arithmetic, withthrate, the õ 
before th is almost short ĵ. The ĵ is quite "swallowed" in business bisness, 
chariot tscherrot (tsher-ât), carriage kârredsch, marriage, medicine medsin, 
parliament, ordinary ahrdinâtî, spaniel spannel, venison vensen.

O

I. As a "long German o or oh, a 
Greek œ, or the French an" [probably 
(oœ), possibly (œœ), certainly not (ou)]. 1. [The usual rule], as alone ałożn, etc. 
Ex.: above, dove, glove, love, shoe, with 
"a short u, but somewhat obscure, 
almost as a middle sound between short 
and short u" [that is, (o, œ) as be-
tween (o, ſ)]. Also except in automate, 
come, custom, done, none, [not (noon) 
but (nan)], shone (shum), some. 
Except 
when o sounds as long German u or uh 
(uu) in behove, move, remove, prove, 
approve, dispose, improve, reprove, lose, 
done, Rome, whose; and as a gone 
gan (gan). 5. In -dome, -some as (s). 
3. Use o in o, bo, fro, go, ago, ho, to, 
ma, na, pro, so, to, unto, th' atho; 
"the words to, unto seem to belong to 
the other rule [II.?] but as the ma-
ajority bring them under this rule, I 
content myself with noting the dif-
ference" [this sound of to as (too) or 
(to) should be noted, it is not uncommon 
still in American]. Except, to do, two, 
who with long u (uu); tweopence is 
tuppens (tou-pens). Use o long [and not 
the diphthong (ou, ou)] in old, bold, 
etc., and o long, not short, [that is (oo) 
not (A, o) or (AA)] in forl, horl, sword, 
divorce, force, porch, forge, pork, form 
a bench, forlorn, shorn, aworn, torn, 
wor, 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 dis-
tinguish the sounds]. 1. at the end of an 
unaccented syllable, as absolute 
absolutb, 2. in o-, as obey obâb, 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, towardly, associate." [That is, these words have ° or (o) short, not long, (oo), nor (o), as some have now, and not (A, o), as in the next rule.]

III. Short ° 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, o) or (o)]. 1. on an, ox echs, etc., except omer, ombrage and only. 2. in com-, con-, contra-, cor-, non-, except when com- is followed by b or f, as in combat*, combine*, confit, comfort, etc., and also in compact*, company, compass, compassion*, compatible*, combinations*, compile*, complement*, comprehensive*, comply*, complait*, complaisance*, etc., in which ° is an obscure u (o) [the ° words have now (o)]. In other words short a is used, as competent, competent, complement, comprehend, etc. Conduit kundit (kon'dit). 2. [Rules for ° before two consonants as (A, o)] except the following when o is a short ° (o), as a, or, brother, chronicle*, colony*, colour, columbine*, cony, coral*, covenant, covert, dozen, floris*, govern, hony, mony, mother, plover, stony, another, [the ° words have now (o)]. A woman "in which ° is not so obscurely uttered as in the others," except women winmen. 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 ° (o) is also heard in affront, among, amongst, attorney, Monday, monger, mongrel, monkey, pommed [as now].

IV. English ° is pronounced as a short obscure u (o). 1. in -dom, -son, 2. see exceptions to I. 1. after w, as wolf [this and woman seem to belong to the same category, but wood is further on said to have short °, so that short ° (o) and short obscure ° (o) are sometimes confused by Lediard], won, wonder, word, etc., except wove, wothy, woun't, wound, won, wonth, won't want [often (want)], won't wat, womb wuhm. 5. Rather short and obscure in the last syllables of almond, bishop, buttock, etc. 7. In front [some say (frant) even now], monk, month, son, sponge, gongue [?] volf [volf]?

V. English ° is a long ° or uh (uu), 3. in tomb, womb, whom, and words otherwise excepted.

VI. "Finally English ° is pronounced like German a, but very short, obscure and almost bitten off." 1. in -on, including -ion, -or, -ot, as bacon, baikhcn, bakh'nh, button butt'nh, lesson less'nh, anchor ank'r, senator sent'r, faggot fagg'it. 2. in the terminations -tron, -fron, -pron, -tron, in which ° is pronounced as et, but rather quick and obscure, as childhood, tsbählern [(tsha3-darn)?], saffron saffern [(so-farn)?] apron āpern, citron* sittern, patron* pattern [no longer usual in the ° words]. The ° is almost mute in dimous dämsel, faulconer fahkner, ordonnance orduln, poysouen, prisoner, reasoning, reckoning, rhetorick, seasonable; and one, once, are wun, wons (won, wons).

U

Rule (a.) Long U is pronounced in (iu) after b, c, f, g, h, j, m, p, s, but ° may sometimes be suh.

Rule (b.) Long U is a long German u or uh (uu) after a, t, n, r, t. In gradual, valuable, annual, mutual, ° may be either itu or uh.

I. Long English ° is pronounced as in, u, or uh, more or less rapidly according to accent. 1. according to rule (a.) as in abuse abjus, huge hûdûc, June Dechebâh, as u in seduce se'dusa, exclude, minute minuht, rude, Brute, conclude, obtrude. 2. as in or rather juh (juuh) in the beginning of words, as union jù'nion. 3. except wove, punish, punnic, study, silly, [?], short and like obscure ° (o), in busy bissi, busy berr. II. English ° has an obscure sound between German ° and short ° (a) [in the usual places, I only mark a few]. 2. in bulk, bumbast; except where it is a German short ° (u), as in bull, bullace, bullet, bullion, bullock, bully, buralsh, burlwark, bush, bushel, butcher, cushion, full, fullage, fuller, fully, pudding, pull, pullet, pully [all as now]. 3. in -nu, -us.

III. English ° is very short, obscure, and almost like an obscure e, in -ule, -ure, as glandule, globule, mactule*, postule, schedule, spateule, verule; adventure, benefacture, censure, conjecture, conjure* magically, dispose, failure, future, grandure, inclosure, manufacture, nature, perjure*, posture, rapture, scripture, sculpture, tincture, torture, venture, verdure, vesture, etc. [all now with (uu) except the ° words occasionally]. Except rule* and the following in -ure, which follow rule
(a.), abjure, adjure, allure, assure, azure, 
conjure, entreat, cure, demure, due, endure, 
epicure, impure, insure, insure, lure, 
mature, obscure, procure, pure, secure, 
sure [all now with (in) except the * 
words (ruil, shuua)].

[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, appa-
rently 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 ev. 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, 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 
ii, and has nothing in common with 
French u."

Digraphs.

Æ, as ih or ie (ii) in: era, ihra, 
Cæsars, Caesar sibsáir, pericium, etc.; 
as e (c) in equinox, equinox, estival, 
eccity, celibate, quastor, præmune, 
etc.; as i short, when unaccented, 
in equator, equilibrion, equinoctial, 
ængmatical.

AI, "as uh or long English a, with 
a little aftersound of a short i" [this 
from Wallis, suprà p. 124? it is very 
suspicious]. 1. in aíd, ahd, ait, aim, air, 
etc. 2. in affair affair, bai, complain, 
etc. Except as e (c) in again, against, 
wainoscot wennaikt; as short ä (æ) in 
railly rilli, raillery rüller; as long e 
(æe) in raisins reeëns, and as ie (ii) in 
chairs tshier (tshir). As a short e or 
i or a sound between them in the 
middle or end of words, especially in -ain, 
as complaisance kampilshàns (komial-
shine), curtail körtlé (korëil), captain 
käptin, chamberlain täshberlin 
(tsheëberlin), fountain, mountain, 
plantain, purdian, villain, etc. Afraid 
is commonly called äftord (afford).

AU I. like ah (Aa) in audience, 
vault, etc.; like uh [(æ)], marked long 
in aunt ähnt, daughterf[?], dauët dáhnt, 
draught dräft, flaut, hamt, jount, 
laugh, santer, taunt, vaunt; like short 
a (A, a) in fæust fassett, sausage sas-
sidsh (sa-sidzh). Some call St. Paul's 
Church Pohlh Tchortshé, but it is a 
true corruption of pronunciation 
among the vulgar [but see suprà p. 
266]. II. unaccented, like short Ger-
am a, as causality kasliliti.

A W as AU, but Lowrence 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 
(hallide).

EA I. The commonest pronunciation 
of ee is that of German eh or ie 
(ii), when long and accented, as appeal, 
appease, bæd, bequeath, cheap, conceal, 
dear, decease, eat, entreat, feast, feaver, 
grease, hear, heave, impeech, leaf, leaque, 
mead, measeles, near, pea, peace, quaen-
ness, reap, reason, sea, season, teach, 
treason, teel, veal, veer, weak, weapon*, 
yea*, year, zeal, etc. [see suprà p. 88, 
observe the * words.]  "Most gram-
mars err greatly in the pronunciation 
of this diptongh, but rather where 
this first rule applies, than where, in 
the opinion of some, ea should be pro-
nounced eh (ee). Perhaps, as Mr. 
Brightland observes, this, with an after-
sound of English a, was the old natural 
pronunciation. 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 bear, 
beart*, break, earl*, early*, great, 
pear, steaks, swear, wear, which are 
pronounced with long e (ee). [Observe 
the * words.] 11. Short, or unaccented, 
like short German e (e), as, already, 
bread, cleannse, dead, endeavour, feather, 
head, lead, leather, lineage[f], meadow, 
pleasure, poyshfriend, realm, serjeant, 
steady, tread, treasure, wealth, weather. 
III. But if short ee is followed by r, it 
is called å (æ), as earn* ärn, wrongly 
pronounced jern (jarn) by some, earned*, 
earth*, hearten, heart, hearth, learn*, 
pearl*, etc. [Observe the * words.]

EAU, in jum (zü) in bounty bulti, 
etc., but beaz is boh (boo).

EE, generally long, as ih, is (ii), as 
in bleed blïld, etc.; short or unaccented 
as short i (i) in beaz* bin, creek* krïck, 
brocobh, screobh* oul skritsh-aul, sleek*, 
three-pence, coffee, committee*, conge*, 
elmosinary, floee, leece*, pedigree*,
Pharisce*, rare-show, Saducee*; [Ob-
serve the * words, here and in future.]

EI, 1. as *h or *e (ii) in conceit, con-
ceive, deceit, deceive, inveigle*; invigil,
leisure*, perceive, receive, seize
[observe * words]; 2. as *eh (ee), or
as some say *ah (ow) in deign, eight,
feign, freight, heinous, heir, inveigle,
neigh, neighbour, reign, rein, straight
straight straight, their, vein, weigh, weight.
3. as ei (ai) in eilet-hole, height, slight
slight. 4. as short e (e) in either,
edber, neither nedber, foreign farren,
heifer. 5. as short i (i) in counterfeit,
forfeit, surfeit, seignior.

EO (e) in Geoffrey D scheffri, jeopard,
iseard, (ii) in people, (AA) in George
Dsechahrdsch; yeoman jemman or jie-
man (ji-man).

EU, EW, as long U, namely (ju) or
(uu) according to preceding consonant,
but in chew*, sew, shew, sewer, by some
as oh (oo).

EY, accepted as (ee) in convey, grey,
obey, prey, purvey, survey, they, whey;
as (ai) in eilet-hole, hey-day*; and
as (ii) in key; unaccented as (i) in abbey
abbi, etc.

EYE, as (ai) in eye.

IE. 1. as (ai) in crie, die, drie, fie,
flie, lie, pie, tie, trye, vie, etc.; cries, etc.;
to allie, certifie, defie, deny, etc., II.
as (ii) in aggrieve, atchieve, believe,
chief, cieling, field, grief, grieve, liege,
misschief (mistshii-ves), piece, relieve,
shriek, chief, thrive, wield, yield,
longer in the verbs in -ieve, than in the
substantives in -ief. As short (i) in
mischief, orgies, friend*. Handker-
chief hänkertcher. III. as short (i) in
armie, bodie, etc., better written with -y.

IEU, only in foreign words, as (ju)
in lieu, adieu, as (ii) in monsieur*,
and as (i) in lieutenant*.

IEW also as (ju), as in view vinh.

OA as (oo) in abroach, etc.; as AA in
broad, abroad, groat graht; as (aa) in
goal, gooler, which (according to Lediard,
p. 94, n. 55) is the right spelling, not
goa; as (a) short in oatmeal* atmosh,
and as o (oo) in cupboard cobbett.

OE, initial as (ii), as economy; final
as (oo), as croe [a crow-bar], doe, foe, roe,
sloe, toe, voo; as (uu) in canoe, to coe [to
coo], shoe, to voo [to woo].

OI, 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 buoy, coy, destroy,
employ, hobby [hautbois], joy, toy, Troy,
etc. Except as ei (ai) in anoint an-
neint, appoint äppeint, boil beil, broil
breil, coil keil, coin by some kuein
(kwain), embroil, foist, hoist, join, joint,
joffer, jointure, joist, loin, loiter, point,
poison, rejoinder, spoil, toilet by some
tweetle (twai-let).

OO never at end of a word except
too; long as (uu) in aloof, gabon, pata-
coon, etc.; as (oo) in door, floor, moor
mohr; short as (a) in book, foot,
foremost, good, etc. [as now]; as short
(o) in blood, flood sometimes written
blood, flood. Shoon saun [(saun),
or (swan)? which is common now] and
its derivatives.

OU. I. long and accepted as German
au (au), in about, doughty, draught*,
plough, a wound*, etc. Except as o
or oh (oo) in although, bolder, boul, con-
troll, course, court, courtier, discourse,
dough, four, fourth, joul*, joutil, mould,
mouldy, moun, mould, mouther, nouther,
poultice, poultry, to pour, recourse,
shoulder, slough* a bog, for slow, not
quick, has a w, soul, souldier, though;
and as long a or ah (AA) in fourty,
fourtieth, cough, trough, bought, brought,
ought, ought, sought, thought, wrought;
and as long u or uh (uu) in to accenture,
bouge*, cartouch, could, gauge, groups,
rendezvous, should, surtout, through,
would, your, youth. It is now customary
to write cou’d, shou’d, wou’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 middletone be-
tween o and u (a), 1. in adjourn, blood
blood, country, couple, courage, double,
enough, flound, flood, flourish, journey,
nourish, rough, scourge, touch, tough,
trouble, young. 2. In -ous as armour,
behaviour behaviuur, courteous
kurtius, dubious dubhies, etc.; except
devour divar, hour aur, flour flour,
our aur, and difflour difflor, four foor,
our pohr. 3. In -mouth as in Dartmouth,
etc. In borough, concourse as short o.

OW. I. as au (au) in advow, bow
bend, rowel, etc. [as now], except as
(oo) in bow arcus, boat a cup, jowel,
shower [one who shews?, meaning not
given, and others as now]. II. as short
(o) in arrow, gallows [written (gae'bs),
under A. II. 2, the rest as now].
Knowledge hnahledsch, acknowledge ak-
knahledsch.

OWE, now generally ow.

UE at end of words, as long U.

UI as (iu) in cuiusse kluhrass, juice,
Consonants.

[Of the consonants it is not necessary to give so full an account, but a few words may be noted.]


Scene ssicien, scepter scepter, but skeleton skeleton, sceptick sceptick. Drachm dräm, yacht jät (xjet). Schism ssism.

D. Almond amon, handsome hänsum, friendship frenschiss, ribbon ribbían, wordy (wordly?) worlli, hand-maid hännäh, Wednesday Wensdäh. Come and see kum än sikh, go and fetch goh än fetsch, stay and try stääh än trey, etc.

F. In housewife, sherrif, f is soft like v, and in of the f is omitted, and o is pronounced as a very rapid a (A). Gimmint deschiin.

G = (g) in gibbous, heterogeneous, homogenous. GH initial (g), final, or followed by t is not pronounced, except in cough, cough, enough, rough, tough, tough, draught, where it is ff (f), and sigh*, dought*, height*, where it is th. Apothegm äppothem, phlegm* flihm (fiilm). Initial g before n sounds as an aspiration or h, not like a hard g, as gnash* hänsch not gnäisch, gnat* hätt not gnät, gnaw* hnäh not gnah, gnomon, gnostick. See under K. G is hard (g) in impugn, oppugn, repugn. In bagno, signor, gn retains the sound of Spanish h, Italian gn (nj).

H is not pronounced in heir, honest, honour, hospital, hostler, hostile, hour, humble, honour, Humphrey and derivatives, but is pronounced by some in hereditary; herb is called erb by some, and hyerb in one sound, (yharb?) 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 knock knick, knave knäive, knife hniev, knee hnie, knot, know, knickle, etc. "M. Ludwick says that k before n is called t; 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 unpleasant a sound as must arise from prefixing d or t to n." Did he mean (nhnii) for knee? Compare Cooper, supra p. 208 and p. 544, n. 2.

L is not pronounced in calf, half, bale, talk, walk, folk, balm, calm, calve, to hate, etc., almond, chaldron, falcon, falconer, falchion*, malkin*, salmon, salvage*, soldier, halfpenny-worth håh-poth (möe-po), in could, should, would, t is heard only in sustained pronunciation.

N is not pronounced in mn, in kil(n), in tene(n)t, gover(n)ment.

PH is p in phlebotomy*, diplhong, triphhong, and v in nephew, phial viaal, Stephen. Phantasm, phantastick, phantasy, are now written with f.

QU is k in bouquet*, conquer, conqueror, liquor, equipage*, exequer, masquerade, musquet musket, paraqueto, piquet, piquant, and a few others. C is now written in quill, quines ecnoes, quaint, quintal, but que remains in cinque, opaque, oblique.

R agrees entirely with German r, except that it is not heard in marsh, marshy, harslets hastle; nor in the first syllable of parlour, partridge. RH in rhymody, rhetorick, rhine, rhomb, rhyme, etc., is pronounced as r.

S is hard = (s) in design, resign, cisan, desolate, lysard [lizard], rosin, pleasant, visit [this is according to a rule, certainly not now observed, that s after a short accent vowel or diphthong is doubled in pronunciation]. S is hard = (s) in dis-arm, trans-ac, vis-dom. In island, viscount, s is mute and t = (ai).

S is hissed, almost like German sch (sh) in sue, sued, suit, sugar, sure, and compounds, but some say ssu (sinu) and others ssuh (ssu); and in nauseate, nauseous, Asia, Silesian, enthusiasm*, enthusiasm*, effusion, occasion, hosier, rosier, and their derivatives *Asiatick, etc.; also in Persia, transient, mansion, Russia, passion. "After a shortly accented vowel or diphthong the reduplication of sch must be observed, especially in the termination sion, as in decision,
provision.” [Did he say (disi’shan) and not (disi’zhan)]

T is sounded (sh) in patience, portion, etc., but (t) in fiction, mixture, etc., and as (tsb) in righteous reitschius, courteous, bounteous, covetous kovatschius, virtuous vortschius, etc., and is not pronounced in facts, fakts, neglects, and similar -ets, nor in -fem, -sten, -stle, as often shf’n, soften sah’n, hanten häh’n, listen, castle käss’l, pestle, whistle, bustle, etc., and also in master, mortgage. [There is no mention of -ture, -ture (= taher, zher), but the inference from the w rules is that they were called (-tor, -der), and this is confirmed by gesture docheister, ordure abdure, pasture pastur, century ssenturi, given below, p. 1049, in the words of the same sound, etc.]

TII in “rapid speech” is pronounced as d or dd in apothecary*. [t not d below] burthen, fathom*, fother, murther*, pother*. Th is “for” pronounced / in fifth*, sixth*, twelfth*. Th is (th) in with. Th is (dh) in than, that, tho’ though, etc. [that is, (thod), as in Scotch, was unknown to him.] Th is (t) in Thames, Thanet*, Theobald*, Thomas, Thoms–
on, etc., in thill, thiller, [til, tiller?], thynne, and, “according to some,” in anthem*, apothecary*, [see th as (d) above], authority*, authorize* [not authour?].

“V, in English called ju consonant, is not merely much softer than J, 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 v, 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 w as a middle sound between English v and w, and hence, in order to indicate the sound of German w to an Englishman, I would express it in English by vw, 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 w 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 Lediard, because his observations were made at Hamburg, and Lepsius and Brücke ascribe the sound of (v) instead of (bh) to North German v. This careful distinction shows that (bh) was certainly heard in Hamburg in 1725.]

W is not pronounced in answer, awkward* ahkrd, huswife housewife hossiv, sweltry sultr, swoon* ssun, sword ssord, “but in swear, swore, sworn, some consider it to be distinctly spoken.”

In WR the v is “little or scarcely heard, as in wreak, 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 Ludwick thinks, like ur in the Germ. Wrangle” (bhr’q’l).

“WH is pronounced as hve, or rather as German hu, but so that the v rapidly yields to the sound of the following vowel, as what huht, when huen, which huido[h?], who huuh?, why huey,” Except whole, wholesome, whore, in which w is not pronounced.

X is ksh (ksh) in complication kumplekeshion, anxious anksheius[? ñ], etc.

“Y 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, järđ, jé, yuh, or better
i-är̩d, i-es, i-uh, with a very rapid and scarcely perceptible i" [that is (ə) and not (gh)].

Z is a soft (gelindë) sch [that is (zh)] in Brazier, glaster, grasier, 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 à with the grave, but as in a note he says that others use the circumflex à, employing the grave for his à acute or short accent, I shall for convenience use à for his long, and á for his short accent. I do not consider it necessary to give his rules. I merely cite the words.]


Specific, heróick, sátrunal. Calámity, sanguinily, májority.

Extravárase, extráneous, extrávance, Rétrograde. Benefactor, acá demick, législatour.

Debonáir, románce, levánt, bombárd, usquebáugh, octáve, cochenále, huméct, apoge, raperixes, intíre, tumóil, métoirs, chamoís, ragóo, scrutóme, tam bōur, culpá, cadêúke, ridicule, im portant, noctárn. Avówee, granteé, legátée, etc.

Stupéfactive, benefactor, pománder, législatour, nomencláture, uténsil, chiméra, domésticy, clándéstine, mus chéto, doctrinal, agriculture, bitümen.

Philáctery, amphitheáter, célabrous, célabrity, comédian, académian, solém- nial, stupéndious, homogéneal, homogéneus, hyméanal, dyséntery, majé stative, longévity, libidinous, fastidious, concupiscible, chirúrgeon, chirúrgy, épicuñian.


Cóunjure conjúre, áugust n. áugust a., abjéct n. abjéct, cément n., cónserve n., cónsult n., conúvoy n. conóvy v., éssay n. éssay v., fréquent a. fréquent v., máureau n. mánure v., óvermatch n. óvermatch
EA IN XVIIIth CENTURY.

As Ledaird agrees so much with the Expert Orthographer 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.


Part 2. p. 15.

T. What is the proper sound of the diphthong _ea_?

1. _EA_ has the sound of _d_ long, in _bear, peer, near, swear, wear, etc._ [that is, as in _mate, pate, etc._]

2d. A short in _eart, heart, learn, pearl, search_ [that is, as in _mat, mart, cart_].

3d. _EA_ has the sound of _e_ long in _appear, dream, read, see, 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, Eve, fealty, Peter, we must presume he means (ee), and not (ii)], but some of this last kind have the _a_ changed with the _e_ final, as _compaint_ [complete], _supream_ [supreme; this confirms the view just taken, compare also 5th.]

4th. *Ea* has the sound of *e* short in *breast*, etc.

5th. *Ea* has sometimes the sound of *ee in beam, dear, hear, steed, 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 Scotticisms, 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 palaeotype, 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 =(*(α)*
2. town noun how bough ... =(*(αu)*
3. bull wool wolf push ... =(*(u)*
4. pool groupe troop ... =(*(uu)*
5. call hawl caul soft oft George cloth ... ... =(*(AA)*
6. new cube duty beauty =(*(eu)*
7. not what gone swan war was =.*(A)*
8. no beau foe moan blown roam =(*(o)*
9. boy joy toil ... ... =(*(a)*
10. hard part carve laugh heart =.*(aa)*
11. and hat crag bar ... ... =.*(a)*
12. bay they weigh fail tale... =.*(e)*
13. met sweat head bread ... =.*(e)*

1050   KENRICK’S AND SHARP’S PRONUNCIATION.   CHAP. X. § 1.

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 Speech, 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.

2. *An English Alphabet for the use of Foreigners, wherein the pronunciation of the Vowels or Voico-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. | barr'd | bard
---|--------|------
E. | met | mate
I. | hit | heat
O. | not | naught
U. | pull | pool

The other six sounds are either always short as in oor, or always long as o in note, or double as i or y in hire 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 e [in hit]; U of the long e [a in mate] and short u [in pull]; OW of the short o [in not] and long u [oo in pool]; and OI 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. [U in our.] It is always short, and bears a near, if not exact, resemblance to the sound of the French leur, cœur, if it were contrived in point of time. [It is not to be supposed that the sound was exactly the French (a) or (o). It is more probable that Kenrick pronounced the French sounds as (a) or (u). G. Sharp says: "O has the sound of a short u in af-frunt, etc. (In the dialects of Laurashine and some other places the o is pronounced according to rule in many of these words) . . . cóv-er . . . etc., and their compounds, etc., except dis-cóv-er, re-cóv-er, which are pronounced according to rule. . . . One is pronounced as if spelt won."

2. [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. [U in bull.] The French have this sound in fol, sol, trou, cloù; the Italians I think everywhere in their u.

4. [OO in pool.] Nearly as the sound of douze, espouse, pouce, roux, doux, and the plurals, sois, sois, 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 in blood, flood, foot, good, hood, stood, soot, wood and wool. Oö has the sound of o long in door and floor. Door and floor are pronounced by the vulgar in the Northern parts of England as they are spelt, for they give the oor, in these words, the same sound that it has in boor, maor, poor," and "O is sounded like oo in tomb and womb, (wherein b is silent,) lo-er, geol, 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. [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. [This is a distinct recognition of the English habit of pronouncing French. See Sir William Jones's phonetic French, supra p. 855. 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 (as) 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), surpà 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 also the last syllable of pa-pa, mam-ma, and also in han't (for have not), más-ter and plás-ter; and is like aw in hal-ser (wherein l is mute), false and pa-sy. A has the sound of aw likewise before id and it, as in bail, cal-dron, al-tar, etc., in all primitive monosyllables ending in ll (except shall and mall, which are pronounced according to rule), as in all, gall, fall, etc., and before tk (wherein l is mute), as balk, stalk, walk, talk, etc., but before if, im, tie, 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, salve, 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, feud, 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 au, une, unir, prune, eu (yy). [Now here we observe first that the analysis of the diphthongal sound is (in), 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 sporadically, not reckoning provincialisms.]

8. [O in no.] The French have it in Dôme, os, repos, faîne, mauz, 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, tile. This is a fault which the Poets are inexusable 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, jine, 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 end.] The French have it short in alla, race, fasse; 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, ave, war, douba; but it hath generally a mixed sound, as in man, Bath, Mary, fair, which are sounded as if written maen, bath, 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 (w), considering the latter sound as effeminate. It is curious to see Gill's Mopseys and Smith's matiercola and urbanisi ligatures (supra p. 90) cropping up as Kenrick's flirting females and affected fops. In all ages refinement has apparently led to the same mining, 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, bad, mad," for this seems to preclude (w). He also says that e is like short e 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, petit, etc. At the same time it is observable they give it to the combinations ei and ai and of, as in plein, pleine, disoit. The French extend it also nearly as much as the English long sound in the words nes, dez, clefs, parler, fondes, amat, dirai, etc. . . . The protracted or long sound of the short e as in met, let, etc., is in fact the slower 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 ee in break, suprâ p. 89. G. Sharp says that “a is like the French ai in din-gel, bass, cam-brick, Cam-bridge, dan-ger, and main-ger;” that are is spoken “as if spelt air,” and that in any, maine, a “sounds like a short e or foreign e.”] 14. (EE in meet. This was clearly (ii).) 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.**

:Al dhii world - z æ steedzh  
Ænd ae dhii men ænd wim’en  
miir’li pleer’rzh.  
Dhee nev dheer ek’sits ænd  
dheer en’trinsez,

**Kenrick, 1773.**

:Al dhii world-z ee steedzh  
And ae dhii men and wim’en  
miir’li pleer’rzh:  
Dhee nev dheer eg’zits ænd  
dheer en’tranz,
Buchanan.

Ænd wæn mæn in niz taim pleez mæn’i pæsærts,
Hiz ækts bii’iq sev’n eedzh’ez.
Æt forst dhií infînt
Miu’îq ñend piük’îq in niz nars’eæmz,
Ænd dhen dhií whoîn’iq skuul’boi wîdh niz setsh’î
Ænd shoîn’îq mærn’îq fees,
Kriip’îq laik sneel
gwuî’îqli tu skuul. Ænd dhen dhií lov’îr
Soîth’îq laik fêr’îs wîdh æ woot’ful beel’îd
Meed tu niz mis’tris ei’brau.
Dhen, æ soul’d’îr
Ful œv streendzh oodhz, ænd beered laik æ pærd,
Dzhel’eæ œv on’îr sê’d’ûn ænd kwik in kwæ’rel
Siik’îq dhií bab’îl repiutee’shan
Liv’n ình dhií ken’onz mouth.
Ænd dhen dhií dzhast’îs
In feer round bel’î wîdh gund keep’n laînd,
Wîdh oz siivir’ ænd beerd œv for’rml kot,
Ful ìf woiz saaz ænd mod’ûn ìn’stînsez,
Ænd soo Îî pleez niz pæsært.
Dhií sikst eedzh shifts
In’tu dhií liûn ænd slip’ûrd pen’taluun’,
Wîdh spek’-tîk’l on nooz, ænd pouth on soîd,
Hiz juuth’ful nooz wel seevd, æ wourd tuu waid
For niz shraøq shaqk, ænd niz big mæn’îl’ vosi,
Tørn’îq aegen’ tu tshoild’-ish treb’îl, paips
Ænd whois’îl in niz sound. Læst siin œv aal,
Dhet endz dhií streendzh ivent’-ful nis’tori
Ìz sek’-ønd tshoild’-ishnes ænd miir obli-v’o:n,
Sanz tiith, sanz ìz, sanz teest, sanz ev’rî thîq.

Kenrick.

And wæn man in niz taim pleez man’i paarts
Hiz akts bii’iq sev’n eedzh’ez.
At forst dhií in’fant
Myylling and pyyk’iq in dhií nars’eæmz.
And dhen dhií wain’iq skuul’bæi
with niz satsh’el
And shain’iq maær’niq fees,
kriip’îq leik sneel
gwuî’îqli too’î skuul. And dhen dhií lovr’er
Sai’îq laik fornas, with a woot’fol bal’ad
Meed too niz mis’tris ai’brau.
Dhen ee soul’d’oar
Fuul AV streendzh oodhz and biird’èd laik dhií paard,
Dzhel’eæ in ìnn’ur, sê’d’en ænd kwik in kwaar’èl,
Siik’îq dhií bab’îl repytee’shan
Liv’n in dhií kan’onz mouth.
And dhen dhií dzhast’îs,
In feer round beli with gund keep’n laînd,
With aiz seviur’ and biird AV faar’mal kot,
Fuul AV waiz saaz and ma’d’ørn in’stansez;
And soo Îî pleez niz paart.
Dhií sikst 9 eedzh shifts
Inta dhií liûn and slip’ørd pen’taluun,
With spek’-tak’lz an nooz and pautsh an said,
Hiz jyuth’-føl’ nooz, wel seevd, ee world tuu waid
Far niz shraøq shaqk; and niz big man’li vais,
Tørn’îq aegen’ toord 10 tshoild’-ish treb’îl, paips
And wis’t’îl 11 in niz sound. Last siin AV aal,
Dhat endz dhií streendzh event’-føl nis’tari
Ìz sek’-ønd tshoild’-ishnes, and miir abli-v’o:n,
Sanz tiith, sanz aiz, sanz teest, sanz ev’rî thîq.
Notes on the Preceding Specimens.

1 This is the first sound Buchanan gives, but he adds that (sətrιq) is a better pronunciation.
2 Kenrick says (with) or (width), 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 (ooth) 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 "(Blind), and sometimes, but I think wrongly (bord)."—Kenrick.
6 Kenrick marks h mute in honest, but not in honour. This is probably the misprint of a Roman H for an italic H.

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 I—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-licitis, 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 move-ment of the throat, tongue, lips, or jaws. [Mr. Melville Bell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the know-ledge 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 fore-going 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 experi-ment, 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 diffi-cult 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 con-necting 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 ow, cer-tainly 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*e), 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, idle, 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 imme-diately changes to ee, on which it con-tinues 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 (bai, 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 com-posed of the vocal sounds A and ee (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
Chap. X. § 1. J. STEELE'S ENGLISH VOWELS.

Aware of the sound of (a), or at any rate to have confused the sounds (a,e).]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Mark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a=</td>
<td>all, small, or, for, knock, lock, occur=(a, a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e=</td>
<td>man, can, cat, rat=(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=</td>
<td>evil, keen, it, be, iniquity=(ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o=</td>
<td>open, only, broke, hole=(oo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u=</td>
<td>fool, two, rule, tool=(uu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthong sounds in English.

ai = I, fine, hire, life, ride, spy, fly (a long sound)=(aai)
ai=met, let, get, men (a short sound)=(a* e, e)
ii=you, use, new, due, few (a long sound)=(i i u)
au={ of un or ug, and is pronounced extremely short} wkind, undone, begun = (a u, a)
au=how, bough, sow, hour, gown, town (this diphthong is sounded long, dwelling chiefly on the latter vowel)=(a u).

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 usually begins, 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 a is long in all, and short in lock and oc (lack and ac)=(a, a). a is long in arm, and short in eat=(a, a).

e is long in may and make, and short in nation=(ee, e).

i is long in be, and short in it=(ii, i).
o is longer in hole than in open [often (op*n) dialectally]; long in corrode, short in corrosive [which Lediard accents césorivse supra p. 1048, c. 1, 1. 5 from bottom.]=(oo, o).

o is long in fool, short (by comparison) in foolish=(uu, u).

u is long in tune and plus, and short in super and du=(iu, y).
But the shortest sounds of o, ø, 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 οὐσία), 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 a. 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 v 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 xviiith 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>(a)</td>
<td>old. The first vowel naturally, and deepest sound; requires only to open the mouth and breathe through it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>John, folly; aw, bell. The next requiring the mouth opened a little more, or hollower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>man, can. The next, a little more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o)</td>
<td>men, lend, name, lone. The next requires the tongue to be a little more elevated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>did, sin, deed, seen. The next still more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u)</td>
<td>tool, fool, rule. The next requires the lips to be gathered up, leaving a small opening.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Manner of Pronouncing the Sounds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>um, an; as in unbrage, onto, etc., and as in er. The next a very short vowel, the sound of which we should express in our present letters, thus uh; a short, and not very strong aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>hunter, happy, high. A stronger or more forcible aspiration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gi)</td>
<td>give, gather. The first consonant; being formed by the root of the tongue; this is the present hard g.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(ki) keep, kick. A kindred sound; a little more acute; to be used instead of hard c.

(ish) [sh] ship, wish. A new letter wanted in our language; our sh, separately taken, not being the proper elements of the sound.

(iq) [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.

(r) art. The same; the tip of the tongue a little loose or separate from the roof of the mouth, and vibrating.

(ti) teeth. The tip of the tongue more forward; touching, and then leaving, the roof.

(di) deed. The same; touching a little fuller.

(el) ell, tell. The same; touching just about the gums of the upper teeth.

(o) to (wa). 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 these, 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, z). 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 e 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 g], and with an s added in the place of x: g 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 [as 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)  

Remarks [by Franklin, on the above table].

This sound is formed by the breath passing between the moist end of the tongue and the upper teeth.

The same; a little denser and duller.

The tongue under, and a little behind, the upper teeth; touching them, but so as to let the breath pass between.

The same; a little fuller.

The lower lip against the upper teeth.

The same; fuller and duller.

The lips full together, and opened as the air passes out.

The same; but a thinner sound.

The closing of the lips, while the s is sounding.
(A, o, 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 diphong, 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, bai divain kamænd,
Uidh roiziq tempests sheeks e gilti Lænd;
(Sotsh æz æv leet or peel Britænæ past,)
Kelm and sirin mi draivz dhi fiuës blast;
And, pliz' d d' Almaitis ærderz tu perform,
Raids in dhi Huarlund and dairekts dhi Stærm.

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:

So hwen sm énøjel, bai divain cámánd,
widh raisin tempests shées a gilti land,
Sch az æv lét ôr pél Britanya pást,
Cálm and sirin hi draivz dhi fyúryas blast,
And pliz'd d' Almaitiz ærderz tu perform,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and dairekts dhi stærn.

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, eu, e, x), he actually said (æ, ï, é, e, x).

(Soo hwen som eendzhel, bai divain kamamand,
widh raisiq tempests sheeks a gilti land,
sotsh æz æv leet oor peel britanja paast,
kaalm and siriin mi draivz dhi fruiras blast,
and, plizid dh' almaitiz ærderz tu perform,
raids in the hwerlwind and dairekts dhi stærn.)
So dhi piur limpid strium, huen faul with steens
av ræshiq Tarents ænd disendiq Reens,
Uërks itself kliir; ænd æz it rans rifoins,
Til boi digris, dhe flotiq miræ shœins,
Riflekte iïsh flaur dhaet an its bardar groz,
And e nu hev'n in its feer Bœzm shoëz.

Correspondence between Miss Stephenson and Dr. Franklin.

Dïr Sër,

Kensiqton, September 26, 1768.

ai naev trænskrøb'd iur ælfæbet, &c., niuísh ai think mait bi AV
søris tu dhoë, nu uïsh tæ ækekur æn ækïuret prønønsiøshøn, if
dhaet kuld bi ñks'd; ñet ai si meni inkanviamiënsis, æz uel oz diñ-
kaltis, dhaet uuld 1 ætend dhi briqiq iur leters and æthhargaëi fiñ u
kamon iës. Aal aur etimðalðëi uuld be last, kansküntlii ui
culd nat asorteen dhi miiniq AV meni uœrds; dhi distinkshøn tu,
bituiñ uœrds AV diñførent miiniq ænd simïlær saund uuld bi dis-
trœaid, ænd Aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi 2 iusles, ænles uï liviq
röters poblish nu iïðiøshæns. In shart ai billiiv uï mëest let pipið
spël an in dheer old uë, ænd (æz uï foïnd it iïsiëst) du dhi seem
aørselves. With ease and with sincerity I can, in the old way,
subscribe myself, Dear Sër, Your faithful and affectionate Servant,
Dr. Franklin.

M. S.

Answer to Miss S * * * *

Dïr Æadsøm, 3

dhï Æadshekgøn iu meek to ræktifoiq aur ælfæbet, dhaet it
uil bi ætënded wiðh inkanvimiënsiz ænd difi-
këltiz, iz e natureel uœn; ñar it aiueæ akærz huen eni refar-

Probably the difference between Franklin and Jones was more apparent
than real. In perform, however, Franklin evidently adopted the pro-
nunciation which Jones disliked. On Jones's sensitiveness to rhyme see
supra p. 866, 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 642 lines has only afford-Lord. The
Palace of Fortune 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 hall of peace;
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 (i, uu)
for the long vowels, as in Franklin's scheme, that ye, woo (zii, wuu) must be
written (ii, uu) or (iii, uuu). The
latter form I have never seen employed.
Hence there is always an ambiguity in
such words.

2 The words (distraøid, 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,
shearing that she was then very young,
but that Franklin had been in the
habit of talking with her about literature
and language.

68
meshen iz proposed; nuedhar in rilidshon, government, laz, and
iven dan uz lo uz rods and nuil kaeridshiz. dhi tru kuestshon
dhen, is nat nuedhar dhaer uil bi no difikaltiz ar inkanviniensiz,
bet nuedher dhi difikaltiz me nat bi sormaunted; and nuedher1
dhi kanviniensiz uil nat, an dhi nuul, bi grêter dhan dhi inkan-
vininisiz. In dhi kes, dhi difikaltiz er onli in dhi biginiq av dhi
praktis; nuen dhê er uans ovorkom, dhi advantedshez er lastiq.—
To oidhôr fu ar mi, nu spel uel in dhi prezent mod, ei imaerdshin
dhi difikalti av tshendiq 2 dhât mod far dhi nu, iz nat so grêt, bot
dhât ui maît perfektli git over it in a uikis raitiq. Æz to dhoz hu
du nat spel uel, if dhi tu difikaltiz er kompêrd, viz., dhât av
titshiq dhem tru speliq in dhi prezent mod, and dhât av titshiq
dhem dhi nu alsfabet ând dhi nu speliq âkardiq to it, âi ëm kan-
fïdent dhât dhaet lât ter uuld bi byi 3 far dhi liist. âië naterelî fâl
into dhi nu method alreadi, âz motsh âz dhi imperfekehal av dher
alsfabet uel âdmit av; dher prezent bâd speliq iz onli bâd, bikaz
kantreri to dhi prezent bâd rules; ândor dhi nu rules it uuld bi gud.—
dhi difikalti av lorniq to spel uel in dhi old u e iz so grêt, dhât fiu
etên it; thauzends ând thauzends raitiq an to old edsh, uihaut
ever buiq ebil to auknir it. 'Tiz, bissoidz, e difikalti kantimûlî
einkriiq, æz dhi saund graeduæli veriz mór ând mór fram dhi speliq;
and tu farenor 4 it meks dhi lorniq to pranss aur laqeshed, æz
riten in aur buks, èlmast imposibil.

Nau æz to dhi inkanviniensiz iz menshon.—dhi fôrst
iz, dhât all aur etimalodshiz uuld bi last,
kanseiku entli u kul d nat aser tseen dhi miiniq
av meni uords.—etimalodshiz er ât prezent veri ânserteen; bot
sathsh æz dhê er, dhi old buks uuld stil prizarv dhem, ând etimalo-
dshiz 5 uuld dher foind dhem. Uôrds in dhi kors av tyim, 6 tshendsh
dher miinigs, æz uel æz dher speliq ând pronsniesshon; end ui dî
nat luk to etimalodshí far dher prezent miiniqs. If ei shruld kal e
maen e Neev ând e Vilen, ni uuld nuerdli bi setisfioq with 'mot teliq
nim, dhât uen av dhi uôrds orishinhêli signifioq onli e laed âr
sarvênt; end dhi ædhar, æm ënder plaumên, âr dhi înhabîtînt av
e viledsh. It iz fram prezent iusedsh onli, dhi miiniq av uôrds iz
to bi determined.

1 This word seems to have exercised the Doctor very much, this is the third
orthography in a few lines. He meant (whedd'ar) of course.
2 Meaning (isheendz'hîq) changing.
3 Franklin's character for (s) 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
(etimalodshits) in his spelling.
6 Meaning (taim) time. See above,
note 3.
7 The (w) and the (th) are both slips.
He meant (uiddh) in his spelling.
Iur sekund inkanviniens iz, dhaet dhi distinkshen bituiin uords av diferent miiniq and similaer saund uuld bi distraaid.—Dhaet distinkshen iz already distraaid in pro-
naunsiq dhem; ænd ui riilo an dhi sens ælon av dhi sentens to æsorteen, nuisth av dhi several uords, similaer in saund, ui intend. If dhis iz safishent in dhi ræpiditi av diskors, it uil bi nuisth mor so in riten sentensos, nuisth më bi red lezshurli, ænd æntend to mor pærtikulairli in kes av difikalti, dhaen ui kæn ætend to e past 
sentens, nuoil e spikor iz høryiiq1 os ælaq uith nu uons.

Iur thærd inkanviniens iz, dhaet aal dhi buks ælredi riten uuld bi iusles.—dhis inkanviniens uuld onli kam an grauedual, in e kors av edshes. In ænd oi, ænd æðhør nau liviq ridors, uuld naerdli foaget dhi ius av dhem. Piipil uuld long lorn to riid dhi old ràitiq, dho dhé præktist dhi nu.—Ænd dhi inkan-
viniens is nat greater, dhaen nuæt nes æktuæli næpend in æ similaer kes, in Itelii. Farmerli its inhaæbitents aal spok and rot Lætin: 
æz dhi lequeudsh tshendshd, dhi speliq falo'd it. It iz tru dhaet æt prezent, e miir onlær'n Italien knat2 riid dhi Lætin buks; 
dho dho dher stil red ænd ænderstud boi meni. Bot, if dhi speliq hæd nevor bin tshendshed, hi uuld nau hev faund it 
metsh mor difikolt to riid and ryit3 niz on laquéddsh; far riten 
uords uuld hev hæd no riilæshon to saunds, dho uuld onli hev stud 
far thiqs; so dhaet if hi uuld ekspres in roitiq dhi oidia hi hez, 
huen hi saunds dhi uord Vescovo, hi mæst iuz dhi leterz Episcopus. 
—In shart, nuæteter dhaen difikoltiz ænd inkanviniensiz nau er, dho 
uii bi mor ¡izi ilemauntu nau, dhan hiæftor; ænd som toim ær 
ædhør, it mæst bi don; ær ær roitiq uil bikam dhi seem uild dhi 
Tshoíniiz, æz to dho difikolli av lærîiq and iuziq it. Ænd it uuld 
aelredi hev bin sätzsh, if ui hæd kontuud dhi Saksen speliq and 
roitiq, iuzed boi our fœrâdhers. æi æm, mai diur frind, iurs æfek-
shanetti, B. Franklin.

Lëndon, Kreven-striit, Sept. 28, 1768.

ii. Noah Webster's Remarks on American English.

Noah Webster’s English Dictionary has so recently become popu-
lar in England that we can scarcely look upon him as belonging to the 
xviii th century. But having been born in Connecticut in 1758, 
his associations with English pronunciation in America are refer-
able to a period of English pronunciation in England belonging 
quite to the beginning of the xviii th, if not even to the latter half 
of the xvith century. The recent editions of the Dictionary all shaw a “revised” pronounciation, 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 (høæiïq) meaning (hær-
oi'iq) or (høiæiïq) meaning (hær-i'ïq).
2 Probably (kænæt) cannot.
3 Meaning (raît) write, 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 hat, let, tin, tun, glory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Third law, fraud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fourth ask, father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth not, what</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth prove, room</td>
<td></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 fool its short sound in full. O is sometimes shortened in common parlance, as in colt; but the distinction between o in coat 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 (ii, i)? (aa, a) or (aa, w)? (aa, a) or (aa, w)? (uu, u) or (uu, u)? Perhaps colt was (kolt), not (kolb), 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 oo, 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 consonant, 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 consonant compresses the organs and closes the sound of the word so suddenly, that the ear can distinguish but a single vocal sound. And notwithstanding these letters are dipthongs, when considered by themselves, yet in combination 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 (kidub), with a long second element, may have been squeezed into (kyb), by the “linking” of its elements as (i*u = y) very nearly. Similarly fight may have reached (feit), 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 ou 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, hall, 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 wa in persuade; and perhaps 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 pronounces 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 (ae). It is presumed that no reason can be given for making these words exceptions to the general rule, but practice; and this is 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 (a). 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. 968, c. 1, in a note on LL 5, 1, 5 (150, 22), says: “The isolation of the Englishmen of New England, and their consequent protection from exterior influences, caused changes in pronunciation, as well as in idiom, to take place more slowly among them than among their brethren who remained in the mother-country; and the orthoepery for which the worthy pedant contends, is not very far removed from that of the grandparents.
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 Holofernsian phrase, speak could and would fine, but pronounced all the consonants, could and would; they said sword, not sored; they pronounced 'have' to rhyme with 'rave,' not hav, —'jest,' which used to be written jeas, to rhyme with 'yeast,' —'pert,' which of old was spelled p e a r t, peer't: and in compound words they said for instance 'clean-ly,' not cien-ly, and, correctly, 'an-gel,' 'cham-ber,' 'dan-ger,' not ane-gel, chame-ber, dan-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, suprâ p. 589, 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 i in the termination -ee. In such words as motive, relative, etc., the people, excepting the more polished part, give i 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, motiv. . . . .

[p. 105] In the middle states . . . many people pronounce practise, prejudice with i 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 e before r, like a; as mery for mercy. This mistake must have originated principally in the name of the letter r, which, in most of our school-books, is called er. 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 e before r, like a, mery. This is an error. The true sound of the short e, as in let, is the correct and elegant pronunciation of this letter in all words of this class. [But (mær'si) 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 i short or e, before the dipthong ow; as kiow, pioneer or poyow. This fault usually occurs after p, c hard, or those other consonants which are formed near the seat of ee 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, Shakepear, 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 e before i, keind, or kyine, skye, etc. [he compares it to the eastern know, eow, 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 ware, 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 (i, o, i'), 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 xviiith century. See suprâ 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, aff, saff, 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, stay, Gad in oaths, and Tam 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, onet and twicet. 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. Catched for caught is more frequent, and equally barbarous. Sround and strounge 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 help" 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 dorn pronounced darn for great, severe in New England; also az for ask there.]

[p. 388] "Shet for shut" is now become vulgar. In New England we frequently hear becase to this day. It is pronounced becase. The vulgar pronunciation of such is sick.

[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 weal, wesset, for veal, 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, quadrant, are differently pronounced by good speakers. Some give a a broad sound as shol, 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 (hat) and not (hæt), like Kenrick.] With respect to the two last, authors differ; some give the first (æ), some the second (a), 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 (a). [In a footnote he observes:] The distinction in the pronunciation of a in quality when it signifies the property of some body (φ), and when it is used for high rank (α), 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 ither, nither, desate, consate, re-sate. These are errors; all the standard authors agree to give ei 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 im-po-r'tance, with the first sound of o (ω). . . . It seems however to be affectation, for the standard writers and general practice are opposed to it.

"Dehis-ive for deci-sive is mere affectation.

Resin for raisin is very prevalent in two or three principal towns in America.

Leisure is sometimes pronounced
leisure and sometimes lechre; the latter is the [p. 117] most general pronunciation in America.

Dictionary has been usually pronounced dictionary.

One author of eminence pronounces defile in three syllables def-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 oblige, and it is impossible to determine on which side the weight of authority lies.

[p. 118] Some people very erroneously pronounce chase, shә in the singular and shәze in the plural. [The pronunciation (poo she) for post chase 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] Hymeneal and hy-

meneal are, by some writers, accented 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 pronunciation. The practice however is by no means general in America. There are many good speakers who give o its first sound (o). It seems very absurd to give o its first sound (o) in Romish, Romans, and pronounce it oo 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, ar-

chitrave, 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 wile, 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 aspiring 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, whoop, whore.

[p. 122] One or two authors affect to pronounce human and about twenty other words beginning with h, as though they were spelt ymman. 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, hostler, 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 gealhwe [spelled geola, geola, from geolu yellow, in Etmüller, p. 418]; and in this country it is the general pronunciation.

Eve is, by the English, often pronounced yeo; which is sometimes heard in America. But analogy and the general corresponding practice in this country, . . . decide for yeo.

The English speakers of eminence have shortened the vowel in the first syllable of tyranny, zealous, sacrifice, etc. . . . [that is, made it (i, e, a) respectively, as is now the general English custom.] This pronunciation has not spread among the people of this country [that is, presumedly, they make it (ai, ii, ee) respectively] . . . Many people in America say pat-ron, mat-ron; whereas the English say either pa-tron or pat-ron, ma-tron [p. 124] or mat-ron, but all agree in say-

ing pa-trone. In patriot, patrionism, 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 pro-verbs which Mr. White, Shaksperes Works 3, 226, says "still lingerings 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 (ə)].
[p. 125] In the middle and southern states, *fierce, pierce, tierce*, are pronounced *feerce, peece, teree*. 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 *fierce, pierce, tierce* [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 *hurd*. 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 *beord*. 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 *def*. 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 *gould* in preference to *gould*.]

[p. 133] Similar reasons and equally forceable are opposed to the modern pronunciation of *wound* [as *wound*]; he decides for *waund*. p. 134] There is but a small part even of the well-bred people in this country, who have yet adopted the English mode of *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 tirk).]

[p. 137] *Sauce* with the fourth sound of *a* (aa), is accounted vulgar; yet this is the ancient, the correct and most general pronunciation. The *aw* of the North Britons is much affected of late; *souce, havent, vaunt*; yet the true sound is that of *aunt, aunt*, 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 *reputable* as an exception. He decides for necessary, p. 142.]

[p. 143] *Immedeate* is so difficult, that every person who attempts to pronounce it in that manner will fall into *immedeate*. Thus *commodious, comedian, tragedian*, are very politely pronounced *commojus, comedjan, tragjjan* [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 pronunciation *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, troth*. Neither do they pronounce them *floate, abjoere, trooth*; but with a sound formed by
an easy natural aperture of the mouth, between *iu* 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 *u* 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 *t, r, u, th*, and he will not sound *u* like *eu*, nor *oo*, but will express the real primitive English *u*. 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 *u* in the most natural manner; whereas the sound of *iu* requires a considerable effort, and that of *oo*, a forced position of the lips. Illiterate persons therefore pronounce the genuine English *u* 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 *u* with that of *ew*, or rather use them promiscuously. It is indifferent, as to the pronunciation, whether we write *fuel* or *fewel*. 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 reprobrates it [supra p. 139].

[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 *u* as (*iu*) or (*yu*). I have not been able to study the sound sufficiently, but it sometimes seems to be (*eu*), at others (*yu*) or (*u*). 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 *u* 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 *u* in *tun*; or rather changing the preceding consonant; for in *nature, rupture, and* hundreds of other words, *t* is changed into *tsh*; and yet no person pretends that *u* in these words has its diphthongal sound. . . . [p. 157] I believe no person ever pretended that this sound of *u* contains the sound of *e* or *y* . . . and I challenge the advocates of the practice to produce a reason for pronouncing *natshur, rapishur, copishur*, which will not extend to authorize not only *tshun, tshurn* for *tun, turn*, but also *fatshal* for *fatal* and *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 *tsh*'s are most fashionable. . . . I am sensible that some writers of novels and plays have ridiculed the common pronunciation of *creator* 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 *u* in *creature, natur*, *rupture, 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 xviiith 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 xvith 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 (ˈ), in competition and similar words, which is a thoroughly Scotch peculiarity, or that any but a Scotchman called *drunken* (drəkˈn). There seems reason to suppose that many, perhaps most, perhaps all, of Buchanan’s short o’s, here marked as (ə), were pronounced by him as (o), thus *post* could hardly have been (poost), 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 (post) would only be a Scotch pronunciation of (poost). 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. Kenrick'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 Orthographer 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abeyance abii^iens</td>
<td>amber aem^br B, aem^bar S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablation abii^shan B</td>
<td>amenable amin^ril B, amin^nael S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abroad abraad^ B, S, O</td>
<td>amiable ee^mil^il B, ee^mnael S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abstruse abstrinz^ B, abstruss^ S</td>
<td>amnesty een sti B, een^nesti S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absune absium^ B, S</td>
<td>among aemq^ O, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abundant abond^int B, aben-dant S</td>
<td>amour aemoor B, eumur^ S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academial aakadem-rjil B, aakadimm^val S</td>
<td>anarach ee^mark B, aen^erk S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academician aakademish^in B, aakademish^raen S</td>
<td>angel aendzhil B, eend^zhal F, een-dzhal S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acclain ekleem^ B, S</td>
<td>anoint a^naint O, a^point B, aen^aint S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acclamation aeklimeesh^in B, aeklaemeesh^en S</td>
<td>answer a^ns^er B, aen^ser S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activity aekliv^it^ B, akliv^it S</td>
<td>ant a^nt B, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ache eek^ B, S</td>
<td>antic aen-tik B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>acknowledge aeknal^idsh B, aeknal^edzh S</td>
<td>antique aen-tik B, aentiik S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acres ee^kerz O, B, S</td>
<td>anxious aek^shos B, aek^sos S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual aekti^nal B, aekti^nal S</td>
<td>any aen^t B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>adagio aedee^dzho B, aedae^dzho S</td>
<td>aorist ee^orist B, ee^oerist S</td>
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<tr>
<td>adhere edhi^r^ O, B, O</td>
<td>apostle aepas^t B, aepas^^t S</td>
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<tr>
<td>adjudicate aedzhhu^dkeet B, S</td>
<td>appoint aepoint O, aepoint B, aepaaint S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjure edzhhu^ur^ B, S</td>
<td>apparel aepair^ B, aepair^ S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adulation aedju^lee^shen B, S</td>
<td>approve aeprov^ O, aeprov^ B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>adventure ed^venty^r B, ed^vent^sher S</td>
<td>April ee^prail B, ee^pril S</td>
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<tr>
<td>aerial ee^ir jil B, e^ir^r S</td>
<td>apron eep^ron O, aep^ron B, eep^ron S</td>
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<tr>
<td>aerie ee^ril B, e^eri S</td>
<td>aquatic aekwak-^tik B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>again a^gen^ O, B, S</td>
<td>erable eep^ril C, aepnael S</td>
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<tr>
<td>agio eedzh^io B</td>
<td>arch aeaertsh B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>ah aae B, S</td>
<td>architect a^arkeitk D, B, aeaerkitek S</td>
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<tr>
<td>alien ael^rien O, eel^rin B, ee^r^en S</td>
<td>are er B, eer F, aer S</td>
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<tr>
<td>all aal B, S</td>
<td>area aero B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>almond aam^mond O, ael^mond B, aar^mond S</td>
<td>arm a^erim B, S</td>
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<tr>
<td>almoner ael^munir B, ael^mooner S</td>
<td>arsenal aee^armel B, aers^nel S</td>
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<tr>
<td>almost aamooz^ D, aameest B, S</td>
<td>Asia aesh-rae B</td>
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<tr>
<td>ams ee^mels B, aem^nz S</td>
<td>ask aek B, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternate aalter-nt B, aalter-naet S</td>
<td>askance aekans^ B, aek^anks^ S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amatory ee^matori B, aem arteri S</td>
<td>astant a^alannt B, aelant^ S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amber aem^br B, aem^bar S</td>
<td>ass ee B, S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amenable amin^ril B, amin^nael S</td>
<td>asthma aem^mae D, B, ae^msae S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amiable ee^mil^il B, ee^mnael S</td>
<td>ayslum a^slon B, a^slon S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amnesty een sti B, een^nesti S</td>
<td>athletic aethli-tik B, aethli-tik S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
atrocious ətrəkˈʃəs B, S
augury əˈɡɔːri B, əˈɡiəri S
au ment ənt B, ənt B, ənt S
austere əˈstər i O, B S
avenue əˈvənju B, əˈvəni n S
avert əˈvər t B, əˈvərd er B, əˈverde ˈpläi S
await eejwt B, əˈwet S
awkward əˈkwərd B, əˈkərd S
avenue əˈvənju B, əˈvəni n S
awry əˈwʌri B, əˈwʌri S
avert əˈvərt B, əˈvərt S

B
baechanais bæk ˈvɪlnz B, bækˌwənælz S
bacon bæk ˈn B, S
bagnoʊ bæŋnoʊ B, bæŋˈn S
balcony bælˈkənii B, bælkənˈni S
bald bæld D, B, S
baldershal bæld ˈdər ət ət əlˌdərədəsh B, bælˌdərdæʃ S
ball bæl D, B, S
balm bælm B, S
banquet bækˈwet D, bækˈwət, B, bækˈwət S
baptize bæptˈzaɪ B, bæptˈzaɪ S
bark bærk B, S
barrier bærˈri B, bærˈri S
basin bæsˈɪn B, S
basis bæzˈɪs B, bæzˈɪs S
bass bæs ˈmæsˌi ˈmæsˌi, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S
bass ˈmæsˌi ˈmæsˌi, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S, bæsˌi S
baste bæst ˈest bæstˌʃən S
bath bæθ B, bæθ S
bathe bæθ d B, S
bear bɪər O, B, D
beard bɜr d O, bær d B, bɜr d S

Bede Bɪd O
behoire bɪˈwʊr O, S
benign bɛnˈɪn S, bɛni ˈn S
begueth bɪkˈwɜːθ B, bɪklwi ˈθ B
besom bɪzˈəm B, bɪzˈəm B, S
bestiality bɛstˈjələt i B, bɛstʃɪələt i S
beyond bɪˈænd O, bɪˈænd B, bɪˈænd S
bind bɪnd d B, bɪnd S
bird bɜrd B, S
blanch blænʃ B, blæntʃ S
blank blæŋk B, blæŋk S
blast bļəst B, S
blasphemous bļəˈsfəm O, B, S
blood bлюд O, B, S
boatswain bˈɔit ˈsɔin B, bˈɔit ˈsɔn S
boil bɔil O, bɔil B, bɔil S
bold bɔld B, bɔld S
boltsprit bˈɔlt ˈspɹt B, S
bolster bˈɔlstər B, bˈɔlstər S
boller bˈɔlˈlər bˈɔlˌlər O, bˈɔlˌlər S
bomberd bˈɔmˌbərd B, bˈɔmˌbərd S
bombasine bˈɔmbəsɪn B, S
book bʊk B, S
borage bɑrˈidəz B, S
border bˈɔrdər B, bˈɑrˌdər S
bore bɔr B, S
borne bɔrn B, bɑrn S
borne bɔr n O, bɔrn S
 borrow bɔrˌn B, bɔrn S
bought bɔlt B, bɔlt S
bourn bɔrn B, bɔrn S
bouse bʊz B, bʊz S
house bʊz B, bʊz S
bouz boʊz B, bʊz S
bowl bʊl O, (globe) bʊl, (vessel) bʊl D, bʊl B, bʊl S
boy bɔi B, bɔi S
branch bˈrænʃ S, bˈrænʃ B, bˈrænʃ S
bras bˈræs B, S
brasher bˈræʃər B, bˈræʃər S
brave bˈrævə B, bˈrævə S
break brɪk O, B, S
breakfast bˈrɛkfəst O, bˈrɛkfəst B, bˈrɛkfəst S
breeches bˈrɪtʃɪz B, S
Bristol bˈrɪstəʊ O, D
broad bɾɔd B, bɾɔd S
brocade bˈrɔkˌɑd B, bˈrɔkˌɑd S
broil bɹoʊl B, bɹoʊl B, bɹoʊl S
brooch bɹuʃ B, S
broth bɹɔθ B, bɹɔθ S
brought bɹɔt O?, bɹɔt B, bɹɔt S
bruis bɹuiz B, S
brumes bɹu ˈmæsˌi B, bɹuˈmæsˌi S, bɹuˈmæsˌi S, bɹuˈmæsˌi S, bɹuˈmæsˌi S
brunel ˈbruːməl B, bruːməl S
build bʊld O, B, S
buoy bʊɪ O, bʊɪ S
burgh bɜr ˈɡɔr B, bɜr ˈɡɔr S
burglary bɜrˈɡlɛri B, bɜrˈɡlɛri S
burst bɜr st O, bɜr st B, bɜr st S
burst bɜr st O, bɜr st B, bɜr st S
brush bɹʃ B, S
bustle bʊstl B, S
busy bɪˈzi B, bɪˈzi S
butcher bʊtʃər ˈbʊtʃər S

C
ca bal kəˈbæl B, kəˈbæl S
cadaverous kəˈdɛvərəs B, kəˈdɛvərəs S
cadet kəˈdɛt B, kəˈdɛt S
cādi kəˈdi B, kəˈdi S
Calaiceps kəˈlɛs D
calculate kəˈlɪkjuːət B, kəˈlɪkjuːət S
caldron kəlˈdɹn B, kəlˈdɹn S
calf kəl f B, kəl f S
caliber kəˈlɪbər B, kəˈlɪbər S
calk kɑk B, S
call kɑl D, B, S
calm kɑm O, kæm B, kæm F, kæm S
colza kaalks B, kaalks S
Cambridge kaem'brik B, keem'brik S
Canaan keen-naen D
canine keen-an B, kanain S
canoe kenoor B, kenuu S
cantate kants-te B, S
capacious kepash os B, kepeeshes S
capillary kepil-ee B, kepil-er S
capouche kepash B
caperice kepbris B, kepbris S
caprices kepbris-es B, S
capture kep-tor B, kep-tsher S
capuchin kep-tshin D, kepashin B, kepishin S
caprice kepbris B, kepbris S
caprices kepbris-es B, S
capture kep-tor B, kep-tsher S
capuchin kep-tshin D, kepashin B, kepishin S

carbine karee-boin B, kaer-bain S
carabineer karee-binir B, keber-binir S
caract karet B, kaar-set S
caravan karee-ven B, S
caraway karee-wee B, kaare-wee S
card keerd B, kaerd S
carmine karmun B, kezer-main S
carnation karnel-joen B, karnii-joen S
carte-blanche kert-blanch S, keert blantsh S
cartouch kertaush B, kartouch S
carriage kerreedzh O, ker'dzh D, ker idah B, S
carrion kerr-in B, kearen S
castle kass't B, kaesl S
casual kes'juil B, keziual S
casually kess juil B, keziual S
casually kesz juil B, keziual S
casuist kesz iuist B, S
castore katter B, kaat'er S
causeway kaas'i B, kaaswee S
caviel keev'l B, keevil S
celing cee-ling si'ilin B, si'ilik S
cement n. sim'ent B, sem'ent S
cement v. sim'en B, siemen S
censure sen'ser B, sen'shar S
centenary sen'tneri B, sen'tneri S
cerusse si'i'ros B, ser'ius S
chaff tsheef B, S
chagrin shaahriin' B, S
chair tsheer B, S
chaise sheek D, B, S
chadron tsaa'dron D, tshaadrin B, tshaadron S
chamber tsheem'ber B, tshaem'ber S
champagne shampen' B, S
chandeliers chandelehir S
chandler tshaend'lar B, tshend'lar S
change tshendidh B, tshendeh B, tsheneendh S
chant tshement B, tshent S
chaos kaee'as B, kee'as S
chaplain tshaapel'in D, B, S
chaps tshaps B, tshaps S
charrist tshaerrit D, B, tsharrat S
charriotter tshaerritir B, tsharrootir S
chart keeart B, S
charter tshaertir B, tshaeartar S
chasm kass'm B, kaess'm S
chastens tshaeest'N B, tshesren S
chastisement tshetsaz'mint B, tshaestiz'ment S
charlatan tshere-lit'in B, tshaeer-leten S
charcoal tsherk-kol B, tshar-kool S
Cherubim Tshereebim D, B, Tshereebim S
chevalier sheveel'iir D, sheveel'iir S
clew tshuun B, tshuet tshaan S
chicane tshikeen' B, shikeen' S
chicaneery tshikeen'nri B, shikeen'or S
china tshien'i B, tshieeni S
Chinese Tshooiniz F
chirp tshirp B, tsherp S
chives tahaviz B, tshiviz S
chocolate tshok-let B, tshak-let S
choir kweerk D, koir B, kweer S
choler koorir B, kal'or S
chole kal'ik B
chord kard B, kaard S
chorister kee-riastor O, D, korriastir kor-riastor B, keerriastor S
chorus kore B, koo'res S
chough tfsof B, S
Christ Kraist B
christen kres'in B, kres'n S
-ial = shol 0
-ian = shan 0
-ient = shent 0
-ious = shs 0
circuits ser'kit O, ser'kiut B, ser'kiut S
citron sit'arn O, sit'ran B, S
civet sivit B, S
civil siv'il B, siv'il S
civialty siv'il'i B, siv'il S
clarinet klerrit B, klarett S
Claude klood D
cleanly klin'li B, klin'li S
cleanse klinz B, klenz S
clerk klerk B, klaark S
climb klaim D, B, S
close klooz B, S
closely knolz'l B, klooz'li S
cloth kloth B, klaath S
clothes kloez, B, S
clyster glister B, glister S
cockswain kok'sin B, kak'son S
cohere koornir O, B, S
coin kain O, kain B, kain S
colander kol'endar O, kol'endar S
cold koud B, koold S
colon koll'm B, kool'lan S
colonel karonel D, karonel B, karonel S
colony kal'oni O, kol'ani B, kal'ani S
colour kolor O, kol't B, kal'ar S
colt kält B, koolt S
coller kault-tar B, kool-tar S
columbine kal'-ambain O, kal'-ambain B, kal'-ambain S
comb kuum O, koom D, B, S
combat kamb-ät B, kom-bät B, kambät S
comfort kam-fort O, B, S
command kam-änd O, kam-änd B, kam-änd F, kam-änd S
committee kam-i'tii B, kom-i'ti S
compass kom'pän B, kom'pän S
competition kam-pitsh'an B, kam-pitsh'an S
complacency kom-plës'-insi B, kemplee'-sensi S
complaisance kom-pläz'-ëns B, kemplee'-ần S
complete kam-plët' O, B, kam-plët' S
completion kam-plësh'-än B, kam-plësh'-än S
composite kampooz B, kampooz S
conceit kons-i't O, B, kansiit' S
conchoid kan'-koy'd B, kaq'-käi'd B
concoise kon-säiz' B, kan-bäi' S
conclude kon-klüd' B, kan-klüd' S
condign kond-in' B, kan-dän' S
conduit kon'dit' O, B, kan'-dëit' S
coney kon'i B, kon'i kan'i S
conég kon'dhi' B, kon'dzhi' S
congeries konzh'ëri'z B, kanzh'ëri'z S
conic kon'i'k B, kan'-ik S
conjecture konzhék-tar B, kandzhék-tar B, kandzhék-tar B, kandzhék-tar S
conjure v.n. kon'dzhar D, B, S
conquer kawk'ër D, kawk'ër'ër B, kaq'ër S
conscience kon-shäiniz' B, kan'sheens S
conscientious kon-sëns'-ëns B, kan'sheen'-ëns S
constable kon-stäbl B, kon-stäbl S
construe kon-strü B, kan'star S
contrite kon-trit' B, kan'-trat' S
conversant kon-vërs'-ënt B, kon-vërs'-ënt B, kon-vërs'-ënt B, kon-vërs'-ënt S
converse kon-vërs' B, kon-vërs' S
couette koo-ket' B, koo-ket' S
cors kan' B, kaan' S
coroner kron'-år' B, kor'-år' B, kar'-år' S
corps karps B, koor S
corse kors B, kooz S
cost kast B, S
cotton kot'ën B, kät'än S
evenant koom'-niënt B, koom'-niënt S
evoy cony kon'-v B, kon' S
eoard kon-wird B, kaw'ërd S
eocardice kon'-dis B, kau'-ôrdis S
Cowper Kuu par D
eoy koë B, kaal S
coyness koo'-ëns B, kai'-ëns S
couch kootsh B, koutsh S
cough kof O, D, B, kaf S
could kuud B, kud S
coulter kault-tar O, B, kault-tar S
country kon'-trë B, kantri S
couple kap'l B, S
courier kor'-ër B, koor'-ër S
course kooz B, F, S
court kuurt O, kor't B, S
courtezian kart-'ëns' O, kart-'ëns' B, kart-'ëns' S
cousin kän'än O, kän'än B, kän'n S
creature kri'i'tar O, kriit'ar B, kriit'ar S
Crete Krit O
crew krui B, kruu S
croin' kro'-'n B, kroo'-n S
croup krap B, kruup S
croupade krap'-ëd B, kruup'-ëd S
crude kruud B, krud S
cruise kruiz B, kruuz S
cuckold kok'-ëld B, S
cuckoo koo'-w B, kuku' S
cucumber kau'-këmbér O, kou'-këmbir B, kau'-këmar S
cuirass kùr-rëss B, kiirëss S
cuirassier kiir-rëss'ër B, S
culture kal'-tuer B, kal'-tuar S
cupboard kup'-böord B, kób'ërd S
czar zear B, zear S

damn ðäm B, S
damself ðäm'-sél D, ðäm'-sél B, ðäm'-sél S
dance ðæns B, S
danger ðæn'-zhär B, ðæn'-zhär S
daughter dá-å'tar D, dá-å'tar B, dá-å'tar S
deaf dif S, B, def S
deanery diin'-nee'ri B, diin'-nee'ri S
debauch déb'ocht B, S
debaucher débosh'ë B, débosh'ë S
deboshii' débosh'ë B, débosh'ë B, débosh'ë B, débosh'ë S
debouture dib'ëntar B, dib'en'-tær S
debt det D, B, det S
decade dik'-ëd D, dik'-ëd S
decent disit' O, B, S
decision disiz'-jän B, diiz'-jän S
decisive disiz'-ëv B, diiz'-ëv S
deign deen D, B, S
deluge del'-adsh B, del'-iudsh S
dernier dern'-ër B, dern'-ër S
desert des'-årt B, dez'-ërt S
deserve dizärv'-ër B, dizärv S
descriptive dëspät'ëk B, despät'ëk S
destroyed distráid'-ë B, distráid'-ë F, distráid'-ë S
devil dev'l D, B, S
devious dev'-ëv B, diiv'-ëv S
diamond diim'-mond B, diim'-mond S
different di'frïnt B, di'frent S
diaocean doi'sis'ën B, daia'sësen S
diphthong di'fthaq B, dip'thaq S
dirge dor'dzhi 0, dirdsh B, dirdzh S
diserun di'sirun B, diserun' S

discipline dis'siplin B, dis'siplin S
discomfit dis'komfit B, diskom'fit S
discourse dis'kwaurs' 0, dis'koors B, S
dishabille dis'shabil B, dis'shabil S

dishelved dishevl'id B, dishevl'id S
diverse di'vai B, di'vaiers S
divorce di'voors' 0, di'voors' B, di'voors S
dole dul B, dool S
doleful dul'ful B, dool'ful S
dolt dolt B, doolt S
door door O, B, S
drama dram'ë B, dram'ë S
draught draut O, draut B, draut S
droll drol B, drool S
drolley drol'r B, drool'eir S
draft draut B, draut S
drafty draut'i B, drauti S
drunken drak'n B, draqkn' S
drunkenness drak'nis B, draqkn'nis S
dwarf dwaarft B, S

E

-ee- (e, ii) as in xith century, except
in the words cited
ebon zbro'n S
ebony ii'boni B
Eden ii'den O
Edinburgh Ed'ïnboro D
effigies ef'idzhiz B, esfiidzees S
efert ef'ort O, ef'ort B, efoort S
efrontery efront'ri B, efrontti S
egoatism ig'ootizm B, ir'gootizm S
et eti in veit, either, key, convey (ii) ? D

either ii'dher O, ei dher B, F, ei'dher S
eleven ilev'n O
encre eqkoor B, agkoor' S
endeavour iindii'vër O, endev'ër B,

endev'ër S
genrous ingrëus' O, engros B, ingroos' S
enough enaf O, D, B, enaf' S
enow eni'u B, eenau' S
enpassant e'npecsseg' B
enrol enral' B, inrool' S
environ inva'ëren O, inva'i'rons S
eri ir O, S
eremite er'mait B, erreamait S
eschalot shealot' B, shealot' S
eschar skær' B, eskær' S
eschev esh'ivu B, estshuvu' S
espalier espa'ëir B, espaël'er S
even iiv'n 0, B, S
executor eeksek'utët B, egzek'utët S
executor eeksek'utët B, S

exhaust ekaasst B, ekaasst' S
exhort egzart B, egzhaart' S
exit egz'ët B, ekst'ët S
extrreme ekstrïüm' O, ekstrïüm' B,
ekstrïüm' S

eyre air B, eer S

F

fabric fëe'brïk B, fëbryk S
 falsch'in fael'shin B, faal'tshon S
falcon faal'kin B, faak'n S
farther fëy'dir B, fey'ëdher S
farting fae'rdën B, faer'dhïq S
fasten fae't'n B, fae'n S
fatal feetl B, feetl S
father faes'dher B, fae'dhër S
fathom fëdaem B, fae'dhëm S
fatigue feetig' B, feetig' S
fault faalt B, faat S
feodary frii'deri O, fëi'deri B, friudëri S
feoffe feo'fii O, fëi'fii B, fëfii S
tfield fit'id B, fët'id S
few fin B, F, S
fewel fiu'ri B, S
fierce fers B,fers S
fire fæar O, fair B, fair S
first forst B, S
flagon flog'in D, B, flag'en S
flæ fii'li O, B, S
flood flod O, B
flue fiu B, fluu S
flood fliauk B, fliauk S
flaunt flaaat B, flaat S
foul fould B, fould S
foliage foil'sadh B, fool'sadh S
follio fôle'B, fool'soo S
folk fak B, look S
foot fät D, but S
force fuurs' O, fers B, foors S
ford ferd B, fard B, foord S
forge fuurdzah O, ferdsh B, foerdzh S
fark fark B, faark S
form fuurm B, farm B, faarm S
forth foorth O, foorth B, S
fool fook O, fat B, faat S
foul faul B, faul F, S
four foor B, S
fourth foorth O, foorth B, S
fragile free'dzhil B, fredzh'il S
fragment frae'grët B, freegrënt S
frequent adj frik'wënt B, frik'swent S
friend friiend O, frend D, B, S
front front B, frant S
frost frast B, S
full ful B, S
fulsome folsom B, S
furniture, furni'tor O, B, for'ntshor S
further for'dir B, for'dhor S
fusil fìuzil B, fiu'zi S
future fiu'tar B, fiu'tsar S
PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF XVII CENT.

G

gallant adj. gäl'-i Vnt B, gäl'-ont S
gallant n. gäl-lant B, S
gallows gäl'-aô S

gool (goal in O) dzheel O, B, S
gap gëp S
gape gësep B, S
garden gær'-dn D, gær'-din B, S
gauge gëechdz D, gaashb D, geethz S
gential dzej'-shim B, dzén'-shen S
George dzhardsh B, dzhárdzrh S
Gent Gënt D
ghost guust O, goost B, S
gibbon dzhib'ôs B, gibè'ôs S
gilt dzhîl B, S
gills gîlz B, S
girl gerl B, gerl S
glebe glihô B, O, B
gleed gliôd O, S
glue gliu B, S
gnat nét D, B, S
gnaw nää D, B, S
gold gûnl B, S
gone gôn D, B, S
gossip gos'-ëp O, gos'-ëp B, gas'-ip S
gouge gâudzh O, guudzh S
Gough Gof D
gourd goôrd O, gourd B, guerd S
govern go'vernb B, go'vern S
government go'vermînt B, go'vernment S
grand grasend B, grand S
grandeur grasënd'år B, green'-dzhër S
grange green'dzhôs D, S
grant grasent B, S
great grôs S, B
great gûit O, greet B, S
groat grasët B, graat S
grocer gras'ër B, groo'ser S
group grôup B, S
groveling grâv'iôq O, grov'lôq B, grâv'-
lôq S

Guerdon gwer'don O, gwer'don S
gutteral gót'-ûrul B, got'-ûrul S
gymnastic gùmnëst'ik B, dzëmnëst'ik S

harnsh (mansh in O), haãsh O, B, hensh S
hant hânt B, hant hânt S
hantay hoo-boi B, hoo'-bi S
hearken hark'n O, hær'kn B, S
heart har't O, haertz B, S
heaven hevn O, D
height heet O, B, hait S
heinous nee'nas B, hîn'as S
heir eer O, B, S
hemorrhoids em'-vroidz B, hem'-vral'ldiz S
her hâr B, S
herb erb D, B, herb S
herbage er'-bi'dsh B, her'-bi'dzh S
herbal er'-'bl B, her'bl S
here hir O, B, S
heritable er'-itôbl B, her'-itôbl S
hero hîr'o B, hîr'ôo S
heroine hir'ëin B, her'oûn S
heroism hir'âzm B, her'oîzm S
heron hîr'ôn B, her'n S
heterogmeal het'ôrjûnal O, het'-
zhîn'ôl B, het'êrdzhîn'ôl S
high hâi D, B, hâi S
hoard (hoard in O), hûrd O, hoor'd B, S
Holborn Hoo'-born O, D
hold hold'd B, noold S
honest on'st B, an'st S
honey hant B, hant 'S
honour ou'ôr B, an'ôr S
host host B, noost B
hostler astûlir B, âstûlôr S
hough hof D, hâk S
housewife hoz'-rôl B, hoz'-wîf S
hovel hôvel O, hov'-l B, hov'-l S
hove hov'-ër O, hov'-âr B, hov'-êr S
huge hiudsh B, hiudzh S
humble om'-'bl D, hâm'-bl B, âm bl S
humor in'màr B, S
huza hazaë B, S
hyena hae'në B, hâi'ûnë S

I

idiot id'ôt B, id'ôt S
impugn im'puq B, impu'n S
incisive ins'iv B, insai'v S
indict in'dât'- B, in'dât'- S
indictment in'dâmt'ment D
injure in'jâhr B, S
inspires in'spaizô O, in'spaizr' B, in-
spaizr' S
instead in'stiid B, in'stiid' S
invalid adj. in'vald id B, S
invalid n. in'væliid' B, S
inveigh in'vee O, in'vie' B, in'vee' S
inveigle in'vi'gl B, in'vee'gl S
iron iar'n O, D, iar'n B, iar'n S
is in B, S
Isaac qi'zæk D
isle oil B, ail S
issue is'iu B, is'shu S
isthmus is't'mos B, is'mos S

J
James Dzhimiz O
janiu dzheuent B, dzhant S
japan dzechpeu' B, dzhapeu' S
jeopardy dzhep'ardi O, dzhep'ardi S
dzheu' dzhuur'ul B, S
John Dzhon J
join dzhoin O, dzhoin B, dzhain S
joint dzhoint O, dzhoint B, dzhaint S
jointure dzhoin'tar B, dzhain'thar S
jale, joll dzholul B, dzholul S
dzhoit B, dzhoitul S
jostle dzhas'ul B, S
juice dzhuns B, S
juncture dzhaqk'tar B, dzhaqk'thar S
June Dzhunn B, S
justle dzhas'ul B, dzhas'ul S

K
kali kee'loi B, kee'li S
ekay kii O, B, S
kiin kii O, D, B, S
knave neev B, F, S
knoll noel nauel O, nael S

L
lanch laan'ush B, laan'esh B, laentsh S
language leq'widzh B, leq'wedzh F, leq'gwidzh S
laith licket B, leexth S
laudanum la'd'snom B, lad'ænom S
laugh lef O, D, luef B, laef S
laundry landary lezendir' B, lezendi' S
lawrel laard'ul B, laarl'ul S
learning lezair'niq B, lerin'iq F, lern'iq S
leve leve'i B, levi S
lecture lek tar O, lekt'yar B, lekt'shar S
leeward lii'ward B, lii'ard S
leisure leezhar O, leez'ar B, lezhur F, lii'zhar S
leopard lep'ard O, lep'ard B, lepard S
lessee (lessear in O') lis'si O, leesi' B, S
lessor (lessaor in O) lis'aer O, lesar' S
listen liis' B, S
lieutenant liuten'ænt O, liuten'ænt B,
liiten'ænt S
loath laith B, looth S
loahe loodh B, S
lain lain O, lain B, laain S
London Lon'en B
lost last B, last S
loaf lof O, lak S
lustring liu'striq B, liu'striq S

M
machine maesh'lin D, B, S
magazine megraz'ijn O, B, S
mailign mailain B, mailain' S
maiklin maak'lin B, maak'lin S
mail maal B, mail S
malmsay meams'ai B, meams'zi S
maniac meneai'ak B, menejak S
mare meer O, meer B, S
marine maerin' B, S
marchssal maersh'al D, maersh'il B,
maersh'al S
manger maanz'dhau O, maen'dzhur B,
maen'dzhur S
mantua maent's B, maent's S
many men'i B, men'i S
machioness maer'tshon'as B, maer-
tshon'as S
marriage maer'z'dh B, D, S
mass (meshe in O) mish O, maesh B, S
mass mas' B, S
meacock miik'ak O, miik'ak S
medicine meid sin O, B, S
mediocrity midis'k'riti B, needzhak-
riti S
menoir mimoir B, mee'maair mi-
waat S
mere miir O, B, meer S
miniature min'ezdier B, min'itshar S
minister min'star B, min'star S
minute adj. mainiut' B, miniat S
minute n. min'at B, min't S
misery miz'ri B, miz'ri S
misprision mispriz'on B, mispriz'hon S
mistress mis'tris B, S
moil mail O, mail B, mail S
moiety moin'ti B, moin'ti S
Monday Mon'di B, Man'dde S
Monmouth Mon'math D
monsieur mon'siur B
moor mooer O, B, S
more mooer O, moor, S
most muust O, most B, most B
mouth mould B, moold S
mout mould B, moolt B
move mov muuv O, muuv D, B, S
muuv n. mou B, mau S
mushroom maesh'tuun B, maesh'tuun S

N
natural met'un'ul B, nat'ural F, nat'sh-
eral S
nature neetar O, neet'zar B, neetzhar S
navy nev'i B, neevi S
neigh nii B, nee S
neighbour neeb'ear O, B, S
neither needh'ær O, maidhir B, nii'dher S
new niiu B, nuu F, nuu S
nuncio ne'n'sha B, nan'sshoo S
nuptial nap'shel O, nap'shil B, nap'she

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O
oblique obli'zd'h D, oblii'dh obliidz'h B
obliaidz'h obliidz'h S
oblique oblikk B, obliak S
obscene obsin' O, B, absin' S
occasion akeezhan B, akeezhan S
off'f C, s F
oil oil A, oil B, aiiil S
ointment aint'ment O, aint'mint B, aint'ment S
once waens B, wans S
one on wan D, wae B, wan F, wan S
one-eyed wan'-i'id B, wan'-aid S
oneness wan'nis B, wan'nis S
onion oin S
only onli B, oonli S
ordeal ar'djal B, aar'djal S
ousel ouzel O, oosel B, uuzl S
oyer oyer A, aii'ar S
eyes oos'is B, oois' S
point point O, point B, paaint S
poison poiz'n O, poiz'an B, paiz'tn S
police pol'-tis B, pooltis' S
pool pool paul O, pool B, S
pomegranate pammra'nt O, pmoggrr'nt'- cet B, pmra'nt S
pomel pmol'el D, poul' B, S
poniard poin'ar'd B, parr'erd S
poor poor O, puur B, S
porch poortsh B, S
porpoise por'pooz por'pas B, paarp'pas S
port puurt O, port B, poort S
poost puust O, post B, poost B
posture post'uur B, paast'thar S
potheer paith'er B, paith'er B
poulties paul'tis O, paul'tis B, pooltis' S
poultry paul'tri O, paul'tri B, pool'tri S
pour pour O
precise prissiz' B, prissais' S
premier prem'ier B, premju'ir S
prescience priss'nis B, pri'shens S
pretty pret'i B, privi S
process pros'es B, prastis S
profile profoal' B, proo'f'il S
prologue prolo'ag O, B, proal'ag S
prove praw prauv O, prauv D, B, S
proof proul B, praul S
prude pruid B, praud S
psalm saam O, seeam B, S
pitsam taitsen B, tiz'en S
pudding pud'in B, pud'iq S
puises piuri'zin B, piuri'ni S
pumice piur'mis B, S
pure pittor O, piur B, S
pursue porsu' B, S
pursuivantparsiv'eint B, parsiv'eint S
push push B, S
put put B, put S

Q
quadrangle kweedraeq'gl B, kwaedraeq'gl S
quadrant kweedrant B, kweedrant S
quadriple kweedri B, kedri' S
quadrupeed kweedriped B, S
quaff kwef B, S
quality kwel'iti B, kwel'iti, kwel'iti
persons of high rank, S
qualm kwam O, kwaim B, kwaeem S
quandary kwen'deer B, kwandeeri S
quantity kwentiti B, kwentiti S
quantum kwam'tom B, S
quarrel kwar'il B, kwar'il S
quarry kwarr' B, kwarr' S
quart kwaart B, S
quarter kwarter B, kwarter B, S
quash kwaash B, kwaash S
quarto kwat to B, kwacettoo S
quattrin kwaat'tren B, kwaat'trin S
quay ki B, kwee B, kee S
queen kwin B, kween S
queen kwin B, S
question kwest'jən B, kwest'shen F, kwest'shan S
quir koir B, kwair S
quof koir B, kwāəf S
quof koir B, kwāt S
quoth kwōθ B, kooth S

R
ragout reeg'əu B, reeg'oo S
raillery ree'liər B, ree'leri S
raisin reez'n O, ree'sin B, reez'n S
rant reent B, rent S
rapier ree'piər B, ree'piər S
rapine ree'pi'n B, ree'pi'n S
rapture ree'pər'tuər B, ree'pər'thər S
ratio rə'ʃə Ρ, ree'shoo S
reason ree'zan B, ri'izn S
receipt resi'pt Ρ, resi'pt S
recipe re'se'pi B, res'ipee S
reign reen O, B, S
rein reen O, B, S
renard reen'ərd B, ren'ərd S
rendezvous re'nu-divooz Ρ, ran'deevoo Ρ
vere vər B, reer B
reserved ris'ervätd Ρris'ervätd Ρ, riz'ərd S
resin re'sin Ρ, B, S
resource ri'səurs Ρ, ri'suərs Ρ
resort ri'sərt Ρ, ri'vert Ρ, rivert Ρ
ribbon rib'ən B, rib'en Ρ, rib'ən S
rigging rig'ing Ρ, rig'iq S
roquefort rak′foor B, rak'foor S
roll tool raul Ρ, raul Ρ, tool S
romance roo'mans Ρ, B, S
Rome Ruum Ram Ρ, Rum B
ronion rə'njon B, rən'jan S
rost rust Ρ
rouge raudzh Ρ, roudzh B, ruužh S
rough rəf Ρ, d, B, S
rule riul Ρ, ruul S
ruce ruζ B
rustle rəstl B, S
ruth rəθ B, ruuth S

S
saffron sef'ərn Ρ, d, B, sef'ren Ρ
salmon sa′maen Ρ, sa′man Ρ, d, B, S
salt saλt B, S
salee sələv Ρ, səev Ρ, selv S
sausage sa′swidsh Ρ, ses idzh S
scauld skauld Ρ, d, B, S
scarce skers Ρ, skers Ρ, skers S
scotch skoθ Ρ, skoθ Ρ, skoθ S
sew siin Ρ, d, B, S
sceptic skep'tık Ρ, d, skep'tık S
schedule sed'əul B, sedizh'ul S
scheme skim Ρ, d, B, S
sooff skəf Ρ, skaf Ρ
soild skould Ρ, skoold Ρ
scotch skoθət skətsh Ρ, skatsh Ρ
scrivener skri'venər Ρ
scroll skrold skrool Ρ, skrool Ρ, skrov S
scourge skərdzd Ρ, skoordh Ρ, skardzh S
scutaire skriu′tuar B, skruut′oə Ρ
sea si B, S
seamstress siəm′stris Ρ, sem′stris Ρ
searce sərs B
seize siz Ρ, B, S
sensuous sen′shaus Ρ, sen′shua S
serene seri′ən Ρ, F
servant servənt servənt Ρ, servənt Ρ
severe sivər Ρ, B, S
sew sin did soov Ρ, soo dos new Ρ, B
sewer shoo B, siuvər waiteər, shoo
watercourse, sow′ər one who sees S
shall shəalt Ρ, shəlt Ρ
shawn (shalm in O), shaam Ρ, B, S
shepherd shep′ərd Ρ, shep′ərd Ρ
sherd sheerd Ρ, sherd Ρ
shaw shi B, B, shair S
shirt shart Ρ, B, S
shoe shoo Ρ, B, S
short shart Ρ, shaalt Ρ
should shulnd Ρ, shud Ρ
shoulder shoul′dər Ρ, should′ər Ρ, shool′dər Ρ
shrew shrin Ρ, shrin Ρ, shruu S
 sigh soth, better soi Ρ, sair S
sick sik Ρ, sik Ρ
sign sain Ρ, sain Ρ
signior siinn′ər Ρ
signiory si′n′ərd Ρ, si′n′oər Ρ
sin sin Ρ, sin Ρ
since sines Ρ, B
siracco s′irək′o Ρ, sirako Ρ
sirrah sir′ə Ρ, sərə Ρ, sərə Ρ
sirup sər′əp Ρ, sar′əp Ρ
sixth sifik Ρ, siksth Ρ
skelton (skeleton in D), skelton′ D, skel·ton B, skel·ton Ρ
slander sleend′ər Ρ, slend′ər Ρ
slant slaent Ρ, slent Ρ
seight sleit Ρ, slait Ρ
slough slof Ρ, slauf Ρ
slowen slo′vn Ρ, slovn Ρ
smouldering smoul′diriŋ Ρ, smoul′diriŋ Ρ
sojourn soov′dzhərn Ρ, B, S
sold soold Ρ, soold Ρ
soldier səl′ərd Ρ, səl′ərd Ρ
soldier səl′ərd Ρ, səl′ərd Ρ, səl′dər Ρ
sonata sənətə Ρ, sənətə Ρ
soot soot Ρ, B, S
sootiness sət′inəs Ρ, sat′inəs Ρ
sooey sət′ Ρ, suv′ Ρ
soul sool Ρ, B, S
sous, suus, B, saus, S
southernly, sodh'-ildi, B, sodh'-arli, S
sovereign, sov'reen, D, sav'tin, B, sov'reen, S
sphere, sfir, O, B, S
spinet, spin't, B, S
sport, spurt, O, spoor, B, S
squab, skwab, B, skwab, S
squabble, skwab'-l, B, skwab'-l, S
squadron, skew'dron, B, skew'dran, S
squalid, skwael'-id, B, skwal'-id, S
squallor, skwee'lor, B
squander, skwaan'-dir, B, skwaan'dar, S
squash, skwaash, B, skwash, S
squirrel, skwir'-il, B, skwer'-il, S
staff, stef, B, S
talk, staa, B, S
stanch, staan'sh, O, stannsh, B, stantsh, S
stiletto, stai'leto, B, stilet'oo, S
stomach, stom'ack, B, stom'ak, S
stomacher, stom'atsher, D, stoma'tshir, O, B, B, B, S
stood, stud, F, S
stover, stor'-or, O
strange, streendzh, D, streendh, B, streendh'or, S
stranger, straan'dzhor, O, streendzh'or, B, B, B, S
stroll, strol, B
subtle, sat'-l, D, B, sab'til, S
subtle, sol't, S
sudden, sod'n, B, sad'in, S
sudorific, siudorif'-ik, B, shuudoorif'-ik, S
sudorous, siu'doris, B, shuo'doors, S
sue, shu, B, suu, S
suet, shu'rit, B, S
suety, shu'riti, B, shu'riti, S
sugar, shu'gar, B, shu'gar, O
suicide, shu'raid, B, shu'isaid, B
suil, shu'it, B, suut, S
suitable, shu't'-bl, B, suut'bl, S
suite, swit, S
suitar, shu'ut'er, B, suut'er, S
suitress, shu'tris, B, su'tris, S
Sunday, San'di, B
super-, siup'-ir, B, shuup'-er, S
superable, siup'-ibil, B, shuup'-erabl, S
superb, siup'-erb, B, shuup'-erb, S
superior, siup'-ir'or, B, shuup'-iir'or, S
superinal, siup'-il'n, B, shuup'-er-nel, S
supine, siup'-in, B, shuup'-ain, B, suup'-ain, adj.
supinity, siup'-in'i, B, shuup'-in'i, S
support, sup'ort, O, sap'ort, S, baup'-or, B, S
supra-, siup'-ra, B, shuup'-pra, S
supremacy, siup'-ra'-si, B, shuup'-ra'-si, S
supreme, siup'-ri, O, B, shuup'-ri, S
surd, siu'-ild, B, shuuar'nel, S
survance, siu'-sins, B, shuuar'-rens, S
sure, shuor, B, S
surout, sortout', B, sortuut', S
suture, shuu'tar, B, shuu'tsher, S
swab, swab, B, swab, S
swaddle, swed'-l, B, swad'-l, S
swag, swag, B, S
swallow, swaa'lo, B, swal'-oo, S
swarm, swarm, B, S
swamp, swamp; B, swamp, S
swan, swaan, B, swan, S
swamp, swaap, B, swap, S
sward, swaard, B, S
swarm, swaarm, B, S
swardth, swaarth, B, S
swash, swaash, B, swash, S
swath, swaath, B
sweat, swet, O, B, S
swoon, suun, D, B, S
swarm, swaarm, B, S

T

tabard, tee'bard, B
talk, taak, B, S
task, task, B, S
tea, tii, O, B, S
tear, v., teer, O, S
tenet, tin'et, B, ti'nset, S
tenable, tin'bl, ti'næbl, S
tew, tiu, B
their, dear, O, B, S
there, dear, O, B, S
dene, duhiz, O, B, S
thought, thoot, O, that, B, thaat, S
thousand, thu'and, O, thau'en', S
threepence, thrip'-ins, B, thrip'-ens, S
threepenny, thrip'-i, B, thrip'-eni, S
-tial = -shiel, O
-tiate = -sheet, O
-tion = -shan, O
tissue, tis'iu, B, tish'n, S
toil, toil, O
toilet, toi'-let, B, taai'-let, S
told, tould, B, toold, S
toll, toil, tuol, B, tool, S
tomb, tuum, B, S
tonsure, ton'siur, B, tan'sher, S
torn, tuum, O, turn, B, toorn, S
touch, tuush, O, tash, B, S
tough, taf, O, B, D, B, S
tour, tour, B, tuur, S
toquet, tuup'li, B, S
tournament, tourn'ment, B, tuurn'ment, S
tourney, torn'nee, B, tuur'nee, S
touse, touz, B, lauz, S
transient, treenz'jint, B, tren'shent, S
trencher, tren'shir, B, tren'tsher, S
troll, troul, B, trool, S
trough, truf, O, D, B, S
true, triu, B, true, F, S
truth, truith, B, S
tuesday, tuiz'di, B, tshuz'dee, S
tulip tu-lip B, tshu-wip S
tumid tu-mid B, tshu-mid S
tumour tu-mor B, tshu-mor S
tumult tu-molt B, tshu-molt S
tune tjuun S, tshuun S
tutor tju-tor B, tshu-tor S
tyrant tair-rant B, tair- rent S
twelve-mouth twel-mouth B, twel-mouth S
twelve-pence twel-pens B, twel-pens S
twelve-penny twel-pen' B, twel-peni S
twopence top-pens B, top-pens S	typify tay-pifi B, tip-fi S
tyramine ta-r-anoi B, ter-aneiz S
tyranous ta-renos B, ter-ones S
tyranny ta-reni B, tereni S

U
union iun-jen B, S
unlearned un-learn'-id B, enlearn'-d F, enlernd S
untrue eet-nu B, S
uphold up-hold B, up-hold S
usquebaugh oshk-ba B, askee-bee S
usual iux-nil B, iux-huel S
usurer iux-zor B, iux-zerar S
usurious iuxiur-oras S, iuxhuurorás S
usury iux-zor B, iux-zeri S

V
vacuous vec-kioes S, vec-kious S
valet va'-l B, va-lat vale S
Vaughan Vaun D
vein vee-n O, B, S
venison ven-zen O, D, ven-zor S
vindict vindikt D, vindit B, verdict S
vindue vundhuus B, vundhuus S
vindicelli ver-misel'-i B, ver-mishel'-i S
vicious vii-shus B, S
victualler vi-t'l-r B, vi-t'l-r S, vi-t-l'r S
victuals vi-tl-d B, B, S
village vii'dah B, vii'dah F, vii'dzh S
villain vii'en B, viilen F, viilen S
virile vai-ri B, vai-ri S
virility vai-ri'ti B
virtue vir'-ju B, ver-sthun S
viscount vai-kont B, vai-kant S
voyage voor-idah B, vool-izh S

w
wabble wahl B, wahl S
wad wad B, wad S
woof wof B, S
wooflage waft-lidah B, weft-ledzh S
wainscot wën-skot O, ween-skot B, wen'skot S
walk wák B, S
wallop wål ap B, wål ep S
wallow wål'oo B, wål'oo S
walnut wañ-æt B, S
wan wën B, S
wand wund B, wand S
wander waan'där B, wand'r S
want waant B, want S
wanton waan'ton B, wanton S
war waar O, B, S
ward waard O, B, S
warn waarn O, B, S
warn waarn O, B, S
warrant wa'rant B, war'ent S
warren waar'en O, waar'en B, war'en S
was waaz B, waz S
wash wæsh B, wash S
wasp wæsp B, wasp S
wast wæst B, was S
waste wæst D, B, S
watch wætch O, Wætch B, Watch S
water waa'tor O, D, waa'tir B, waa'tor S
wattle wæt'l B, wæt'le S
weapon wi'pamp O, B, wæp'n S
weer weer O, B, S
Wednesday Wenz'dee D, Wenz'di B,
Wenz'dee S
weight wët B, B, S
were wër O, wer B, wer S
where wheer O, B, S
whistle wiss'l B, S
who hoo B, S
whole whoo B, F, hool S
whom hoom B, S
whore hoor O, B, huur S
whose huuze B, S
why wëz B, hwaí S
windpipe wi'npæp B, wain'd-pap S
windlass wul'ls B, wain's S
windmill wim'rl B, wind'ml S
withhold with's-told B, with'hold S
woid wœld B, S
wolf wul'f B, wulf S
womán wämän O, wämän B, wü'män S
womb woom D, woom B, S
women wimên B, S
won wën B, wæn S
won't woat B, wunt S
woo wú B, S
word wourd ward O, ward B, S
work woork work O, wark B, S
world woorld world O, world B, S
worm woorm warm O, warm B, S
worry wúr' O, war'i B, S
worship wørship O, warship B, S
worst wors't B, worst B, warst S
worstest woor-stèd worsted O, war-stèd
B, wus'tid S
wort wort O, B, S
worth wurth warth O, B, S
would wund B, uild F, wud S
woond woumd O, B, wund S
CHAP. X. § 3. RHYMES OF THE XVIII TH CENTURY.

wrath raath O, reath B, raath S
wrestle res′l B, res′l S
wrought root O, rāt B, raat S

Y
yacht jaat B, tāt S
yea jii O, jee B, S
years jīrn O, jern B, jern S
yeast jēst B

yolk jelk B, jook S
yeoman jon′en O, jem′en B, jem′en S
yes jes B, jis S
yield yild B, S
yolk jolk B, jook S
yule juul B

SELECT RHYMES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The following rhymes from poets of the xviii th century have been collected from Walker and Prof. Haldeman (suprà p. 1035). The names and dates of the writers are:

Beattie 1735—1803 | Falconer 1730—1769 | Lyttelton 1709—1773
Broome 1689—1745 | Fenton 1683—1750 | 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. 1730 | 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 ascendant, 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 xvinth century, suprà 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 plac′d, 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 xvinth century. The pronunciation of the preceding or succeeding century only renders the rhymes worse.

4. Waves receives, Pope; take speak, Pope; shade mead, 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 (œæ, ee), and had
become (e, ee) or (ae, ii). Obey tea, Pope; away tea, Pope; convey sea, Warton; fail'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 (ea, e). But: there transfer, Fenton; here refer, Pope; were fear, Euden; steer character, Pope; field held, Pope; were remnants of the xviii th century usage. Heath death, Pope; death heath, Beattie; drest feast, Pope; break neck, Pope; yet complete, Cotton; decay'd field, 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, Crozzall, is justified by the still persistent "poetic" pronunciation of wind as (waind). 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 (weet, heet).

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 woé, Crozzall; vowes woes, Pope; power store, Beattie; own town, Pope; adores pow'rs, Pope, although they were (oo, ou) at best. We have also (oo, ə) 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, Brooke. Also the old rhymes of (oo, uu) depending upon the still older (oo, oo) in: took spoke, Pope; 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; brood 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, Crozzall; house vows, Pope. Perhaps: house sons, Churchill—where sons is the French (su)—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 xvii th century tradition.

12. Nature creature, Gay; nature satire, Gay, Gay; fault thought, Pope; were perfect rhymes (nee-ter kree-ter sect-er, faat thaat); and perhaps in: call equivocal, Pope, the last word was pronounced with (ɔː) 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 -bit obscured. But could: caprice nice, Pope, have ever rhymed as (kapriəs', nois) or as (keprıəs', niiz)? Of course: eve grave, Warton, was a mere license, and: arms warns, Goldsmith, was perhaps meant for an assonance.
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 à 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 xviith 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 xvith 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 “ai ay, ei ey, yi, oi oy, ui, oui, for the old a, e, i, o, u, ou, Ags. ą, ę, ě, ő, ū.” 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 ā, ě, ő,” referring to a similar custom in Gaelic, and “even where the second vowel is audible, it is not with a distinct ı sound as in Eng. ay, oil, . . . . . . but rather an obscure vocal glide, like the e in the words drawer, layest, weighed, sayest, 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 awi-eh for away, rå-en for rain, chös for choice, etc., “imperfect diphthongs” which “still characterise the Scotch dialects.” Then “ay, oi, ei, being looked upon merely as ways of expressing long a, o, 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 tuyts, 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 \(ai\) 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 \(ai\) at that time. The Expert Orthoepist allowed only four words in \(ea\) 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 \(bêt\es no\ires\) of the present. Who at present, with any claims to "education," would "jine" in praising the "pints of a picter"? But certainly there was a time when "ed\j\uction, joyn, poyn\ts, pict\sh\er," 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 xivth century I write (\(e\)), it is possible that speakers may have rather, or may have occasionally, said (\(e, e, u\)). My (\(o\)) in the xvith century may have been (\(o, o\)), my (\(o\)) in the xvii \(th\) may have been (\(e, o\)), 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.\(^1\) 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 ex-
tremely 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 concep-
tion 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'tshu), 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'thuur) 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'tshu) herself. This one out of many in-
stances 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 endea-
vouring to collect information respect-
ing 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 ap-
preciation 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 re-
cords of unknown words, as for the ex-
tinct 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 investigator 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.1

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 language is unknown, both spoken and written words become unintelligible. 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, expressed in the Names of Numbers and Objects," and carefully examine 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 oral 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, de, indicating lines near the divisions of those quarters. If the letter is accented, 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 w oo), relations of (w bh), Prof. March's (w), Welsh w, Latin v. (a x), Welsh y, Dutch u, French eu, German a, (n), English and continental (t t, d d, n), Sanscrit cerebrals or coronals, and dentals. (d d, n, nnk). Synthesis (wen).

2. Two. (t l). (uu, u u u u u u u u uw). Synthesis (uu, turu, t, ru, ru, tduu, "tduu.

3. Three .(th th th th th). Trilled and untrilled r (r r, r h, r r). (ii ii, ii, i i i i). Synthesis (thrii, thrhrii, thdhrii).

4. Four. (f th ph). Diphthongs with (i, i ii ei ee oo oo, ii' ee' oo' oo', ii'ru eee) ou ou ou ou, uu ur, aa' ala'). Rapid (f). Synthesis (fou), length of first element of (oo).

5. Five. Diphthongs of (oi) class, (o' thee ti di ei oo' oo' oo' aa' aa'). English Greek ei au, (o' ye' ei ah' y w' i' aa').
The (oi) series (úi, úî, úî, úî òi'úî'), (v, f) relations to (bh, ph), German and Dutch v, w, f (b), Hungarian v, f, Sanscrit v. Synthesis (va'iv, va'ivtf), English final (-vf, -zs, -dth, -zhb), German initial (sz-).

6. Six. (s sh, s sh, t s t s) Spanish s, z, Basque s. (i i) Dutch i. (k k). Synthesis (siks).

7. Seven. (e e e e e e e e e) Dutch ee e; when (ee) tends to (ee'). Final mutes (t t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t' t'
1. (w)—continued.

examples of this introduced (u) hereafter; see the general remarks on dialectal vowel relations, § 2, No. 6. Much interest attaches to many reasons to the sounds (w, bh) (513, d’) and diphthongising (u) (185, e). 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, = (wu, wuud), the latter with a very long vowel. In wood, would, woman, = (wud, wu’mmu), it is conceivable that (uud, u’u’mu) might be said. Welshmen, untrained, say (wu), see (785, c, 101, a, d’)(uwu), and (ud, u’mu),—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 (uwu, wa’mmu) (176, a), just as we all now say (w’nda) and not (wu’nda), but the Welshman Salesbury said (w’nder), 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 s’ (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 e. 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 in 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 oo I had not made [5], and I am not absolutely certain that I do not myself make what you would call the diphthongal oo where you make a different sound as English w. The difference between my making out, we 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 [5]. 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 o. 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, bhii)—for I 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, c). The old Greek οβθ for Latin v consonant ought to point out the same thing. But here doubts arise into which I cannot now enter. That this German sound 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, and it is also more correct.

[4] Any one who reads Salesbury on I consonant (754, c), will see that such an opinion is untenable.

[5] My theory was that Latin V, I, when before a vowel were (u, i), forming a diphthong with a following vowel on which lay the force, as (ui, ué, uá; ie, iá), etc.—for this notation see (419, c)—or consonants as I called them, as long as VV, 11, did not occur in writing, but that the introduction of these in place of VO, and simple I, shewed the development of a consonant form (in the modern sense), and I took those later consonants to be (bh, j), rather than (w, j), in consequence of the large field of (bh) in comparison to (w). Prof. March's doubt as to whether his own oo 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 (uy), or (uy). I hear the French sound as (ui), without any intermediate (y), and with the force on (u), shewn by the frequent form (u*í) or (u*ii) with a sharp whispered or voiceless (i). Henceforth I use (u) for whispered (u), see (10, b), 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—wj—i), where (wj) means (w), with the tongue as for (i), instead of as for (u). I believe, however, that it is meant for (uwj), where (w) is so gradually formed from (u) by constriction, that two syllables are not felt. There would be the slightest possible difference between (uwj) and (uj), 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 (v), 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 (bhu) is still more so, owing to the greater change; (yw, wv) are more difficult to me than (ybu, bhv). But (iw, ew, wv) are syllabic, with 'stopped' vowels, and hence quite distinct from (iu, eu, au), and not very difficult to my organs. Still even here (ibh, ebh, abh) are easier to me. Of course (iv, ev, av), 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. 9), which gives another American observation on (i, 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-ar'n, 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 (a, w), and hence we must suppose certain mutes and sonants, that is, explodents of the same character as (g, b) in the position of (a, u), with the aperture quite closed up. Now the first of these explodents answer almost precisely to (kj, gj), 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, sh, d, zh), as will there be shewn, and it is notorious that (a) after (t, d) or (k, g) generates such sounds. The lip-explodont, however, cannot be clearly kept from (b) itself. Mr. Goodwin surely did not mean (gj, b) to be his "lenesemi-vowels." A less degree of contact must be assumed, and writing (gj, b) for these theoretical sounds, according to the principle explained in No. 7, (e, e), Mr. Goodwin's explanation seems to give \( y, w = (1g1h, 1b1h) \).

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

1. (w)—continued.

is esteemed odiously vulgar (186, de'), and will be considered hereafter.

(g, a). The habits of English speakers vary with respect to (a, a), and no one would be remarked for pronouncing either in a syllable under accent or force. But to my ear, (a) has often a thick, deep effect, naturally unpleasant to one accustomed to (a), which, probably, to the other speakers is fully as unpleasantly thin and high. The position of the tongue for (a) is much higher, and its form flatter, than for (a), in which the tongue lies in precisely the same position as for (a, o, o), as roughly shewn in the diagram (14, b). The (a) position of the tongue is the most neutral and colourless of all, but, leaving a much narrower channel than for (a, a, a, a), produces a finer and more delicate sound. I usually assume the sound heard to be (a), unless the effect of (a) is very marked. There seems to be no significance attached to the distinction (a, a). 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 u, which is (o) or (a), as in French en and German o, and not (a), as wrongly stated (286, a'). 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 (a, a) are used at the present day (175, b). The intermediate sound between (a) and (a) seems to be (u0) or (u), pronounced with lips as open as for (a), a sound which to unacustomed ears hovers between (u, a, a, a), but is said to be prevalent in the north of England. The Welsh (y) is sometimes (a), but this sound is not universal in Wales, p. 763. The sound (en) is heard only in such phrases as "a good un, little 'un": of course it is not an abbreviation of (wan), but an independent and older formation, unaffected by a prefixed (u). Being unemphatic, Mr. Bell would also consider it as (en) or (wn), instead of his emphatic (an). The sound of such unemphatic syllables will be considered hereafter.


1. (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, in 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) Lingual, which, from his diagram, are apparently palatotype (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 (T, D, L, N), and which I believe correspond more correctly to the English sounds 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 "cerebrals," and the (T, D, L, N) are the four-dotted Indian \( \text{क, त, द, न} \). 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 \( \text{ट} \). 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 (dvanshihar dzhuliiun enwaru aakru kammaandaru).

... In advertisements from the same paper from another office, the words government and private secretary appear in Telugu as (gowr manifold, prouve sekriieree), and in Tamil as (gowr manifold, pruvaivette sekririeree). 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 palatotype I erroneously used (t, d, l, n) for dentals, as giving greater force, and thickness to the vowels. I have however employed (t, d, l, n) 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, T, t, T) for this series, and there is also the Arabic (t), 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 (64, a) 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 gliding on to the vowel.

As this page was passing through the press (12th August, 1873), Mr. K. G. Gupta, a native of Bengal, well acquainted with Sanscrit after the Benares school, had the kindness to give me oral exemplification of the Indian sounds. Mr. Murray was also fortunately present. I shall have occasion to recur to the information I then received as to the modern Indian pronunciation of Sanscrit, which, though probably considerably different from the ancient, is certainly its true descendant. Mr. Gupta, who has resided a considerable time in England and speaks English perfectly, had just returned from Paris. He distinctly recognized his own वर्मद्धान्या or cerebral \( t, d \), 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 \( r \ d \) and English \( t \ d \), is inappreciable. If palaeotype were introduced in a foreign book, certainly "\( r \ d \)" 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 introduced, 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 explanation. The ordinary speaker of received English is altogether ignorant of the sounds \( t, d \), and when he hears \( t, d \) he confuses them with his own \( t, d \). Many Englishmen who have resided for years in India never learn to appreciate 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-

L. (n)—continued.

sent them, let him remember the words Magistrate and Superintendent written in Bengali. Moreover a man who confuses dentals and cerebrals in Bengali, says stick when he means kick, sixty when he means seven, and is unable to distinguish a leaf from a hat, a cannon from a khat, fear from market-price, and pea-stick 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 \( t \ d \) on pp. 4 and 9 as \((t, d, t)\) or \((t, d, d)\) with an inverted tongue," is incorrect for Sanscrit द 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 it. But \( r \ d \) may be retained as special signs for the Indian cerebrals, until their identification with the English coronals has been generally acknowledged. Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (1102, b) qualified his identification of \( r \ d \) 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 pronunciation except in connection with following consonants. In पापिनी's name, for example, both न'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 complete 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: \( wad, wan \). The nasal resonance is prolonged to the last, so that there is no approach to \( wad,
1. (n)—continued.

want, wenl). The voice is also pro-
longed to the last, and does not
dwindle off to (nh) as (wən̩h). The
(n) is often very long, but there is not
usually a decrease and increase of force,
giving the effect of reduplication, as
(wen,n), see (52, a).

(wən). The method of synthesis
must be observed. The labiality of the
(w) should not affect the following
vowel, changing (ə) into (oh), or (a)
into (o), even as a gliding intermediate
sound, though carelessness in this re-
spect may be one cause of the generation
of (wən), through (wən, wen, 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 warn (wən), although there must be
no trill; indeed (wən, wəun) are
not uncommon cockneyisms. The pro-
longation 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 (ə) is quite finished.
Any nasalising of the vowel, as (wən), is
quite abnormal, although occasionally
heard, but not among educated English
speakers.

2. TWO, (tuu).

(t). The tip of the tongue
against the crown of the palate, see
(1096, c).

(tuu). The throat not widened,
a clear flute-like sound, with no ap-
proach 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, wh), as in Icelandic
(ð48, d). But it may end with much
diminishing force. With some perhaps
it tends to (uu). Mr. Sweet tells me
that he has detected himself in saying
(taow). In Danish he says there is a
slight final hiss after (ii, uu), thus
(ih, uwh), see his paper on Danish
(Philol. Trans. 1873-4, p. 106). Per-
haps the Danish sounds are rather
(iiih, uuwh).

2. (tuu).

(tuu). For the synthesis, ob-
serve 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 (uu) 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 (tuu),
see (10, ca), when gentle, and (tīuu)
when jerked. Some public speakers in
England cultivate this habit, thinking
that (tuu, duu) are thus more distinctly
separated. It is not, however, usual
with English speakers, though Irish-
men 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 (t;hīuu), which,
when (t) is taken dental as (t;hīu),
has a very singular effect, sometimes
heard from Irishmen, but not at all
received. The quiet way in which an
Englishman says and distinguishes
(tuu, duu), without any effort, is re-
markable, 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 (52, bc) from (t) on to (uu)
is quite distinct. The voice should not
commence before, or the effect (tduu)
will be produced, as in the Yorkshire
t’ door, giving a kind of pause before
(duu) and a thickness to the (uu) which
is not received English, or else giving
a German implosion (“t-d-uu). This
implosion consists of a dull thud pro-
duced by compressing the air between
the closed glottis and the closure pro-
duced by the tongue tip for (“t), lips
for (“p) and back of tongue for (“k).
See Merkel, Physiologie der Menschli-
chen Sprache, p. 149. What is here
said of initial (t) applies to initial (p,
k) with the variants (ph, ph, ph, k, k,
h), k). See an explanation of (t;)
in No. 8, (et). The whole subject will
be more systematically discussed in
No. 14, (wh).

3. THREE, (thri), but (threɪ, thrɪə) are perhaps more commonly
heard.

(th). The tongue is brought
fully against the teeth, so that (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 press-
ing it against the upper teeth. We do not say (thth) initially, as some Germans
think. We use that combination finally in eighth (eighthth)—quite a modern word,
the old form being eight (eit).—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 (thth) would be necessary and not dif-
ficult. In Greek θθ is common medially,
originally perhaps (.t.th) and afterwards (thth). 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
down of the tongue contracting the
oral passage between it and the upper
gum” (Visible Speech, p. 82). But so
far as I have noticed, r before a vowel
is always trilled (196, b), unless there is
an organic defect or bad habit in the
speaker, not at all an unusual occur-
rence, 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 phonographie curves of the
different trills in F. C. Donders,
De Physiologie der Spraakklassen
(Utrecht, 1876, pp. 24), p. 19. It is of
course possible to produce a central hiss
or buzz in the (r) position without in-
terrupting the sound by a trill, and the
result is different from (s, z). There is,
however, some difficulty to those ac cus-
tomed 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 (s). This un-
trilled (r), which will henceforth be
marked (r) when buzzed, and (r,h)
when hissed, has therefore a great ten-
dency to fall into (s), or some such in-
distinct sound. Mr. Bell always writes
(r,) in English, representing trilled (r)
by (r,h). Hence my transcription of
his character in 3g, or that in col. 3,
line 9, 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 Derby-
shire by Mr. Hallam, as will appear
below. In Sanscrit Mr. Gupta (1096, a)
found that no r occurred after coronals,
(1096, c), 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 Pánini
classes r as a coronal (cerebral). (Whit-
ney, Athis. V. Prátis, p. 29.) There is,
however, also a recognized retracted
Indian (r), which Mr. Gupta pro-
nounced to me, the root being drawn
back and the whole front half of the
tongue “filing” 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 (ii) seems much more usual, and
is especially frequent after (r). For
(, i) see (88, a, 83, dc. 105, be. 106, a, d,
(444, c). I have found such combina-
tions as the following, in which (i, ii)
follow each other, useful in drawing
attention to the difference; the (i)
should be much prolonged in practising
them. “Let baby be, with ugly glea,
the glassy sea, worthy thee, a wintry
tree, thy enemy me, they chiefly flee,
a bulky key,” also “of a verity (ver’iti)
'tis very tea (ver’iti ii); a trusty trustee
(tra’ti trastif).” There is sometimes
a tendency to correct the error and say
(4), 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
(thr’ii), as a French final (ii) is occa-
sonally hissed, or to close with such a
hiss (ii’iiii), or with a consonant (ii, iiu).
But such sounds may occur as
individualities.

(thrii). In synthesis, the (th) is
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 (thirrit), by running the hiss on to the trill, or (thdrit), by putting on the voice before the tongue leaves the teeth.

4. FOUR, Bell’s (foœ), or (forœ), see below, my (fooa), but (foœ, AAA) are also heard from educated people. I have even heard (fauœ) 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 (safe, salt) 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 f (542, c) and modern Greek φ (518, b).

(ooœ). This is the sound I use when the word is under force. It is a diphthong, the letter (a) representing as I now think (196, b) one of the indistinct sounds (u, a, ãœ, a, œ), 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 (a), but I may say (œ). I think that I never say (œ, ãœ). For non-diphthongal (a), see Nos. 13 and 25. For diphthongal (a), Mr. McVille Bell uses a new sign, called a “point-glide” (197, a), so that what I have transcribed (œa) might be more truly rendered (œr), the accent on (œ) pointing out the diphthongal nature of the combination, and thus reducing (rœ) 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 (60r), using (’r) as really a helpless indication of obscure vocality. There are four of these (a) diph-thongs in English, in ear, air, oar, oor (57, d, 196, b to 199, a, 200, d to 202, œ), which are, I believe, in the pronunciation of strict speakers (iiœ, eœ, ooœ, uœ), that is, (iiœ, eœ, ooœ, uœ) when not before a vowel, and (iiœ, eœ, ooœ, uœ) always before, and admittably 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 (foœœ, kooœœ) from old people, see (Guœœœ) (726, e). Smart says (Diet. art. 54, note) that there is no difference in London between payer and pair. To me the sounds are (peeœœ, peœ), and the use of the first for the second, which I sometimes hear, appears to me to be an archaism. Instead of (ooœ) or (ooœ), however, it is extremely common to hear (AAA) or (AA, AAA) if the speaker is very “correct” (95, a, d, 197, a, 246, ab, 575, ed. 603, a). This (ooœ) is the only recognized combination in which (oo) remains in modern English, but it is rapidly disappearing. A few use it in (doog, ooœis), see (94, d, 602, cb), but here it is more often (ooœ, ooœœ, AA), and is intended for (œ).

Donders identifies (œ) in this combination with the glottal r (œ), see (8, c), saying (op. cit. p. 20): “The sound of (œ) 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 ain (œ), 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 oœ but with the moaning voice (œ), which gives a little trilling effect to the consonant.” But Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling, Amsterdam, 1870) says: “r is very soft both in Frisic 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 (boond, peerd, compare English bird, park), it sounds to my ear as if
4. (ooi)—continued.

there were no stroke of the tongue at all, but in its place the indeterminate vowel $\ddot{a}^{12}$ (o), 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 moaning 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 (i) 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 rarer were doubled, as at present (reerrr) or (ree-ro). 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-rafsi-yi) or even (fa-rafsi-yif).

(fooi). 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 (fo) is quite different from (f,oo). The glide (ooi) or (60i) is very close and distinct, but the vowel is not shortened, when under force. Mr. Bell’s (fox) arises from his habitually neglecting to mark the length of the first vowel of a diphthong. As a rule all our peculiar diphthongs (ii, ee, oo, uu, ee, ou) have the first vowel intentionally long, and our usual diphthongs (oi, oii, oii, iii) frequently lengthen the second vowel, as Hart marked them (182, a). But Englishmen constantly pronounce a diphthong very briefly 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 (fsivr).

(f). See No. 4.

(oi). See (107, ba to 109, a. and 234, ob), for the various theories of the sound of this diphthong in English; and (287, e to 291, e) for the Scotch sounds, and (298, e) for the Dutch ij, ei.

After much attention to the habits of English speakers, I believe the last element to be really (i), not (l), 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, e), 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. 15, 5e, 5l, 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 (o); 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 (ar) 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, a'i), and I have heard the last from educated women. Irishmen may say (di, oh't), 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 (‘), the Irish sound appears to me (a‘i). This is, however, a matter of local or individual habit, requiring considerable study to
ascertain satisfactorily. English singers say (ā'), and in singing to a long note seem to sing (n-aah-i'), the chief stress resting on (ā) 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 ēi, one of the forms (e'i, ahi, a'i); the low is ai, one of the forms (āi, di). The words eye, aye are now so distinguished (e'i, āi), but the pun on “the noes and the ayes,—the nose and the eyes,” sufficiently shows that the distinction need not be insisted on now, as Shakespere’s pun on I, eye, aye (112, 26e) shows that he also heard them much alike. There are other diphthongs approaching this, with final (y) or (a), but I have not observed them as varieties of (ai) in English, (e'y) occurs in Dutch help, and (eh'i) in Dutch huis (Donders, Phys. d. Spr. pp. 16, 16; see also Land, op. cit.), correcting my appreciation as (e'y) on (255, d). Observe the Norfolk (e'y) in (158, c). Diphthongisation confounds originally perfectly distinct vowels. When (i) once admits an antecedent deeper sound, we get the series (ei, e'i, e'i, w'i, āi, āai, āa, 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 (a'i, oh'i, o'i, A'i) series, which also comes from (āi, āi, āi, āi, āi, A'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 (ōi) series among his key-words. It is by no means widely known in the (ōi) form. In older English we had two forms (ōi, ōi). The former regularly became (ō'i) in the xviiith 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 (ōi, o'i, A'i), but is occasionally assimilated as (āi). Now by a converse assimilation, educated English, orthographically misled no doubt, has, within the last hundred years, reduced all the original (ōi) set of (ō'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.

(v). 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 (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 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 firmly against the upper teeth and 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 (649, a, d, 518, b, d'). With reference to the remark on Sanscrit v on p. 518, the following citation from Prof. Whitney (Atharva-Veda Prātikākhy, text, translation and notes, New Haven, U.S., 1872... p. 26) is important: "The Vāj. Pr. ... defines the same sounds, [the v-series, u, e] 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 Tai. 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 Prātikākhyas 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 \( v \)—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 a (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\( w \), which from his lips sounded to English ears as (will), being really (dhill). When he first attempted to say (vill), he produced (bh*dhill), 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\( v \) 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, br). 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"—Slag consonant, 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 (ook in 't Hoogduitse 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 (ruischeend) \( w \), which is nothing but \( u \) with a stronger closure (sterkere ver- naauwing) than the vowel. The sound occurs exclusively after a u, huwen, that is, hůuwen, rouwen = roû-wuwen, eeuwen = eûuwen" = (hu*uwen, roû*wen, eû*wen) apparently, and must be distinguished from our usual \( w \) in waat, wat. A low (platte) 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) effected, not as in the usual \( p \) with both lips, but with the under lip and upper teeth (Grundzüge, p. 34), and Brücke (ibid.) makes German \( w = (y) \), 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 Fransche \(v\) meen ik een kleene 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 \(v\)euw, \(lewew\), 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 expeditor. 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 expeditor 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 (1096, 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, vee, vaa, voo, vuu), and next (bhii, bhee, bhaa, bho, 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 \(w\) 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 \((u, i)\) dipthongising with the following vowel, as \((anu\text{-}u\text{a})\), rather than \((anu\text{-}w\text{a})\). Instead then of an interchange of \((v, w)\), there \(w, s\), to me

5. (v)—continued.

(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 \((u, w)\), 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 \((w, z)\), will use them for both consonants and stressless diphthongising vowels. Germany, possessing \((bh, z)\) or \((v, z)\), will only use the latter \((z)\) 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 \(k\text{w}a\text{ka}\), German \(k\text{u}a\text{ka}\), French \(k\text{ou}\text{a}\text{ka}\), Italian and Spanish \(k\text{u}a\text{ka}\), for the same sounds \((k\text{u}\text{a}\text{k}i\text{a})\), or many shades of sounds up to \((k\text{w}a\text{ka})\). Initially Spaniards use \(k\text{u}a\) and Italians \(u\). 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 \((k\text{u}\text{a}\text{k}u\text{a}\text{k}i\text{a}\text{k}u\text{a}\text{k}a)\), with perhaps intermediate forms, and a gradation of \((w\text{a}\text{h}\text{a}\text{v}, \text{ja}\text{g}hi)\), passing imperceptibly into each other through different degrees of consonantal buzz. As a mere practical rule \((\text{n}a\text{i}a)\) is convenient, till the forms \((\text{u}\text{a}\text{a}, \text{i}\text{o})\), indistinguishable from \((\text{u}\text{u}, \text{ii})\), would have to be reached on the one hand, and \((\text{v}u, \text{gi}hi)\) 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 Devanâgarî alphabet was invented. The use of pre-alpha-
betic stressless diphthongising (u-) I consider highly probable. The wide philological bearing of this distinction must excuse the length of these remarks.

(f'sh'). For the synthesis, the initial (f) hiss is short, and the voice does not begin till it finishes, so that (f'sh') is not heard. This must be clearly understood, as we have (szii) 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 Miller'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 (rhii, lhii, nhmii, nnhii), although we have seen that Cooper (544, d) and Lediard (1046, a') conceived that kwee was called (nnhii), and shall find a trace of this remaining in the Cumberland dialect. This makes (whwii, zhii) 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 (f'sh) 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 (f'sh'). A following vowel, as in five and six (f'sh-en-siks), pre-

vent this, but does not shorten the length of (v), and the voice glides on to the (v). A following voiced consonant, as five loaves (f'sh' loovz), shortens the buzz, and there is no glide of the voice, as that would give an additional syllable, (f'sh'loovz). A voiceless consonant, as five shillings (f'sh' shi'lz), 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 sanhitā 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, slush, (swis, swish, sw'heza, w'heza, se'shan, sash, slosh), and interchanging (s, sh) as (shwiz, shwiz, shwiz'sh, shwiz'sh, wiz' sh, she'sun, sha'sh, shlo's). We may also pronounce them in immediate succession, as (poze'sheun) possession, properly (pose'shen). 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 (s, sh) on (800, s'), are really kept apart. If we say gas, cats, con-
6. (s)—continued.

continuing the s sharply, and being very careful to keep its position in oats, I think we hear (gesse, kæt,s,s,s), and after a little practice we may even say (kæ,s), which will not rhyme to (ges). This will be more distinct when we say (kæ,t,s), the tip of the tongue then coming very close indeed to the back of the front teeth, while in (kæ,t,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 a lip, nearly (th). I think there has been some error about the Spanish z 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 (z̃), using (z̃) as on (11, dc), 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 (z̃). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte says that the true Castilian 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 c, 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 (sh)
6. (siks).

(siks). Keep the hiss (s) quite clear of the voice, begin the voice the instant that the (s) hiss ceases, glide on to (t), 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 (sits, sips). It is quite possible, but not customary in English, to make (ks) initial, Xerxes being (Zik)sıız), not (Kaııksııs). Similarly (ps, ts) never begin syllables in English, except by a glide, thus (praksiıı) gives (prııksiııs), in which (k) has one glide from (x) and another on to (s), the syllable dividing between them.

7. SEVEN, Bell's (sëvınn), my (sëvün).

(s). See No. 6, (s).

(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 (feë), and that it differs from fail (feel), any presumed diphthongal character of the latter being disregarded, as (i) does from (i). Mr. Bell gives ell as (əl) English, (wıl) Scotch, and makes French ein = (vea). The latter to my ear is nearer (vea), but the French have no (w), and hence (e) 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 (shprækhı), the Italian ë aperto in bene (bëne), the French è in bète (bët) and occasionally (bët), 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 (w). I certainly occasionally recognize (w), but it always strikes me as unpleasant. The three sounds (e, e, w) 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 è, ê è), but as the acute accent has been used in palaeotype to mark the element under force in diphthongs as (ũũ, uũ), some other notation is requisite. Mr. M. Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 77), after describing his 36 vowels, 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. 55) had defined his 'close' and 'open' signs, which are those on p. 15 supra, col. 9, lines t, 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 'openess' 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 'openess'] 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 (.) 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 t and m, by my (,) and (,), is incorrect. The 'inner' and 'outer' or the signs on supră p. 15, col. 9, lines
7. \( (e, e) \) — continued.

\( i, k \), are those formerly expressed by \((i, t)\), and now by \((\_\_\)\).

The lip modifications of the vowels will be considered in No. 11 (\(AA\)). But the lingual modifications, ‘higher’ and ‘lower,’ consisting principally in raising or lowering the tongue, seem to be most graphically expressed by superior and inferior figures, as \((e^1, e, e_2)\). If more degrees are considered necessary, it will be better to write \((e^1, e^{11}, e^{11)}\) rather than \((e^1, e^2, e^3)\) as the superior \((s^2)\) may be required for other purposes. The signs \(e\), may also be conveniently used for Mr. Bell’s ‘closeness’ and ‘openness’ generally, which may now be combined with the signs of force, thus his close \((ph)\) will be \((ph^1)\), when the breath issues forcibly through a narrow crevice formed by raising the underlip, and \((ph^1)\), when it issues feebly; while \((ph, ph^1)\) indicate great and small force of issue through a wide opening, formed by depressing the underlip.

There are no doubt many other modifications, which would render intelligible such signs, as: \((e)\) the tongue drawn more back for ‘inner’ \((e)\), and \((e)\) the tongue further advanced for ‘outer’ \((e)\), or \((e^3)\) more hollowness at the back of the tongue for ‘hollow’ \((e)\), \((e^2)\) greater widening of the throat for ‘guttural’ \((e)\), as was already suggested for the Irish modification of vowels \((1100, e^3)\), where the \((e^2)\) indicate “secondary” kinds of ‘widening’ in addition to those of Mr. Bell, \((s^2)\) between the tongue and pharynx, \((\_\_\) in the pharynx only; and in comparing different dialects other signs may be necessary. It is also often difficult to say which of two vowels any new vowel sound which an observer may happen to note, and desires to symbolize, most resembles, and here we may resort to superior letters, as \((e^1)\), meaning “the sound seems to me most like \((e)\), but I sometimes hear it approach to \((i)\), and suppose it may be some ‘intermediate’ sound, which I cannot as yet determine further than by considering it as an \((e)\) verging towards \((i)\), and hence should prefer noting as \((e)\),” whereas \((e^2)\) would give the preference to \((i)\).

It is obvious that these are merely temporary signs, but they are useful in interpreting vague, or written accounts of ‘intermediate’ sounds, and, as such, will be hereafter employed in rendering Mr. Smart’s symbols.

7. \( (e, e) \) — continued.

Using a superior \((\_\_\)\) and inferior \((\_\_)\) 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 \textit{sell}, \textit{say}] is certainly opener than the French or English \(ai\ (e)\). But it is nearer to this \((e)\) than to any other of the six front vowels \((i, i, e, w, e)\). A long and careful observation of the sounds of English and Scottish dialects, and col- lation 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. \textit{ai} in \textit{wait} being then \((e)\), the South Sc. would be \((e^1)\); the close sound common in Edinburgh would be \((e^2)\). The Sc. sound in \textit{breve} would probably be rather \((e^3)\) than \((\_\_)\), as we are obliged to make it when using the three vowels. The Sc. \(y\) in \textit{hall}, \textit{byt}, would probably be \((e^1)\) rather than \((e)\), explaining how the diphthong \textit{ey} \((e^1)\) seems closer than \textit{aiy} \((e\_\_\_\_\_)\), which it ought not to be if \(y\) in \textit{byt} \((\_\_\_\_)\) were the exact ‘wide’ of \textit{ai} in \textit{bait}. In the round [labialised] vowels also, the very close \(o\) used in Edinburgh, which, compared with my \(o\), seems almost \((e)\), would probably be \((e^1)\), and the South Sc. \(o\) might be \((e^3)\) rather than \((\_\_\_\_)\). 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 ‘wides’ 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 \((\_\_\_\_)\) as we shall write,
7. (o, e)—continued.

or an (o) with a higher tongue, that is (e'), 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, x). If any of those English speakers whom I hear say (e) do really take a 'lower' sound, it is rather (e) than (x); or if they are considered to take (e), then the foreign sound is (e) or even (x). Prince L. L. Bonaparte separates the very open è of some French grammarians in acces, from the Italian e aperto, and makes it the 'wide' of the latter. He identifies (x) with the Italian sound, but not (o) with the French sound, so that (e) would be the more correct representative of the latter. The distinction of three (e)- sounds, (e, e, x) I find convenient, and I generally use (e) when I cannot satisfactorily determine the sound to be (e) or (x), that is (e) may often be considered as (e) or (x).

I think the tendency of educated pronunciation, which affects thinness, is towards (e) rather than (x), and I should put down (e) as the regular Spanish and Welsh pronunciations of e, neither language having apparently (e, x). In Italian, (e) is replaced by (e, x); but I consider (e) to have been the old Latin e, though the Latin ae may have been (xe). In French I think the open e is rather (e) than (x), except under force or emphasis, when, as just shewn, (x) may occur, but (x) is always the intention. The substitution of (e) for (a) is like that of (ah) for (e), which is also going on in the Paris of to-day. In the French conjunction et, now always (e), the vowel was once (x), a sound now reserved for est.

'(n). For the simple (n) see No. 1, (n). Initial (n) is seldom lengthened, though some will say (nnnoo) for a dubious negative. When (n) forms a syllable by itself Mr. Bell considers it to be lengthened, and writes (nm). I prefer to write (n), and similarly ('l, 'm, 'n); but it is not necessary to write ('a), 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 ('1, 'm, 'n) is 'admissible.' In practice it is seldom that they are accurately distinguished from (nl, um, um), as in principal, principle, both often called (prin'sp'il). The tendency is clear towards syllabic ('l, 'm, 'n), but there is much 'educated' or rather 'orthographic' resistance. Notwithstanding ags. giff, clergymen insist on (iv'il), and even say (dev'il), see (81, cf.), 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 'safer' for those who have not an acknowledged literary or social position to use a vowel, as (el, um, un), but care must be taken not to have the clear vowels (al, aem, an; 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.

'SOE-V'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 (eit), my (eet).

(EE). 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 (e), or rather (el) and even (e'), I have heard, and especially from Essex people, but certainly the compression of the first element is unusual, and at most (eit) can be insisted on. I have had occasion to refer to this diphthongal pronunciation frequently. See (57, d. 74, b. 106, a. 191, a. 234, a. 542, b. 596 e. 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 feu or in fete, being not so
narrow as the former, nor so broad as the latter. Moreover, it is not quite simple, but finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound" of e in me (294, d). The two French words being (ee, éé), this would make the English (ee) or (éé), 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 (ee), and who certainly immediately glide away towards (c). 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 eve, 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 identifies it with German "wêh, rêh, je, planêt, mêer, mêhr (more, but mêhr tiderings has ë), ëdel, ëhre, jëdöch," and with Italian "è chiuso." He writes eight as ët, or (et). 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 (boote) being called (bouvéet), etc., but the audibility of this (-i) 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 (eei, òou), saying (Diai. 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 ò (eei, òou), 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 (véem, éeïd, ééëd, aalwëeïz, préëïz, géët, tëëk, möëk; òou! sòou, nòou, éprüðouith). Now I have resided three years in Dresden, where long e is uniformly (ee), and not (ee), and none of my teachers found that I drifted into (eei). I am also able to prolong an (ee) without change, as long as my breath will last. I am not only familiar with hearing (eei) and even (ët), 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 (eei, òou) 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 aide as having a 'higher' form than the South Scotch; but Fêline makes the first ai the "open ë" (æ), thus (æde). 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 ët, "the vowel in wait, main, being as long as in way, may. In Scotch it occurs long and stopped, as in wayr, baythe, way, wait, tail (weer, beedd, wee, wet, tel), the two last words being carefully distinguished from the English wait, tail, (wet, teel) or (weëit, tèël), and wet, tèll, but pronounced like the French étè." (Murray, p. 106.)

Now before I compare my own observations on my own and other educated southern pronunciation, with those of such an accomplished northern phonetician as Mr. Murray, I would draw attention to a similar difference of opinion among Dutchemen regarding their own pronunciation. Prof. Donders (op. cit.) uses the vowel series i, e, ëë, æ,
of which \( i, e^2, a \), appear to be \( (i, e, a) \), though the last may be \( (a) \), and \( e \) is either \( (e) \) or \( (e) \), probably the latter. 

His examples are Dutch bier for \( i \), beer for \( e \), wereld kērēl bēd for \( e^2 \), and baar for \( a \). When he comes to the diphthongs, he gives \( ei \), which must be \( (ei) \) or \( (ēi) \), and probably the latter, to the Dutch vowels in leeg, leed, leek, leeg, etc., "with short imperfect \( i \), (not in leer, in which only \( e \) is heard), with less imperfect \( i \) in hē, mee, and with perfect \( i \) in dee'ī for deed hīj," and makes Meēi have the diphthong \( e^2 i=(e'i) \). Land (Over Uitspraak en Spelling), writing with especial reference to Donders, has three \( e \)'s, \( e=ε, e^2=ε, e^3=ε \) of Donders, and \( e^3 \), not in Donders. These these \( e \)'s are clearly \( (e, e, e) \), for although the two first are not well distinguished by the French \( e^3 \)=pērē, \( e^2 \)=frēne, tētē, the third \( e^3 \) is made = pré, étē. Now of these he says (p. 17): "\( e^2 \). With us (bij ons) regularly long before \( r \) (beer, meer), where in the pronunciation of others there is an after-sound of \( i \) (waar bij anderen een \( i \) naklinkt) in order to attain the \( e^3 \) of the low speech (ten einde den plat uitgesproken \( e^2 \) te bereiken). In the dialect of Gelders, \( e^2 \) 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 (\( e^3 \)=fair, "Our short \( i \) has also entirely passed over into \( e^2 \): lid, mis, gebit; wherein the Limburgers alone seem not to follow us," as in South Scotch. Then he proceeds to say: "\( e^3 \) is with us always long: steen, been, leed, hē, mee; never before an \( r \), because \( e^3 \) is then substituted. In English and low Dutch (platte Hollandsch) \( e^3 \) is replaced by \( e^2 i \), or even \( e^2 i^2 \), 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 mehovīr for mijneër. I have heard the after-sound of \( i \) corrupted into \( j^2 i^2 \), as \( g^2 j^2 i^2 \) in place of \( geel \)," that is \( (ghed) \) for (ghel). Then going to the diphthongs, he says (p. 22): "\( e^2 i=ε^2 i \) in Donders, with short \( e \): kei, beiden. In low speech (in platte spraak) corrupted to \( ai \) (in Amsterdam) or \( e^2 i \). In the last case the \( i \) is sometimes very short in closed syllables, or entirely disappears, almost me\( ε^2 i \) for meid.—\( ε^2 i \), with short \( e \), written \( ij \) and \( y \) by some for occult reasons: mij (my), krijt. In the province of Holland \( ε^2 i \) becomes regularly \( ε^2 i \), and is corrupted into \( ai \). With long \( e \) in low Holland speech (platte Hollandsch) in place of \( e^3 \), Donders's diphthong \( e^2 i \)." Hereupon Kern, reviewing the two works (in De Gids for April, 1871, p. 167), says of Donders: "The description and trans-literation of the diphthongs is accurate, except that the \( e \), so called sharp \( e \), 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 diphthong 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, neoēn, nemen, and such like, the relative position of the upper and lower jaws remains unaltered; in pronouncing \( ee \) in leed, leek, leven, 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, boon, 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 \( e^2 \) he says: "He asserts that our vowel in meer is the French \( e \) in frēne, tētē. 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 (\( e^3 \)) or (\( ē^3 \)) 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 (\( ē^3 \)) or (\( ēi \), ending with a perfect \( i \), and that I seldom or never say (\( ē^2 \)) or (\( ēi \), ending with a perfect \( i \), and that when I approach to (\( ēi \), however short the diphthong may be, the first element is longer than the last. But I doubt whether I get as far as (\( ē\)), at the most I seem to reach (\( ē^2 + e^3 \)), shewing a glide, and that in the process of "vanishing" the force of the voice decreases so much that it
is very difficult to say what sound is produced; an effect shown by \('j\). 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 dorta, aerial. 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 \(\ell\), and this I attempted to note by \((\ell')\) or \((\ell\ell')\), where \(\ell\) 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 dwelt 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 \((\ell)\) universally as a point of orthoepy, making the sound approach to one of the diphthongal \(\ell's\), 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, mutuātō nōminē dē mē fæbula narrātur!
considered by all who would enter upon these phonetic mysteries, which are far from having been yet fully revealed.

(čet, če'jt). 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 (čee), 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 (če), which is considered as a defect in English speech, though common in German. It is, however, not frequent 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 (če). 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 carelessness 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 (tuu), which is the regular English form, or with the check or "catch," as (tuu); as frequently in Danish before a subsequent consonant, or gradually, as (tuu). 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 (čee + č + č). In ending we should get in reverse order, (č + č + čee). This is what is meant by the notation (čee), or (tuu). Now if there be a little longer repose on the pure voiceless sounds, so that the (čee) or (čč) becomes sensible, it is clear that (čiit, čet) will appear to begin or end with a sound like (zh), and (čuut, čoo) with a sound like (wh). This seems to be the origin of the Danish terminological (zh, 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 (zh, wh) final are not frequent in received pronunciation; and distinct (zh, 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 (č) represents the Sanscrit visarga.

After the vowel is commenced, it is continued a very short time, and glides either on to (č), as already explained, or on to (t). But if it glides on to (č), it does not do so till its energy is much diminished, so that, in received pronunciation, (čče') never approaches the character of a close diphthong, as ā in āree, or āē, in which the (č) is strong and short and the force is continued on to the (č), which may be lengthened and then die away. In (čče') the force dies away first, and the glide on to (č) is scarcely audible, being absorbed into the glide on to (č). Also, as a long vowel, the (čč) or (čče') must have a very short glide on to (č). Indeed Prof. Haldeman's short (čč) has the character of a long vowel, by the shortness and weakness of its glide on to (č); whereas a really "stopped" (č) would come strongly and firmly on to (č), which would be "lengthened," as (ččč). 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, t, i, k, i) the voice begins with the clear attack (\(\_\)) at the moment the closure is released. In (b, i, d, i, g, i) 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 (p, b, t, i, k, i) 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, 'di, 'gii). 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 Blählaut by German phoneticians, which we may translate inflated. It is not possible to continue this inflated 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 ('bmi, 'dni, 'gqi), 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 (mbi, ndi, gqi) 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 catarrh, when the speaker intends (m, n, q), but cannot perfect them, see (1096, \(\_\)), 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 (mpi, nti, qki) are possible, and seem actually to occur together with (mbi, ndi, gqi) in some South African languages. In English initial (b, 'd, 'g), however, nothing of this inflated or nasality is customary. In middle Germany, where the distinc-
fully evident in public speakers. I frequently noticed these sounds in the declamation 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 (beep)\(t\), diid\(t\), gag\(k\). This would, I think, produce to an English ear too much of the effect of simple (beep), diit, gæk, 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 = (kw\(s\)bad), but deserves to be noted as occurring in so closely related a language. The Dutch rule according to Donders (op. cit. p. 23), 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, zeebpak, opdoen, strijd\(b\)out [this is the only way in which (g) can occur in Dutch], stieff-broeder, daarbij, stikkouder, misdaad, hegdoorn, etc. [where p, k, f, r, s, g = (b, g, v, r, z, gh).] But t sometimes remains, as: 'tligt daar, pronounced 't licht taar [compare Orrin'sckett (491, be), katt tegg (491, c)]."

2) "Voiced \(w\), \(v\), \(z\), \(g\), \(j\), and \(r\) lose their voice after every preceding consonant, except \(r\). We pronounce: vreoff-rout, buawer-rouw, -stiefson, voorzoon, -afchord, voorgrond, -loopjongen (pj voiceless), voorjaar (\(r\) voiced), etc. [where tf, rv, -fs, rz, -fech, rj, -pj, rj = (tf, rv, -fs, rz, -fkh, rgh, -pzh, rz), the original Dutch letters being, tv, rj, -fs, rz, -fj, rj, -zh, rj, 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 bugbear are differently treated; and that according to the same rule every final consonant in Dutch is pronounced voiceless, as bet, breet, ik hep, ik mach; but that it is different in English, where back and bag, hat 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 bid; pat pad, bat bad; puck pug, buck bug; tip dip, tub dub; tuck tug, duck dug; give me the bag do, 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.

(w). 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 (bunk), heard in Yorkshire. Distinguish also English pull (pul) and French poule (pul) from each other, and from pool (puul), heard for pull in Shropshire. The throat is widened for (w). The well-marked (\(o^1\)) or (\(u\)), already mentioned (1107, \(d\)), must be born in mind. To a southern Englishman (bu\(k\), 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 pronounce (w) without rounding the lips, and this must be the way that a cuckoo gets out his cry, or a parrot says (\(u\)), 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 (\(\ddot{u}\)), thus (p\(\ddot{u}\)t\(s\)), 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 (uu, uw) 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 dwell, 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, duel), 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 (gwh) 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 (l, 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, gj, dj, lj, nj), and might have (gj, bj), which apparently occur in Russian, so we might have (kw, gw, tw, dw, lw, nw), and even (pw, bw), which are related to (p, b) much as (kj, gj) 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 qui, toi, dois (kwa, twa, dwa), and similarly loi, noix, roi (lwa, nwa, rw). 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 soi, choix, joie, (sua, shwa, zheca), and completed the conception by admitting palato-labialisations, arising from attempting to combine (y), or (i, u) simultaneously, with consonants, as in lui, nuit, sui, chuintant, juin, which would have to be written (lui, nui, sui, shujiata'a, zhejra). As in French (lj, nj) are said to be mouillée, so he terms (lw, nw), etc., veloutée, and (lui, ni), etc., fuitée. Theoretically the existence of such combinations as (lj, lw, lua), 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, duel). Mr. Bell writes (tw, dw), and also (kw), although he admits (kw), the Scotch gwh, which bears the same relation to (kw) as (kh) to (k). The simple character of (kw) may have prevented the gw 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 (guinao). 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, regja'a'd, skjo's), but often (kji'aat, rigji'a'd, skji'o's), and it is possible that quiil, quell, quantity, may be occasionally (kiemk, keuël, kiewn'titi), but I have not noted it. On the other hand, Italian guate, quanto, questo, sound to me rather (kua'le, kuant'neh, ku'studh), than (kwa') or (kwà'), 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 (khxl).

(bzk). 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, (v).

10. WATCH, Bell's (watsh), my (watsh).

(w). See No. 1, (w).
10. \((\lambda, o)\) — continued.

\((\lambda, o)\). With Mr. Bell, I used to consider that \(wa\) represented \((wa)\), rather than \((wo)\), and I have previously given \((watch)\) as the pronunciation \((66, o)\). But on further observation I think that \((wa)\) is not so common as \((wo)\), and that when \((wa)\) is used, the \((\lambda)\) is apt to become of medial length, so that the unpleasant drawling effect \((wa\text{-}sh)\) 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 \((a, aa, aa, aa, aaaa)\) 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 \((el)\) 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 \((o)\) in England, but the medial sound is perhaps common in America. The difference between \((\lambda)\) and \((o)\) is very slight, and both are nearly peculiar to English. Practically \((\lambda)\) belongs to the \((a)\) group, and \((o)\) to the \((o)\) group. Foreigners hear \((\lambda)\) as \((a)\) or \((o)\), and \((o)\) as \((o)\) or \((\lambda)\). The differences are, however, important. The vowels \((\lambda, o)\) differ from \((a, o)\) 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 \((\lambda)\) differs from \((a)\) by a slight "rounding," the corners of the lips being brought a little together for \((\lambda)\) \((14, d, No. 12)\), whereas for \((a)\) they are quite apart. Also according to Mr. Bell, \((\lambda)\) is a primary and \((o)\) with \((\lambda)\) are "wide" vowels. I must own that \((\lambda)\) feels to me when speaking "wider" than \((o)\), 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 \((o, A)\), 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 'lippensverschiebung,'" [lip-prolation, may be an admissible translation, prolation being nearest to verschiebung], "\((o)\) being pronounced with the labialisation or 'rounding' of \((u)\), and \((\lambda)\) with that of \((o)\), \((u)\) itself remaining unchanged." [I propose to write this effect thus \((\eta\lambda, \eta o)\), the principal form giving the position of the tongue, and the subscribed that of the lips. Note the different meaning ascribed to the superior \((\eta o)\) or a sound between \((o)\) and \((u)\), but apparently more like \((o)\), given on \((1107, d)\), and note also the fourth kind of rounding just symbolised by \((\lambda)\) 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 \(r\) \((11, ed)\), so that he made Swedish \(o\) and \(u\) to be \((u\text{-}r, y')\). 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 \((u)\) in Swedish this \((\eta u)\) 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 \((o)\), so that the effect hovered between \((a)\) and \((o)\), and for that reason might be written \((o)\). Southerners accuse them of saying \((o\text{-}l koz)\), for \((AA\text{-}k aaz)\), all cause. It is possible that this sound is properly \((\lambda)\). 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 \((a)\). But conversely Englishmen confuse even foreign \((a)\) with \((\lambda)\). The German \((a)\) is so confidently considered as \((AA)\), that \((AA)\) is known among English orthoepists as the German \(A\).
10. (A, ø)—continued.

Again the broad (oo) of our dialects is by dialectal writers almost always written *au*, meaning (AA); and the Italian *o aperto*, in syllables where it is taken as long, is called (AA), as *(NAA, bwa'a:no)* for *(no, buó:nah), no, buono.*

Italians themselves say (aa) rather than (oo) for English (AA). Both vowels (AA, ø), 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'ei, ø) is rare out of England. For its English origin from (øi, øi) see (131, a. 270, a. 1101, c). The Danish *øj* is written *(øj)* by Mr. Sweet (ibid. p. 107), but this means *(øj)*. This, however, to my ears, is the nearest foreign diphthong to our (øi). The German *eu* I am accustomed to call (øi) myself, and perhaps in the North of Germany it fully reaches that sound. I think, however, that (øi) would be a more correct representation of the North German sound. For the Middle German I hear *(øi, øy)*. Rapp does not properly distinguish (o, ø), and in Italian does not distinguish close and open o. Hence although he makes the English short o to be his ø, I shall transcribe it (ø), 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* (øi) in Middle Germany, theoreticians thought that with *ai*, *au*, they could associate an analogous *øü* (øy), which however does not readily unite with them, even when really pronounced, as indeed is commonly the case, only as *æ, ao, øo* (*æo, øæ*). On the other hand, the Northern, Dutch, and low German (øi, øe) presented itself, as at least intentionally different from *ai* (øi), and as (ø) was no German sound [Rapp identifies it with French *de me que*], it was advanced to *øi øe* (øi øe), so that there resulted a diphthongal triad *ai au øi* (øi øi øi), which is completely identical with the English and also the old Latin *æ, au, øe*, 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 øi (øi) was felt, and to avoid this objection, a rather difficult but not ill-sounding diphthong *øü* (øy) was theoretically acknowledged, and although an extremely artificial product, pretty well satisfied all requirements. Those provinces that possess (øi øu) are the real causes of establishing (øy) as *øü* (øy), whereas those that acknowledge *a*-diphthongs only will always incline to the low Saxon *øi* (øi).

The diphthongs are always affected by a following nasal, so that when radical *ein ann eu* are not called *(ain ain ain)*, for which last (øi) would be preferable, they come out as *(æn, æn, øm)*, 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 *(Schrihtgelehr)* 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 Transcription, Wien, 1863, p. 53)*, transcribes *bäume, neues, verträumt* by characters equivalent to *(baymæ, nju:s, ver'traumt)*, where *(ø)* indicates an "imperfectly formed e," that is, he, a low Saxon, adopts the theoretical *(øy)*. 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 *(sh, sh)* and *(sh, sh)* see No. 6 *(s)*. This advanced *(sh)* may be distinctly heard in saying *watch* with a very protracted hiss *(wat, 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.
10. (sh, sh)—continued.

At any rate, the ordinary English (t, sh) are not both heard in watch.

This (sh) is apparently the true Roman c in dicei, cinque (dice:, shi, shiq kue), which Englishmen hear as (dicerish, shiq-ksee). 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. Valentinii’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, tsch, zsch, for (sh, tsh), are common. He says (ibid. p. 16, note): “The correct pronunciation of the Italian syllables ce, ci, cia, cio, 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, se, seio, seio. In face, faces, the e sounds exactly like tsch; in fusee, swaddlings, 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 acciderò, faronc me acerbi scempj, — Ger. Lib. 1, 87, 39 denstan from end.

He proceeds to say that the best writers have constantly written see for ce, thus arbuscelo arbuscello, bracia bracces, baci basei, etc., and that “in the Lombard dialects ce, ci, after a vowel, fall into a very soft s or z, as venin, din, sacerdott, for vicino, dic, sacerdote.” The examples face, fusee, face, are possibly meant to differ as (fa t, t, she) or (fa -, she), (far she, far she).

The combination (t, sh), or else (sh), is developed where (sh) does not occur, as in Spanish, just as (d, sh) or (sh) is found in Italian, where (sh), the buzz of (sh), is unknown, and (d, sh) has been common for centuries in English, where (sh) in vision (vi-shun) is quite a recent development. In English (t, sh), which I have hitherto written and shall generally write (tsh), was developed from ago. (k), see (204, d), where the relation of (kj, tj) to (tsh) will require revision, if (sh) and not (tsh) is the original derivative from (k). In quite recent English (tsh) has been developed from (ti) before (s), as in the termination -ture, in nature (nee-t, 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 (m) 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, (mu, shez), and to my ear (mu, shez) is unusual. Mr. Bell uses (-ntsh-).

The sound (t, sh), as I hear it, is the Hungarian cs, the Polish cs, and 24th Russian letter. As I pronounce Polish sees, 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 schtsch. 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, she, t, shu) with great rapidity, when the beat 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, shu), and (shi, she, sha, sha, 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, d), no mean observer, considers ch in chest and j in jest to be
10. (sh, _sh)—continued.

explodents, which I will mark by the new characters (kj, gj), the latter written as an undotted j crossed; see (1094, c). These are the real explodents corresponding to (zh, j), or Mr. Bell's 2a, 2b, 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 pronounced when the tip of the tongue is kept down. Make the effect of (kj) 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 understanding. These (kj, gj) are Mr. Goodwin's c, j, in the following remarks (ibid. p. 9):

"C (ch in chin) is manifestly a simple elementary consonant, and a lene. 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 e (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-

10. (sh, _sh)—continued.

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 lene sonant to its corresponding lene 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 distinction from a mechanical aggregate or mixture. Kh, for example, is not equal to k+h, but to kh. 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 e (kj) precisely as any other aspirate to its lene; that is, if you place the organs as if to produce e (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-
proximation of the organs to a state of contact, you will have a perfect \( sh \). 

This is plainly related to \( j \), as \( sh \) to \( e \) (\( kj \))."

Thus 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 dentals \( t \), etc.; and in respect to the mode of their articulation, they are to be reckoned among the aspires 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, a), I was astonished to find that his pronunciation of \( ch \) was not the (\( t \), \( sh \) \( d \), \( gh \)) 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. \( ch \) the usual (\( k \)) with the back of the tongue *only*, and neither the middle nor the tip, in contact with the palate. \( ch \) the present (\( kj \), with the middle of the tongue *only*, and neither the back nor the tip, in contact with the palate. \( ch \) with 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 (\( t \), \( t \)), that is either retracted or coronal, nor ginglyval nor dental, nor citra-dental (\( tf \)). \( ch \) 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.
- (\( k \)) back of tongue against palate.
- (\( kj \)) back and middle of tongue against it.
- (\( kj \)) middle of tongue against it.
- (\( tj \)) middle and tip of tongue against it.
- (\( t \) \( t \)) tip of tongue against palate in various places from furthest back to crown or base of gums.
- (\( t \) \( t \)) tip of tongue against upper teeth.
- (\( t \) \( t \)) tip of tongue against both upper and lower teeth, but not protruded.
- (\( tf \)) tip of tongue protruded between upper and lower teeth.
- (\( p \)) lower lip against upper teeth.
- (\( p \)) lower lip against upper lip.

Now each of these can give rise to a hiss by a slight relaxation of the contact. Hence we get a theoretical (\( kh \)) 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 shewn in No. 14, (wh), and hence it does not appear in writing. The (\( kjh \) or (\( jh \)) however existed distinctly and had a sign \( \ddot{\eta} \). Now if modern Germans, as we shall see in No. 16, (\( sj \)), actually confuse (\( kjh \), (\( jh \), 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 (\( jh \) we know in English, and Mr. Goodwin has himself exemplified it by making (\( kjh \) = (\( sh \)) instead of (\( jh \)), just as in India (\( jh \)) has sunk absolutely into (\( sh \)). Lepsius makes the sound of \( \ddot{\eta} \) theoretically = (\( shj \)), (Standard Alphabet, p. 71), which he identifies with Polish \( s \), a sound I hear as (\( sj \)). But Mr. Gupta hears no
10. (sh, sh)—continued.
difference in present usage between घ and घ, both are equally (sh). But both occur as ungenerated distinct forms in Sanscrit, where they are unmistakably referred to च र. There is probably no doubt therefore that घ was, and still represents, (jh). 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 (t) is retracted as regards (sh). 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 (tp). In the same way र was in Sanscrit referred to त. As a matter of course therefore घ (sh) or (sh) was referred to त (t). In modern Bengalee, as we have seen (1105, b'), all three sounds घ घ घ are confused as (sh). That घ घ = (sh, v) were not exhibited together as surd and sonant, may be due to the fact that there were no (zh, z) as sonants to घ घ. 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 (j), and the (sh) to (t). So strongly have speakers felt the relation of (s) to (t), and of (sh) to (jh), that, as I have been informed by Miss Hull, of 102, 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 2b the meaning (sh), and to the symbol 3b the meaning (s). But Mr. Melville Bell's symbols and Bell both 'mixed,' and imply merely that the (t) 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 shewn by his diagrams (Visible Speech, p. 53) and his description (ibid. p. 62), 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 [F] of the palatal arch." The characters both imply (jh*r, h), but for (s) the greater proximity of the middle of the tongue to the (s)-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 classification. 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 (sh), and (th), which he identifies with Welsh ll (llh), 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 palaeotype, be symbolised as follows, in looking from line a to line m:

2. voiceless जh s जh th कj qह voiced j z जh जh जj q�
3. voiceless रh sh रh रh रh रh

If (zh, dh) really represent the Welsh ll and its Manx voiced form, they are identical with the symbols (llh, llh), see (756, c, d'), where the voiceless form (llh) is incorrectly stated to occur in Manx.

(wot, sh). The voice, set on in (w), continues with a glide on to (j), 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 < ii > 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, o).

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 awe; and for its vanish, a short and obscure sound of the monothong (sic) e-nir."

That is, he would pronounce saw (sAA, i.e. sAA'), which would give the effect of adding an r. It is quite true that Londoners have a difficulty in distinguishing saw sore, saw lore, saw more, generally saying only (sAA', iAA', mAA') for (sAA soo', lAA loot', mAA moo'), and that the principal difference to them is that the first words may not, and the last words must, have an epenthetical (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', o'j, oo've) are phenomena of precisely the same kind, (§ 2, No. 6, iv.) We also find (maaran', papa'n) in the same way. The only objection is to the interposition of a trilled r, as saw-r-ing (sAA'ririq). 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 disinfected.

(sAA). The glide from (s) to (AA) is of the same nature as in (soks), No. 6.

12. FEATHERS, Bell's (fe-dhuzz), my (fe'dhizz).

(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 (dhem), which would require the un-English dental (ddhen). The final (-ddh) does not occur, but we have (-ddh) in breathed, bathed, sathed, tidhed = (bridhd, beeddhd, sweddhd, ta'dddh), 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 (1098, a).

(m, r). On (r, j) 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 mute is pronounced, I seem to hear (a) rather than (O) or (OE), and there is a schism on this point among the French themselves. See also (548, 6).

(zs). See No. 5, (faw), on this after-sound of (s), which is generally very clearly developed, especially in singing psalms, where it becomes disagreeably prominent. This final (a) should be very lightly touched, as a mere relief from the unpleasant buzz (z).

(fe'dhizz). 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 (e) 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 (J)—which is admissible, but unusual,—the voice is heard as an obscure vowel (v) or (j) through (J). The result is (f< e > dh < v > z-s).
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 (f e z z) and (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 as, 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 (toqz), my (toqzs).

(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 nasalties, have not yet been determined, so that all analysis is provisional. Mr. Gupta (196, a) pronounced the Sanscrit "necessary anusvára" 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 misstated Mr. Bell's analysis, which is properly an, on, un, vin = (shA ohA oA, vE). Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's is (A, oA, shA, tA). M. Edouard Paris seems to analyze (aA, oA, wA, eA) in the Introduction to his "St. Matthieu en Picard Amienois" (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 phonautograph 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 (aA) 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 distinctively recognized that probably Frenchmen would not recognize (a) as intended for (aA). Both (a) and (aA) 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 (aA), with perfect ori-nasal, 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, a). But in (aq) 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 (aa), 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), orinalnasal (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 (aq, oaq, aq, veq) and the German (aq, aq, 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 (oq) is rather difficult to our organs. In America, however, (aq) is often (ooq) or (aaq), as (oaoq, soq) or (lhaar, saaq). And in Icelandic the vowel before (q) is always intentionally long (sqr, b, d).

Mr. Goodwin is peculiar in his analysis of (q), his ng. He says (ibid. p. 10), "Ng 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. Ng (or ngd), 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 characterises 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, qi, qj, 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 (qa, qi, 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 (laqh), because there is no inconvenience in prolonging the nasality. But sometimes the nasality is dropped, and then simple (g) results, as (laq), 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 (laqk), which is reckoned vulgar, as in (thiqk) for (thiq), though common in German (192, d). We have, however, a final (-in), 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 (-m) as a termination for both, "not pronouncing the g," as glossarists assume, although Southern Scotch dialects distinguish them by vowels, (-on) participle, (-in) for gerund (Murray, ibid. p. 211). Similarly (nthin, n-then, n-fin, n-fen) are not uncommon vulgarisms for nothing (n-thiag). Yankee and Irish English prefer the participle in -in. In the Forth and Bargett distinct 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 ( ) are, I think, uncommon either in English or German under such circumstances, but the relaxation or slurr ( - ) is, I think, the rule. Thus singer, longing, are (s'iq - , loq - iq), not (s'iq, lo q,iq), and still less (s'iq, loiq). Secondly, the nasality is
13. (q)—continued.

ultimately omitted, and the resulting (g) glides easily on to the vowel, as in finger, longer (fr‘qgt, lə‘qgt), where (q) passes into (g) with the same ease as (z) into (s) in (hūs).

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 (streqth, leqkth). This is not necessary. Although (qth) could no more make an initial combination than (uth), 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 (strength, length). A third hypothesis is possible. The voiceless breath may be introduced during the (q), or in place of the (q), thus (streq-qu-th) or (streq-th). I have not myself observed either. Mr. Bell probably advocates the last, for he writes (mə‘qhkr). This belongs to a theory considered in No. 15. I think (streqth, wəqshos, maqk, wıqt) represent my own pronunciation of strength, anxious, monk, winked. When a voiced consonant follows, there seems no tendency to introduce (g), thus tongs, sunged are (toqgz, wiqd), not (toqgz, wiqgd), which would be difficult to English organs. An attempt to pronounce them would probably result in (toqgz, wiqgd’).

(zs). See No. 12, (fə‘dhiızs).

(toqzs). The glide from (t) to (z) may be gathered from No. 2, (tu). The voice is regularly continued through (q) to (z), when it falls off to (s), thus (t < s > q-z-s).

14. WHIP, (whip), variants (whwp, wıp).

(wh). See Gill’s recognition of (wh), on (185, d), the observations on ages, hi, hr, hn, hw, on (513, ab), and Icelandic (ð43, d), and on h in general (221, d). 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. 15, col. 5, line f, 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 (Philol. 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, ढ, ङ (bh, dh, gh), 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, surìa p. 15, by simple number and letter as 5f, “the symbol in column δ, line f,” 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 superglottal 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 ‘sound,’ only ‘whisper.’ See No. 8, (èet). 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,’ (’b’). 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 9a and 9b is pictured in the symbols.’ I have marked this as (’b’) on p. 15. My symbol for ‘whisper’ is (’c’) or voicelessness-voice. Hence (’v’) is used for whispered (f), and (’i’) is whispered (i). To indicate voicelessness, prefix (’i’) to a whispered, or (’c’) to a voiced letter. Thus (’v’ = (f), and (’i’) is the mere flatus through the (i) position, scarcely distinguishable from (’h’), 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 ‘voice 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 pharyngal. 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 + 9b, that is, as a prolongation of the present sound. At another time he wrote it 9b + 9g, 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 (r), 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 (s), and by the usual derivation of e from the Semitic ain.

9a. ‘The symbol 9a is a compound of 9b and 9a, and denotes whisper and voice heard simultaneously;—a vocal murmur modified by breath-friction in the super-glottal passage.’ I marked this as (’c’) on p. 16, 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 9c 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 ().

9f and 9m. “The symbols 9f 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, 9f denotes configurative compression, with consequent percussion on leaving the configuration, and 9m denotes configurative openness or organic laxity. Thus “9a + 9f. An exhaustive aspiration from upward pressure of the diaphragm; —a wheeze.
14. (wh)—continued.

"9a + 9m. A gentle inaudible aspiration.

"9c + 9l. Glottal closure with detention of the larynx from pressure on the confined breath, and percussive emission on opening the passage;—a cough."

As will be seen by referring to (1106, c), I formerly marked 9l on p. 16 as (.), considered merely as representing voice, 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 + 9l is hardly (.,h), but very nearly so. His 9a+9m could not be (,,h), because there is no jerk at all here, and (,,h) is the nearest symbol for almost inaudible flatus. Again his 9c + 9l could not be (,,), because this alone, without sign of flatus, whisper or voice, has no meaning, but (,.h) is not unlike it. Using the signs (') as proposed on (1107, 6), we may, however, write 9a + 9l = (,'h), though I think (,'h) better for the effect intended, 9a + 9m = (,'h) or (,,h), and 9e + 9l = ('h') or (,'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 (') 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 10e 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 9a, we may either open sharply upon an utterance of voice 9a + 5a" [my (,'h)], "or we may ease off the pressure of the 'catch' by interpolating a 'breath glide' 9a + 5f + 5a." Now this could not be (.,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 flatus, between the catch (,) and the voice ('h), thus (',h'), and when a real vowel is used the series (,'a+9a), hereafter abridged to (,9a), may be easier than (9a) without any interposed flatus, for the explosion may force the vocal chords so far apart that flatus escapes before they can be reduced to the vocal position, and as they would recoil to it suddenly the effect (;+"a+a") would be different from (;+"a+a+a") or (;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 (h). Mr. Graham Bell has used it at the end of words, when writing for deaf-mutes, to indicate what Mr. M. Bell calls the 'recol' mentioned in the next citation, thus 8f + 3e + 5f is used for my (set'). This would confirm my supposition that 5f is not really different from (,<h), since (set') is at full (e+t,<h). It remains therefore that Mr. M. Bell has no Visible Speech symbol for my (h), although I think his 9l, my (.), comes nearest to it, the difference being that (h) resembles impact or is momentary, and (.) 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 9c + 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 show the 'catch,' and then we must shut up directly to show the 'stop.' Thus in place of 9c + 10e, or (,) in my symbols, which would have absolutely no sound, I must have (,'h') or (,'h), often heard in a short checked convulsive cough.

"The effect of organic 'stop' is implied between elements in verbal combinations, such as t in outlaw, td 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 (œutťlaa, œutđdu) are enough for many purposes; but if we are writing strictly, they are not nearly enough. We require (œ'UT > t] < Aa; œ'UT > t] < AU'), where j is the break explained in the next paragraph. The diphthongal glide is indicated by the accent showing 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 (œutťlaa, œutđdu) and we should thus lose the effect of combination into one word; so that (œ'UT]laa; œ'UT]duu') become the full forms. Generally (œutťlaa, œutđdu) are enough. The 'recoll' should always be written when intended to be distinctly pronounced, as (œ'UT]laa, œ'UT]duu').

"10c. In verbal combinations of elementary sound, each element is in-separably joined to the succeeding one." This refers to the inter-gling, 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' (10c) is used. Thus in analysis, or phonetically 'spelling' a syllable, we should say that 9a + 8a consists of the elements 9a + 10c + 8a—interposing a break. The effect of 10c will be understood by pronouncing the word 'bedtime,' in which the d and t are not disjoined, in contrast with the separate pronunciation of the two words 'bed, time.' The symbol §f 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.

("a") Inspiration, audible inspired breath, the audibility arising from the friction in the air-passages, arising from their constriction and internal roughness, and velocity of the entering air.

("b") 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, (\)).

("b") Click or smack; a smart 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.

("b") Flatus, audible but unvocical 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.

("b") Whisper; the edges of the vocal chords are almost but not quite in contact; part of the passing breath is unaffect ed, part rushes, 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.

("b") 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 'beats' 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 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 ('h), but none imply inspiration ('i), implosion ('h), or whisper ('h). Thus (t) 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 ('i) are written for ('h) and ('b), thus ('i'); ('o'), ('o'), ('u'), which stand for ('j') ('h), ('e'), ('e'), ('o'), ('u') ('h), are the diphthongs ('i'), ('e'), ('o'), ('u'), already considered (1999, a'), when deprived of the permission to superadd a trilled (r), so that ('j') = ('i'); ('r) or ('r') ('r). Again ('e'), ('e'), ('e') are the same as ('t'), ('d'), ('l), and 'g' are the recall. When this recall is a pure click, it should always be written as ('e'), ('e'), ('e'), ('e'), for it is quite exceptional, although we sometimes hear the click first, and then flatus, especially after (k), as ('e'). The click sign added to the organ determines the click. Thus (q) = (tq) or (tq), (g) = (tgq) or (tgq), (y) = (tyq) or (tyq), (s) = (xq), 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 Helmholtz, 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 recognised 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 (Philol. 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, spirites asper et lenis, aspiration,' etc.

(i) gradual glottid, (1112, b), so that (aa) = ('a-'a-aa-aa), flatus gradually falling into whisper, then this into voice, which returns back to whisper and flatus. With mutes, as (p), it shows that when the (p)-position is assumed and released, the glottis is open, as for ('h), see (1997, a'). Much of what is called post-aspiration is really due to the gradual glottid. I think that what Mr. Sweet (Philol. Trans. 1873, p. 106) calls "the aspiration of the voiceless stops" in Danish, and writes (knat, tarl, preeqa, phipa), would be more truly represented by (knat) or by (khat), where (h) is the flatus glottid, or the gradual glottid with greater prominence given to the flatus preceding or following the vowel, so that (ha) is rather ('aa-'a') than ('a-'a').

(i) 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 (pa) or (pha).

(;) Check glottid, (112, 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 (\^h) abridged to (\^h). Brücke attributes this position to the English mutes, thus (pa), but I think he is in error, as the use of (;) is not an English trick.

(\^) 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 \^h is often heard from Irishmen. It is wheezing and guttural, with something of a \(\omega\) 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 (meli\^h, ra\=a\^h) "good, he went."

(\(\^h\)) Trilled wheez. This differs from (\^) solely in the production of interruptions or trills, by interposing some rattling mucus.

(g) Bleat or a\(\i\). The Arabic (\(\i\)) is the same as (\(\^h\)) with the accompaniment of the voice, so that (\(\^h\)) = (\(\i\)). If this is taken very gently, the result seems to be (\(\i\)) = (\(\i\)), the Low Saxon glottal trill or quack, which can also be pronounced during a vowel.

Any of these glottis can be uttered with various degrees of force, thus noted.

Medium force requires no note.

(\(\i\)) evanescent, is scarcely perceptible.

(\(\i\)) weak, is decidedly below the medium.

(\(\i\)) strong, is decidedly above the medium.

(\(\i\)) 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.

(\(\i\)) 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 (\(\i\)), and it is evidently not Mr. M. Bell's sf, (1127, b). When this jerk is accompanied by flatus, we have (\(\i\)\(\h\)), which may be more conveniently abridged to (\(\i\)\(\h\)) than to (\(\i\)\(\h\)) as heretofore, because (\(\i\)\(\a\)) ought to mean the whispered vowel ('a) commenced with a jerk (\(\i\)), but (\(\i\)\(\a\)) will mean a jerked flatus (\(\i\)\(\h\)) gliding on to a vowel (a). Observe however that (\(\i\)\(\a\)) 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. (\(\i\)) may also be combined with (\(\h\)), as (\(\i\)\(\h\)), which would shew distinct flatus jerked out before the vowel. I would distinguish between (\(\i\)\(\a\))=(\(\i\)\(\h\)) and (\(\i\)\(\a\)) 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 (111, 5'), but
by (·) when the positions are equally open or close, as in mass = (m < ce > z-s),
or (mees). The contracted form requires the introduction of such a sign as

1) Break, for which, up to p. 998, I
have generally used the clear glottid (·),
see (1128, a, ed). Any glottid will
form a break, as (äha, äha, a,a, a,a
aja), but (aja) simply breaks without
indicating the precise mode in which the
disconnection is effected.

2) 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, i) to shew this effect, or interpose ·, a
slur, which differs from > and from
(·), by implying a very brief diminu-
ton of force, and is therefore opposed to (a) the jerk. In music (a) corre-
sponds to staccato, and · 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 shewn
by an acute accent placed over the vowel
which has greatest force, as (äi, iu, iä) or (a>i, 1-u, 1-ö). See (419, c).
Two vowels slurred form an Italian
diphthong, and the force is nearly
even, as (i-o, mi—e—i), but they
reckon as one syllable. In this case
we may unite them and omit the
acute, thus (io, mixi). Emphasizing the
mode of representing force by a scale of
numbers, we might write (a > i, 1-u, 
\[ \text{543 2 543} \]
\[ \text{i - ö, i-o, mi—e—i}, \text{but this notation} \]
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 (·' ) or (· · · · · · ), 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 > l), which shews: by 
\[ \text{5 43 2} \]
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 (·) from (·) respectively.

We are now in a position to repre-
sent and appreciate the different theo-
ries of aspiration.

In Sanscrit there are five letters in
a series, as (p, pu, b, bu, m), as I have
hitherto written them. The Prāti-
çākhyas 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
āśman, literally 'heat, hot vapour,
steam,' is in the grammatical language
applied to designate all those sounds
which are produced by a rush of un-
intonated 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 sōshman,
'aspirated mute,' and its correlative
anūśman, 'unaspirated mute,' āśman
is to be understood not in this specific
sense, but in that of 'rush of air, ex-
pulsion of unintonated breath.' " This,
however, is merely his own conjecture.
There seems nothing in the explana-
tion given of āśman to require flatus
rather than voice. It is the explosive
rush alone which comes into considera-
tion. The native commentator on
the passage quotes the words sāsthdādir
āśmahbhiḥ referring to the "aspirates,"
which Prof. Whitney says, would be
most naturally translated 'with their
corresponding āśmans or spirants,'
"but," says he, "this is hardly to
be tolerated, since it would give us
14. (wh)—continued.

14. (wh)—continued.

ts and ds instead of th and dh as the dental aspirates." 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, t, t, p)]. "Of these, by the successive accretion of secondary qualities, guṇa, there takes place a conversion into others. They are known as 'seconds,' when combined with the qualities of jihvamūliya" [identified with (kh), ibid. pp. 22], "c, sh, s and upadhmāniya" [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-jh, t-sh, t-s, p-ph), although these are sounds into which they might develop. At any rate we have (l-s, p-ph) in high German z, pf; and English picture gives almost precisely (a-sh). But I take them to be merely (k-ḥ, ḱ-h, ṭ-ḥ, ṭ-h, p-ḥ), 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 (kḥ < a), etc. This would be tantamount to the Danish consonants, and might, if jerked, be written (kmḥa), 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, patched, nuthook, for these when written fully are (r > q-k), ṇhālā > n, ṇhār>p, ṇhā > z < d-d', n < o > ṭhun > k'), where there is no (k < ṇhā, p < ṇhāz, t < ṇhāk), 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 (gʰ-h-ṛ < a) or (ṛghṛa), neither of which appear probable. The initial (ṛṛh, ṛḥ, ṛḥ), or (ṛṛḥ) seems to be what is commonly understood by the spiritus asper, while simple (ṛ) is possibly the spiritus lenis. Prof. Whitney says (ibid. p. 66): "The pure aspiration h is a corresponding surd to all the sonant vowels, semivowels 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 (ḥh), whether before or after a vowel, and does not involve the jerk (ṛ) at all. The Tāttī. Pr. says of the visarjanya, "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 Prātiṣṭhānayās afford us respecting the phonetic value of the rather problematical visarjanya, 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. (k) ḱ ḱ ḱ ke ko
3. sa sj su se so
4. ṭa ṭe ṭe ṭe ṭe to
5. ni ne ne no
6. ṇha ṇhi phu ṇhe ṇho
7. ma mi mu me mo
8. ja i u e jīō
9. ṭra ṭri ṭri ṭri he ṭro
10. wa i u e o
11. ga ġi ġu ġe go
12. za zi zu ze zo
13. da dzī dzu de do
14. ba bi bu be bo
15. pā pā pā pā pe po
14. (wh)—continued.

The symbol ('r) 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 (\textit{tr}) is very remarkable for its numerous Oriental relations. The symbols (\textit{su}, \textit{tsu}) 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 (\textit{sust}) to finish with. Perhaps (\textit{susu}) 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 (w). Of course all my coronal or gingival (t, d) may be erroneous. I was not on the look out for dental (\textit{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 (\textit{mha kjhi phw rthe nhho}) is sufficiently remarkable. I will not guarantee (\textit{mha rthe nhho}) as against (\textit{ma ne no}), but there was no greater change. In (kjhi, phw) a consonant had taken the place of the simple aspirate, and in each case it was not the next related consonant, not (\textit{jhi whee}), but one step further advanced. The (phw) was very distinctly ascertained \textit{not} to be (\textit{fhu}), 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 \textit{he, who}, I experience no tendency to fall even into (\textit{shi, wiu}). I do not seem to say (\textit{m'ui-ii, n'uu-u}) or (\textit{mhi, rhiu}), and certainly not with such force as to approach (\textit{Jhi, whu}). If I try for (\textit{wui, rhu}), 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 \textit{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 (\textit{n'm'ii-ii, n'uu-u}) for \textit{he, who}. I believe I say purely (\textit{mhi, rhu}), at any rate I find even an intentional (\textit{jhi}, \textit{rhu}) to be somewhat of an effort, and (\textit{mhi}, \textit{rhiu}) to be a great effect. Still I know that at least (\textit{nh}) exists, and very possibly (\textit{nh}), and I shall therefore generally assume that writers on sound mean (\textit{nh}). But Mr. M. Bell's 9a, which I have hitherto transliterated by (\textit{nh}), —meaning (\textit{nh}), and henceforth written (\textit{nh}), —is certainly sometimes simple ('h) or (t). Thus (Visible Speech, p. 50) he writes "silent respiration" by \textit{9a + 9m + 10f + 9m + 9n + 10f}, which must be, I think, (\textit{'h3;} \textit{t'bi}) =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 \textit{9a + 10f + 9c + 5f + 9b + 10b}, or (\textit{t'bi; t'a}), that is flatus, prolonged, inwards, catch, (outwards), wheeze prolonged, but perhaps the \textit{9b} should be (\textit{t'h}) and not (\textit{h}), or simply (\textit{'h}), see (1126, \textit{a}). Thus his "nas-guttural respiration," or \textit{9b + 9d + 10f + 10f + 9b + 9d + 10b}, seems to be (\textit{t'h} ; \textit{t'h}) strongly 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 friction or hiss, but the (i, u) positions do so. Hence (\textit{mhi}, \textit{rhiu}) are ready to develop into (\textit{shi}, \textit{whu}) or (\textit{kjhi}, \textit{phw}). Now in combining Sanscrit words in \textit{sanhita}, 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 \textit{visarjanitya}, which was probably merely (\textit{nh}), or a final flatus through the vowel position,
14. (wh)—continued.

developed before (k, kj, ṭ, ṭ, p) respectively, the continuants (kh, jh, sh, s, ph), see Whitney (ibid. p. 96). The first and last of these, (kh) or jhvaṁśāditya, and (ph) or upadhanāntya, 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 ḥ, for which (ṣḥ) answers in every respect, as a palatal hiss, as degenerating into (ṣḥ) (Whitney, ibid. p. 23), and as corresponding to (k, s, kh, sh) in cognate languages. See (1120, b) to (1121, cb). The flatus of the final visarjanya, therefore, corresponds closely with flatus after mutes.

Now as to Sanscrit ḷ, usually written ḷ. 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, ḷ, and the visarjanya.” The Rik Pr. classes ṷ and the visarjanya as chest-sounds; the Tātt. Pr. reckons only these two as throat-sounds, and adds, “some regard ḷ as having the same position with the following vowel, and visarjanya with the preceding vowel.” From the latter we previously deduced the value of visarjanya as simply (ṣḥ). But ḷ 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 ḷ to be (ṣḥ) in Sanscrit as well as in his own English (1132, a’), calls a “striking anomaly.” It is certainly impossible that ḷ should mean (ṣḥ) and be a voiced sound. Prof. Whitney says that in the fullest account (that in the Tātt. Pr.) we read “that, while sound [voice] is produced in a closed throat, and simple breath [flatus] in an open one, the ḷ-tone is uttered in an intermediate condition; and that this ḷ-tone is the emitted material in the consonant ḷ, 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 ā. The Rik Pr. declares both breath and sound [flatus and voice] to be present in the sonant aspirates and in ḷ, 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 (“ḥ”), 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, a’). It appears to me then that the whole description of the Tātt. Pr. can be read thus: “ḥ is a glottal buzz.” There is, however, only one such sound, the breath (p), in case (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 (ga). Then by (ga) we properly mean (ga + a), which is the exact counterpart of (ḥa) = (“aa + a”). It may also in this case be nasalised, explaining the rule, “After ḷ is inserted a nāṣikya before a nasal mute” (Whitney, ibid. p. 66), so that brāhma would be perhaps
14. (wh)—continued.

(bra,a,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 nare." It may also be uttered with a jerk, so that (g وخاصة) is quite conceivable. The forms (kğıha, gʉga) 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 moonshoe, as detailed by Rumpelt (on pp. 138–140 of Das natürliche System der Sprachlaute, Halle, 1869, 6vo. pp. 227), are correct, the first (kărha) remains, and the second (gęga) is changed. He says: "The mutes explode with open glottis (bei nicht töndernder Stimrize); 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 flatus 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, kha). The Indian himself said, according to Arendt (Rumpelt, ib. 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 (pị, tị, kị). The 'fourths' were never pronounced (g'ũha), 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 gkuha' = (g-kh'a) or nearly (g'kha). "When this was not the case, the h was fully separated from the mute, as in syllabic division, e.g. pig-hũña, ad-ãha, ab-ãhi, and even finally as bag-h." These cases are both easy, as (adjũha, bagũh'). 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 (gũµha), 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 (r) is imitated by (r'), and (r, r') = (r, mrh). In the Septuagint we constantly find γ for υ, and γ was then probably (gh) as now. Sometimes the Greeks omit it, and it is generally supposed that the letter υ represented both sounds (g, grh), but this is not at all phonetically necessary. Consequently that an historical γ = (gg), which is the etymological descent of Sanscrit h in almost all cases (Whitney, ib. p. 18), should degenerate into (g) by the omission of the (h), is what this hypothesis would lead us to anticipate. Sanscrit h corresponds with Latin h, g, c, Greek χ, y, k, Lithuanian z, sz, g = (zh, sh, g), Gothic h, g, old high German k, and Persian (rh, 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 (m) in its place, where no flatus at all is uttered, thus distinguishing  conserve as (kʰa, gu) surd and sonant.

Since writing the above I had the
opportunity, already mentioned (1102, 6), of examining the pronunciation of Mr. M. O. Mookerjee. So far as I could observe, his £ was a pure jerk (n), not very strong and unaccompanied by any hiss. The "first" (k) was thoroughly English (k,a), without any tendency to (kja) that I could detect. In the "second" £ I heard generally (kja), sometimes (kja), but scarcely ever (kⁿha), unless perhaps he was particularly anxious to make me hear the sound. The "third" £ was indistinguishable from English (ga), there was none of the German inflated ('ga), or implosion ("ka"). The "fourth" £ seemed simply (gna), that is in pronouncing (ga) the vowel was brought out with a little more force. Most Englishmen would have considered his (kja, gna) 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 (gna) might very easily become a refinement of such a sound. The point however which struck me was, that the old Indian £, which the native commentators classed with the sonsants, 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 £ 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'îha), 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 £ (k'îha 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 £, 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 Sanscrit 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 Sanscrit 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) (aa) (aa) ṛ (i) ṛ (ii) ṛ (u)

\(\text{ aa (uu)}\). 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.]

\(\text{ Occasionally (} ri \text{) when pronounced separately, but otherwise (} ri \text{), not (} mr \text{). [Also not (} orr \text{).] Dentality not noticed.}\)

- (i) (iri) when pronounced separately, but (karp) [exactly like the English word clip], not (karp). [In this (i) (i) the (l) seemed to me more evident and the (r) less evident than in the Japanese (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 attachable to this observation.

(Bell's) so called, but it does not occur separately.

(ee) or even (eæ), distinctly very open [and this was still clearer in combination].

(dh), occasionally (di), and when pronounced separately, fully (h—t) [with the Italian looseness and slurr].

(oo) quite open, nearly (aa) in connected words [no approach to (oo, oo w)].

(au) or (du, h—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 (t'ai).]

(k,aa) quite English [that is, with closed glottis; not as in German].

(kaa), it seemed to merely the open glottis (kji), but occasionally (kji) might be heard. [It was distinctly not (khaa) or (kirihaa), and totally different from kh in the celebrated inkhorn.]

(gu) English [no German infinitus (1113, b)].

(guu), with stronger vowel, distinctly not (g'xuu, g'xhuu), 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 (g'uu) would seem to imply a greater continuity of pressure, and (g,'uu) too much abruptness. Neither does (g'uu) with the sign of closeness (1127, b) appear correct. The result was identical with Mr. Mookerjee's. It appears, then, that the conjecture respecting the pronunciation of म घ घ as (bhir dh gur)—where I ought of course to have written (du)—, which first led me theoretically to the assumption of a pure jerk (u) as the basis of post-aspiration (1125, b'), is entirely confirmed by the actually observed practice of two native Bengalese gentlemen.

(TH). Not used initially, this TH is merely (q), and is used final for necessary (anuṣṭhāna). [Mr. Gupta did not seem able to say (q), and hence the combination was not pronounced.]

(k'joo), Bell's 2e (15, b), distinctlv an explodent, no hiss at all, not (y).

[See (1120, c).]

but in this letter a hiss occurred (kJ'hoo), 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 (k'i), necessarily engenders (sh), and the resulting (k'psh) comes so close in effect to English (t,sh), that the two sounds are readily confused, and I have no doubt that I confused them at the time, as (k) was not a familiar sound to me.]

(gjaa) decidedly an explodent, and not (d, zh), nor (zh, zh) simply.

(g'haa) for (gjhaa); the intention was always (gjhaa), but (g'haa) 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 (k), but observe that even then no (nh)—that is, no flatus—was introduced. The combination is rare, but (gjhaa) is quite as easy as (gjhaa), after a very little practice.]

(nj), very close as in closest French, but not (nj) at all, only used before (k, gj). [I heard (nj), but this may have been an error of ear for (qj).]

(t,aa), simple English (t), no inversion of tongue at all, see (1096, b).

(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).]

(taa or (t'haa), (taa) or (t'haa). [These were written in a different order to the last pair, and rapidly alternated, to shew the distinction.]

(dhaa), (daa).

(naa), before a dental ट (n) is heard, and the sound is perhaps always (n).

(naa), before a cerebral ट (n) is heard, before a vowel च घ are both (n), not distinguished (1096, c),
14. (wh)—continued.

वी (p,ii), quite English, धी (p̄ii, p̄phi).

चू (buu), धू (b̄uu) distinct, no approach to (b'̄hhuu).

सी (mii), English.

चे (see), English (s).

रे (ree) or (re). After a dental र is dental, the tongue not being drawn back, as (t.r). Mr. Gupta could not recall a word where र stands after a cerebral.

[Initially Mr. Gupta had always an apparent tendency to insert (s) or ('h) before (r), thus (a,ii); this arose perhaps from some voice escaping before the beat of the trill became evident. The Prâtiçâ-khyas require a ('b) to be inserted distinctly between (r) and a following 'spirant' (bh, sh, s, h), and more briefly between (r) and any other following consonant. I did not observe this, which is, however, common in European speech when there is a trill. I have frequently not noticed the dentality of (r), probably from not knowing it well.]

ले (lee), English [that is, I did not detect any special dentality, as (l)].

वे (vee), but often (vee) [that is, with very moderate dentality], and apparently very like (bh, b) occasionally, in Bengalay always (b). See (1103, c). After a consonant व is quite (w) or rather (u-) diphthongising with the following vowel, and I find च प becomes a similar diphthongising (i-) under the same circumstances.

शी (shii), both (shii), no distinction whatever made between श च, they are different letters having the same sound; occasionally च seems more retracted, but the distinction is now quite lost. See (1120, c).

सी (sii), English. In conversational Bengalay often (si), not (sh). [The last fact was ascertained by special questioning, as I anticipated hearing (sh), on account of the hiss, and the old श sex relations.]

हा (n̄a). When Mr. Gupta was emphatic, (n̄h) crept out; but it was always a very mild sound, and the intention was evidently to omit no flatus. It was in no respect an (nh) which could have grown from a (kh).

14. (wh)—continued.

conversation uneducated Bengalays leave it out altogether. [A remarkable fact in connection with our own frequent omission of य, 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 Bengalay custom. [In addition to the above pronunciations of simple syllables, I tried a few actual words, which will illustrate the Sauscrift 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 instruction, a long study should be devoted to it. Some of the following observations, however, appear to be new.]

प्रातिव्रद्ध (praatishânikî) the च occasioned an anticipation of (i) in the preceding syllable, and the व ब became (=kî), that is, nearly =(-k̄ha). [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 umlaut the following vowel merely grades the preceding in a peculiar manner. Next we see the change of (z) to (j) after a consonant, this vowel however diphthongising with the following. The action of (k) on this vowel necessarily produces ("i), which is scarcely separable from (jh). In fact a written (aak̄hā) becomes a spoken (aik̄hā), the hiss after the (k), which arises from commencing with an open glottis, being converted by the following (i), used for (z), into the true palatal (jh), by the same action which determined the native rule: "visarjankṣya, before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound" (Whitney, ibid, p. 96). As I was totally unprepared 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 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
14. (wh)—continued.

accents. 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].

अभ्यस्त रेलिस्योस्ट्र (ब्रामुनाज्ञो), (ब्रात) followed by a silence, not (ह), not (उ), not (इ). [The (ि) is a sudden check to the sound, a dead pull up; but it did not seem to be done with a jerk, although it imitated the jerk and replaced it. It was not (GIS), there was hence no such effect as (ब्रात), already described (1135, a), indeed the ह, although written as interlaced with the म, instead of allowing the nasality of (म) to be anticipated on the vowel, completely separated the vowel from the (म). 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 (अ, ा). The silence after (ि) 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 युपाध्माणि, 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 युपाध्माणि, (अ, ा). It is well known that दः before a pause becomes (ि). The latter part of the word is given on the analogy of what follows. The next sounds shew remarkable effects, and I had the word repeated many times to note them. The Sanscrit letters indicate only (म, प्र), all is generated. The labiality of (म) is generated either an (उ) or (अ) sound upon the coming (अ) ; (इ) being as we know the labialisation of (अ), it would be most natural, but as Indian organs are not accustomed to any short (अ, ो) sound, but are used to short (उ), it is probable that (उ) was really uttered, although I received it as (उ). It was very transient, but unmistakably touched. Then came (अ) short with the force, and followed, as in the last case, by an (ि) anticipated from the य (ि) in the next syllable. Result so far, (मृििि), which is probably more correct than (मृििि). Representing a short vowel, the whole triphthong was short and glided on to the (ि), on which weight was laid. Now however ensued an action of the य (ि), converted into (ि) after a consonant as usual, and this displayed itself by converting (ि) into (ि), as it sounded to me, but (ि) 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 (ि), and passed on to a long broad sustained (००), producing the singular result (ब्रामुनाज्ञो), as it may perhaps be written.]

वेदविष्णु शरीरे Vėdorum-gnarus, heros, (vee,da vit kjμυ,roo). I think (tkj) was (tkj) meant for (kjκj), after the Italian model. Mr. Gupta complained of the separation of the words, the च उ for च ऊ causing him to hesitate. There was no real doubling of (कj), but the first seemed to be a coronal (t), and not the dental (द), which would have been impossible as the substitute for a palatal. The lengthening of the syllable (वि) by the doubled consonant was very clear.] The quantities were brought out beautifully.

निषाध्वशृं in Nishadhis (निशाध्रे-श्रु). [The long vowel quite distinctly marked, no glide of (श्रु) on to (द्र), the (द्रे) given very quietly, but quite distinct from (द्रे), and with no approach to (श्रृष्ठ).]

महायति: terra-dominus (मनु-पा ति). Observe the visarga at the end distinct. [The effect of (tत) was clearly (ति) or nearly (तिह), but very short and quick, just touched, and hence not so strong as would be implied by writing (तििह). The medial (न) was quite different from (नह). The first six words that follow are from the 5th sloka of Nalus.]

तथे ’वा” ”कोड्र” विदर्भेषु ita quo-
que fuit in Vidarbhis (ता, jai vaa sii, d
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'hooy from boy. It came to Philadelphia, and I heard it as far south as Washington, but there it acquired a vowel, say bhooy. This sound is rather an enforced than an aspirate b, and is due to energetic speech, like German pf for p. In equations between Greek and Sanscrit, I believe that p is older than ph, pf, and f, and f often newer than ph; and k, k'h, kh, χ, have the same relations. It is a curious fact, that in India itself ph'hal, fruit, has fallen into fal dialectically—if the sound is not really the labial ph." Query, was this lower-class New York sound (bho'it), and was it adopted from the Irish (buo'iz) who abound there?

The English language has the following pairs of mutes and sonants (p, t, d, k), occasionally but not intentionally passing into (ph, bh, th dh, gh, k'h), and, as I think, (wh, zh j). 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 sanhitâ action of a following voiceless letter (1114, δ), to which I draw particular attention, as it is the most 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 (a) in Mr. Magnusson'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 (m-mh-p, n-nh-t) for (mh, nh) = (m-mh, n-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 (tiit) is easy enough, and most of us say simply (t < ii > t'). But it is easily imaginable that the glides must be mixed in some persons' mouths as (t < "ii"-ii-"ii" > t < "ii") or (tijijht), which is where the change from voicelessness to voice takes place in the position of the voiced letter. In this case such a combination as (felt, lemp, tent, thigk) would be impossible, or at least disagreeable to his organs, which demand (felih-t, lemp-mh-p, ten-nh-t, thiq-qh-k), or, using the visarjaniya (th), would be natural in languages which had a sign for that, and not for (mh, nh), we should write (felht, lempdp, tenht, thiqhik). Is such a state of things actual or only theoretical? I hear the four English words as (felt, lemp, tent, thigk), Mr. Melville Bell gives them as (felht, lempdp, tenht, thigk)
and says expressly (English Visible Speech for the Million, p. 15): "The abrupt non-vocal articulation of the 'liquids' l, 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 l, m, etc., receive an initial trace of vocality from the preceding vowels;" that is, he admits (fn-[l-hi]), 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 a pronunciation of these English syllables arises simply from the undue vocality which is given to the l, 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-[l-hi-t*]), etc., may be said, but I have no more difficulty in saying (felt*) than in saying (fact*), that is, I can run the vocality on to the voiceless mute, and then 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 Bengalese 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-[z-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 (sinzs), 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 visarjanlya or (lh) 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 (sizee'en) for see sehen, and (szi! szi!) for sieh! sieh!, but he only knows and teaches that he says (sizii'en, zii! zii!). An Englishman says (briidha), but believes he says (briidhz), and if a voice letter follows he does so. But he never says (thdheel) as a German would, if he could. German is very diverse in correspondences of voiced and voiceless letters. Even if we admit initial and medial (phb, tzh d, khh g), we find only final (p, z, k) or at most (-bp, -d, -g-k). 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 (vfi) for (bhii) 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 pfas (p-phau), so that (phbhi) could not occur. The Germans have (sh) but no (zh), and (tzh) but no (dzh). They have (kh, khh), but only medial and final, except in the syllable -chen, and some generated ge's. Their (gh, gih) are only medial. They know nothing of (lh, rh, mh, nh, qh), and hence there is no tendency to any visarjanlya 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 (dzhod zh sh), which Germans, at best, pronounce (tschadt.sh), and a very curious effect they produce, making the (ad) 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 (q'k) very often in Germany.

We are now prepared to consider the very difficult Ags. hv, hr, hl, hm, hn, with the Old Norse hj, he, see (513, a), (544, a). Prof. Whitney, after defining h as (jh), see (1132, d), continues (Ath. V. Pr. p. 68): "Thus the k's of ha, of hi, of hu, and those heard before the
semi-vowels \( w \) and \( y \) in the English words \textit{when} and \textit{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, (\textit{thaa}, \textit{thii}, \textit{thuu}, \textit{thwen}, \textit{thiö}), 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 (Ornamental and Linguistic Studies, p. 251) that Prof. Max Müller's "definition of the \textit{wh} in \textit{when}, etc., as a simple whispered counterpart of \( w \) in \textit{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 (\textit{ibid.} p. 271): "The true phonetic value of the \textit{wh}, as is well known to all who have studied English phonology, is greatly controverted; 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 \textit{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 \textit{wh} sound." On (\textit{dwe}) see (1115.6), where the last sentence was quoted without its context. The cases of (\textit{wh, dwe}) are not quite parallel, but this is of small importance. Prof. Whitney's \textit{wh} = my (\textit{hwh}) = my (\textit{wh-w}). Now, of course, Prof. Whitney is an incontrovertible authority as to the \textit{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, shews me that he must have met with many who dis-
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 syllable now, but relax at its final element and let the lips drop into — uw. 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 shew that the last element is consonantal. 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 slurs — theory.

Prof. F. A. March, of Easton, Pennsylvania, U.S., in his private letter of 22 March, 1872,—already cited (1892, c),—has most obligingly 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 (i) and issue surd breath; to say ha, I set for (aa) and issue surd breath, and so for other combinations." [That is, he says "(ii), "aa" initially, or "hii, "haa" conjointly.] "No separate characters are used to indicate these 'settings.'" [Hinc illae lacræmae!] "I do not then see why hw is not the proper notation for my wh." [If h always indicated (h), then hw would indicate (hw) = (whw), which is Prof. March's whh, — but not mine.] "When I compare hoo and hwen = when, it seems to me that the initial surd sound before the lip movement in hw is identical." [If (w) differs from (u), as I believe, then (hw) differs from (hu), 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 uttered, 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 degenerate into mere (ruit) is not at all like Prof. March's wheat = (whwiti), but of course his (huuit) would differ from (whwiti) only as (uii) from (wii), and the existence of this difference for at least 300 years, since the time of Sir Thos. Smith (1853, 2), 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 so." [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 certainly etymologically, Ang.-Sax. and New England hw's are labialised h's, standing parallel with Lat. qu." [Here Prof. March actually adopts as an argument an idea of my own, that qu = (kw) and not (kw), which Prof. Whitney 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 modification, 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 propounds 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 hoo (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 connected with its lene. Whether the h, therefore, should be printed before or after the w, is a matter of indifference,
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 (huit, xuit, xuit, xuit, xuit, xuit, xuit, xuit = xuit, xuit, xuit = xuit, xuit, xuit), 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) = (whwit); 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 quhat (kuchat), not (khwet), and in Aberdeen we have (fat), or perhaps (phat), see (188, b, 680, c). Now this last (fat) is as easy to say as (fact), which no one would think of calling (faxet), except perhaps in the Somersetshire district, where this may be the real sound that generated (væt), see (1104, b). But such combinations as (fv-, tdh-, sz-, zhzh-) are as un-English as (hl-, mmh-), etc., and hence I think that the analogy of our language is in favour of (whit, jhu) = wheat, hew. It is true, I call the last word (jhiu), which certainly approaches (shruu), but may be an individuality, but the word is not common; and when it is used, the sound flutters between (juu) and (njuu). And similarly for human, humour, etc.

What ought we to say is another question. Should the Anglo-Saxon huo lead us to (wh-w) in all cases? Prof. March, who is a potent authority in Anglo-Saxon, says, in passage omitted on (1143, b), from the letter there cited: "Is it not true that this initial h is a weakening of a guttural aspirate ch, which again is a shifting from a mute k, and that the labial w, w, w is a parasitic utterance, which has here and there attached itself to the true root letter? Sansk. ka-, Lith. ka-, Slav. ko-, Lat. quo-, Goth. hwe, A. Sax. hwæ, Eng. 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 shews itself often by a mere palatalisation or labialisation of the preceding consonant, and sometimesousts the consonant altogether, compare Lat. homo, Ital. old huomo, 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 (aas) for house, ags. hâs. All of this will naturally present itself later on, § 2, No. 6, iv. It would be too far to go to Sanscrit kà- or Latin qua- as an authority for the pronunciation of English who. It is enough to go to ags. húv, and observe that what on this theory we must regard as an intrusive parasitic v has in this case quite absorbed the a. If ags. was (whwa), English is (mun) or (huu), or rather both.

Let us rather observe what has happened in old spellings, and we find hue of the xii th and xiii th centuries becoming wh in the xiv th, which may be due to a change from (whw-) to (wh-), or 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, hn, sank to l, r, n very rapidly. I see no means of determining whether the sounds were originally (khw, khj, kh, khr, khm, khn) or (xhw, xhj, xhl, xr, xhm, xhn) or (wh, whj, hhl, hrl, hhm, hnh) or (wh, wh, rh, nh, mh). 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, wh, 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 "a 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 sieh (szii) and not (zii)? How many Englishmen know that they habitually call emphatic is (izs) 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:vari'zes, iz'ra'rt), as I repeat the words.

In these very excursive remarks the subject of aspiration is far from being exhausted, but as respects wh itself, it has been considered initially only. It constantly occurs finally in older English, as a form of i, perhaps at one time for (kh), or (kwh), 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 away entirely, or becomes (f). Does not this look like (-kheh, -wh, -ph, -f) on the one hand, and (-kheh, -wh, -w, -u) on the other? Do I 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 (1108, 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 flatus (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 (tæl), bin (binn), tale (teil), been (biin). Compare English farewel (feæwel) with Danish farvel (farve'-l). 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 Sproglaere, 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: ham (ham), hammre (hamma'ra), vel (vei), vedlig (velldigh), velte (veits); bill (bil), build (birl), Built (bilt)." It is possible that the different lengths of (ll, l) in such words as (birl, bilt) led Mr. Bell to his distinction (birl, bilt), 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 (kæt, hætt). In short we may say that short accented monosyllables do not exist in English. Either the vowel or the consonant must be long (tæl, teil). 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 (tel). He must either lengthen the consonant (teil), or else the vowel, in which case the consonant becomes short (teil). 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 (t₁) of which he speaks would, to an Englishman, sound like an ‘unfinished’ (t♭), and be most safely written (t♭₁?), and so pronounced would, if (EE) occurred in our language, give the effect of a long vowel, as in (tEE), which we should have to write (tEE!). 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

(t< EE)<₁, (t< EE>₁, (t< EE>₁) we have perhaps the relations roughly indicated by (tell) or (t₁l), (t₁l') and (tEEl). Mr. Bell marks Scotch *ell* = (E'l), did

3 1 1 5 3 1 1 2 he mean (E'h) or (E'h')? For practical purposes I should prefer writing (t₁l, t₁l, tEEl), and (tell, tell', tEEl): for theoretical investigation, when the exactness of numbers is not necessary.

15. (l)—continued.

= (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 *Harriss* 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 (Ir) 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, (Ir) will be the proper form. Generally the combination (Ir) or (Ir) is sufficient. The sounds could not be simultaneous, and the order appears to be (Ir) not (rl). Both however are possible, and the symbols (Ir, lr, Ir, rl, r₁, r₁) must be selected accordingly. The combination (Ir) necessarily recalls the transcription *tri*, *tri*, for Sanscrit त्र त्र, which in form are the letter *l* ्त्र, with the combining form of the vowels त्र त्र, usually written *ri*, *rl*. Now these last may have been (र, र, र) a short and long trilled voice, which is quite vocal. That Pāṇini should place them among the dentalis, and the commentator on the *Ath. V. Pr.* (Whitney's edition, p. 22) among the gutturals or *jihvedmālyya*, ‘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 *tri*, *tri*, in the same category as due to its occurring solely in the root *ktlip*, which begins with a guttural. The Rik Pr. makes the same classification; the Vāj. Pr. omits *tri*, *tr*, from the list. Now I think that the sign shows merely that त्र *tri* bears the same relation to ल ल as त्र *ri* does to र र. 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 *maitr* 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 *szc*, 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

To the curious relation (d)-position...
15. (l)—continued.

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 (a > 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 (x), 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 as change (n) into (y), "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 svarabhakti, '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 (wrar)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 (ora) 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 all. These sounds are perhaps best written (ra, Ia), as the consonant part became predominant.

Mr. M. O. Mookerjee (see 1102, 6) called ri, rt (uri, urii), with a very distinct (u), but he said that tri, trii were simple (li, lii). Both of these are apparently modernisms. But the (uri) at least shews how 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. (w).

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, men) according to Mr. Bell. The position of the tongue appears to be identical for (w) and (e), so that all Germans, French, and Italians hear (w) 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 (e). 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 (w) in man, bad. He also says that Donders' ae (op. cit. p. 11), heard in Dutch vet, gebod = law, prayer, which is quite different from his ea heard in bed, is this (w). In the Dutch of the Cape of Good Hope, (w) 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 (aa), not (e). With regard to the presumed use of (w) 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 (m,aana) ; manu (m,a;n) ; kat (kph at)," where I have duly marked the (a, 'n) and changed his (kn) into (khl). 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, peau, paid, pair, pat, patte Fr., part, (purr t), pau, polygon, pole, pool, punir Fr. These slight differentiations of sound, however, are important in the history of the transition from (a) to (w), in England for the short vowel, and in Ireland for the long. I heard (pee-par) only the
other day from an Irish labourer. In England, however, the long vowel has gone much further, even to (ee'i) or (èi). 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, l'm, ëf, and lee, as in bar car, barb garb, bard pard, lark park, harl (?) snarl, arm farm, barn darn, carp harp, art dart, barge large, carve starve, farce parade, March perch; balm calm pâm pâsm câlf half, cawâve. This sound is contracted into (a) before ff, ft, ss, sk, sp, sr, (th) and nce, as in: chaff staff, graft shaft, lass pass, ask bask, asp clasp, east 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 (ær.) 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 (æae), 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 (ask, laaf), they would be accused of the vulgarity of inserting an r, and when arsk, lorf, are written, they "look so very vulgar." Yet these speakers frequently drop the (k) and say (ahst) for (ask't). The tendency seems to be towards (baa, paak, baahm, saahm, mafh, tshief, stef, baath lathth, raath, tshens dens), 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 performance of King John, I heard Mrs. Charles Keane 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 (a2) in part, but I do not know (a') as a southern English sound.

15. (m)—continued.

The lips are closed as for (b), but the uvula is detached from the pharynx and there is perfect nasal resonance (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, ıı), after which no trouble was experienced. Compare the modern Indian confusion of (n, ıı), mentioned in (1006, 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, b'c) It is I think usually short. When mb is written, as in lamb, the (b) is not heard, but (m) is long, as (leem, le'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 (loog) on (1124, b'). There is no tendency to develop an epenthetic (b) medially, compare timner, timber, longer (=lɪ'mɚ, lɪmbɚ, loq̂g). 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 = (s'z'm, r'ı'θ'm). After 1 it is not syllabic, as l is either very short as in elm = (el'm), often vulgarly (e'l'm, e'l'ım), or t quite disappears, as in alms = (a'mz). After r,
15. (m)—continued.

when untrilled, and therefore purely voiced, m is not syllabic, and may be quite short, as in warm (waam) or (wa'hm, war,m). But when r is trilled, we frequently hear the syllabic m, as (war't)m. This, however, is not a received sound.

(p). See No. 14, (p).

(læmp). The voice is set on with (l), which should be (l), not (l) or (ghl). 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 > m-mh-p'). See (1140, d'). In all cases (p), having the position of (m), would be inaudible after (m), without some following flatus or voice.

16. ONIONS, Bell's (anjuzn), my (an'omzns).

(æ, ø). See No. 1, (æ, ø).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(ŋ). 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, ŋ), that is, they confuse (ghb, ʒ) together. But the buzz of (ghb) is, to an Englishman's ears, much harsher than for his (ŋ). Lepsius (Standard Alphabet, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 73) says: "It is to be observed that (ghb)," which he defines as the voiced form of gh in milch = (mil'kh), "and the semivowel (ŋ) are so near each other that (kjh) will hardly appear in any language as a
distinct sound by the side of (ŋ)." But both of them really seem to me to exist in German. At least in Saxon, general, könige, berge, sounded to my ear as (gh'enera, kawn'Th, be'Th); and I often heard (jener'ær, k'Aw'n'j, be'Th), especially the last, ridiculed by Dresdens. The sounds were therefore distinguished. Brücke (Grundzüge, p. 44) distinguishes palatal k = (kj) and velar k = (k), and Arabic kaf ֶ (k), with their sonants (gj, g, ø).

Then, proceeding to the corresponding hisses, he has (kjh), "as in Recht and Licht" (ibid. p. 48), (kh), "as Woche, Woche, Woche, Wacht," where I may notice that the (kh) frequently becomes (kch) after (u) in German, and (xh), which he believes is the χ of the modern Greeks, before a, o, ou, ø. From what he says (ibid. p. 49), I am inclined to think that he confuses (xh) with (krh). Then he adds: "Allowing the voice to sound, we come to Jot, the I consoma of the Germans," so that he makes German j = (ghj). Similarly he finds the voiced (kh), or (gh), in Platt-Deutsch lige = (lah'gha) ; it is quite common in Saxon, as in lage = (laar'ghu). Finally, he makes (gh), the modern Greek γ, before a, o, u, ø. 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 (ghj). 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 example 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 (i)." Now I know that Englishmen in Saxon had the greatest difficulty in learning to say (kjh, ghb), which could hardly have been the case if they were their own (zh, ʒ). The antecedent (i) in you, yeast, yacht, which he would of course call (jig'hu, jigh'est, (jā't), remind me of Prof. March's (juw), see (1092,
16. (x)—continued.

(c). Brücke's identification of English 

\( g \)- with \((gj)h\)- is on a par with his identification of English \( w \)- with 

\((ubh)\)-, 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 \((ubh)\) will generate \( w \), and so an attempt to pronounce \((gj)h\) might generate \( x \), but I think this attempt would not be quite so successful. I attribute this error to Brücke's Low Saxon habits of speech, to which real \((gj)h\) is unknown, so that he imagines 

\( x \) to be the buzz of \((kj)h\), with which he is acquainted practically. Merkel, however, a Middle Saxon, had no business to be astonished (Phys. d. mensch. Spr. p. 178) that Lepsius could find no hiss to \( x \), and had distinguished \( x, (gj)h\). In Saxony I have not frequently heard \( ja \) called \((sh\), 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 \((kj)h\), thinking of chia. Again \((j\)ja\) 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 \((kh\ gh, kjh\ gjh, Jh \) i), Merkel calls \((kj)h\) \( g \) molle, and 

\((gj)h\) = \( x \) 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 \( (jw) = (wj)\), the consonant formed from \( y \), similar to \( z \) from \( i \) and \( w \) from \( u \). And we have similarly \((kwh, klijh, gch, ggejh)\). The hiss of the English \( x \) is heard only in a few words, as Hugh, knew, human (see 1144, c).

All these German confusions of \((kjh, gjh)\) with \((jh, x)\) depend upon the prior confusion of \((kj, gj)\) with \((kij, gij)\), 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, c). The series \((kj\ jh "i; \ gj \ x i", which the hyphens point out the diphthongising character of the vowels, shew the exact relation of \((jh, x)\) 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, \((kw \ kwh \ "u"; \ gw \ gwh \ w u\). Holmes's "Tone-findungen," 3rd ed. p. 166) recognizes an \((u)\, for which the tongue is quite depressed; this would be \((An)\, a much duller sound than \((u)\). For this then we have the labial series \((p \ ph \ "An"; \ b \ bh \ An)\). 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 \((jh, x)\) 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 \((lia \ ja \ jia)\ are all possible, and different, and that \((ai \ aij \ aj)\) 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 \((ggh)\) into \((g)\, which is frequently the case after back vowels, especially when labial, or (after palatal vowels) into \((x)\). 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 \(ags. \ ag, au\). 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, \(en \ say\), also written \(sawg\ and \(saw\) (\(saw\:n\)\), "saw," en \(voyn\ (\(voyn\;n\); fawf (\(fw\:f\):f) = Icelandic \(fafr\), en \(shov\ (\(skw\:r\) = Icelandic \(skgr\); et \(snaw\ (\(snaw\;n\) = Icelandic \(naf\), en \(on\ (\(on\;n\)\); jeg (\(ja\), en \(log\ (\(lar\;n\), et \(j\)je (\(ja\), en \(j\)jede (\(xja\)). One sees here an exact modern presentment of the way in which Ormin perceived the formation of English diphthongs 700 years ago (489, b). The very change of the common \(-11\) into \((lai)\ is paralleled by the colloquial Danish \(sig, dig\, sig, steg, megen, rog, boeger = (mag, daj,
16. (n)—continued.

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(16). See No. 12, (16).

(n). See No. 1, (n).


17. BOAT, Bell’s (baut), my (boot).
(oo). The controversy respecting (ee, oo) is precisely similar to that about (e, ee), see (1108, e'), and the same peculiarities are observable in Dutch (1109, d'). Thus Donders gives "ou in hâo 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 (plate) Hollandish it is replaced by əu or even əu (óou), and is even used before r'" (op. cit. p. 18). The usage of (óou) 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 (óou) or (óou) əu? or in merely further closing or 'rounding' the mouth to the (u) degree, thus (óou-ou) əu? 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 (óou'-u)? 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 (nóou, sów). 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 consummated, 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 (oo'w) 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 preceding 'h', easily rounded into 'hue', and hence generating (oo'w). So strong was this tendency of old that (óou, óun) were constant in the xvii th century, and (óul) remains in Ireland, and many of the English counties also, even where no u 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 set) sounds strange. Mr. M. Bell's consistent use of (óu, 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, e').

18. CART, Bell's (kaat), my (kaart).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(aa). See (1148, b) as to (aa, aa). The sound of (a) is, so far as I know, quite strange to educated organs, though common in Scotland (69 e, 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 (peaus, aahsk, demuaahnd), 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 thickness of (ah, æ).
18. (a).

(a). I use (a) in Mr. Bell's (kaat) for his 'point-glide' or 'semi-vowelised 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't), I write (kaa't). I am not sure that I ever hear or say (kaa't). I have heard (pa'k). No doubt many other varieties abound un-observed. 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).

(kart). 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, (az) being treated as a long vowel. Read (k < a a > t).

19. TENT, Bell's (tenht), my (tent).

(t). See No. 2, (t).

(e, e). See No. 7, (e, e).

(nh, n). See (1140, (d')) and (1148, (b')).

(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 flatus or voice followed. In ( tents) the (s) gives sufficient flatus or voice followed. In (scotentless) 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 scendent-bottle (se'nt b'hol'tl), a complete (h') is heard. Observe that in this word (thb) and not (thb) is written, because to write (tb) would be ambiguous, as it might = (t-b'), instead of = (t+t-b). A Frenchman would use (thb).

20. HOUSES, Bell's (hn'haazyz), my (maw'zezs).

(n, nh). See (1130, b, 1132, d, 1133, a. to 1135, c), and (698, b').

(aw, o'w'). As to the first element, it is subject to at least all the varieties 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, ahu, aw) must be considered as delabialisations of (ou, ov). The second element is rather (u) than (u), and may be even (o'). Mr. Sweet analyses his own diphthong as (oa'o) or (oa'orh). 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, ahu) seem eschewed, the narrower (ahu, o'w') or (o'w') 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.

(maw'zezs). 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'). 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 encroach 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: (Hinw'z-ezhym inw'z-zezs).

(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 (1095, a', 1105, a').

(æ). See No. 10, (æ, A). To lengthen (æ) in this particular word is American, Cockney, or drawing (daog, daag).

(dog). It is instructive to compare *dōck, dog* (dak', dag'), pronounced with very short and very long glides, and consonants, as (d < o> k', k < h, d < o> gg < h) and (d < o> k'; d < o> g';) where (?) is used to indicate extreme brevity. The 'foreign' effect of the latter will become evident. See (1145, c').

22. **MONKEY**, Bell's (maqki), my (ma'qki).

(m). See No. 15, (m).

(æ, æ). See No. 1, (æ, æ).

(q,qh). See No. 13,(q), and also generally (1140, a').

(i). See No. 6, (i). As to the influence of the removal of accent, see hereafter.

(ma'qki). 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 (æ) 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 (maq, maqk') 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 < a > q-k < i).

23. **CAGE**, Bell's (kæidzh), my (keed,zh,sh).

(k). See No. 6, (k), There is no tendency to (kj-) before the sound of (e).

(ee, ēi). See No. 8, (ee).

(d). See No. 21, (d).

(zh, zh). See No. 10, (sh, sh).

(zh,sh). Used only before a pause, see (1104, c).

(d,zh). See (1118, d') to (1119, c'). 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 (k, g), see (1120, c), renders it of course doubtful whether the passage of (k, g) Latin,into (sh, zh) French, as in chant, gens [(shaA. zhaA), was really through (*t,sh, d,zh) at all. The transition may have been simply (k kj kj Zh sh; g kj gj j zh), just as (æ) 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 xvth or xvirh 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
23. (d, zh)—continued.

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 (t, sh, d, 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 cuite, culotte, re-ouler, guinze, marguer, em-barguer; Creole, in Mr. Thomas's orthography, chuite, chilotte, chouler, chizne, macheur, bacheur=(t, shit, t, shlot, t, shule, 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 figure, guepe, gueule; Creole fote, gepe, gole=(fot, zhii, d, zhrep, d, zhoool). Observe the short (i). For sound of vowels Creole tini (timi) would rhyme with funny (f'ni), but the accent is of the French nature. Now French c, qu, g, in this position were considered by Volney (L' Alphabêt Européen) appliqué aux langues Asiatiques, Paris, 1819) to be quite palatal, apparently (k, g), and are distinguished as his 23rd and 24th consonants from (k, g) his 26th and 27th. Whether in his time, and in the older xviiith century, the (k, g) 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, (ue) in boîte doêt boîle and (ue) in cloëson poëson poësson; also that eu (e, o) falls into (e), and u (y) into (i) or (u), as so frequently in Germany, and that e muet, when not final, is often replaced by d, i as léver, ritol, Fr. lever, retour, indicating its probable audibility in the xviiith 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 =

\( \text{[rhaale]} \). The letter r seems to have suffered most. When not preceding a vowel, it is entirely mute. Elsewhere Mr. Thomas seemed to make it the glottal (r), as in Danish; and just as this is sometimes replaced by uvular (r) in cases of difficulty, so r seemed to become (r) in Creole, especially after a and g, when an attempt was made to bring it out clearly. Also just as (r, g) suggest (o, u) sounds, the r after p, b, f, v, seems to Mr. Thomas to be the tense labial r (u) of those Englishmen who are accused of pronouncing their r as w, as distinct from the lax labial r (brh). He therefore writes bouave, boudre, pounatique, pouix, voué, for Fr. brave, bride, pratique, prix, vrai. But it seemed to me, when listening to his pronunciation, that even here the sound was (r), thus (brav, brid, prætik, pri, vre). At any rate this glottality would account for all the phenomena. Observe (a), which, as well as (i), seemed to be used by Mr. Thomas. It is a pity that Mr. Thomas, in reducing the Trinidad Creole French patois to writing, did not venture to disregard etymology, at least to the extent of omitting all letters which were not pronounced. His final mute e has no syllabic force even in his verse. The final e then had disappeared from pronunciation before the internal. Of course Creole French differs in different West Indian Islands. See Contributions to Creole Grammar, by Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Newhaven, U.S., in the Trans. of the Amer. Philol. Assn. for 1869—70, where an account is given of the varieties in Hayti, Martinique, St. Thomas, and Louisiana. It appears that in Louisiana (t sh) is also developed as in English from a palatal t, as tehiré, tehué = Fr. tirer, tuer, and that (d, zh) is found in all the varieties in dyole = Fr. gueule. There are also Dutch, Spanish, and English Creole dialects. (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 (eej) 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. (kēd zh, sh)—continued.  

diately. Observe the effect of pro-
longing the voice in caged (kēd zh, dl), which some seem to call (kēd zh, sht').

24. AND, Bell's (ahnd), my  

(and). See No. 15, (ae). Mr. Bell is treating and as an 'unaccented' 
word, accented he would have written (sand). The unaccented form will be 
considered presently.

(n, d). See No. 1, (n).

(and). The voice begins with a 
clear glottid (1129, a'), and is con-
tinued through (ae) with a glide to (n), 
care being taken that nasality does not 
begun too soon, as (ae-> d-n-d), or too 
late, as (ae> 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 (ae) to (n) becomes clearer.

25. BIRD, Bell's (board), 

my (bad).

(b). See No. 9, (b).

(ə, 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 Scot-
land, 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 indi-
cates 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 re-
maining the same for the vowels in 
each column, as the differences of effect 
are produced by other means:

Primary :  ə  æ  o  ʌ  ɔ  ɑ
Wide..... a u ə o ah y ə e i
Round..... ə o u ʌ o u ə o i
Wide round ə o u ə o u ə o y
Hence in assigning (ə) 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 (ə) always, it is natural that 
I should say (a) for his (ə) as well, 
that is, in both the er and the ur set of 
sounds. To say (a), or even (ə), as I 
seemed to hear in the west of England, 
is disagreeably deep to my ears. I 
recollect as a child being offended with 
(gazl) or (goar,l), but I have never 
been able satisfactorily to determine 
how this extremely common word girl 
is actually pronounced. Smart writes 
"gu'erl," 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 
(gɔəl). I do not feel any motion or 
sound corresponding to (r). The 
vulgar (gəl), and affected country 
actor's (gjɹl), seem to confirm this 
absence of (r). But I should write 
(gjʌl), the (ə) shewing an (ə) sound 
interrupted, if deserted, with a gentle 
trill. I trill a final r so easily and 
readily myself with the tip of the 
tongue, that perhaps in avoiding that 
distinction I may run into the con-
trary 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 (bad). Whether, as I 
speak, the words bird, bud are distin-
guished 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 (bzd, bad). The 
distinction is very marked, and no
25. (bad)—continued.

doubt that it is partly the absence of means to indicate long (aa), 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 er, ur so common for (aa), or whatever the sound may be in different months. Any one of the sounds (bud, bad, bead, baud, bad) would be recognized as an English, though often a broad and unpleasant, sound of bird. The recognition would not be destroyed by inserting a faint trill (r). But (bard), with short (e) and clear trill (r), would be provincial or foreign, and (bard) provincial. Such sounds as (bee'd, be'd, be'd, bi'd) would hardly be understood.

26. CANARY, Bell’s (kah-neee’-r), my (kenee’-ri).

(k). See No. 6, (k).

(ah). See No. 24, (ah, ah).

(n). See No. 1, (n).

(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 (e), yet he admits only (ee) as long, and not (me), although we have the vulgar American confusion with (we). The long (ee) never occurs in received English except before (v) or (tr), but it then always replaces (ee).

(r). On referring to p. 197, it will be seen that where Mr. Bell wrote (r), or, as it would be more accurate to transcribe him (r), I had written (ar), as in (kmeer’ri). But as this (a) only indicates the vowel sound, an (r), followed optionally by (r), see (1099, c), it is clear that (r) is quite enough when (r) must follow, so that (knee’-ri) has the same meaning as (kmeer’ri). Observe that whenever in course of inflection or apposition a vowel follows (a), this last sound becomes (r), that is, the trill becomes necessary instead of optional. Now Mr.

Bell always writes his ‘point-glise’ (5d on p. 15) when in ordinary spelling r does not precede a vowel, but (r) when a vowel follows. I conclude therefore that his ‘point-glise’ is always meant for (r) or (h), forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

If so, and there was no option of trilling, I was not quite right in transcribing it by (x). Mr. Sweet at first analyzed this vocal r into (ah), forming a diphthong with the preceding element, but at present he feels inclined to substitute the simple voice glide unrounded, this is (h), as I have done, and also Mr. Graham Bell himself (1099, a). Cases of this change of (x) into (r), are: fear fearing (fiir fii’riq), hair hairy (heer hee’ri), pour pouring (poo’riq), poor poorer (poo’r’ri). In case of (aa), the (r) is not inserted; star is (staa), not generally (staa’), but sometimes (staa), and starr is (staa’ri), not (staa’ri), which would have a drawly effect. Those who cannot say (oo, oo’r’), generally give (aaa, aar’), and rarely (aa’, aar’); thus, (paa, paa’riq). They do not usually distinguish drawz drawers, but call both (dtrazs). For glory we often hear (dlaa’ri), even from educated speakers, which is certainly much less peculiar than (gloo’ri), which, when I heard it from the pulpit, completely distracted my attention from the matter to the manner. The words four, fore, for, would be constantly confused by London speakers, were not the last usually without force. We often hear before me, for me, for instance, pronounced (biflaa’-mi, famii’, fer’stuses).

(i). See No. 6, (i). Here it occurs in an open syllable, see (1098, c), and ‘unaccented.’

(kenee’-ri). The syllables are all distinctly separated in speech, but by slurs only, thus (k < v < n < ee’-hi), that is, although the voice is not cut off after (v, ‘h), the force diminishes so much that there is no appreciable glide from (a) to (n) or (h) to (r). Here then we have the rather unusual case of syllabication, assumed to be general by Bell (Vis. Sp. p. 118), where the consonant begins and the vowel ends the syllable.
UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

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 clearness. 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 mono-syllables 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 pada or analysed, and not the real sanhitā 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.1 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 (y) is the one to which these tendencies point as the prevailing unaccentual sound.1

"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, éi);—the 'mid-front-wide' (e), which takes the place of (æ); and the 'mid-mixed-wide' (ah), which takes the place of (æ). Greater precision is rarely heard, even from careful speakers; but among the vulgar the sound (y) almost represents the vowel-gamut in unaccented syllables.

"The 5th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of unaccented ə (in borough, pronounce, geology, philosophy, etc.) as (ə) instead of (o); and the (ə) constantly tends forwards and upwards to (ə, ah, w) and (y).

"The 6th tendency is illustrated in the vulgar pronunciation of the pronouns I and our (ə, ər); in the change of my (mái) into (my) or (mə), when unemphatic; in the regular pronunciation of the terminations -our, -ous (əx, əs); in the change of the diphthong day (dəi) 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 \textit{-tion, -tious, -er} | (oh) in \textit{-or, -ward} |
| (y) in \textit{the, -es} | ('hwo) in \textit{now, out} |
| (uh) in \textit{-ure, -ful} | (aw) in \textit{our} |

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 \textit{a} to become \textit{an} before a vowel, instead of \textit{an} to have become \textit{a} before a consonant. It is not the diphthong which has in these cases degenerated into a vowel, but the vowel which in accented 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 \textit{vulgar} implies, form the staple of speakers), that they become so 'careful' as almost to create a \textit{spoken} as well as a \textit{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 \((e, o)\) for his \((e, a)\); to my omission of the permissive trill in \((a)\) and consequent substitution of \((\omega, \nu, 'h',)\), together with my use of a trilled \((r)\) before vowels in place of his untrilled \((r)\), see (1098, \textit{bo}); to my use of the simple jerk \((n)\) in place of \((\textit{nh, nh, jh})\); and to my utter disregard for all conventionalities in this attempted photograph. As to the symbol \((e)\) I do not feel quite sure whether it exactly represents my sound, which however I think is not quite \((\omega)\). 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 \((\omega\omega)\), and \((o)\) 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 (u). This hesitation arises from my not being satisfactorily conscious of the rising of the back of the tongue in passing from (o) to (u), as in (bo-ta) 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 (maz'dund bri'gand he'dlend mi'dlend). I doubt as to (m), or (n), but feel that there is some gliding and very obscure vocality before (n). Some 'careful speakers' might venture on (en) in the last three words, none would do so in the first, ages. húsbonda; and yet I think the second vowel differs from the first, and that we do not say (maz'bend). The final (d) of this word is constantly omitted before a following consonant, as (maž z'be) mod'czs.

-end, dividend legend (dévidynd le'dzhend). Both foreign words. The first from speakers not much used to it, like the second, ends in (-end), those much used to it say (-end), some may say (-ynd), but I think the intermediate (-ynd) more usual. The second, being a 'book word,' has quite an artificial pronunciation.

-and, diamond almond (daz'mund da'a'mend). Possibly some say (daz'v'mend), many say (daz'mend), or even (daz'rin).v

-and, rubicund jeouand (run'birkond dzho'kond). Here (an) is distinct, simply because the words are unusual.

-ard, baggard niggard sluggard renaud leopard (maz'ged ni'ged slay'ged re'ned le'pad). Possibly (-o'd, ood) may be the real sound. Of course (-ér,d) might be used, but would probably not be recognized, and also (-yrd). But (maz'gar'd, maz'gord) would be ridiculous. The glide on to the (d) is short, and hence the preceding vowel has a long effect. Thus (ma'ged) is more like (maz'gord) than (maz'godd). This supplies the lost r.

-ser, halberd shepherd (ma'lbed, -but, she'ped). The aspiration entirely falls away in the second word.

-ence, guidance dependence abundance clearance temperance ignorance resistance (go's űnd dí'pendens ub'vnds klí'rens te mp'rens i'gnu'rens ri's'tens). 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 (gj), even from young speakers. The (di-, ri-, v-) belong to III. Some 'careful speakers' will say (i'gnu'rens)! 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 (laz'ens ká'findus di'pendens pe'rs'ens). 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 nondescripts hover into (-yns).

-some, meddlesome irksome quarrel-
The bliss of the (s) takes up so much of the syllable that the (-sm) is more than usually indistinct and difficult to determine, but I do not hear quite (sm). Some will say (kwore'sem), when they think of it.

-ure, pleasure measure leisure closure fissure (ple'zhr me'zhr le'zhr klo'zhr fr'esh). Some say (lii'zhr). Before a following vowel (r) is retained, as (dhi' ple'zharrv me'zharr f'ra'zharrs). The spelling (-ure) has produced (-'ur, -uh, -iur). They are all pseudo-orthographic.

-ture, creature furniture vulture venture. My own (-ti', kriitii' fee'nttii' vo'ltti' ve'n'tti') with (r) retained when a vowel follows, is, I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and (kriit, shu, feen'shi, shu va'lt, shu ve'n'ti, shu) are the usual sounds. Verdurc verger are usually both called (voed'zhur).

-al, cymbal radical logical cynical metrical poetical local medial linear viciauds (si'mbul re'dikul lo'dzifkal si'nikul me'trikul po'etikul loo'kal mii diel li'nijel vi'tulz). The words cymbal symbol are identical in sound. Are the pairs of terminations -cat -cet, and -pal -pale, distinguished, compare radical radiate, and principal principle? If not, is-al really (-ul) or merely ('l)? I think that the distinction is sometimes made. I think 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 -cat, -pale, are simply (-'k, -'pl).

-el, camel pannel apparel (ke'mel pae'nel pe'werel). Some may say (pewerel).

-at, carol wittol (ke'rol wit'tel). Some say (ke'rol). The last word being obsolete is also often read (wit'tel).

-ann, madam quondam Clapham (ma' dam ke'avond Kla'pam). Of late, however, shopwomen say (ma'dam) very distinctly. I do not recall having ever heard (Kla'pam) either with (h, nth) or (a).

-on, freedom seldom fathom venom (frii'dem se'ldem fa'dharm ve'nun). Perhaps emphatically (frii'dom) may be heard, but I think that the (m) is more usually prolonged.

-an, suburban logician historian Christian metropolitan, and the compounds of man, as woman watchman countryman (sebod'bum lo'dzifshun ni'stoo-rijen Kri'st shun me'tropolit'en, wum'uen wot'shimn ko'ntrirmen). No one says (wu'men), but (wu'tshmen ko'ntrirmen) may be heard, as the composition is still felt.

-en, garden children linen woollen (gaird'n ih'dren lin'in wul'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 e 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 donation from their favourable points; 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 loads 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 mission occasion passion vocatin mention question felon (di'kn paad'nu feshun li'yd shun mi'jun oker'zhen pe'zhen vo'keer'zhen me'nshun ko'ztrum felon'). Mr. Bell draws attention to the difference between men shun him and mention him, in the quality of the vowels (men shan, me'nshun), in Eng. Vis. Sp. p. 15. Some, not many, say (ker'zun), and fewer still say perhaps (kwes'shan). In felon I hear clear (en).

-en, eastern cavern (ji'ston ke'ven).
UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

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But if so, what becomes of the distinction between eastern Easton? It seems quite lost, unless a speaker exaggerates the words into (i:t'saton li:'stann). 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.

-exaggerate into (twj'g:z'hd:oa), the upper figures indicating length, see (1131, d).

-z, vicar cedar vinegar scholar vulgar (v'k'u si'i:du v'i:'ngu sko:ls ek'kju:ls). To say (-aa) in these words would be as disagreeable as in together, which I heard Toole the actor in a burlesque

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II. Other Terminations.

-a, sofa idea sirrah (soo'f's s'i:'di:ye s'i:'re). There is often a difficulty in separating idea from I, dear! (s'i:'di:ye), but in dear (di:) there should be a complete monosyllabic diphthong, in idea at most a slur (s'i:'di:ye). The last word is often called (s'i:'re). In all these terminations the (-v) 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 (soo'f'ah s'i:'di:ye: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, (-v) is universal.

-o, -ove, -ough: hero stoceu potato tobacco widow yellow fellow sorrow sparrow borough (hi:z'ro st'ko pot'ee:ye jo:baevke w'id:oe se'lo f'lo so:ro sp:ar:to b'o:ro). Here great varieties occur, but the usual 'educated' pronunciation is (-o); in the last word, however, (-u) is very common, as (bo're). I think (o) in (hi:z'ro) is universal; the (a) in (sta:'ku), the next word, seems to belong to journeymen plasterers. In the three next the well-known (teevs bar'ks w'id:es), in Ireland (teevs w'id:di), make (-o) obligatory among the "polite" and "well-bred." But (se'lu fel:u) are very common in educated speech, and even (se'lu) is heard from older speakers. I don't recollect hearing (so'ru), but certainly (sp'ar:ru) may be heard in London.

-ne, -ove: value nephew (va:li ne'veri). No educated person says (va:li ne'veri).

-iff, -ock: sheriff bannock haddock paddock (she'riff bær:sk hær'dok pæ'dol), with distinct ending in England, but all end in simple (-o) in Scotland.

-ible, -ibility: possible possibility. I am used to say (po'sibl po'sibli:te), but the common custom, I think, is (po'sebl, po'sajbi:lüt).
-ack, stomach lich (stv-mok lô’-lok), with distinct (a), but maniac (me’m-nák) preserves (e).

-acy, -icy: pendency (pre’luses’ polis) are my pronunciation, but (po’leri) is, I think, more common. In obstinacy (ob’stinyt) a slight tendency to secondary accentual force and a reminiscence of obstinate (ob’stinyt) often preserves (-esi).

-ate, [in nouns] laureate frigate figure (la’str’ét fig re’greet fig’giût). Usage varies. In frigate the commonness of the word produces (figiût); in figure, its rarity gives (fig’giût, ret), but (figu’reet) would be its natural sound. In verbs, and demonstrate I usually say (-et, de’m-nestret). Many persons, perhaps most, accentuate (dim’-o-nstret). I am accustomed to talk of the (1) astrected Nûuzs, the newsboys generally shout out (1a-str’t’d Nûuzs), with a tendency to drop into (la’str’t’d).

-age, village image manage cabbage marriage (vi’-led zh rned zh ma’ned zh kô-bëd zh mërd zh). Of course (dzh sh) is said before the pause. The vowel is commonly (i) in all, but I feel a difference in marriage carriage. The (i) is very common in village cabbage.

-age, privilege college (prê’vul’d zh, ko’lîd zh). Some say (-id zh); (-id zh) is never heard. Some say (pri’vul’d zh), apparently to prevent the concurrence of (i).

-aín, -ín: certain Latin (so’a’tën Lë’tën) are, I think, my sounds, but (so’tën Lë’tën) are not uncommon, (so’a’tën so’a’ten) may occasionally be heard. Captain is generally (kë’-ptën), ‘carefully’ (kë’-pten), ‘vulgarly’ (kë’-pn).

-ing, a singing, a being (v si’-qû, v bii’-jîq). In educated English pronunciation the -ing, either of noun or participle, is distinct (-i). Any use of (-in) or distinction of (-in, -i) is provincial or uneducated.

-ful, mouthful sorrowful (ma’-oth’-ful sor’-ful). Educated speakers rarely seem to fall into (sor’-fult). In mouthful the composition is too evident to allow of this, and indeed the word is often made (ma’-oth’-ful).

-ify, -ise: terrify signify civilize baptize (te’-rifi’s ei’-gni’sôs’ ei’-vi’-sô bept’sô’-zô). The final diphthong is quite distinct.

-it, -id, -ise, -ish: pulpit rabbit rabid restive parish (pu’-lit ré’-bit rëb’-bid re’s’tiv pär’-rish). The (i) is quite unobscured.

-ill, evil devil (ii’-val dev’-vl), ‘Careful speakers,’ especially clergymen, insist on (ii’-val de’-vl), pseudo-orthographically.

-y, -ly, -ty, etc.: mercy truly pity (ma’-ës tru’l’ pë’-të), with unobscured (i). To pronounce (truu’l’s) is not now customary, even in biblical reading; and (truu’l’s) are mere ‘vulgarities.’

-mony, harmony matrimony testimony (na’s-mëni mëtr’in’mën te’-stëm’-ënt). The first word has, perhaps invariably, (-men). In the other two a secondary accent sometimes supervenes, and (-mëni, -ma’ni, -moh’ni, -moh’ni) may be heard, which occasionally even amounts to (-mönë).

-most, bindmost utmost bettermost foremost (mô’-id’most zô’-most be’mést foo’-most). This is, I think, the regular unconscious utterance, but (-most) is occasionally said. The (–most) is in fact a regular degradation of (-most).

-ness, sweetness, etc., (swii’-nës). The (s) generally saves a vowel from degradation, at least with me. Which of the three (-nes, -nis, -ny) is most common, I do not know.

-eous, righteous piteous plenteous (ro’-i’të-za pë’-të-za plë’-në’-zas) are, I think, my own ‘careful,’ i.e. rather pedantic, pronunciations. I believe that (ro’-i’të-za, pë’-të-za, pë’-të-za, plë’-në’-zas) 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.

-eous, precious prodigious (pro’-shas pro’-dr’d zhëz). Never divided into (-i-ëz).

-ial, -ialty, -iality: official, partial partiality, special specialty speciality (shë’-shël, pa’-shël pa’-shë’-lëtë, spe’-shël spe’-shë’-lëtë). All the (-i-ël-) are orthographical products.

-ward, forward backward awkward upward downward froward toward towards (fa’-awd bë’-këd a’-a’-këd o’-pëd do’-ë’n fëo’-ë’d too’-ë’d too’-ë’-dë’-zë). An older pronunciation of (fo’-ë’d bë’-këd a’-a’-këd) 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 (too’-ë’-zë, tswa’-ë’-dë’-zë), and even (tô’-ë’-ë’-zë), of which the first is most usual, the second not uncommon, and
the last very rare from educated speakers.

-owe, likewise sidewise (la'z'kwa'zks sa'z'kwa'zks), with distinct diphthong.

-wife, midwife housewife. Here orthographical readers say (mii'd- 

wa'st haw'wsta'gwawa'st). But (mi'zd') 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 (naz'f), and the word (naz'zi), now spelled hussy, shews the old disuse of (w), and similarly (gw'zi), now written goody.

-wich, Greenwich Woolwich Norwich Ipswich (Gr'i'mud) sh W'w'id, sh No'rid, sh I'psid zh). The last is the local pronunciation, (I'pswd sh) merely orthographical, and similarly I have heard the Astronomer Royal say (Grii'wmd sh). Living in the place, no doubt (Gr'i'm- 

id zh) is an abomination in his ears. Railway porters also are apt to 'corrupt' names of places orthographically, as when they call Uttoxeter (Juuto'ksita), in place of (q'ksaut).

-eth, speaketh (spii-keth). The termination having gone out of use, the pronunciation is purely orthographical.

-ed, pitted, added (pr'ted p'i'tid, 

e: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, -id, -ed constantly interchanging in MSS. At present (-ed, -id, -yd) are heard. Few make the distinction, here given, between pitted and pitted.

-es, -s, -z: princes prince's, churches church's, paths path's, cloth's clothes, clothes, wolves (pr'i'nesz, tsha'o'tshezs, paadzhz pasths, kloths kloths kloodhz, Wolvzs). The vowel in -es is subjective 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 (-dhes). The plural cloths is unfamiliar to me, and my pronunciation is orthographical. In clothes the th is usually omitted, as (kloo'wzs, tloo'wzs). The cry (ol tloo!) 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 Schwarzwalder 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 tloo! tloo! tloo!), 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 following consonants: among astride alas abuse avert advance adapt admire accept affix v. announce append alert alcev abyss. The utmost variety prevails. When two pronounced consonants follow, as in accept advance admire awoke (aks'pt w'dva'ns w'dma's' a'kloov), there is generally an unobscured (ae). Otherwise the ordinary custom is to pronounce (ae, v), or even (h) with excessive brevity and indistinctness, on account of the following accent. On the other hand, some speakers insist on (ah), or even (ae), although for (ae) 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 (ena's'w's es'pe'nd), and in unusual words as (aeb'i's). But (emaq, i'ha'maq, ah'maq, amaq) may all be heard. If any one say (e), as (emaq), 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, i), and the more usual, unacknowledged (i). In some cases, as decent desent dissent, fear of ambiguity will lead to (di'sent desent desent), but the two last words are usually (desent). In emerge immerge, we have occasionally (i'me'sd:dzh i'me'sd:dzh), but usually (i'me'sd:dzh) for both. After (r) the (i) is predominant. Simple (e) is often (ii) or (i), as (illoo'p, ilive'nt), but (i) seems easier for English organs at present. Many insist on (bese't, begr'in, depere'nd), etc., but this seems to me theoretical, though I hear occasionally (bu-, du-), etc. In despite destroy, the (s) preserves the (e) in my mouth, and I say (desps's't destro'fi). In eclipse I think I usually keep (e) and say (eklips'z), but cannot be sure of not often saying (iklips').

-b-, binocular binomial bilingual. Here usage varies. Some insist on 'distinct (bo't), but others use (bi) when the word has become familiar. Thus
(ba'ino'kilde) used always to be said, 
but since the binocular microscopes and 
 opera glasses have become common, 
(bina'kilde) is often heard. In bisek 
we hear both (ba'iscekt bisekkt) often 
from the same mathematical speaker, 
at short intervals. When the accent 
falls on the bi-, we usually have (bi'), as 
*biycle biparous (bi'skil b'r-puras), but 
occasionally (boi') remains, as binary 
(ba'nrumi); compare combine combina-
  (kombo'rni k:mb'fnce'shen).

di-, direct divide (direkt div'did). The last word has always (di), the 
first has constantly (da'). The same diver-
sity exists in this word with diest 
diversion, etc. All these (da') are 
clear orthographical.

o-, pro-, etc.: Oblige occasion oppose 
produce pronounce v, propose (oble'dzh 
kelas'zhen pooz pr'moot pr'dictus' pro-
pooz') seem to be my pronunciations, 
but (a) is sometimes heard in all, and 
(e) occasionally, as I should be much 
obliged to you if you would constantly 
produce this proposal, (a't: shedbl 
mo'tsh'uble'dzhsh'tane f'shedke' 
szhleni pr'moot dh:sp'ropooz').

to-, to-morrow together (tumor'to 
tuge'dh). I have been accustomed to 
consider these my pronunciations, but 
suspect that I often fall into (tu-, tu-).

for-, fore-: forbid forgive forego 
foretell (lab'd fag'v foo'goow foos' 
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 
prettv much at the pleasure of 
the speaker. The obscurity often amounts 
to absolute suppression of vocality. 
They are here given, in the order of 
frequency of occurrence, according to 
Mr. D. Nasmyth (Practical Linguist, 
English, 1871), who determined this 
order by actual enumeration in books of 
 exceedingly different character. The 
clear sound is generally first, separated by a 
(-) from the rest.

and (end—end, un, n, nb), the (d) 
is most frequently omitted before a con-
sonant, as bread and milk (bre'dammlk).
The sound is often so extremely brief 
that it is recognized by instinct rather 
than by hearing.

the (dhii—di'h dihy dbj dh dhe dhu 
dhi). 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), for the 
other vowels only. In poetry this (dhi) 
becomes (dhr) or even (dhr). Before 
consouants some endeavour to use 
(dhe), but this generally results in 
(dhr) or (dhrs), and singers are usually 
taught to sing (dhrs), precisely as if 
the word were written them.

I (a'i). In received speech this word 
does not change in losing force. Which-
ever of its various sounds a speaker 
chooses (1100, a') for his normal pro-
nunciation is preserved throughout.

you (juu—ju, ju, ji). The (ju) 
is not recognized. After (t, d) the (t) 
often passes into (sh, zh), but this is 
also not recognized. Both are frequently 
heard nevertheless.

he (nih—ni hi'i i). The (ni), which 
includes (nh, zh), according to the 
speaker's habits, is constantly when 
he is enclitic.

she (shii—shi shi'zhhi). The last is 
frequent in rapid conversation.

it (it). This does not seem to vary, 
extcept of course as (-t) when convenient, 
but even this is rather 'poetical.'

we (wii—wi wii). The (w) is never 
lost.
	hey (dhee't—dhe dhe), but not de-
generating to (dhr).

have (hav—hav uv v). The (h, zh, 
zh) is constantly omitted when the 
word is enclitic, and simple (v) occurs 
after a vowel.

will (wil—wel wii l). The (l) is 
frequent after a vowel.

shall (shel—shl shhl). The last 
form is frequent.

one (won—wen). The degradation 
into (wn) is not received.

to (tuu—tu tuu). Often extremely 
short. The pronunciation (too) may 
be heard from old people and Americans 
ocasionally. The difference between 
too and two is well shown in such a 
sentence as: I gave two things to two 
men, and he gave two, too, to two, too 
(a'i'gev tuu'thcz tztur men, umkhir-
gev tuu'tuu: tzturtu'tuu:).

be (bi—bi bi bu). The last form is 
careless.

there (dhee'—dhy), before vowels 
(dheer dhr dhe dhr).

a (e'j—e ah v). 'Careful speakers' 
use (e) or (ah), but these sounds are 
quite theoretical; and (a) or (o) is the 
only usual sound. Before a vowel (aen
un]. Before (ub), beginning an unaccented syllable, it is now the fashion to write a, and I suppose to say (ee) or (ee'), but I always use an, and say (ee:n) with a secondary accent, not omitting the following (ub), but rather gaining a fullerum for its introduction, as an historical account, an historical account, an account, an account.

my (me:i—mi), in myself, my lord, always (mi), but otherwise (me:i) is constantly preserved pure, (mi) is Irish.

his (hiza, hiza—iz), the (ub) commonly lost when enclitic.

our (ou'i, ou'i), preserved pure. your ( vary, vary—ru, yer). Although (ub) is not unfrequent, it is not recognized.

her (her—v ur). The (ub) is dropped constantly in he his him her.

their, treated as there.

of (ov—ov uv u), the (ub) is very common before consonants. Several old speakers still say (of).

would (wédi—w'd d), the last not very unfrequent.

or (wb ar var—ar u ur), the (ub) only before a vowel; the (ub) most common, but (ub) not unfrequent before a consonant. Similarly for nor.

for (fwb far for—f a far fe fur) treated like or, but (fe fur) are very common.

that (dhat—dhet dh't). The demonstrative pronoun is always distinct, the subordinating conjunction and relative are almost always obscure, as I know that that that man says is not that that that one told me (incon'dh't dwat dh'tdhaet man xez iz-not-dh'er dht'dh't-dwam too'w'lدم). On (ub), preserved clear.

do (du—du du du), the last not so rare.

which (witsh—witsh witsh).

Some speakers always preserve (witsh), others always preserve (witsh).

who (huu—hu hu u), but (ub) is rare.

by (bo'i), preserved pure, (br) is hardly in use.

them (dhem—dhyam dhem), 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 mu), the last is, perhaps, Irish, common in (buu mu from mu jnmu to me, from me, with me, etc.

were (wee', wee'r, wee, woor—we war).

with (widh with—with), generally preserved pure, (with) is heard from older speakers.

into (i'tu intu—intu intu), emphatically neither syllable receives force.

can (k'an—k'n kn), the last forms common.

cannot (k'nat, kaant), kept pure.

from (from—from), often kept pure.

as (weez ez—ez z), (ez) common, (ub) rare.

us (us—us), both common.

sir (soo, soor—so), and after yes simply (ub), as yes sir (j'sw).

madam (ma'dam—mem mem mem mom m'm m). After yes and no the syllable used by servant girls is (ub) was, for the use is declining) hard to seize. No ma'am is not at all (noo'wm), but nearer (noo—m), the first (ub) 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 (nowm, jem'mm). 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 (i) for his 'point-glide,' or glide from the vowel to his untrilled (r.), see (1098, b). In diphthongs Mr. Bell's 'glides' are represented by (i, u) connected with a vowel bearing an acute accent, as (ái, iú). Mr. Bell's aspirate is represented by (nh), see (1133, b'). It should be remembered that (ö, ð) are the capitals of (u, ø), and (:A, :E) of (A, E); that (') is the primary and (·) 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, (') 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.

Miseléi'-niús Se'nhthenhsyz,  
Pró'verabz, etsë'terah.

Ah laadzh de'r, j-s-fam.
Ah fái'r, r,i-temphpad fe'lö.
Whot ah fïu'r, r,i-us te'mhpest.
Ah wái'r, r,i-hhe'ad ter, rui.
Ah r,i'-r,iq sta'bohin do'qhki.
Ah glo'r, r,ius nhar-vest-táim.
Na'nmbruz ahnd o'b'dzhekts.
Ah na'mbri' ohy pï'ktshubuz.

Kò'inz wèits ahnd me'zhubuz.
Dhís iëz ahn û'i'zi buk tv r,iid.
Plíiz döunht biít dhy dog.
Ah pr,y'te' lit'll gòu'-ld-fùnhtsh.
Dhy mnu nhaú'z yz ohy pà-ly-
menht.

Ah pëk ohy plee'i'q kardz.
Ah ke'p'tahl káünd ohy wá'tsh-
dog.
Ah vër'te' pìktiúhr,ë'esk óuld nhaús.
What ah mahgni'fisenht piis ohy wàk.
O'uld pr,o'verabz ahnd wáiz më'kësimz.

Alex. J. Ellis.

Mi'suleążnos Se'n'tensez,  
Pró'verabz, etsë'teru.

O'ładzh de'ür'íífàam.
O'yí'ri-te'mpáed fe'lo.
Whop tv fi'üw'riús te'mpèst.'
Owó'i'riíce'd te'riu.
O'rií'riq stö'ben do'qki.
O'gloo'riús nàa'veyst'túím.
Na'mbez un o'bd'zhexs.
O'námbrrûv pï'k't shuzs
(pï'k'tíiú'z, pï'ktju'ázs).
Kò'inz wèe'jts umé'zhuzs.
Dhi'síz eníi'zi buk teríi'd.
Plíii'zdo'wnt bií't dhió'g.
O pr't'ilí'tl goó'w'ldfént.sh.
Dhííñúú:nó'w'wèez vu'pa'li'mynt.

Opa'kévuv plee'i'qkaa:dz.
O'kà'pí'ítel kò'índu wó't'shèdá:g.
Ove'rìpíkt:t,shë're'sk oò'w'ld nò'us.
Wò'te mëagnífesnt piis'wuv
wéek.
Oó'w'ld prô'vebzs, anwó'i'z më'kësimzs.

:À':lweez òhik, bìfò'ru spìik.
Lìi'st sëd suuí'nest mëndy'd.
Melville Bell.

Fix God, o'nei dhy Kiq, ahnd duu duh'at dhaht iz r'ait.
Maaen pr,opou'zyz, bat God dis-pou'zyz. 
Faast baid, faast f'aid. 
Wéist noht, wahn noht. 
Lív ahnd 'let liv. 

Ah bæd war'kmahn kwor,elz wídh nhíz tuulz. 
Fr, endz in niid az fr, endz nindi'd. 
A'id'll juuth méiks nii'di èidzh. 
Ah bláidh néht méiks ah bluirmí néits. 

Bet'ui ah smaal fish dhahn ahn émhtí dísh. 
Báodz ohv ah fe'dhái flók tuge'dhái. 

Bet'ui bi ahloú'n dhaht in bæd karmphahi. 
What kaaht bi kiúd mast bi endiá'd. 
Bi slóu tu pr,omiis, bat kwik tu perform. 
K'men senhs gun'uz in aal kàrnht,íz. 

Tshir'fahlns ahnd gudnéi'tiúhí aí dhy arnahmenents ohv vórtiá. 

Konsii'-liq faalhts iz bat a'diáq tu dhém. 
Kohmaa'nd juise'if if ju wud kohmaa'nd a'dhúiz. 

Poiísivi'r,ahhns koh'qhkeuz aal di'siklahltíz. 
Dái'yt kiúiz moí dhahn do'któhríq. 

Diróiy' sukses'ís if ju wud kohmaa'nd it. 
Det iz dhy waist kaind ohv po'ventí. 

Duu what ju aat, kam what méi. 
Waadz aí liivz, diidz aí fr,uuat. 
Duu dhahrístís, lev maorsí, pr,sem'úts nhimi'lití. 
Dogz dhaht bair múost báit liist. 
Ir'il kohmiúnikik'íshenz koht,ará pt gud màe'nuz. 

:Emhtí ve'selz méik dhy gréstest sáund.

Alex. J. Ellis.

Fix' God, onudheki'q, unduo'dhär'thtútiz rо'it. 
Maaen prupoo'zyz, b'tGod di'spooy'zyz. 
Faast 'bo'índ', faast 'fi'índ'. 
Wée'stron, wón'tnot. 
Lív, un'e'it liv. 

Ymye'dwóo:kmen kwor,elz wídh èis'tuzu'lz. 

Frenzinni'd a'frenzindii'd. 
Gí:dl'juur'th meksnni:di,eed zh'sh. 

Bisloó'w upró'mis, b'tkwí'k tepeaam. 
Kömense'ss groó'woón aál'kéntréz. 

T'shiú'félines wng'wndnet'sh, vhá'na'mnynts uv váé't,shu (váé'tiú'). 
Konsii'-liq faalhts 'iz'bít a'diáqté'dhrum. 
Kumaa'nd ju'se'lf, ifsuwú'd (ifóod) kumaa'nd o'dheus. 
Peèsivíi'í'rens koqkeuz 'aal dr'éfíkélitíz. 
'Dó'sít kíuinz moo'dhén do'kteríq. 

Diróoy' sokse's ifsuwudkumaa'ndit. 

De'tizh'dh' wée's't' koi'índev po'ventí. 
Duu'whotju 'aats, (duu'wot,shu 'aats) kam whotmee'j. 
'Wóo'dzse liivzs, 'diid'ídzse fruut. 
Duu dzho'ysts, lev maa'tís, prek'íts jhú'mi'lití (jumí'ilití). 
Dogz dhutbaa'k'moost, bo'ít liist. 
Ir'il kemiúnike'shee'sh'ínz kero'pt gud màe'nuuz. 

E'mtí ve'selz mée'kdhu gree'tyest so'ánd.
MELVILLE BELL.

Egzaamhpil tip’tshyz mov dhahn pru’t sept.
End’k’vay fo’hi dhy best, ahnd pr’ovair’d agharnst dhy wayst.
:E’v’re’bohdiz bi’znes iz nou’-bohdiz bi’znes.
Dhy br’ai test lait kaasts dhy dar’kest shae’do.
Dhy fi’x ohv God iz dhy bigi’n-iq ohv wi’zdem.
:Ala or’thli tr’re’zhuliz az vein ahnd flii-tiq.
Gud wadz kost nor’tiq bat az wath marsh.
Hiih dhaat giv’eth tu dhy pu’x len’deth tu dhy Lord.
Hiih da’blizz niihz givt nhu givz ’n taim.
Hiih nhu s’ouz br’e’mblizz mast not gou’ ber’fat.
Hthuiup leq difoard me’keth dhy uhart sik.
Hiih nhu wanhts kohnter’nhkt kae’noht fai’d ahn ii’zi tshet.
Hiih dhaat nouz nh’imse’lf’ best, isti’r’mn nh’imse’lf’ li’ist.
:Th’u’op iz gr’oi’ls best miuur’zik.
If wi’u noht sebd’i’u’ auz pa’rshenz dhai wil sebd’i’u’’as.
In ruuth ahnd str,eqthth thigkh ohv ’idzdh ahnd wui’knes.
It iz ne’ver tun leit tu mend.
If ju wish ah thiq dan, ’gou;
if not, send.
Dzho’k’u’lur sl’a’nderz of’mn pruv si’ril, ’s’indzhuhr,iz.
Kip noht na’kav’yt what iz noht jur’ sun.
Lai’i’q iz dhy vaiz ohv ah sl’eiv.
Laen tu liv az ju wud wish tu dai.
Me’d’rl noht w’idh dhaet wh’tsh kohnscone’ju not.
Mek noht ah dzhest aht ahn’-aderz infor’matiz.
Matsh iz ekspe’ckted whet matsh iz giv’vnn.
Me’ni ah tr’un waid iz spou’kyn in dzhest.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

Egzaam’pl tiit’shez moo’dhun prii’sept.
End’k’vay fedhebe’st, en pru’vai’d ege’nust’ dhuwoos’t.
E’v’rybodiz bi’znyz iz noo’badiz bi’znyz.
Dhebro’t’yst lo’ot kaa’stdhe da’k’est’ shae’d.
Hhi’i’revGo’d izdhibigini’quy wi’zdom.
:Ala a’othli tre’zhuls vween un’filii-tiq.
Gud woe’dz kaast no’thiq betwu’oth mot,sh.
Hii’dheth giv’ith tudhepuuv’.
le’n’deth tudaLAA’ad.
.’Hii do’bl’lzs nizgi’ft hugi’vz int’o’im.
Hii’nu sooz br’emblz zoo’seent goo’ew bee’-fut’.
Hoo’p-loqdi so’d meek’athdhe maat sik’.
Hii’nu won’ts kunte’nt, kae’nt-
fo’i’nd miizi’t shee’.
Hii’dheth noo’uwz nismelf’ best’, estli’mzsz nismelf’ li’sist’.
Hoo’piiz griifs best’ miuu’zik’.
Ifwduuuu not sebd’i’u’ au’pa’re’- shenzns ’dheej’ wilsobd’i’u’ es.
Inu’mth unstre’qoth thi’qkev ee’jd, zh unwii’knys.
Hizne’yu’ tuu leez’t teme’nd.
Ifuwri’sh uthi’q don, ’goo’w;
ifnot’, send.
Dzho’k’i’lur sl’a’nderz of’mn pruv si’ril, ’s’indzhuhr,iz.
Kip noht na’kav’yt what iz noht jur’ sun.
Lai’i’q iz dhy vaiz ohv ah sl’eiv.
Laen tu liv az ju wud wish tu dai.
Me’d’rl noht w’idh dhaet wh’tsh kohnsconr’ju not.
Mek noht ah dzhest aht ahn’-aderz infor’matiz.
Matsh iz ekspe’ckted whet matsh iz giv’vnn.
Me’ni ah tr’un waid iz spou’kyn in dzhest.
Melville Bell.

Misfoki-ti6nz ai dhy di'siplin ohy nhi'umae'ni'ti.

Ná'thóq ou'verka'mz pæ'shen mor dhahn sá'lenhs.

Nise'síti iz dhy mar'dher, ohy in'ven'hshen.

Alex. J. Ellis.

Mísfaa't'shunzs (misfaa'tiúunzs) a':dhrá'siplin Lovenhumae'niti (L ovenma'ni'ti).

Nó'thúq oov'vek'mzs pæ'shen mo'o'dhun so'yl'yns.

Nise'síti izdhemö'dhur vvinve'n'shen.

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 nhahd ahnd), which, under the emphasis, he would write (e'i nheed a3nd). 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 (ái áu i) as before, and his untrilled (r) is thus marked.


Melville Bell.

11. Ah sør'tyn mën nhahd tuu sanz:
12. ahnd dhy rq'ger, ohy dhem sed tu nhiz faa'dhur: Faar'dhur, gív mi dhy por'shen ohy gudz dhaht faa'leth tu mi. Ænd nhì ñví'ided an'tu dhem nhiz lív'iq.
13. Ænd not me'nì déiz aah'f-tur, dhy rq'ger son gæ'dhead aal tuge'dhur, ahnd tek nhiz dzhair'mi'n'ntu ah far ka'n'nhtr,i, ahnd dher wé'sted nhiz sá'b-stahnhs wiñh räí'átès lív'iq.
14. Ænd, when nhì nhahd spenht 'a'al, dher, ahróuz ah mài'ti fa'mín in dhaet lænd; ahnd nhì bigæ'n tu bi in wanht.

Alex. J. Ellis.

11. Ê-seë'tyn mën hëd'tuu sonz:
12. Æn-dhur-joq'qer-uv dhym sed tu-iz-faa'dhu, Faar'dhu, gív-mi-dhur poo'shun-uv'-gudz dhaa'leth tu-mi'. Ænd ni-dív'o'ided o'ntu-dhem nhiz-lív'iq.
13. Ænd-no't me'nì deez aar'te, dhur-joq'gu son gæ'dhad aal tuge'dhur, vn-tek'iz dzhæ'ni intu-a-faa' ka'n'trì, vn-dhee' weë'sted-iz sëbstens wïdh-ró'v'atès lív'iq.
14. Æn-wen'n ni-ud-spe'nt 'a'al, dher-erovz u-mo'i'ti fae'min in-dhae't lænd, vn-ni-bigæ'n tu-bi-in-wo'nt.
MELVILLE BELL.

15. Ahnd khi wenht ahnd dzho'înd nhímse'lf tu ah sî'tîzen
ôhv dhet kahnh'trj, ahnd khi senht nhîm 'înhtu nhîz fiîldz tu
fiid swáin.

16. Ahnd 'nhîu wud fëin nhây vîld nhîz be'îl'î widh dhy
nhакс dhaht dhy swáin dîd iit: ahnd nú mèn gév anhtu
nhîm.

17. 'End, when khi kêim tu
nhîmse'lf, khi sèd, Hhâu me'nî
nhálád sóarlânhnts ohv mi
fâa'dhurz nhév brîd inâf; ahnd
tu spe, ahnd âi pèrîsh widh
nhâr'qgû.

18. Aî wil ahr;'îz ahnd gôu
tu mi fâa'dhur, ând wîl sèi
'înhu'hûm, Faâ'dhur, âi nhây
sûnd âhge'n'hst nhêu'n, ând
bîfor dhiì,

19. ahnd âm núo moa'wârd'hî
tu bî kâld dhai sôn: mêk mi
ahz wôv ohv dhai nhálád
sóarlânhnts.

20. 'End khi ahr;'ou'z, ahnd
ekêim tu nhîz fâa'dhur. Bat,
when khi waz jêt ah gr.'êit wêî
of, nhîz fâa'dhur saa nhîm, ahnd
nhêd kohmpâ'kshen, ahnd r.'en, ahnd
fel ôhn nhîz nek, ahnd
'kîst nhîm.

21. Ahnd dhy su'n sèd 'â'nhtu
nhîm, Faâ'dhur, âi nhây sûnd,
âhge'n'hst nhêu'n, ând 'înhu'hûm, ând wîl sèi 
'sât, ahnd âm núo moa'wârd'dhi
tu bî kâld dhai sôn.

22. Bat dhy fâa'dhur sèd tu
nhîz sóarlânhnts, Briq favt dhy
best rôub, ahnd put òî nhîm;
ând put ah r.'êq ôhn nhîz nhând,
ahnd shuuz Ôhn nhîz fîît.

23. Ahnd briq nhî'dhîr dhy
fek'ted kâaf, ahnd krî òî, ahnd
iek as iit ahnd bi mèrî.

24. Fôr dhiis mài sôn woz dëd,
ahnd iz âhläi'-v âhge'n; nhî woz
lost, ahnd iz fâund. Ahnd dhe
bigâe n tu bî mèrî.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

15. Ôn-i-wënt en-dzho'înd
nhîmse'lf tu v-sî'tîzen uv-dhât
kô'ntër, un'i-se'nt-im èntu-iz-
fiîldz tu-fiîld swô'în.

16. Ôn-i-wud-leen uv-fiîld iz-
be'îl'î widh-dhû-nô'sks dhet-dhu-
swô'în dîd-iî't'un-noo'-mèn gèev-
èntu-nîm.

17. Ôn-when-i-keë'mtu-imself,
pi'sèd, Hôume'nîho'î'd soëvnents
uv-mî-fâa'dhuzuv uv-bre'd'-nôf un-
tu-spe', un-s't pe'rîsh widh-
ñoa'gû.

18. fîv'-wil vës'îz un-goo' tu-
mit-fâa'dhur, un-wîl-see'j' èntu-
nî'm, Faâ'dhur, sî'-uv-sînd
uëg'npast ne'v'n un-bïfoo'-dhiì;

19. un-em-noo' moo' wëerd'hî
tu bî kâld dho'-sên: mèek mi
uz-wëo-uv-dho'î no'î'd soëvnants.

20. Ôn-i-wrooz un-keë'm tu-
îz-fâa'dhur. Bat-when-i-woz-jët
v-gree'j'-t wëe oof, niz-fâa'dhur
saa-nîm, un-nâd' kumpâ'kshen,
un-nôn, un-s'el on-iz-ñek, un-
ki'st hûm.

21. Ôn-dhe-sôn sëd èntu-nî'm,
Faâ'dhur, sî'-uv-sînd uën'g'est
ne'v'n, un-in-dho'î so'î', un-em-
noo' moo' wëerd'hî tu-bi-kâå'd
dho'-sên.

22. Bat-dhe-fâa'dhur sëd tu-iz-
soëvnents, Briq foot'h dhu-be'st
roob, un-pët-òî-nîm, un-pët
v-rîq on-iz-nâ'nd, un-shuuz on-
iz-fîit.

23. Ôn-briq mi'dhîr dhu-faë't-
ed kaaf, un-krî'-ì, un-let-tas iît
un-bî-mèrî.

24. Fa-dhî's môv'-sên wuz-
dëd, un-iz-ôs'îv uge'n, nii-wuz-
lôò'st, un-iz-fô'end. Ôn-dhe-
bigâe n tu-bî-me ri.
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 xvii th and xix th centuries.

CHAP. XI. § 1.

MELVILLE BELL.

25. Náu nhíz e'ldw sañ wz in dhy fiild, ahnd, æz ñhi kéim ahnd dr,uu nái tu dhy nhúa, nhí nhød miuu'zik ahnd dæ'nhsiq.

26. Ænd ñhi kaal'd wam dhv dhy sær'vahnhts, ahnd aaskt whot dhiiiz mënht.

27. Ahnd ñhi ñed y'nhtu nhím, Dhái brgardhur, iz kam; ahnd dhái faad'her nhahz kïld dhy fë'ted kaaf, bikaa'z ñhi saalth rjisi'v'd nhím sëf ahnd sàund.


29. Ahnd ñhíi, aamhnsurq, ñed tu nhíz faa'dher, Lou, dhiiiz ma'ni jìuiz du ñí sàor dihi, níi'dher trailhnsgr, 'ëst íá aht'ëni táim dhái kohma'ndmenht : ahnd jët dhóu ne'nua gé'vest mii ah 'kïl, dhàht ái mâit mèk mèt,i' widh mì fr'endz:

30. bat ahz suun ahz dhís dhái sàn woz kam, whîsh nhahth divaúrd dhái l'vîq widh hær'lets, dhâu nhârst kîld fohí nhím dhy ñë'ted 'kaaf.

31. Ahnd ñhíi ñed y'nhtu nhím San, dhâu ñt e'vui widh mì, ahnd ñaal dhâht ái nhây iz dhâin.

32. It woz miit dhâht wi shad mèïk mèt,i, ahnd be glad : foñi dhiis dhái br'åd'her woz ded, ahnd iz ahlâi've abgê'n, ñend woz lost ahnd iz fàund.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

25. No'ú-iz e'lds sañ wz-in dhv-fiíl'd, ñend vz-ı-keo'm un druu n'ai tu-dhuv-hàw's, ñí-hëø'd miuu'zik un-dàa'nsiq.

26. Qn'i-kää'ld wà'n-uv-dhuv sëo'vents, un-aasa'kt what dhiiiz thîqz mënt.

27. Qn-i-se'd on-tu-him, Dhë'i brö'dher iz-ko'm, un-dho'i-faa'dher uz-kîld dhu-fë'ted kaaf, bikaa'z-i mët nhis ñïsi'i'v'd nîm sëf sëf un-së'wënd.


29. Qn-üii, aam'suriq, ñed tu-iz-faa'dhu, Loo'w, dhiiiz-mëni ni'iz du'-i-sëo'v-dhi, nà'i'dhu transgres'st ai ut-e'ni t'ë'im dho'i-këma'a'ndmynt ; un-jët dho'ù ne'vë geë'vyst 'mii v'-kid, dhát ñi-më't-mëk-mëri' widh-mi-fre'ndz:

30. bat vz-suun-uz'his dho'i-seo'n wz-kêm, whîsh-eth-divo'ù'd dho'i-l'vîq widh-màa'lets, dho'ù-est kîld fà'ëim dhuv-fë'ted 'kaaf.

31. Qn-ë-se'd-on tu-nim', Sën, dho'ù'-t e'vuv-wîdhi-mí, un-ñàl dhet-o'i-nëv-iz-dho'ë'i'n.


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 xvii th and xix th centuries.

75
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: נְהַלְתָּא | The | HOLY | BIBLE, | Conteyning the Old Tefta-ment, and the New: | ¶ Nevely translatted out of | the Originall Tongues: and with | the former Translations diligently | compared and revised, by his | Maiefties Speciall Com-| mandement. | ¶ Appoointed to be read in Churches. | ¶ IMPRINTED | at London by | Robert | Barker, Printer to the | Kings most Excellent | Maieftie. | Anno Dom. 1611. | Om Privilgio. Large folio, for placing on reading desks in churches. Text in black letter; Chapter headings in Roman type. Supplied words (now usually put in Italics) not distinguished. Pressmark at British Museum (on 11th October, 1873, the date is mentioned, as alterations occasionally occur in these press-marks) 1276, I, 4

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, wo, dh, zh, with which a reader is not familiar, and of these dh, zh, have long been used by writers on pronunciation. The first, wo, has been employed for short oo in wood, ou in would, o in woman, and u in put, as suggesting all the four forms, oo, ou, o, u, by a combination, wo, which had no other associations in English. The glossic combinations are, then, the Italic letters in:

beet aunt baa cauld coal cool
knot nought not nut twot (for foot)
height foil foul feud — yea stay why — hay
pea bee, toe doo, chest jest, keep grace —
fie vie, thin dhviv (for then), seal seal, rush rouse (for rouge), —
ring lay, may may sing —
peer pair soar poor, peering pairing soaring mooring —
deter 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, ao, oo, it forms the diphthongs in peer pair soar poor, and hence must be read together, and not the two last; thus soaa = soo-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 glosse, and it ought really to replace untrilled r in ordinary glosse 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 usq (') 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 when it is important to mark the length,—as, in dialects, to distinguish the short sound of aa in kaat' haad' = (kat haad) and not (kaat haad), which would be written kaat' haar'd, and are really the sounds heard when kartz hard' are written with the untrilled r; of course not the sounds of karr't, har'd, which = (kaert, mard).

In received English the marking of quantity is not of much consequence, accent ed ee, ai, aa, ou, oo, being received as long, and i, e, a, o, u, as short; and hence the omission of the accent mark is possible. Similarly, when el, em, en, are not obscured, write el', em', en'.

Emphatic monosyllables have (') preceding, as 'dhat dat 'dat man sed, 'toe 'too wun, ei 'ei eu. The obscure emphatic form has not been given, except in a, dhi 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 as man and ai dog, dhee woom-an sau dhee, = (ee men and ee dog, dhee wu'man sau dhee, instead of (man 'wee'g, dhewom'en sau dhi). 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 the etymological spelling. In such words, the question is not as to the orthography, but as to the pronunciation.

Words borrowed from living tongues into English in their native dress, and continue to wear it until they are naturalized.

In many English words, in which the spelling differs from the pronunciation, the preliminary question arises, which should be altered,—the spelling or the pronunciation? In the following specimen this question is raised rather than determined. The italics suggest it in certain words. Ought not the correct, which is still the provincial pronunciation to be restored to such words as one, two, answer, son? Az to the last, compare the English with the German:

- dhe son der sohn
- dhe son die sonne.

With respect to aa, many persons say ans’er, dancing, last, insted ov aans’er, daancing, laast; while the provincial pronunciation ov faudder is faither.

Dhe digraph dh is used for the flat sound ov th, az in then; for az th iz to t, so iz dh to d; e.g. tin, thin; den, dhem. A new letter iz needed for dhe sound ov ng in long; and dhe want ov it necessitates dhe clumsy-looking combination nng for dhe sound herd in longer. Dhe smal 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 monosyllable shall not end with a double (or double) consonant, iz made universal. Hence, fel, nek, insted ov fell, neck. Dhe letter v is delt with like eny udher consonant; so dhat it iz dubblede where eny udher consonant wuld be dubbled, and iz allowed to end a word, without being followed by a servile or silent e; az have, havving; ite, livving. Dhe rules which ar followed in vowel-spelling will be obvious on inspection: thus, 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 monosyllable; and dhat in an accented syllable, where dhe vowel iz short, dhe following consonant iz dubbled, but not where it iz long. An aspirate digraph serves dhe same purpose az a dubbled consonant in this respect. Where, however, in dhe present spelling, dhe servile e iz used to denote a long vowel, dhat practice iz not altered; az, arie, arose.

Dhe flat consonants ar generally indicated, not only in dh for th (gudher for gather), but in v for f (ov for of), and in s for z (az for as; iz for is); but no variation iz made in inflexions, so dhat s remains unaltered in words like has, his, years.

Dhe digraph gh is retained, when it iz not preceded by u, az in might; but when it iz preceded by u with dhe sound ov f, gh iz omitted, and dhe present pronunciation iz expressed, az in emif. Generally, etymological silent consonants ar retained when dheir silence can be determined by “rules or 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 = ëût.

**The Alphabet.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, å, ai, al, au, b, c, ch,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat, alms, maid, laid, bed, cat, chip,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, e, ee, f, g, h, i, i ã,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog, meet, fan, go, hay, pin, pies,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jet, lad, mat, nut, sing, not, foes, oil,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo, ou, p, r, s, sh, t,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food, out, run, sit, ship, ten,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th, th, u, ne, u, v,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then, thin, tun, hues, bull, van,</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w, y, z, zh,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ward, yard, zeal, vision.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.*—At the end of words *y* un-accented = ë, and accented = ie. Also at the end of words *ou* = oun and *au* = aun. 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.
1178 ENGLISH SPELLING, PAST AND POSSIBLE.  Chap. XI. § 1.


BARKER's BIBLE, 1611.

11. A certaine man had two fonnes:

12. And the yonger of them faid to his father, Father, giue me the portion of goods that faileth to me. And he diuided vnto them liuing.

13. And not many dayes after, the yonger fonne gathered all together, and took his journey into a farre countrey, and there waisted his substance with riotous liuing.

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 ioyned 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 huf'kes that the swine did eate: and no man gaue vnto him.

17. And when he came to himselfe, hee faid, How many hired seruants of my fathers haue bread ynough and to spare, and I perishe 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 arose 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 kisshed him.

21. And the sonne faid vnto him, Father, I haue finned against heauen, and in thy fight, and am no more worthy to be called thy sonne.

Glossic Orthography.

11. A serten man had 'too sunz:

12. And dhi yungger ov dhem sed too hiz faadher, Faadher, giv mee dhi pearsen ov guodz dhat fauleth too mee. And hee di'ied unttoo dhem hiz living.

13. And not meni daiz aifter, dhi yungger sun gatherd aul toogedher, and tuok hiz jurni into a far kuntr, and dhair waisted hiz substanswidh reiutus living.

14. And when hee had spent aul, dhaire araoz a meiti famin in 'dhat land, and hie bigan' too bee in wont.

15. And hee went and joint himself too a sitizen ov 'dhat kuntr, 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 gaiv unttoo him.

17. And when hee kaim too himself, hee sed, Hou meni heird servents ov mei faadherz hav bred enu'f and too spair, and ei perish widh hungger!

18. Ei wil arer'z, and goa too mei faadher, and wil sai unttoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind agen' st hevn and bifoar' dhee,

19. And am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun: maik mee az wun ov dhei heird servents.

20. And hee araoz and kaim too hiz faadher. But when hee woz yet a grait wai of, hiz faadher sau him, and had kompa'shun, and ran, and fel on hiz nek, and kist him.

21. And dhi sun sed unttoo him, Faadher, ei hav sind age'nst hevn, and in dhei seir, and am noa moar werdhi too bee kauld dhei sun.

DANBY P. FRY.

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 the good that faileth to me. And he divided unto him his living.
13. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted 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 certain 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 have my father's good 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 two sons:
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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 sun said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.
Barker's Bible, 1611.

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 shoes on his feet.

23. And bring hither the fatted calfe, and kill it, and let vs eate and be merry.

24. For this my sonne was dead, and is alime againe; he was lost, & is found. And they began to be merry.

25. Now his elder sonne was in the field, and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard musique & dauncing,

26. And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

27. And he said vnto him, Thy brother is come, and thy father hath killed the fatted calfe, because 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 answering said to his father, Loe, these many yeeres doe I serue thee, neither transgressed I at any thy commandement, and yet thou never ganeft me a kidde, that I might make merry with my friends:

30. But as soone as this thy sonne was come, which hath devoured thy living with har-lots, thou haft killed for him the fatted calfe.

31. And he said vnto him, Sonne, thou art euere with mee, and all that I haue is thine.

32. It was meete that wee should make merry, and bee glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is alime againe; and was loff, and is found.

Glossic Orthography.

22. But dhi faadher sed too hiz servants, Bring foarth dhi best roab, and puot it on him, and puot a ring on hiz hand, and shooz on hiz feet.

23. And bring hidher dhi fated kaaf, and kil it, and let us et and bee meri.

24. For dhis mei sun woz ded, and iz alei'v agen'; hee woz lost, and iz found. And dhai bigan' too bee meri.

25. Now his elder sun woz in dhi ffeald, and az hee kaim and droo nei too dhi hous, hee herd meuzik and daansing.

26. And hee kauld wun ov dhi servents and aaskt whot dheez thingz ment.

27. And hee sed untoo him, Dhei brudher iz kem, and dhei faadher haz kild dhi fated kaaf, bikaue'z hee haz rise'vd him saif and sound.

28. And hee woz anggri, and wuod not goa in: dhair'foar kaim hiz faadher out, and entreeted him.

29. And hee aanswering sed too hiz faadher, Loa dheez meni yeerz doo ei serv dhec, neidher transgre'st ei at eni teim dhei komaa'ndment; and yet dheu never gaivest mee a kid, dhat ei meit maik meri widh mei frendz:

30. But az soon az dhis dhei sun woz kem, which haz divour'd dhei living widh haar-luts, dhou haz kild for dhei fated kaaf.

31. And hee sed untoo him, Sun, dhou art ever widh mee, and aul dheat ei hav iz dhein.

32. It woz meetdhat wee shuod maik meri and bee glad, for dhis dhei brudher woz ded, and iz alei'v agen'; and woz lost, and iz found.
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 shoes on his feet:

And bring hidther the fatted caf, and kil it: and let us eat and be merry:

For this my son woz ded, and iz alive again; he waz lost, and iz found. And dhey began to be merry.

Now hiz elder sun woz in the feeld; and az he came and drew nigh to dhe hous, he herd music and dansing.

And he cauled one ov dhe servants, and asakt what dheze things ment.

And he said unto him, Dhy brudher iz cum; and dhy faadher hath killed dhe fatted caalf, because he hath receeved him safe and sound.

And he waz angrey, and wuld not go in: dhefore came his faadher out, and entreated him.

And he answeering said to his faadher, Lo, dheze menny years doo I serv dhee, neidher transgressed I at eny time dhy commandment: and yet dhow nevver gavest me a kid, dhat I might make merry widh my frends:

But az soon az dis this thy son waz cum, which hath devoured dhy livving wid harlots, dhow hast killed for him dhe fatted caalf.

And he said unto him, Son, dhow art evver widh me, and aul dhat I hav iz dhine.

It waz meet dhat we shuld make merry, and be glad: for dis this thy brudher waz ded, and iz alive again; and waz lost, and iz 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.\(^1\) It was in this Journal that I commenced my phonetic studies,\(^2\) and for one year, 1848, I conducted it myself,

\(^1\) See supra 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 incunabula.

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 phonetically).
Remarks on the New English Phonotypic Alphabet, pp. 4-12.
On Phonetic Spelling, pp. 124-128.
Practical Form of Phonotypy, pp. 171-174.
Fur, 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.

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 proceed 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.**

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**Key Words**

1. en
2. spell
3. past
4. possible
Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke xv. 11–32.

ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

11 And he said, A certain man had tenoons:
12 And the younger of them all went out to dwell in a far country; and the elder went in and dwelt in a far country.
13 And there was a certain man, who had two sons. And the younger man said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that shall fall to me; for I have no son. And he divided unto them both his living.
14 And when he had spent all, there was a great dearth in that country; and he began to be in want.
15 And he went and joined himself to a certain citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.
16 And he went and fell into a pit; and he cried, Father, have mercy on me, and help me.
17 And his father said to him, Son, what hast thou done to warrant this great calamity upon thee? And he said, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee;
18 And am no more worthy to be called thy son; but make me as one of thy hired servants.
19 And he arose, and went to his father. And when he had seen him, he had compassion on him, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.
20 And the father said to his servants, Bring out the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and a chain on his neck.
21 And the servants answered him, Master, what shall we do? for this man has transgressed against heaven and before thee.
22 And he said, Put on the best robe, and put a chain on him; and let us eat and drink.
23 And he was rejoicing within himself, saying, This my son was dead, and is come to life again; and was lost, and is found.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

11 And he said, A certain man had tenoons:
12 And the younger of them all went out to dwell in a far country; and the elder went in and dwelt in a far country.
13 And there was a certain man, who had two sons. And the younger man said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that shall fall to me; for I have no son. And he divided unto them both his living.
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ALEX. J. ELLIS, 1849.

tu de hous, hi herd muzic and dansiq.

25 And he cold wun ov de servants, and qset hwot dez tiz ment.
27 And he sed untu him, di bruder iz cum; and di fader hat cild ef fated caf, becoz he hat re-sëvd him saf and ssnd.
28 And he woz angrí, and wud not ge in: darfor cam hiz fader st, and intreted him.
29 And he quseriq sed tu hiz fader, Lo, dez meni yerz du i serv de, neder transgrest i at eni tjin di komandment: and yet ds not gavest me a cid, dat i mit mac meri wid mj frendz:
30 But az sun az di sun woz cum, hwiq hat dev'srd 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 jud mac meri, and be glad: for dis di bruder woz ded, and iz alv agen; and woz lost, and iz fsnd.

ISAAC PITMAN, 1873.

tu de hous, hi herd muzik and dansiq.

26 And hi kold wsn ov de servants, and askt whot diz dįŋz ment.
27 And hi sed snu him, di brsdr iz ksm, and di fader haf kild de fated kaf, bekoz hi haf re-svíd him sef and sound.
28 And hi woz anqri, and wud not go in: derfer kem hiz fader out, and intrited him.
29 And hi ansneriq sed tu hiz fader, Lo, diz meni yriz du i serv di, nįďer transgrest i at eni tįm di komandment: and yet dou never gevest mi a kid, dat i mit mek meri wid mj frendz:
30 But az sun az di ssn woz ksm, whiç haf devourd di livin wid harlots, dou hast kild for him de fated kaf.
31 And hi sed snu him, Ssn, dou art ever wid mi, and ol dat i hav iz djn.
32 It woz mit dat wi jud mek meri, and hi glad: for dis di brsder woz ded, and iz alv 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 shown 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 mechanisms en den aard der spraakklinken 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 Spraakklinken, 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 phonotypp 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 (suprâ 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 notwendigsten 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 (ə, ɔ, ɪ),1 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, expedite, 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, instnzs, genrl, tempnrs, dieshny,2 being too condensed—too Attic, for

dass 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 complicirt-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 blossen Erinnerungszeichen, durch das Wort, die Sylbe bis zum—Buchstaben, was für eine immer mehr in's Feine gehende Analyse! Der Thauth der neueren Zeit, der Tschirokee Sih-qua-ja oder mit englischem Namen George Guess wird uns am besten sagen können, was ein Alphabet erfinden und einer Sprache anpassen heisst."

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-kwah-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 (ə, ɔ, ɪ) I rather say (ʊ).

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 Clânricârd within two weeks, and whilst we know that our two friends 'Mackay' are respectively (Mækœ') and (Mękœi'), we do not know the name of the poet Charles Mackay, though we have heard him named (Mæ'ki'). 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, Mayor, Latham, Youatt, Lowth, Houghton (Hoton, which we classed with Hough or Hu'f), '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 understand us, or would laugh at our pronunciation—so we neither saw the building nor learnt its name (p. 123, 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 pronunciation, 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, up, eel, were once given to us by three lettered Cherokees as occurring in the second syllable (of four) of their word for eigh'. 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 ('galhh'gwoo'gi') in three syllables, and having Welch U. Similarly, if one orthoepist would model seven on the Gothic sibun, another on the Anglish² syfon, and a third on the old English seven, or Belgian (see'ven) with (e) of end, we would still prefer saying sevn≡(seven) with the English” (p. 124).

1 I am told it is called (fan'1 haa1). With regard to the preceding names, as Mackay is certainly pronounced (Mækœ'; Mękœ'it, Mękœi'), as well as in the three ways mentioned, I cannot assign the poet's name, but I have also heard it called (Mæ'ki'). Clânricârd, I generally hear called (Klæn:nri:kəd); of course, an Anglicism. (Tirit, Neep:jii) or (Nee:pier), not (Neepilir'), as it is very commonly mispronounced, (Her-ifad, Bo'nu'riq, Ho'wik, Mu'it, Meevu, Leeth'wm), so called by Dr. Latham, but his family call themselves (Lee'dhsm), (Yo'nu't, Lo'udh, Ha'utn, Yo'o'rn Lii), are, so far as I know, the sounds of these names. Lord Houghton's family name Milnes is called (Miz).

2 Ages. 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

1. a arm (a)  
2. u up (u)  
3. x add (a)  
4. e there (e)  
5. e ebb (e)  
6. e they (e)  
7. o buffet (u)  
8. i pity (i)  
9. i field (i)  
10. A aisle (a)  
11. A awe (a)  
12. o odd (o)  
13. o owe (o)  
14. u pool (u)  
15. u pull (u)

### Consonants

1. v now  
2. v way (w)  
3. v whey (wh)  
4. m (m)  
5. m' km (mh)  
6. b (b)  
7. l vein (v)  
8. p (p)  
9. f (f)  
10. r (r)  
16. r (r)  
17. r (r)  
18. r (r)  
21. y (y)  
22. y (y)  
25. j (j)  
26. j (j)  
27. f (f)  
28. f (f)  
29. o (g)  
30. c (k)  

### Laryngals

31. h hay (hh)?

It is always extremely difficult to identify phonetic symbols belonging to different systems, on account of individualities of pronunciation. Even when vivâ 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 (a).

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 (e) in wörm, wörd, wurn. The effect of wörth is that of a short syllable, each element being short, (the r close;) whilst wurn is long on account of the open and longer r. The vowel up is nasal in the French un; but M. Pantèleson (in Comstock's Phon. Mag.) makes this a nasal eu in jeu, and Lepsius refers it to German ò. In the writer's French pronunciation, up is placed in mè, quê, quèrelle, etc., according to the view of most French grammarians." (Arts. 374-5.) It is impossible to say from this whether the 2v. is (o, a, ò, ò, o, sh), and it may be one at one time and one at another. The open and close 2v. apparently point to (ò, ò), and the dialectic German is (o) or (w). Hence I have queried my palaeotypic transcription (a), 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 ëbh, 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 strictly long and short in Welsh, as in bach a hook, bâch 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 â, as in pass, etc.—the observation must be accepted with caution: pán, pamic, bând, fân, fâney, mão tân, cánn n., cân v., brân rân, A'n an A'rna, Sâm sâmple, dâm hâm, drâm râm, lãm bâmp, bâd pâd, gled lâd, bâg tâg bég, cîg wâg kîg, drâg drógon, mîtâd adj., mûtâd n., mà'tâm mâmmon, bâû bûder, gûs gûz gâsh ás, lâss lâsh, bräd brêd, dûd Dëdham, bêd spîd. It occurs in provincial German, as in bahr (with the vowels of börer) for bery boro, a hill. A native of Gerstungen = Gërstüron, in Saxe Weimer, pronounced the first syllable of this name with x in arrow. Compare thatch deck, catch ketch, have hov, scalp scelp; German and English felt fat, krebs crab, fest fast adj., Gr. πρόχει I run, track. It has a long and open German provincial (Suabian) form, being used for long open â (ê), as in bahr for bær a bear. This bears the same relation to add that French ê 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 Sams. The pun on psalms is not felt by an Englishman, the lengthening of Sâm explains it completely.

4v. in there. “The vowel of ebb, with a more open aperture, is long and accented in the Italian mèdico tempésta cîló, and short in the verb é è, ãb-ãcê-to. It is the French ê in même, tête, fenêtre, mâtro, haie, Aix, air, vaisseau. The same sound seems to occur shorter in trumpette, which is not the vowel of petty. . . . It is the German â long in mährê mare, mähr-chen, fehlen, kehle, währe, but wehre has E long. The theoretic short sound falls into 5v., as in ställe stalls, commonly pronounced like stelle station.” (Arts. 388–9.) There seems no doubt that this is (ê), but it is singular that Prof. Haldeman has (ê), and Mr. Bell (e) in there ebb, and I pronounce (ê) 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 ‘Nuevo 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 Castil- lion, and hence he excluded all these, and took the Spanish e, which is I believe always (ê), to be (e). 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 (ê), and not (e). “The vowel 5v.-occurs in Italian tempo térra Mèrcurîo.” (Art. 386.) Valentini makes the e aperto = (ê) in tempo terra, and, of course, it is chiuso = (e) in the unaccented first syllable of Mercurio. “In the German réchunng a reckoning, pelz pelt fur, schmelzten to smelt, réctor rector. (ibid.) Frenchmen state that 5v. occurs in elle, quel, règle.” (Art. 387.) In none of these can (ê, e) be safely sepa- rated. I believe Prof. Haldeman means 4v. to be (ez), and 5v. to be (e), the former always long, the latter always short. I always used to confuse the open French and Italian (ê) with my (e), and I may have consequently mis- led many others. But the only acknowl- edged distinctions in language seem to be close e, open ê, the first (ê, e), the second (ê, e), while (e) really hovers between the two, and hence where only one e is acknowledged, (e) is the safer
sound to use, as (e, e') would then be heard as bad (i), and (e, e) 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 soo, rëh roe, jë, plante, mëer, mëhr (more, but mëhr tidings has 4v.), ëdel, ëhre, jëdëch. The Italian 'e chiuso' has this quality, as in mëlë ottòbre (with 'o chiuso') [Valentini agrees in this], but it is nearly always short. Most authors assign this sound to French ë, called 'e 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 ee in feet. It is intermediate to the two.' Dankovskey says the Hungarian 'ë est mediëus 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 (ee'). The middle Germans use (ee) long, and (e) or (i) short, regularly. The Italian e chiuso sounds to me (e), but may be (e'); it is generally the descendant of Latin I.

The distinction between ëte and ë in Dr. Latham is possibly due to his saying (fee'jë), not (feet), and to the ê being short. Mr. Kovács pronounced Hungarian ë as (ee), and ê as (as) in accented syllables. Olivier probably confused ê with (i), the short English sound which has replaced (e).

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 all. It is used to separate consonants by such an amount of vocalic or may be secured without setting the organs for a particular vowel. It is most readily determined between surds, and it is often con

founded 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, opposes, doses, roses, losses, misses, poorer, horror, Christian, onion, and the suffixes -ment, -ant, -ance, -ent, -ence. 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 horsz, horsz, hersz, or (using a faint smooth r) horsz. . . . With Rapp we assign this vowel to German, as in welches, verlieren, verlässen (or even frälsan)." (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 (1159, ë): 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 pity. "It is the German vowel of kinn chin, hitzig, billig, will, bld; and the initial of the Belgian diphthong teuow (and perhaps in some cases the Welsh uce) . . . . This vowel is commonly confounded with i, but it has a more open jaw aperture, while each may be lengthened or shortened."

(Art. 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 pity thus (p'ti), but others prefer (p'ti), hence the identification refers only to the first vowel.

9v. in field. "The universal I is long in Italian ië (Lat. ioe, I), and short in fellettàrë, with true e. In English it is long in machine, marine, fiend, fee, tea, bee, grieve, cel. It is short in equal, educate, deceit, heat, beet, reef, grief, teeth. German examples are viel, wider again, wider again, wie viel how much, vielleicht perhaps. It is medial in knei knee. French examples are surprise, vive, ile, style, ll, yff, physique, imiter, liquide, visite, politique, which must not be pronounced like the English physic, etc., with the vowel of pit. The following are perhaps medial:—prodie, cidre, ligne, vite, empire." (Art. 399.) This is certainly (i). The short value in accented syllables is noteworthy. In "believe, regret, descent, which cannot differ from dispose," (art. 397), Prof. Haldeman hears 8v. not 9v., that is (i), and not (l).

10v. in âisle, Câiro. "French a in âme, pâté. The former is commonly received as the vowel of arm, the latter of pat." Duponceau (Am. Phil. Trans.,
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1818, vol. i. p. 258), in 1817, made the distinction. He says that French a occurs in the English diphthongs e and ou, 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 e (or e in knight) differs in being pronounced up and at. This is probably the proper vowel for grass, pass, alas (Fr. hêlas)." (Arts. 400, 401.) The vowel is meant for (a) according to Duponceau's description, and that vowel is pronounced in French pate. But the vowel in Fr. patte is either (a) or (ah), and not (a), at present at least. The pronunciations (grass, gras), etc., seem to be much broader than any used by educated Englishmen, but see (1152, d'), Prof. Haldeman uses (a), and not (a) or (e), as he suggests above, for the first element of long r, that is (a), not (a, e), see (108, e).  

11v. in awe. "This sound lies between A and O, and is common in several German dialects. . . . The Germans represent it commonly by Æ, 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 (A)., 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, flaw, law, caw, all, call, thawed, lard, hawk; medial in loss, cross, tossed, frost, long, song, strong, or, for, lord; order, border, war, warrior, corn, adorn, born, warn, horn, morn, storm, form, warm, normal, cork, wan, swan, gaud; God nöd; àwe or orange; fawned fond astonish; thäwed thought Thoth. 

1. long Æwe pæwned wàw  
2. short Æwe àuthor wàter  
3. medial Æwe pond war  
4. medial odd rod God  
5. short òdd pònder bòdy  

(Arts. 405-407.) It is evident that the vowel is either (o, o), or (o'). The indications of length do not seem to be strictly observed in England.  

13v. in õwe, ôöne, õôat. "This well-known sound is long in mōan, lōan, õwe, gō, lōw, foe, coal, cōne, böré, rōar, bōwë, sōul; and short in õver, õoby, õpen, õpinion, õñyx, õnerous, õak, õchre, õrogë, õate, õpium; and medial dawn, fond, bond, pond, exhaust, false, often, soften, gorge, George; and short in squish, wàsh (cf. rush, push), àuthor (cf. õath, pìth), wàtch, wàter, slaughter, quarter, quarter, wàrt, short, mòtar, hòrse (cf. curse), remòrse, fòrmer, õften, nòrth, mòth, fàult, fàter, pàltry." (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, bo).  

11v. in pond, rod. "This 12v. differs in odd.  12v. from the preceding 11v. in being formed with less aperture." (Art. 405.) It is observable that according to Mr. Bell (s) 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 (a), or even with the tongue raised, (o'). "It is short in nöt, nöd, hōd, wàht, sqâttër (cf. the open wàter), mörrow, bòrrów, sörrow, hòrror, chöïce, pònder, thróng, prông; medial in on, yon, John, God, rod, gone, auht, thought, bought, caught, naught, fought, sauce, loiter, boy, and perhaps long in cōy, õil. Some of these medials may belong to æwe, 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 pottër, or the quantity of fall, in water, which is neither wëtter nor wötter. In the following table, the medial examples have been chosen without regard to the vowel they contain: 

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<tr>
<th>õaw'r</th>
<th>nor</th>
<th>Nör'ich</th>
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<td>râwed</td>
<td>rod</td>
<td>Röndey</td>
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<tr>
<td>âwed</td>
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<td>lâwa's</td>
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<td>sqûaw</td>
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<td>sqûash</td>
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<td>swan</td>
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<td>thought</td>
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<td>John</td>
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<td>squât</td>
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<td>hûrhor'</td>
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in going, showy. It does not occur in Italian. O is long in the German tôn, dôm, hòf, hòch, lôb, tôd, trög, mûhn, löh, mûr, mõnd; medial in oder, also, vor, von, wo, ob, oheim; and short in wûhin, hûfnûng, õst, õên, õber, kôch, lôch, zû-ô-lôg." (Arts. 416, 417.) This must be (oo, o). There is no mention of (oo'oe). The short accented (o) is not in received English use.
13v. in whole. French o. "This sound seems to the writer to be more open than owe, 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 owe, 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, 416.) Mr. Bell considers the French o in homme to be (oh), and the American o in stone to be (oh), the labialised forms of (o, ah) respectively. But Prof. Haldeman suggests another solution, namely (oh) or (Ao), 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 upon one lingual 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, u), which are exactly as (A, o), 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 fool to foolish, whilst full, fullish, have very little aid from the lips." (Art. 423.) That (u) 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, a'). This lipless (u), or (u'), 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 iene), we detect in it (fyooll', rule), a closer sound, which when long is confused with U, as in fool, rule, meaning by the latter neither ryule nor riwl, but pool, with a narrow aperture. This closer u is often preceded by y and r, as in due, dew, stew, rüin, rude, where it is rather medial than long." (Art. 424.) Probably we should write this (u') or (u), or even (u'). It 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 (y). "Leaving quantity out of the question, we pronounce breve, 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 = 1, y).

1c. and 25c. in now, aisle, are "coalescents," a term introduced, I believe, by myself, to classify (s, w), as the form under which the vowels (i, u) coalesced with another vowel. Prof. Haldeman uses 1c. and 25c. to form diphthongs, and distinguishes them from (s, w).

In order to shew that they have this meaning, I employ the acute accent on the preceding vowel, thus (éw, éz), which are really equivalent to my (du, di), but have the disadvantage of not so accurately distinguishing the second element, so that for (dz) the reader has a choice among (èi, èi, èé, èy, ès), etc. Prof. Haldeman says: "The separation of the coalescents 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 ooe reads 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 coalescent in aisle, eye, boy. The consonant relation of the coalescents is shown in the combinations how well, my years, in which it is difficult to tell where the coalescent ends. A comparison of the former (or how-ell) with hawell, and the latter (or my-ears) with miiu'm, will show their affinity. A coalescent between vowels is apt to form a fulerum, by becoming a more complete consonant. Compare (emp)oyer.
with lawyer." (Arts. 163-5.) I think I usually say (nəw=we'll, nəw=ell, nəw=el) for how well, how ell, Howell, and (moi=i=ii'zs, moi=i=ii'zs) for my years, my ears. Similar difficulties occur in lying (laii=--iq), and French paüen, féeience, loyal (pá=ee=fa=ias löi-ial), not (luial), with a long (i), without force gliding and diphthongising each way, which the hyphen tends to make plainer. The English loyal is either (loi=el) or (loi=--iq), not, I think, (loi=el), and certainly not (lai=el). Similarly for employer, lawyer (emploi=--u, lai=eu).

2c. and 26c. in way, yes, are certainly (w, j), but whether or not in addition (jw, jx) cannot be affirmed.

3c. and 27c. are certainly (wh, jh). Unfortunately the sounds are departing. See the citation (1112, 2'), 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 which Duponceau attributes to the (lena)pe, Delware, language, is this sound (wh'dee) heart, (nde) my heart, (wh'de'hihim) strawberries, with flat (d).

In the Wyandot (wo'ndot), (salakwh'w) it burrows, it occurs before a whispered vowel. Compare Pienobscot (nekwh'dos) six, (wh'a'wak) ear, (wh'a'wagoll) ears." (Art. 437.) "This (whd) shows that the (w) put in (whvon) is not by defect of ear, which might cause it to be inferred beside the vocal (2). The frequency of the whispered vowels is curious."—Prof. H.'s MS. note to proof.

5c. in hm seems to be (mh), hm= (umh), or perhaps (ummb). "One form of Eng. (mh) often accompanies a smile with closed lips—an incipient laugh reduced to a nasal puff; to the other (mh-u) 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, Chaldee, Ellenic, Illyrian, Wallachian, Hungarian, Russian, Catalanian, Turkish (in part), Islandic, Hindustance, Bengalee, Tamil, and other languages in the pronunciation of natives." (Art. 500.) Probably (r, x, r, r, r, r) are here not distinguished, and the forcible 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 (i'r); but the English, I believe, do not strike the palate at all when saying (r). Mr. Bell, as we have seen (1098, 5), 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 péro 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 c (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, 1872, 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 an ephonic insertion to save hiatus, as in English law=r of the land." Mr. Bristed (Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1871, p. 122-3) talks of the "apparent negromism prevalent in Cuba of substituting a vocalized r for the strongly trilled final r, e.g. amar (or something very like it) for amor," compare Mr. Thomas's Creole French r (1155, a'). On the authority of his son, just returned from Spain, Mr. Bristed 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 r to be formed provisionally from italic z."

(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 (d). But my (a) is only (o) at most, followed permissively by (r). Prof. Haldeman retains this (a) in the second syllable of (represents a'shyn) in the specimen, and says it is "due to the accented syllable as compared with (p)rinted," etc."

In other cases he corrected it in the proof to (r), which I have given as (y) 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 fur, far, more. Mr. Ellis regards fur as f with this open r, without a vowel between. . . . We regard fur as having the open vowel u (with which the consonant is allied) short, the quantity being confined to the consonant (fur = fis f.), and the tongue moving from the vowel to the consonant position. The same open consonant occurs in arm, worm, turn, ore; and although, for a particular purpose, we have cited arm as long or medial consonant. If we write 'rn for urn and 'r or fit for fur, we certainly cannot represent far, four, in the same manner. Moreover we may dissyllabise pray on a trilled or a close r, and monosyllabise p'tray 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 fairy was ascertained, an identity of vowel and of consonant was represented,—a greater error than to spell more and moor, fairy and ferry alike, or pres-d for prest." (Arts. 605-9.) I feel obliged, from the identifications made by Prof. Haldeman, to transcribe 16c. by (y) 17c. by (a), and 18c. by (), but I am not at all satisfied with the transcription. I think the sound 17c. is sometimes (a), sometimes (y), sometimes (o), and that 18c. may be (or, or ah) or (o), 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 (mos). I think you admit too little difference between aw 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, géadh, or geodh a goose. As I recall it, it is a monosyllable between the English syllables gay and gray, the r open and unactual and so near to (a) that the result would be g(a)ay were this not a dissyllable like céan-av besides elow." As will be shewn hereafter, or is used in American comic books to represent awe (AA) just as much as in English, and likewise r omitted, and er 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 (yea) made at the palatal point, and as Eng. w, v, and r, z are permutable, so y falls into j (zh), and its surd aspirate into i (sh). Hence the word soldier (= solid) r or sold) or is apt to fall into soldy, and nature (= net) y, net) y or net) v) into metre or net) r." (Arts. 518, 618.) From this I consider to represent a form of (z) which is still nearer to (t), with therefore the tongue slightly lower than for (s), so that (z) would be its best sign, and (i) will then be (s)h. According to the same habit which obliges Prof. Haldeman to say
(whw-, bh-) we necessarily have (\(s_h\)). Hence his examples must
be transcribed (sod\(s\)_1R, sod\(s\)_2R, net\(s\)_1R, net\(s\)_2R, net\(s\)_4R).

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 im-
pulse we can make English \(o\) and \(w\)
with the same aperture... If, \(h\), is the
common English and German \(h\), in the
syllables held, hat, hast, hose. \(h\) is for
the eighth Hebrew letter lhe\(th\) ... 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 Floren-
tine aspirate casa, misericordia, c\(a\)\(i\), we
have casually heard, and believe it to
be \(\phi\), and also the Spanish \(j\), \(x\), before
\(a\), \(o\), \(u\), as in jabon so\(a\)\(p\) = aa\(\phi\)\(b\)\(\phi\)\(n\), and
the geographical name San Juan (= san\(\phi\)\(n\)\(a\) in English—san\(\phi\)\(n\)\(a\)." (Arts.
553, 555, 567.) The identification of
\(\phi\) with \(h\), see (1139, b), and the state-
ment of its relation to \(h\), seem to
shew that this \(h\) is my (nh). The ex-
amples are then meant for (hab\(b\)\(\phi\)\(n\),
san\(\phi\)\(w\)\(h\)\(a\)\(n\), san\(\phi\)\(w\)\(h\)\(w\)\(o\)\(n\), 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 (1138, c), my (\(h\)).
Prof. Haldeman observes on the use of
(\(u\)) for me, (\(m\)h) for Smart, and
(\(u\)) for himself and Sweet in the com-
parative 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 (\(h\)\(h\)) and the German
(\(n\)h\(i\)\(h\)\(e\)), but may occasionally say (\(h\)\(i\)h, \(x\)\(i\)h\(i\)h\(r\), which are all anglicisms.
I sometimes fall into (\(h\)\(h\)) in English.
For Smart's (\(n\)h\(h\)), see No. 56 of his
scheme below, (1204, 9).

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'), and his (o) with a (u)
rounding or (\(o_u\)), his consonantal termination of (\(i\)\(i\), \(u\)\(u\)), his
advanced (\(o\), \(o\)) or (\(o\), \(o\)), his forms of (ee'j, oo'w) as (e\(y\), \(o_o\)),
his acceptance of (x) as (oh) in (\(a\)\(o\)\(h\), \(e\)\(e\)\(o\)\(h\), \(e\)\(a\)\(h\)), etc., his constant
use of (\(t\), \(h\)), even rounded, as ('\(h\)w'), his analysis of his diphthongs
for (\(o\)\(i\), \(o\)\(a\)) as (\(w\)\(y\), \(v\)\(y\)) and (\(a\)\(a\)\(o\)), and his lengthened con-
sonants, as (s\(a\)\(m\)m, \(s\)\(t\)\(t\)). He uses (\(a\), \(e\)) 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 \(c\)h as (\(t\)\(s\)h) for my own pronunciation
also. I think the second element of the (an) diphthong may be
the simple voice-glide rounded ('\(h\)w') instead of the mid-back (\(o\),
(\(a\)\(a\)\(o\)\(a\)\(n\)d\(z\)), would therefore be written (\(s\)\(a\)\(a\)\(o\)'h\(e\)\(n\)d\(z\)). In the same
way I feel inclined to substitute the simple voice-glide unrounded
('\(h\)') for the ('\(h\)') wherever it forms the second element of a diph-
thong. 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, 'hoe), when added to any one of the sounds (æ v, a a o, ð e a a, o ah oh oh, oh oo ah oh) and even (e e oo, æ æ ah), serve to recall diphthongs of the (ai, âu) 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, gain, pay. This sound is recognized as ('ee'), but made (cei) by Smart, see (1108, 2'), or perhaps (cei:j).

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 (æ) short or (e) of medial length, probably the first in aerial, and the second in the other words. But I hear (geetw'j), which, however, I suppose he takes as (geei-twee). But see No. 13.

3. accented as in me, meet, meet, is certainly (ii), but whether distinguished always from (ii) 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 alphabetic No. 4 is by nature capable of quantity. The word indelibility 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, 6th], 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, ð) are confused. The 'practical views' are in fact that No. 15, the 'essentially short' (c), is found gliding on to a consonant, and No. 4, the 'essentially long' (c), is found at the end of a syllable. The distinction is false; in this word (c) occurs throughout, and (c) would give a strangely foreign effect, the sound being [(i:mdj:ve:zi:bl:li:ti)], although (c') 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 (o'i) or (o'ë); I take the former. Prince L. L. Bonaparte thinks that (o'ë) is meant. See below No. 19. "Some allege its composition to be No. 23 and No. 4," that is (a'ë, a'ë), "but this is northern; while others make it to be No. 25 and No. 4," that is (a'ë', a'ë'), "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 [=(AÁ'ëz)], or as it might be written oye, rhyming with boya.

6. unaccented as in idea, fortiifies, 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, sound, 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 (õo_u) unintentional. Still as he admits (éë_u), I shall take his No. 7 to be (õo_u).

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 yôô, composed of the consonant element 56 and the vowel element 27." This view gets over all phonetic difficulties, and is very rough. I transcribe ( oo).

10. unaccented as in surp, plague. "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 (oo). The passage shews the vague phonetic knowledge which generally prevails.

"The Essentially Short Vowels."

11. accented as in man, chapman. 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 (a), i.e., between (eqi) or (e) and (a), but is theoretically identified with the latter. The way in which in dialectal writing (e, 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, chapman. 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 (a), in the latter (æ). But these indicate helplessness on the part of the phonologist. Prince L. L. Bonaparte makes the former (a) and the latter (æ), 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 cli mét, ultimet, etc." That is, Smart confuses (e, é), just as he confused (i, ï), see No. 4.

While the confusion of (e, é) is tolerably possible, that of (e, ê) 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 (γ'), 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. 15." This is (i) certainly.

16. unaccented as in sawpît. This "differs from the foregoing by the remission of accent only," and will hence be also written (i).

17. accented as in not, 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 (AA).

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 (o) simply. "In initial and other syllables, the sound preserves its character with some distinctness, as in pollute, pomposity, demonstration;" here then I transcribe (o), "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 (u) is meant by the o in pollute, and (o) by the o in common, see No. 19.

19. accented as in net, 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 (a, a, u, oh), 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, a, u, o) which occurs, it seems to me that Smart represents (a) by No. 24 a in manna, (o) by the first No. 12 or a in accept, (e) by the first No. 18 or o in pollute, and (a) by No. 19 u in nat, 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 (a). 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 is a mean between Nos. 19 and 23, 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 (u), 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 (a), 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 urn up (a). And Smart's No. 35 leads me to suppose that he did not understand the nature of Bell's distinction (a, a), although he felt that there was some distinction. I doubt much indeed whether Smart had any clear conception of the four different sounds (a, a, u, 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 not, No. 24 papa, manna, Messiah, as (æk'sept tʃɑhp-ˌmɑn; pəl'ju:t kɔm-ˌnɔnt, nɔt, pəpə-ˌmɑⁿə ˈmɛʃə), although possibly correct, is very probably incorrect. I do not think he said (not), though this is a cockneyism. I do not think he said (papaaˌmən), for unaccented (ə) is very rare and very ugly. I do not think he said (æk'sept), though he may have said (pəl'ju: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'sept tʃɑhp-ˌmɑn; pəl'ju:t kɔm-ˌnɔnt, nɔt, pəpə-ˌmɑⁿə ˈmɛʃə), 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 not, 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, circums. 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, u) as he had previously confused (e, e ; i, i ; a, a). 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, Messiah. 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 [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 a, as in such words as coup de grace, aide de camp, which seems due to orthographical prejudice, as də might have led the ordinary reader to say (du).

25. accented as in law, the noun sub. awə, etc. This is (əə) 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 (əə).

27. accented as in pool. "The sound of the letter u in Italian and many other languages," that is (u).

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 whirlpul. Where, however, it is not followed in the same syllable by a consonant, as in cuckoo, luxury, it may be as short as utterance can make it." Here the nemesis of confusing (u, u) appears. It will be necessary to transcribe (u) in the first case, as of medial length, and (u) in the second. He writes (lək'shəˌrərə), which is extremely artificial.

29. accented as in toll, boy. This "is a diphthongal sound whose component parts are Nos. 25 and 4." That is, it is (əə)."
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 (āau), and not as (AA'U). He certainly could not have said (āau) with the first element long, but he had no means of writing (āu). Walker says: "The first or proper sound of this diphthong is composed of the a in ball, and the oo in woo, rather than the u in bull," that is (AA'U). It will be seen that Mr. I. Pitman (p. 1183, key) uses ou (=o'ø) 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 (āau) is retained as the transcription.

"The Vowels which terminate in Gut-tural 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 (fə), hard into (nuəd), cord into (kaəd), lord into (laəd), 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'lr). 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 un-accented syllable, as in dollar, it would be a puerile nicety to attempt distinctness." I transcribe (aa'), when he writes "ar equivalent to" No. 23 followed by the guttural vibration, that is, the sound (aa) merely verging to (o'); and (o') 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 (e'), 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 (o'). 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 (e'), (o') 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'ə'm), meaning a bench." I transcribe (AA'), though I generally hear (AA) or (AA'lr).

38. unaccented as in stupor or in sailor. This "is seldom distinct." I transcribe (AA') and (o') 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 (o'), 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 (a').

41. accented as in mere, “equivalent to Nos. 1 and 39,” that is (ee'ɪə³), but surely the (i) must be omitted and at least (ee'o') said, and this is strange. I transcribe (ee'o').

42. unaccented as in welfare, “equivalent to Nos. 2 and 39,” that is (ee³).

43. accented as in mere, “equivalent to Nos. 3 and 39,” that is (iə³).

44. unaccented as in atmosphere, “equivalent to Nos. 4 and 39,” that is (iə³).

45. accented as in mere, “equivalent to Nos. 5 and 39,” that is (iə³).  
46. unaccented as in emperor, “equivalent to Nos. 6 and 39,” that is (əiə³).

47. accented as in more, “equivalent to Nos. 7 and 39,” that is (oʊəro').

48. accented as in there, “equivalent to Nos. 8 and 39,” that is, (oʊə').

49. accented as in mere, “equivalent to Nos. 9 and 39,” or (juə'w').

50. unaccented as in figure, “equivalent to Nos. 10 and 39,” or (juə').

51. accented as in poor, “equivalent to Nos. 27 and 39,” or (juə').

52. unaccented as in black-a-moor, “equivalent to Nos. 28 and 39,” or (uə').

53. accented as in power, “equivalent to Nos. 31 and 39,” or (əuə').

54. unaccented, as in cauliflower, “equivalent to Nos. 32 and 39,” or (əuə').

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, o, u, ŋ), 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, ŋ), 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, far, 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 indistinguishable,” 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-gitive; an identity of these syllables in pronunciation is decidedly provincial; the true utterance of the former is va-re-ious, se-re-ious,” 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 r 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're).” [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'r), or (di'r) 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-ry, 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'-arias, see'-rias), etc., where I seem to say and hear (vee'-rias, see'-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'o') not (ee-ɔ'), although his careful interposition of the accent mark (ee'o'), instead of putting it at the close (ee'o'), gives a different impression, and always leads me to read
with a slur (ee=o'):] "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)'o', ee={o}, or (ee)'o', ee={o}].] "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, (a, or, or, u, ur, 'b', 'r', r), but the difference (a', o) escapes me.] "It is, moreover, remarkable of these elements that each will pass on the ear either as one or two syllables, and this is signified in the schemes by the equivalent indication 'a'ur, 'yur,' [= No. 1, accent, No. 39; and No. 5, accent, No. 39; or (ee)'o', o'=o'), '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; li-ar, buy-er, and high-er; slow-er and grow-er; su-er and new-er; tru-er, brew-er, and do-er; bow-er and flow-er; are perfect rhymes to mare, hire, lore, cure, poor, and hour." To me (pee'yu, lo'iyu, bo'thyu, no'iyu, slo'o'yu, groo'yu, siu'yu, niu'yu, tru'yu, bruu'yu, duu'yu, bo'w'u, fio'w'yu), where -- might be used for }, are always dissyllabic; but mayor = mare precisely, = (mee'), and (lou', ki'aw', pun') are distinctly monosyllabic, though diphthongal, while hire, hour, involving triphthongs, are looser respecting the final, so that (ni'z', o'z') or (no'z'-h, o'w'-h) may be heard, but not (ni'o'z', o'w'yu) in two syllables, according to present usage. For past usage see examples from Shakspere, p. 561. 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.

55. "A slight semi-consonant sound between No. 4 and No. 58, heard in the transition from certain consonant to certain vowel sounds: as in l'ute, j'ew, nat'ure, g'arment, k'ind." This "is a sound so short and slight as to be lost altogether in the mouth of an unpolished speaker, who says (luut, dzholuun, neeq'ishsha'ui), or more commonly (neeq'-ishsha), garment, kind, etc., for l'ute, 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 smaller sound of No. 58 or No. 4. This affected pronunciation," [which he writes l'-yoot, j'-yoo, na'-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, to be imitated." I believe the sounds he means are(l%funt, dzholi'tu, neeq-lish'ti, gjasame'nt, kja'tind), but, in consequence of No. 58, I transcribe this "semi-consonant" by (1). As respects its use after (sh), Prof. Haldeman says: "If, by the conversion of i into English y or e, o-be-di-ent becomes o-be-dyent (the writer's mode of speaking) or o-be-dzhen't, no speaker of real English can preserve both dzh and i; yet Walker has coined a jargon with such forms as o-be-je-ent, and cris-tshe-an-e-té. 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" (Anah. Orth. art. 311). Smart, using the transcriptions suggested, writes (o-bi-di-ent = o-bid-jent, krist-jas'mën), colloquially (krist-shi-jas'mën), where the separation of (ts'h) is inorganic, (kris-ti-en-i-ti, am-nish'i-ent, am-nish-i-si-ens, Ee'lish-jas'mën Ee-she-ak-tik, Rash-jas'mën, kan-shi-jens, mi-lish-jas'më, mär-lish-jas'më). I seem to say (obirdi'-ent, kris'tishum, kristjes'menit, omnis'h-i-ent, omnis'h-i-ens, Eeshe Ee'shitak, Rashe'men, kawshens, mi-lir'she, mi-lir'she). It seems that many of these changes of (s) into (sh) through (i) are in a state of transition, and that the stages are (-si-n, -s-i, -shi-n, -shi-she), 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, vehicle, 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 (zkh). "And the sound which follows in our language always a vowel, except w and y; for w is aspirated in wheat, whig, etc., which are pronounced heçat, hayj, etc., and y is aspirated in hey, huge, etc., which are pronounced hyooge, hyjudege, etc." Hence I transcribe (mhywdit, nhrudzkh). "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 herd, hospital, which may still be heard unaspirated from well-educated people. I heard a physician, speaking at a hospital public meeting lately, constantly say (or'sptsl).

57. "w, beginning a syllable without or with aspiration, as in we, becare, froward, wheat equivalent to heçat, 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 ouit, 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, 50, which are equivalent to y, with Nos. 27, 28, and 52, 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 (ii, uu) 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. 58." Hence, I transcribe No. 58 by (z), and No. 59 by (x).

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 (sh), see No. 64.

64. "j; and also g before e or i, as in jog; gem, age, gin," is (zh). Nos. 63 and 64 "are not simple consonants, the former being t and sh, and the latter d and zh." Prince L. L. Bonaparte considers that Smart's observations in No. 147 tend to shew that, notwithstanding this statement, Smart really analysed (tshj, dzhj). But to me Smart's observations only relate to the use of (tsj, dzj), 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 (ij). Of the possible reduction of (shij) into (sh), he seems to have had no clear conception. Thus, he takes no notice of (ij n). His coup d'ail, bagno are (kuwdz-il, bennzo). 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 (1103, 2).

65. "f, ff, fe, as in jog, cuff, life," is (f).
66. "v, ve, as in vain, love," is (v).
67. "th, as in thin, pitch," is (th).
68. "th, the, as in them, with, breathe," is (dh).
69. "l, 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, "A-ble, e-vil, 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 dissyllable in the language.

70. "m, mm, me, as in may, hammer, blame," is (m).
71. "n, nn, ne, as in no, manner, 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 trilling 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 faultyly 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 e before a, o, or u, or a consonant, as in king, hack, bake; antic, cut, cat, 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 at, 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 contenting himself with old definitions, instead of making independent observations; and hence I shall use (r, t, d, n).
79. "d, dd, de, as in don, 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 accent" vocal-sounds." But as he makes unemphatic a = No. 24 or (e), me = Nos. 70 and 4, or (m), your = (yo'), am, was had, shall, and, = (ae'm, woz, hrhaand, shawl, aand), for = (fo'), of = (av), from = (fram); my, by = (mi, bi), and thy "among people who familiarly use it" = (dhi), and the = (dhi) before a vowel and (dha) before a consonant, and you "in the accusative case and not emphatic" = (ri) or (yo), 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, linguistical, 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-rīṭ'ān un-prīṇtyd re:prīṃṣente'shen v-dhu-so'umnz vū-lēq'gwyd zh_sh, bi-mīi'znz vv-kē'ryktuzs, whī't'zh-sh ur īnṣaf'śhant, both īn-ko'īrīnd vn-nō'mbē-r, un-whī't'sh mes-dhee'fa biī-kembo'īrīnd a-mo'dīfo'īd, if-wi-wud-gi'v v-gre:ftēkāl si:mbeлиз'e'shen v-dhu-fone'tik ē'lēments wīd-ho'o'nlī sēm-dīgrii: v-v-
egzār'knys 'n-ku:nvī'i:nī'mns, nez-bi'i'n, frem-ā'āl tē'īm, fu-ne'e'shunz vū-wē'l-ez īndīvi'āu'jul'ezls, līqgu'īstikāl stīū'ūndnts nōt ekse'pltyd, vōn-
v-dhu mōs-nē'seserī u:n-wē'ān-v-dhu mōs-
dī'fikl'v vū-prō'blumz, vū-
wzs-ko'nāskwenti'skee'slī e<vē vū-bīn-nē'plī solvd. Let-
dhi's tii't'sh-es dhēt-dhi-
jinve'nshen vū-ro'īťiq, dhu-
gre'eństst mō-mō'o'rt
impāl'tunt inve'nshen whī't'sh dhu-
ju:u'man mo'īnd
vz-e'vē med, un-whī't'sh sh,
ēx-rī-īndī'd ā'ālmost
ekšī'dz ńts-stre'cth, nūz-bīn-o'of'ān un-
no't ēn'd'žē'āslī vtri'biū'ūtyd ts-dhu-go'dz; lo'i:k-dhi
ā'āgūnz'm vū-n-steet' ēt-wē'ān sīmp'l'-n kōmpleks, ēz-not-
dhu wēk-ūv īndīvi'dū'jul'yls, bēt-ūv-se'n'tūrīz, pēmē-pē-
vū thō'w'zenz-ūv jiū'izs.

OF INDIVIDUAL SYNTHETIC

Prof. S. S. HALEMADAN.

See pp. 1186-1196.

Dhu-ritn ynd plū'rintyd [reprīṃṣente'shyn yv-dhu-sāwntdz yv læqgwidzh bās mīn yv kē]'ryktuz, whītsh aż īnṣaf'śhant, both īn kāǐnd yn nēmblē, ynd whītsh māst dhiēfsō bi kambōyld A'ā mōdyfāid [OF wi wūd giv ē g₃-rē'fikāl sīmblizēshyn yv dhu fonetīk ē'lymēnts wīd-
or'nlī sōm dīgrii: yv ēgzaektnēs ynd kōnvi'i:nī'mns, nhēz bīn, fōm āl tām fā'ā nēshynz oz wēl yz īndīyvēdūylz [īndīyvidzhylz] līqgwi'stikāl stīū'ūndnts nōt ekse'pltyd wōn [wōn] yv dhu mōst nē'sysyrlī ynd wōn yv dhy mōst dīfikłēt yv prō'blumz, ynd nhēz kōnsikwëntli skē'slī e<vē bīn nhēppī'āsāl'īv. Let dhi's tūtsh ēs dḥēt dḥē invēnshyn yv ńrāśīq, dḥē gᵢlretyst n mōst īmpā'āxmtīn invē'nshyn whītsh dḥō ṣhūv'myn mānd nhēz e<vē med, ynd whītsh, wēž ēt īndī'd álmost ekšī'ādz ēt stēqth [strenth?] nhēz bīn ā'ān [ofn] ynd nōt endzhē'āslī ēt r̃'b̃'ūytīdz ts dḥō gā'dz; ládk dḥē oɣi:nīm yv ē stē, ēt wēns sīmpl yn kōmpleks, ēz nōt dḥō wēk yv īndīyvē'dūylz bēt yv sē'ntīh, rō'iz pūhāeps yv thāwntdz yv jiū'iz.
CHAP. XI. § 1. COMPARISON OF FOUR PRONUNCIATIONS.

H. SWEET.
See p. 1196.

Dh'-ri'tn'-'n-pr'nte'd-re:pr'z'ntéy'sh'n'-'v-dh' soox'o'ndz 'v-læ-qqwe'ndzh 'bu'y-miù'nz'-v -kæ-ro'ktohz wísh'-r'-tn'sf'fsh'nt b,ò,ù-th'e'n-kwè'y-nd'-n-na'mmbbh 'nd-wí'tsh-m'-st-dhéz'ëh'h:we-be'k'mmb'ëy'y-nd'-hw-m-o'de'f'é'y'd-f-we'1-w,ud-giv'-v'-h-græe-fe'k'l'-sím'b'l'yz'éy'sh'n'-'v-dh'-f'ont'ëk'-ë'l'm'nts wídhd'-o'o'ùnle'-sà:mm-de'griiù:--'v-e'gzae'knt'ës'-n-k'niù'ñ'n's nh'z-buí:n-fr'-m-aa'1-t'wey':m f'-néy'sh'nz 'z-wëll'-z'-i'nnde'v'ì'dzh',ùlz, liqg'gwí'st'ëk'l' -s'træw'ë'd'nts-n'òt'ëkc'se'pte'd wä-nn'-v-dh'-m,ò,ù-st-d'r'fe'k'lt'-v-pr,óbble'mz, 'nd'-z'k'øn'se'kw'ntle' skeé'ør'ale' e'vah-bùn'-næe'-p'l'-s,òl'-lvd. Lett-dhí:s-tú'r-tsh'-s db't-dh'-ë'nvë'nh'n'-v-rë'y'tiq dh'-grëy'të's't'-m,ò,ù-st-em'pa'éh'tnt-e'nvë'nsh'n wí'tsh-dh'-nhùu'w'm'-n-mëy'-nd'-z'-v'oh-mëe'y'd 'nd-wí'tsh 'z'-ët'-ë'z ndrib'd ò,ù'ité'm,ò'o'st-e'kùi'ë'dz'-è's-trë'q'th, uh'z-bùn'-w',n', 'n', n'òt'tndzhe'ë's'tle', 'tri'braw'të'd-t'-d'h'-'g'-o'ddz, b'y:k-dhe'-á'øh'g'n':nìm'-z'-v'-h-stëy't, 't'-wà'n'ns'sîm'pl'-n-k,ò'mplè:ks, èz'-n'-òt'tdh' wöoh'-k'-v'-ënnd'd'v'ì'dzh',ùlz b't'-v'-sèn'tsh're's, præ-ps'-v'-thooy'ö'ndz'-v'-jiù'ahz.

B. H. SMART.
See pp. 1197-1205.

Dhoë rit'n ò'nd prín't'ëd rep'r:rizentëq'i'shön ov dhoë'sà:aundz ov læq-gwe'dzh, bi miinz ov kær'-e:ktö's mì'h'wí'tsh aa' in:s'aih'-l'rent, bòq'uth ín kò'índ ò'nd nám'ba' ò'nd mì'h'wí'tsh mëst dher'ës' bi këmbe'ë'nd': ò' mad'ëf'ëd if wi wud giv ò' graefeikà sim:bolizëq'i'shön ov dhoë fonët'ëk el'ëments widh òq'un'li sem dirigë' ov egzëkt'ës ò'nd kày'niön's, nì'hè'ëz bìn fröm àl to'í'm fë' néeq'ë'shonz ò'z wel ò'z in:divid'juæ'lz, liqg'wist'ëkà struund'ënts nat eksept'ëd, wën ov dhoë'móq' ýst nès'esë'ri ò'nd wën ov dhoë'móq' ýst dëf'ikelt ov prä:blemz ò'nd nì'hè'ëz kà:n'sikwënt:li skëe'ø'sli ev'ë' bìn nì'hæ'r'pili salvd. Let dhí's tìitsh øs dhàst dhoë in'vëns'ën ov ré'i'tiq, dhoë grëèll'ét es ò'nd móq' yst impaa'ë'tënt in'vëns'ën nì'hîwí'tsh dhí nì'hëu'ì'm'ë'n mô'ënd nì'hè'ëz ev'ë' mëe'ëid, ò'nd nì'hëwí'tsh, ò'z it ëndiid: àl'môöst eksii'd z it's streqth nì'hè'ëz bìn àf'n ò'nd nàt ëndzheﬆ-li ò'trib'übuted tu dhoë' gadz, ló'k dhi àa'gësëñim' ov ø' st'éqeit òst'ët wëns sim'pl ò'nd kàmp'ëls, ìz nàt dhoë' wëk' ov in:divid'juæ'lz, bòt ov sem'turiz, pø'ë?q'hëps ov òh'xàu'zë'ndz ov jìi'ë'z.
Observations on Unstudied Pronunciations.

All the above specimens of pronunciation labours 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 bubulci, quem mulereulae et portiores [sic, portiores?]; sed quem docti, aut cultæ 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 appropriable. 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 akɔmpleɪst —akɔmpleɪst," 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.
Prop. Alexander Bain.

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 (o′i, o′u) are correctly analysed.

accomplished akomplished—akomplished advantages advaan′tydzhyz—advaa′nty-
tudzhyz
against you age′nstjuu—egov′nst′ ju
aghast øgaa′st—egaa′st
alternation aAltenee′-shun—aAlteenee′-shun
a solid ah solid—u solid
a strong s troq—
avoy øwe′er—oov′er
beau ideal boo idy′el—boo o′idii′el both booth—booth
branch brahntsh—brantz braantsh
cessation sisse′shun—sees′shun
circumstances arkumstansiz—seė:kum-
stenysz
circumlocution sīkemloku′′-shun—see:–
keemloku′′-shun
class klaas—
classes kla′ssiz—kleaa′yz
compounds kampoundz—kompo′undz
consummated konse′meted—konse′m-
etyd
contrast kontraast—
craftly kraah-′tī—kraa′tī
dance dauns—daans
economised ikornomoizd—ikornema′izd
educability edlu′kəbl′ītī—
effect ef′kt—eef′kt
eengine o′ndzhon—o′ndzhon
epoch ip′ok—eip′ok
example egzaam′pl—
explanation eksplai′ne−′shun—eksplain-
ne shun
entailed ekstool′d—eksto′ld
eye øti—o′i
faculties fa′kaltz−fak′ultyz
fatigue fəktyi′g—fətii′g
force fora′s—foos′
forth forth—foo′th
fraternity freetrayun′tī—fratun′tī
fraternize fratun′niz—fratun′niz
functionary fo′qshneri—
genus dzhen′əs—dzhi′nəs

good gud—gud
handicraft hændikrait—hændikrait
hardly ha′rdli—haadli
heroine hirjain—heroin
heterogeneous zetrədzhii′nias—hetere-
roydzhenni′əs
hold woold—woold
human shuu′men—
ignorance ignaran′s—
implanted impla′ntyd—impla′ntyd im-
plaatnyd
important impoa′tent—impla′tent
inesorable inə′rgzorbl—inek′surbl
initiative ini′shjutiv—in′shjutiv
intrinsically in′trinzikl′—in′trini-
kul′
irrespective irres′pektiv—irres′pektiv
isolation isoloee′shen—
knowledge no′lydzh—
language le′qwydzh—
last laast—
learners lernez—lee′nez
lesson les′en—le′sen
maturity matjuuur′riti—muti′u′riti
mass maas—
master maaw′st—maa′st
miracle merekl′—marekl
modern thought mo′drn thaat—mo′dun
thaat
musician miuzi′shun—miūzi′shun
mutual miu′tu′jul miu′u′tizl miu′u′tizl
narrow naaw′to—naeto
natural naettiurel—naet′iul naet′shrel
obedience obid′ains—obi′di′yus
path paath—
peculiar pikir′iija—piikir′iija
person paa′s—paa′s
plastic plastik—
plasticity plastis′iti—plastis′iti
practice præ′ktiz—præ′ktiz
prejudice prezduh′hoid—prezduh′hoid
pressure pres′iur—pres′iur
processes prez′vayyz—pro′vayyz
purport paap′rt—paap′rt
relativity rel′ti′viti—rel′ti′viti
says seė′−seė
sensibilities se′nsoh′l tītiz—se′nsoh′l tītiz
sentient se′nhaun′t—se′nshunt
soar saal′—soo′
speciality speshi′liti—
spirits spiret′s—spirits
spurring spə′riq—spə′riq
stodial sto′riku′l—stoo′riku
student stiu′durun′t—stiu′durun′t
suited suu′t′ed—stfu′t′ed
system si′tum—si′tym

task taask—task taask

testimony te′stmonei—te′stmonei

thorough thoro′tho′—thoro′tho′.
thoroughly thor'ali thor'ali — thor'ali thoro'ali

transition trenzizh'en, trenzizh'un — trenzizh'hen
tutors tju'tu'zaz — ti'u'tu'zaz

understood a'ndastu'urd — a'ndastu'urd

variety vero'iti —
volcanoes vol'keen nooz — volk'aa nooz

want want — want

was was — waz waz

whole hool — hoo'weel

PROF. JOWETT,
the Master of Balioh 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 a'sprent — a'sprent'
attaching himself to him a'th'esh'm

himself-tuuum

bone boo'wn — boon?

but that the famous b'at-dh'at-dh_i-
fee'mae — b'at-dhet-dhe fee'mae
certain so'tt'n — see'tyn
certain c'l'as — ka'rke

Chatham th'sha'tem

Cicero si'suro

describing him d'isk'rai'biq-im — dis-
'k'si'biq-im

difficulty d'isk'feklti — d'isk'fiklti
discontented d'isk'ku'nten'tyd

discovery d'isk'vori

discrepancy d'isk'ri'pensi — d'isk're'pensi
due dz'laun — di'du

earliest o'ril'jest — o'ril'jest
eroots e'ri — e'ri

education e'dzh'i'kess'hen — e'diak-

shen

evil i'vyl — i'vyl

example e'gge'empl

exhausted e'gge'astyd

foreign fo'tun — fo'tyn

gather up g'ah'dhur-op — g'ah'dhur-op

haughtily haa'tu lih — haa'tli

he has had ulii'ez-wd — ulii' ez-wd

height u'ha'ith — u'it

highest u'ha't'es — u'is't

human ih'shurnen

humourist ih'mur'marist

image i'midz — i'medz

Ishmian i'smijen — i'sthmiyen

knowledge noo'ledzh — noo'ledzh

lastly laa'sli — laa'sli

lecture le'ktsha — le'ktshi

manhood me'ned — me'nu'd

mask mask — mao's

memorabilia me'mo'rebflii — me'mo-

br'lii

minutiae maa'ruufs'hiiji — maa'uu'shiiji

moulds mooz — moo'wldz

must have mao'st-ev

natural'ar'ma'thur — ma'thur ma'ti' —
rul

nature nee'tshe — nee'tshe nee'ti'
nori

opinion o'pi'run — o'pi'run

oracle o'teki —

ordinarily aa'dine'reli — aa'dine'reli

origin o' re'dzhin — o'ridzhin

ornaments aa'numynts

parallel p'airul — p'airul

passed past —

persons po'rsnaz — po'snaz

politician po'letish'hen — po'letish'hen

politics po'litiks

Potidaea p'otidii'ye

process p'Ovsces

society so's'iti — so's'iti

Socrates so'kratiz

soon sun — suun
time ta'um — ta'um

unable o'neebl — enee'bl

vented ve'ntshed — ve'ntshi'd ve'ntshed

virtue va'zetshu — va'zetshu

whole hool — hoo'weel

Xenophon ze'zn'en

years yir'juz — yir'z

SIR G. B. AIRY,
Astronomer Royal and President of the Royal Society, made use of the following pronunciations while speaking at the Royal Society, 30 Nov. 1872.

components kompoon'ents — kompo-

nynts

godessis giio'idiisists — dzi'hjo'disists
godessy giio'idiisii — dzi'hjo'disi

Greenwich grii'nwytsch — grii'nydz

meridional miridi'o'nael — miri'denel

New Zealand niu'u ze'lund — niu'

ziitendi

Nova Zembla noo'vee ze'mblee — noo'vee

ze'mble

palaeontology pea'li'ontolo'jdi —

pea'li'ontol'jdi

stereoscopic sti'tri'ojsko'piik — st'i-

ri'osko'piik [some say (st'i'riosko'piik)]

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 ak'mylected — ek'u'myle-
l'ctyd. [N.B. The first, accented, (y) was rather indistinct and very short.]
a lone a'lo'n — a'lo'o'wn

are e' — aq'
bones bonz — boo'wez
cantonment kantu'num:mmt
either ee'dhu [not (ee)]=ii'dhu o'ie'dhu
few fry [perhaps (fey), the word was
difficult to catch, and I noticed it
only once]=filu.
finite fi'mit [in the phrase (dhi i'min fi
un dhu fi'mit), this pronunciation was
altogether new to me, though I have
often heard (i'min i'it) as opposed to]—(fi'is'i't)
Lawrence la'aryns [not (la) or (lo)]=
(Lot'yns)
only o'ni [not at all uncommon]=
'oow'ni
neither nee'dhu—nii'dhu no'v'dhu
plants planths—plantas
progress pro'gres—proo'gres [there is
great diversity in the words pro-
duct progress, many give (pro) and
others (proo) to both; I say (pro'dok
proo'gres), but Col. Strange at the
same meeting said (pro'dok, pro-
gres).]
quote kot [quite short (ö)]=kwoot
series sii't'rijiz—si't'rijiz
stone sto'n—stoo'u
undertaken o'niu'tor'ken [distinct (kon)]
—o'niu'tor'k'un.
wholly no'li—now'li

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
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 ahs'ba'pt—absa'bd
albumen o'lu'mben—o'lbu'du'men
anesthetics a'nesthi'tiks—a'nesthi'tiks
antidotal a'ntidoot'al—ant'dotul
appearance apii'ryns—apii'rans
aqueous u'kew'sz—e'kwis
asteroids a'ster'o'dyz [Prof. Stokes]=
—a'stro'o'dyz
before bi'toor—bifo'o'
class klas—klas
commander kom'andz—ku'mandz
comparable kom'pee'rubl—ko'rupurubl
compare kompe'z—kumpee'z

constitution konstit'ji'zen—konsti-
tiu'zen
contrive kontra'vi-kon'tra'vi
doubt dout—dou't
dry dra'i—dra'
electrolysis elek'tro'li'sis—i'lektr-
li'sis
endowment endu'mymnt [Prof. Huxley]
—endu'ymnt
equidistant e'kwid'stant—i'kwid's-
tent
estuaries i'stra'jriz—e'stiu'jeriz
experiments eksperimentzh—eksperi-
ments
explicable ekspi'kabl—ekspil'kebl
find fo'ind—fo'ind
gasous gaa'ziz [Prof. Stokes], gus'sos
[the late Mr. Babbage]=gus'sos
haeste haest—nest
introducing intridju'ajiq—i'trodiu'aj-
'iq
larger la rdzh—laadzh
Losannew losaan—an—losan [equal stress]
loose lu's—loos
lungs loginz—laoq
moon mun [Sir W. Thomson], mu'n
[the late Prof. Rankine]=mun
paragraphs pa'ragredz [the late Prof.
Rankine]=pa'regraafs
Paris paa'ris—pae'ris
past past—paaast
phi = f, fa'i—fo'
pulsates pul'sets—pul'sets
pulsative pu'lsetiv—pu'lstiv
pulse puls—pals
put v. pat—pat
round rahnun—ro'und
size sai—sa'iz
staff stae—staaf
strata strae'ta—streetu
substantial substa'nuhul—substa'nuhul
systematising si'ste'ma'tajiq—si'ste-
metry'a'jiq
transactions transe'ksunz—transe'k-
shunz
wind n. 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 rahiiz—ro'iz
adoption u'da'pshen
observing obzoo'viq
last laat
large laaj—laajh (?)—laadzh
framers free'muz [not free]=fre'muz
paragraph pe'regraaf
brighter brahu'te—bro'ite
Physicians, various.

rotation vóteshun [not (tee')] — anxiety wésp'yÁt [not (eqks-)], nor (eqz-)— wésp'yÁt
future fi أل الأشارر— fi أشتشر
vote voot [not voo'vot]—
hospital óspital [this one speaker in-
variably omitted the aspirate in this
word only, even to the extent of
saying (a) ospital for an hospital;
an archaisms]—ospital
kindness kña'ndn, es [probably due to
emphasis]— kña'ndn
two rírák [or nearly so]— vó't
through áchbj [or nearly so]— vo’it
across ákro's— akro's akro's
behalf bemér— bín’ar
naprtey vprí'shiýect—vprí'shiýect
really rí'li [rhythmic to clearly
(kli-l), some say (ri'elf), and
(rí-l) is heard, but conveys the
notion of reely, e. inclined to reeel]—
emphatically strengthened streéth'nd [not (streéth-
'nd), as Prof. Tyndall and very many
speakers say]—
known nóom [the (u) distinct]— noo'wn

Professional and Commercial Men.
support supporting su'pá:rt su'poó'tiáq
— su'póo't su'poó'tiáq
empowered emup'hámd [strong (mih)
due to emphasis, the same speaker
said (pí:óhóu')—empó'ùd
literature lit'turajshn—lit'teratú'ùd
clearance klí'sí'tens—klí'tens
engage engeerdzh [not (gee'j)]—
_ closely klo'si [short (o)]— klo'si
pronounced supprá'zd— supprá'zd
policy mpó'hli'si— po'lí'si

correlation knóorñel'shun— kór'jleé
shun—
congratulation kongrata'sh ni'shun shen—
— kongrá'ti'shun shen
only ornli [short (o)]— oó'wni
burden barend—
progress progrés— proo'gréš
halfpenny haf'pe'ni [not (ee'j)]— haf'pe'ni
importance impór'tens— impó'rtens
management má'nidžmánt — má'n-
edžmánt
absolutely a'baolá'tuli—
fivemere fív'pens— fí'pens
year rí'z
pounds po'unds—
office ooh'fis (f)— o'fis (aa'fís) is not
uncommon]
hundred hónfend— hó'ndrýd
naturally ná'tshun— ná'tshun
homopath noormopæt [(paet) dis-
tinct]—

A Noble M.P.

resolution re:zólu'shun — re:zul'íú'ù-
shun
century see'ntshéri— see'ntúri
further fá:x'á— fó ðú
I have had it or'v ev návdít—
serious sii'rá'jós— sii'rá'jós
always AÁ'lweez [short (e)]— AÁ'lweez
cholera ko'tú're—
pass paaas [distinctly long]
my lord mlá:d' [ (r) distinctly absent]

A General Officer.

aahsk [compare class and command]
— aask
ask aahsk [compare class and command]
— aask

kind kjáhánd— ká'ánd
influence gíáh'rednz— go'i'duns
ever [I think trilled (R)]— o's'
course ko'wos [the (e) inclined to (sh)]—

INTUKAAS [possibly (-koos)]
— INTUKOOS

UNSTUDIED PRONUNCIATION.
financially fo’mæ′nshul′—fina′nshul′ [the (fo′-) arose perhaps from emphasis, but I have heard (fo′n`)]
additional wdr′shumul—

sought for sall′ta—
regarding rig′ga′dīq [not (gja) which is common]—

fund fand—fend

humanity nu′manit′—shumanit′
cards kaadz [tendency to (kj)]—

board boo′d [no tendency to (boo′)]—

advantage wdrva′ntezh—advva′ntedzh

[œd′-?] make meek′ [no tendency to (œe′)]—

abstain wbsst′n [no (œe′)]—

homes noozm [no (œo′w)]—

puncture pa′kwkt′′ [clear (t)]—pe′kwkt′′

appreciation wprisij′er′shun—wpris′ijee′shun

stron′gl y e′r′v′gl′ [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]—stro′ql′ returns rit′ الز [merely the effect of emphasis, the speaker has no dialectal peculiarities]—rit′ الز

there should be da′eshudhibi—

remarks rmaḥ′ks [I could detect no vowel after (r)]—rima′nks

parcels pahr′rsnls [trilled (r)]—paas′ylz

industrial i′ndars′tri—i′ndustri

plants plants′—plants

world wohrld [certainly provincial]—

woold

immediately ɪˈmɪdˈdʒhɪtli [very common]
—ɪˈmɪdi ɪˈdiəli

to samples sahmp′z⁴—səm plz

circumstances sə′kum stahm′nsez—sə′-

kum stəm⁴z

importance ɪmˈpləˈtəns—ɪmˈplətəns

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 (œe′, œo′), which were evidently transitional stages to (ahi, ahul), 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 (h) represents (sh) most probably. See Mr. Sweet’s own pronunciation, p. 1207.

one wəʊən ... wənn—wən
ask nəsk ... —
ers oə ... əə
eye ee′ə′ ... əw′y′—əi
me məs ... —mii
hid hɪd, hɪdd ... —ḥid
may mək′i ... me′y′—məd′j
egg ɛg ... eg ... eg
air e′əə ... —ee′ ee′r
add add′ add ... —add
how həw′ ... əwə′—əw′
too tuw′ ... —tuw
pull pul′ pull ... pull—pul
ove əw′ ... əw′əu—əw′w
ave əə ... —
or əə əə ... —əə əə
odd oʊd oʊd ... —od
joy dʒəʊ′i′ ... dʒəʊ′i′—dʒəʊ′i′

WHENCE DO DIFFERENCES OF PRONUNCIATION ARISE?

These examples are amply sufficient to shew 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 orthoepy and orthography; and designed as a work of reference for general use, and as a text-book in schools, by Richard Soule, J.r., A.M., and William A. Wheeler, A.M.” Boston, U.S., 1861; London, Sampson Low, pp. xlii. 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. 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 (doktra'i'nel, inima'i'kel),—I have not heard (so'i'vo'el), although surely civilis has as much a right to its (o'iz) as doctrina and inimicus. It was in the same spirit that Prof. Stokes spoke of (aste'rejo'iz) from ἀστήρ, (although this becomes astereoidis), which should have led him to (aste'rejo'oz), and I recollect that the late Prof. Traill of Edinburgh always insisted on the termination (—o'oz) in similar words,) and Sir G. B. Airy used (gi:odii:si) from γῆ, (although the Greek is geodatia), and (miri'dijov'nel) from meridionalis. 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 orator, senator, the Scotch are more consistent than the English in saying ev'ra tor; and remembering geometry, geography, it is more consistent to say geo'desy; and similarly dé'monstrare is more in accordance with our plan of accenting French words than
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 (əˈmɪkəbl), not (əˈmərɪkəbl), or (əˈmərɪˈkeɪbl), which would be real foreignisms; we must say (vəˈktərɪ), not (vəktəˈrɪ), Latin victoria, although we say (vɪkˈtɔːrɪə), for which (vɪk­tɔˈrɪəs) would be more analogical, and we do not make the last syllable (-os), notwithstanding Latin -ōsus; just as we make -al- (-əl), notwithstanding Latin -ālis. For a similar reason a final unaccented -ice, -ite, -ine, -ise, should have had (i), not the (ɔɪ) 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 (onˈwiː), aide-de-camp (əˈdɪkɔː), coup d’œil (kuːpˌdəˈwɛl), envelope (əˈnvələp), environs (əˈnvɪrən), chef d’œuvre (ʃɛf doːvʁ) coup d’état (kuːp dəˈtæt), 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 Accident (2nd ed. 1872). But without this knowledge, we see that (ənvələp, ənvərən) are good English. Perhaps (tʃiːf, mənjuːvə) would hardly preserve (tʃiːfˈduːvə) from being ridiculous, and hence the English ‘masterpiece’ is preferable. Bayonet is given as (beˈnət, beˈnət) by different orthoepists. I have never heard any one say so. (Beeˈnet) is usual in civil life, but (bæˈnet) is heard among officers and (bæˈgunet) 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 denounced 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'j) 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 conversa-
tion 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.

acorn ac'orn—ek'-koon already a'lere'did—al'red'ed apparent vep'ts ent—vpec'rynt Aryan a'rye'zn—aa'trian atonement v'toon'mynt—vtoon'nynt Boston Ba'kton—Bo'ston career kuree'—karit' chastisement tshe'vstai'zmun't—tshas'es-tizmynt classes tlah'si iz—klaw'syz comeliness ko'mlin'ez—ko'mlins commune kame'oon—kame'moon construed konstruang—ko'nstruad data da'et—de'ta discretion diskri'she'un—diskreshen divine dway'shin—divo'shn doth dooth—doth dreary dri'ti—dri'ri elements e'lementz—e'limynts fossil fo'sl—fo'sil
gelid gel'id—dzhe'lid grapple grah'pl—gra'pl great greet—greet' guidance gah'dens—go'dens harassed hee'raast—hee'rost home hoo'mm—hoo'um importance impaan'ts—impaa'tuns leniently len'e'tantli—lurn'yentl mendicant mend'ikont—mend'kont mercantile me'kantil—moo'kents'il moment moo'mynt—moo'mynt momentary moo'mentari—moo'menturi most moost—moost motion moo'shen—mooshen mouth mo'uth—mo'oth museum muh'zum—moo'zum notion noo'shn—nooshen own oo'zn—oo'zn Palestine Pae'lystin—Pael'estin perfect v. peef'kt—poo'ekt puerele py'er'il—piu'ril robes too'bus—roobj room rum—room Satan seet'thn—see'tun secular sei'kral—se'kral sophistry soo'fistri—so'fistri stone stoo'zn—sto'zn substratum sobstra'tum—sobstret'um sure syy—syoow swamps swe'amps—swomps testimony te'stimooni—te'stimmni throne throon—thre'o'n used [e' acuusted] yst—yi'gst

An American Lady Lecturer,
highly educated, graduate of an American university, with quiet manner, good delivery, and evidently carefully studied pronunciation.

afford ahfood'd—ahfoo'd always ah'weez—ah'weez apportionment ahoosh'mynt—ahoo'—shenmynt
AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

before bïfoor'-w—bïfoo'.
both booth—both
career kajrìir—kùriir [the final (-ir) was very marked, not even (-i'r)]
character kahr'vækt—kær'ekte
Chicago shikaa'goo
chivalric shëv'lërik—tshi'vel'rik [this is one of the new importations; chivalry as an old word should be (tshi'vel'ri), see supra p. 682, v. 45.]
class klaas—klaas, [but tl-, dl-] are very usual initials in place of (kl-, gl-) in England
closer klo'weu—kloo'wee
comparative kambë'tiv—kõmbútiv
culture kârl'tshu—kâ'-l'tshu' [but (tshu) is quite common in England]
demand dìmaa'nd—dëmaa'nd
difficulties di'fëkaltæz—di'fëkultæz
dog dãg—dog
economical ekôno'mikl—ii;kôno'mëkel
educator e'dzhëkets'æl—e'dzhëkets'te [the (edzhu) is not uncommon in England]
egotism i'gòtiz'm—'egòtiz'm
embarrassment embah'rësmënt—em'ba-rësmënt
erv e'w—æ
expenditure ekspeknd'ëthshu'—ekspek'ndi'tshu' [or (ekspëndi'tshu), the latter is very common in England]
first faosh'æst—feœst
forth foo'th—foo'th
funds fandz—fandz
girls gëazl—gëazl [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 (gëazl) is very harsh to my ears; of course (gëazl) is very common, and I have heard (gëazl) as a studied pronunciation. See (1156, č').]
home nhoo'wam—hoo'wem
importance impæ'æ'tæus—impaa'tæns
introduce iron'droolus—introduûus
leisure lëe'zhu—le'-zhu' [lëi'zhu] is not uncommon in England, but it is archaic
located lok'ëted—loke'tyd
long laag—laq
marsh mah'sh—maash
Michigan Mr'shiügen
mischief misjëshuf—mi'shësh-f
mutual miëtshëf'sahl—mië'tshëjel [but (mië'tshël) is very common in England]
naturally nëtshëûrëli—nëtëûrëli [but (tsh) is quite common in England]
new nëy në'y (?)—nëu [the diphthong was very difficult to catch]
no nooqu—noo'w
none noon—nën
only oñli—œ'wënlë [but (oñli) is not uncommon in England]
open oo'open—oo'pon
parent peë'rënt—pee'rynt
prudent prë'y'dant—prou'dënt [see new]
radius re'dëis—ree'dëis
St. Louis Sent Lu'vis
say seei—seej [this was an accidental emphasis apparently]
society susah'ëti—sasë'ëti
store stoo—stoo'
sure shiyy' (?)—shuo'
surely shiû'ëlë'i—shuo'li
surveillance suvë'lëns—svëve'lëns [this is one of our unsettled importations]
test te'est—test
towns thy'unz—to'unz [the (th) was no doubt accidental]
traits treets—treë'jë
holy hëhi—hoo'li
wrath raahth—raaðth
wrong rooeq—raq
year siir—

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', oo'w), for (oo') which has still more recently tended to (AA', AA) for -ore. The diphthongal forms for ew, u, are transitional, from (èu, 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 orthography, 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; cossat, (ked). This old English word is still in use by farmers, etc., near Newport, R.I., who talk of ‘cade lambs,’ ‘cade colts.’ I have not heard of it elsewhere in the U.S.

Char, v. and n. (tsheaz) always, I believe, in the U.S., except the occasional (tsheaz) and pl. (tsheazes) of laborers and farm servants.


Drool or dreuflu (Druul, drivel), for ‘drivel,’ used everywhere by mothers and nurses. The latter is the less polished form.

Eve. Commonly (zidu), but twenty ago I very often heard (soo) from farmers, butchers, and others in eastern Connecticut and R. Island.

Eft (=Newt), (ev’t, ev’et). Common in Conn. ‘Newt’ is rarely used; ‘eft’ (monosyll) never, I think. (A.S. efete.)


Fillip, n. and v. (flIp), always. I never heard it as a dissyllable in N. England.

Gambrel, roof, (ga’mbl ga’mbel). N. England, common; thirty years ago, nearly universal.

“to Gange.” 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 wire attached to the fishing hook.” [“To gange 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 (ganz)—or, as many pronounce it, to (ganzh, gendzh) a hook—though the word is not in our dictionaries. Here, the gaising 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. ‘gancho,’ a hook.

Gumption, (go’mshean); more common, colloquially, in N.E. forty years ago, than it now is. I never heard the p sounded. (Hii-z noo go’mshean) or (Hii neent got noo go’mshean).

Lean-to (addition to a building), (l’nta). Conn. and Mass., the common pronunciation, among farmers, etc. I never heard (lii’ntu, lii’nta). Misch, v. (mitsh), part. (mit-sh’in). Connecticut, farmers, laborers, etc., —as in speaking of a dog or cat (goor’ miitsh’in roun), or of a (maa miitsh’in fels). Refuse, adj. and *n., (re-fudzh), and sometimes (re-fezdz). 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 w (whether at the beginning of a word or syllable) like v. Like v to me; perhaps you would call it (bh) or German
w (which I own myself unable to distinguish from v). 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 sonancy, 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 precisest of colonial literary aristocracies. It looks like it too, that they sound r like w, or drop it. Mister is Mistoo or (m'estuew) they say,—one of my slight diphthongal ws, 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 (u), see (9, ed.),] "and for wh they make f. Thislast 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 w (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 see." 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 (wan) for wan, and one respectable pianoforte tuner, after vainly trying to say view, bringing out something like (wu). 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 hoon, putting the aspirate before the digamma, so that, were the monosyllable prolonged to a disyllable, it would be (hu'en) 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 hoon. 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 reactionary Anti-Irish pronunciation of (ii) 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 (tahir) [the trilled (r) in this and the following examples is possibly an oversight] for chair is not so common in

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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 Charlestonian would say (peez) for peas as an Irishman does. [Considering that some of the earliest cases of ea sounding as (ii) 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 e 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 (gas'dn, kaad, kæmp).] 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 ŏ nasalized. I don’t think so, e.g. I don’t think the New England cow is like the first syllable of the Spanish cause. Some make the insertion ê. I consider it y. Kyow for cow, nyow for now. [Probably (kə'u, nja'u), see the extract from Webster (1066, d).] If there is nasality, it will be (kə'ə, nja's).] 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 (wə'und) see (136, d).] The New Englanders sometimes lengthen ŏ into au. Nauthing (or more commonly nauthin) for nothing. [Possibly (nə'θin) or merely (no'θin), which would be more historical.] On the other hand, they frequently substitute ū (a) for ŏ (oo), stun, hull, for stone, whole. The substituted vowel is the pure and simple English ū. The New England pronunciations of stone, whole, are precisely the English words stun, hull. [They sound to me more like (ston, hol) than (ston, hol).] There is, however, one word, in which the people of Massachusetts. (not the other New Englanders, so far as I have observed) substitute ŭ for ŏ. That word is coat, for which they say _cot_ (kət). It is just possible the sound may be a little longer than cot (kət), 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 ŏ of coat is not ŏ, but the short sound of _o_, a sound which, if it exists, has a constant tendency to run into ŏ or ū. [Short (o) certainly seems to exist in English dialects and in America, but it is frequently misheard as (a), and it is singular that in Mr. I. Pitman’s phonography (oo, ə) 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 (a, o) and (a, 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 (əs'əh) for (oo). In the same letter Mr. Bristed notes having heard root made (rut), rhyming to foot; and _deaf_ called (difi), see (1069, ə), by educated speakers. He adds:] Nearly all the New Englanders say _testimony_ and _territory._
The pronunciation *fort'n*, *nä't*r, [possibly (La't'n, nee't'n)] for *fortune*, *nature* (the very shortest possible indistinct vowel substituted for ū), was traditional in New England, and only went out in the present generation. [It is xvi th-century English.] When I was a boy at Yale College (Connecticut) in 1839, some of the older professors said *fort'n*, *nä't*r, etc.

The Bostonians and the people of Eastern Massachusetts generally are popularly accused of superfluous final *g*: *cap'ting*, *Bost'ing*, 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 vulgarity general in both England and America. Dickenson's Mrs. Gamps and Hay's Western Colonels say *pard'ing* 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 chicking goes up the mounting?" She replied, "No, the chickenn goes up the mountenn." (That is the nearest I can come to literating her.) [Possibly (tshē'kkēnn, māw'ntēn)] exaggerating for the purpose of illustration. Smart marks (tshē'kēn, māw'nten) or (tēnt) are common. But (tshē'kēn, māw'nt) or (tshē'kun, mō's'nten) are disagreeable to my ears. Some persons likewise say (La't'n, Sē't'n, pr'dn), 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 *r*, and thinning the indistinct vowel before it into a very short *e*, e.g. *fost* (*fost*) 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 (amə'jikə), with a tendency to (omə'jir, tka ομο'jikə), but the vowel used for *e*, for which I have helplessly written (ə), does not glide on to the following (r, 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 *(e) e* is universal. *Bar for bear, far for fair, strang'rer* for stranger. [Possibly remnants of (bær, fær, strawndžer), misheard. Mr. Bristed finds a difficulty in understanding (ə, əe) in palæotype, which seems to him to "embrace all sorts of sounds, from the shortest continental sound of a to ordinary English ā. This," says he, "causes confusion. I am not sure how you pronounce *plaid*; it seems to me that you call it *plūd*." I call it (plæd), and it is curious that the American Worcester gives no other pronunciation; I have heard (plœd) called a Scoticism, 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 (əe) is that 'fifth sound of a, at 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 *fær*." Walker made none, 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 (əe). Such sounds occur dialectically 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 (tā'm) for (tsōm). Many Americans do say (tām), and even (tā.im). All Americans pronounce case to rhyme with case. I see you would rhyme vase with aries. 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: (vāz), which I most commonly say, is going out of use, (vāaz) I hear most frequently, (vēez) very rarely, and (vēe) I only know from Cull's marking. On the analogy of case (kēs), 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 (vēes), Smart only admits (vēe). As to the British Museum pronunciation, I find on inquiry that the Antiquities Department call it (vāaz), "to rhyme with papā's." but one of the assistants in that department says he would say (vāaz) of a modern vessel to contain flowers (for instance), "in fact," says my authority, "he seemed inclined to distinguish different kinds of vessels 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 (bal) for boy; that is purely Irish. [These are all xviii th century.] I think I have found a New York peculiarity, buddy, nobuddy, for body, nobody, but am not quite certain if the vowel is the indistinct u. [Noo-bed] 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 equalled 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.” shows 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 cute D S H, afraid afeard D, against agin D, am not ain't H, are not ain't H, Americans' Merricans H, apoplexy appleplexy D, apothecaries potecaries D, attention tension D.

**B.** Believe bleeve W, bellows bellesse D, be not beant S, beyond beyond D, boisterous boystorious W, by and by bime-by D W.

**C.** Calculate kalklate D, chimney chimibly D, Chinese n. Chinee H, classically? cussycally W, possibly a mere grotesque; contrariness contrariness H, cordial cordyal W, put apparently as an uncommon pronunciation, indicating "corjal" as the common? (1069, c6?); cubboards cubbords D, curiousest curiesest curiousest 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, drowned drowned D, durst not dursent H.

**E.** even, almost eny most D, een amost, een almost S, evenly? e'any D, ever a one ary one D.

**F.** Funeral fun'l H.

**G.** Gave gin D, evidently the participle used for the preterite, see given; genuine ginwine, genius D, give gin W, here we have the participle used for the present; given gin D, grew grow'd S.

**H.** Handkerchiefs handkerchers D, have not hain't D, hant S, have given a gin S, heard hearn D W, the form heard 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; moreover homsumer neverhowsever D.

I. Idea idee D, idee H, idear W, idees W, is be's H, is not ain't D W H, an't S, isn't H, it is not taint D, tante S, 'tain't H, it was not twarnt D, I was Ise W.

K. Know'd D, knoll nole D, this must be merely grotesque spelling, as the sound is received.

L. Laudanum lodnum D.

M. Mamma mam H, military millingtary W, Mississippi Massissippy D, Missouri Mizoori H, monster monstker W, more than moren mourn W.

N. Necessity needceesity 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 ordeals W, evidently given as a mispronunciation in place of orjeels, see cordial above; but historically or-deal =ags. or-dal, would be pronounced as W writes; or-de-al is a mere piece of confusion; ordinary orneriy W H, ordinairer ornear W, ours ourn D S.

P. Particular pertickler H, particulary particlyy W, perhaps p'haps H, popular poplar W, previously previely W, probably probly W.

R. Regular regler W, rheumatism rumatiz D.


T. That there that air W, theirs their'n D, them 'em D S, the other t'other D, there are S, tickled tilled D, told told'd D, tour tower D, touds W, tremendous tremenjus W.

V. Violent vilent W.

W. Was not warnt D, warn't W, 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 are air W, came kem H, again agen H, agin S, may be mebbry W, and completely to (ii) in cars keers W.

Long a, ai = (ee, ee) has become (ii) in chair cheer W H, cars keers W, careless keerless H, scared skerrey W, James Jameses H, to which must be reckoned apparel appeerel W; but gave giv W, is probably only the use of the present as past.

The same tendency is shown in the short vowel a (ae) in any eny D, enny W, can kin H, catch kitch ketch D, had hed H, havehr W, that conj. thet H.

Broadening appears in canal kanawal W, sat v. sot D, far fur D, stamped stomped D, but uncertainly in what whot W occ., wat wot H, 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 ketch'd 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, nests neests D, and, as is very common in England, to (i) in chest chist S, general general D, ginral W, generally generally W, get git D W, getting gittin' H, ketles kittle D W, passengers passinjers W, pretty adj. pretty pritty D. But shews the Scotch broadening tendency in key kag W, set p.p. sot S, p.t. sot W, where there may be a confusion with sat, well adv. wall W, wrestled rustled H.

The long ee is shortened in been ben bin D, but as ea 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 rule D, really raly D, ra'ly H, heard baird H, and some other cases, for which see er.

The following are very common in England: neither nather nuther D, chowing chawin W, ewe yo S, newspapir noospaper W.

I. In if ef W H, sit set D, we have a tendency opposite to that of get git. Little leetle D W is common here, but square 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 (1159, 8), 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 opy W, actually actilly S, animal animil W, counterpane counterpin D, manage manige W, poem poin W, garments garnments W, trousers trowsis W, nephew nevey H, region regime W, passion pashin D, waistcoat weskit W, argument argyment W.

O seems to assume all varieties of different local English forms, so that any classification is difficult. It becomes (aa) in roar rar H, (uu) in boast boost D, more moore W, falls to (a) in home hum D W, whole hull D W, stone stun 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 boosom boozum buzzum W. Then we find soldier sawder S, bowlders bowlders H, thought tho't D, bought bo't D.

The (oo) sound varies, as (au) in route rout W, (iu) in chooses chuses D, boot butes W, do dew W occ., through thru' D, threw D W, zoological zoological W, the last being derived from the "zo""; and (a) in took tuk W, roof ruff D, and you yu W, your yer H, the two latter used enclitically.

The diphthong OI is treated as long i in all those cases in which it was so sounded in the xvi th and xvi th centuries. Thus: appointed appinted D, both bile D, boiling bilin W, bilin' H, broiling briling D, hoisted histed W, join jine D W H, loins 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 pison 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 unparalled W, unpleasant unpleasant S W, unsatisfactory on-satisfactory H. In a few words short u is a, as just jest D, jest D S, common in London, judge n. jedge H, compare Scotch (dzhadzh), 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 (uu), a well-known English vulgarism, but dating apparently from after the xvi th 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 actooate W, adieuadoo W, amusing amoozin W, circuitous sircoolitius W, confused konfoozed W, constitution constitshooun W, dispute dispoot W, excuse excoos W, gratuitous gra- tuitis W, impudence improdents W, including inclooin W, individual individual W, influence inflowance W, lunatic loonytick W, nuisance noo- sanse W, obtuse obtoos W, peculiar pocaoler W, punctually punktooally W, pursue pursoo W, resumed resoomed W, spiritual sperrtooul W, subdued subdoood 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 t and r this change is received, but W furnishee both bloo and bleow for blue.

Unaccented u in open syllables, which, though always very short (id), is called long by our orthoepists, seems mostly to become (i, t). Thus: education idecation education S, minute n. minet S, mitit H, minutes minits W, valuation valuation S, value valy S, regulating regelatin D, ridiculous ridilicious H.

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, creatures critters S, features features S, figures figers D, figgers W, future futer W, figurer iger D, legislature legislatmur D, nature natur D S, nater W, natural natural S, natral W, pasture pastur S, pictures picters W, rupture rapter W, venture venter W, pressure presher W. The last word 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, yearth W, early airly S, pert peart H. But the rule is
for all such words to become ar, as: learn larn D S, learned larned D, larn'd S, search sarch S, astern astarn D S, bear bar W, certain certin sartin D, sartain S, certainly sartinly W, certify sartify D, concern concern S, concerned consarved W, converse converse W, dern v. darn D W, derned darned D, derNation derNation D, tarnation S, deserved deser'd D, determined determined D, early arly W, earth arth W, errand arrand S, eternal ternal D, etarnal S, eternallest tarnulest W, eternitie etarnity D S, infernal infarnal D W, Jersey Jarney (?) , merchant marchant D, Lord have mercy Lord a massy S, nervous naurous H, observed observed W, observes observes W, preserved presarved D W, sermons sarmons S, serve sarve D S, uncertain onsarit S W, universe universa S, verses varsed D, to which may be added there there H W, where what W, blurt blart S, disturb disturb W.

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, b). 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 aware of 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 (thar) where I say (har), — a matter of choice, (hart) presenting no difficulty to me. But that Dickens' smord 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 (an 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 boss W, horses bosses W, burst bust D W, busted H, bursting bustin W, curse cuss W H, cursing cuisin D, coloured culled W, first fost W, lanters lantuns W, nursing nussing W, persons pussons W, purse puss W, worse wuss W, worser wusser W. And I would explain girl gal H, girls gals D, galls S, in the same way, girls becoming first garls and then gals (gaalz galsz galsz), and similarly pretty having the r "transposed" becomes perty, and then, putty D W, of which pootty 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 (ee), 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 afloat erflote W, drama dramer W, orphan orflun W, spectacles specterzels W, valise verlise W, umbrella umbrelle W, vista vister W, to which may be added the common always allers W H, generally written aliases in England:— for E unaccented in elements ellermunts W, elephants

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 (381, 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 (əʊ, -n), 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 triilled r, which is tainted with vulgarity), and -er- when before a con-sonant (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-did W, *gowns* gownds W, as with us, but there is a more general tendency to omit it in this case, as *friend* fren W, *vagabond* vagabone W, especially when s follows, as *friends* frens W, *husbands* hubsans W, *understands* understans W, *reminds* reminses W, *handsome* hansom S (although *handsome* handsam S is also found, where the d is probably erroneous), and even before other letters, as *hand-bills* habnills W. There is a great tendency to change d to j under the influence of a full s unaccented but followed by a vowel, as *Indian* Ingen D, *Injin* D H, *Injun* W, and *audience* awjince W, *grandeur* granjur W, *immediate* immejit W, *induce* injuce injoyce W, *medium* mejium W, *produce* projuce W, *soldiers* sojer W, *tremendous* tremenjis W.

H. This much-abused letter in England seems to escape in America. Of course ostensibly hosstensibly 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 yer H, which however are attributed to the strong action of the (ɪə) or (ɪə) pronunciation of the *-er* portion. Even Sir John Herschel (Soudart,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 yearth H is quite similar.

L for r in frustrated frustratid 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 cushings H, garden garding W, weapons woppings H, but more commonly -ng becomes -n; in fact this is the rule for the participial and gerundial -ing and the word thing in composition, as amusing amasin S, capering caperen D, everlasting everlastin' S, everything evrythin D, meeting meetin S, nothing nothin D S W, pudding pudden D, seizing cesuin W, something suthin W H, toiling tollin W, etc., etc.

PH. The change to p in nymph ninh 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 confickts W, contac contact W, districts distrieks W, facts fax W, intellect intelleck W, just so jes so W, just jess H, object object W, perfect perfeck W, sect seek W, and after p in attempt attemp 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. suddent H, and assimilated in let go leggo W, to which category probably belongs partner partner H. In surtort surtort 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 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 vo in the first syllable of conviviality conviviality W, showing 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 s by the omission of preceding syllable in exactly zaxtly 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 Da Njes Testament wo sei 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 Handleiding om het Neger-Engelsch, zo als hetzelfe over het algemeen binnen de Koloni 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 Wullschlägel'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 Bargy in the x11th 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, c), 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, ngeck, 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); missly is lonely, solitary (Belfast; Mr. Murray says Jamieson gives it for Roxburghshire, but he never heard it, it is ags. misalice), brulliment disturbance (Glenarm, Co. Antrim), glam grasp or sudden clutich (Belfast), hoke to make a hole (Sc. howk), hence the hoques a game played with peeries pegtops, which are to hoque 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 (\r), 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 Alphabetical 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), the post-aspiration (pm\th, bm\n\n), the dental or bi-dental (\t \d) before this (\r), and excessive palatalisation of (l, n, k, g); 2) in the vowels (i) for (i), (o) for (\a, \a), (ee) for (ii), all three of which appear doubtful to me, as the last seems certainly xvth 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 drawling brogue, which he endeavours to write thus: Calf caalf, Margaret Maargaret, clean claane, height hoith, potatoes pyaatees, wheat whate, father faather, door duire, 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 pantomine;—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-te's, a quarter of an acre of potatoes] the boy sot last Easter.—Is it after the woman [the speaker's wife] yer Riverence is axin? Och she's bad intirely with the faver, 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 dhry with the red murrin, not a dhrop inthered thir lips since yistheryday but could wather.—Yer Riverence is a decent gentle-man, and won't see a poor craathur 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, see, deee), and that barrel is (baa-rl), and so on. But nothing of this is shown 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 show 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, oo, in, closed syllables for (ii, ee, aa, âa, oo, au), and i, e, a, o, u, for (i, æ, œ, o), but (e, a) may be meant, and he seems to have no sign for (u). In open syllables, or with a final e mute, (e, i, o, u) seem to be (ee, ii, ai ei, oo, i), and ou is (âu). The two sounds (âi, ei) 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 thremen-dy-iss B, thremen-dus C, which appears rather as (trime-nzhas) in English, but massacre massacrec B, massacræ C, is very peculiar. The three following are usual enough in England: coroner crowner B, C or corner, courtesy curtchy B C, poem pome B C SE, (po'ïm) S, but process C, press B, seems to be simply (pro'sè) abridged, and portmantye portmantyea B, where yea = (ie), or portmanche B, is a mere local mispronunciation in B, where 'portmanki' has also been heard. Initial syllables are lost in apprentice C, prentice B, enlisted list B S C, and perhaps a final ë in laeet lance B S C, which looks, however, more like a different usage.

Accent is thrown back, as regards received pronunciation, in brigadier (Brig'adier B, cavalier cav'iler B, engineer eng'ineer B, fusilier fu'silier B, mankind man'kine B C, and S for accent, parishioner parish'ioner B C; and forward in contrary contra'try B S C, in B and C we ought certainly to have tth, desultory desul'tory B, desul'thory C, discipline discip'line B S C, discip'lined discip'led B, dispu'table B C, dispu'tant dispu'tant B, district C, distric't B, exemplary exem'plary B S C, industry industr'y B S, industr'thy C, as it certainly should be in B, inventory inven'tory B S, inven'thory C, lamentable lament'able B S C, maintenance mainte'nance B C, (menti'nae) S, subaltern sub'altern B.

2. Vowels.

A is sometimes but rarely broadened into (AA, e), as cabal C, cabaul B, S (a), canoe 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 (ai) not (AA), agrees with the retention of (æ) after v, which goes through the Belfast pronunciation, answering to S or SE (â), 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, quanti'ty, quarrel, quarr'y, squab'ble, squad, squander, scab, scaddle, scallow, scamp, scamp, scamp, scamp, wasp, wash, wash, wash, wash, wasp, warrior, wash, wash, wash, wash, and what.

The short â 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, (brehn) S, calico C, kelligo B, cartridge
kethtridge B, or katthrij C, damslel C, demsel, S (e), examine C, exemine B, example C, exemple B, January C, Januaru C, ma'am C, mem B, (mem mem) S, mangle C, mangle B, slant C, slent B, (sklent) S, reach (i) in hang C, hing B S (e'), many C, minny B, has C, his B, have C, hiv B.

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 (e), but Mr. Murray suggests that it may be only a too narrow pronunciation of (e), 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, cannell kennel, cant kent, carry kerry, cattle kettle, cavern kevern, drags dregs, fang feng, gabble gobbled, galley gelley, gas guess, hack heck, hag heg, in fact in fact, knob neck, nag leg, pack peck, pang peng, plunk plunk, rack reck, rank renk.

CAR. GAR.- are usually kyar-gyar in Belfast, but sometimes kare-gare.- The first is just known in Cork. Neither are known in South Scotch.

In case C, wuz B, S ooc., we have probably an occasional B use, and vocation C, vocation B, is no doubt mere confusion. Unaccented A is perhaps exceptionally treated in America American B C, and Meriky C.

A long seems to be in Ireland naturally (æe), but much further examination is here necessary. D. Patterson notes that -ar is often called -(ær), possibly -(ær), and that when following k a y is introduced, as kyar, skyar, for ear, ear. This and the long -are must in general be passed over, to note ehar C, char B SE, farm C, form B, dare dar B S C, and aeron C, shorn B S, panaroma panorama B S C, rather B, cether B, (tee).

AE is noted as spae C, spae B, but the meaning of the 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, anger C, ogre B, jaundice jendiez B, jaundis C. The regular sound is marked as a, but whether this means (a) or (ae) or (aa) is not noted. The C is as received, the S has (aa, aa) always, and the English has (aa), hence I only give B in brawl bral, clav cla, crawl cral, fawn fan, flaw fla, gnaw na, bawthorn bathom, jaw ja, gnaw na, law la, paw pa, saw sa, spraw spral, twany tanny.

E short is apparently lengthened in B, and not in C, in bet C, bait B, led C, laid B, precious C, prayshayis B, shet C, shade B. It is occasionally deepened to (e) as in desk C, dassk B, (dassk) S, grenadier grannidier B S C, wren ran B WS C, wretel C, ratch B, S (wr'), wretelle rassel B WS C; but its general tendency is to sharpen into (i), as in bench binch B C, besom bizzz B, (ba-r'zoom) S, bless C, bliss B, S (e'), brethren C, brithren B, S (e'), cherry C, chirry B, S (e'), chest C, chist B, occ. C, (ke'est) S, clever C, cliver B, S (e'), crevice C, crivvis B, S (e'), devil divill B C, S (e'), engine injine B C, S (e'), ever C, iver B, S (e'), every C, ivery B, S (e'), jerk C, jirk B, jet C, jit B, S (e'), kernel C, kiren B, merry C, mirry B, S (e'), never C, nivver B, S (e'), next nixt B C, S (e'), premises primmises B C, red B, rid B, S (e'), shettie shittie B, S (e'), speckled C, sprinkled B B S, together C, tother B, S (e'), twenty twinti B C, whether C, whither B, S (e'), sorench wrinch B C, yes yis B, yis yea C, (se's) S, yesterday yistherday B C, S (ye's), yet yit B C, S (e'), and in sana C, seeni B, (semi) 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 (ee) or (ee), where it was so in the xvith century, as in decent daicent B C, equal aiquil B C, extreme extraith B C, female famil B, fainmail C, fever favour B, fayfuir C, frequent frequant B C, immediadyly B, immnajddyly B, inmmedly B, immediautly C, scheme skain B C, secret sieret 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 ee, the (ii) sound had already prevailed by the xvith century, but beestings beestins B, baystins baysteess C, queer quair B C, are partial exceptions. The pronunciations were wur B, wor C, threepece thrup彭e 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 (ri'z'n), but in the common phrase reason or none, used adverbially, they still say (re'z'n-orn'z'n). 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 (ə) or (ə), and that it travelled through (eɪ, 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 (e) both in B and C, but not in S, these are: bead, baid, beagle, baigle, baik, bake, beam bame, beam bane, beast baste, beat bat, bleach baich, breech braich, cease saice, cheap chlap, cheat chait, clean clain, creak craik, cream crain, crease craice, creature craithir B, craithther C, daecen daikin, deast dale, dean dene, each atch, eagar aigér, eagle aigle, eare asie, eart ait, eat ate, feaisable faizable, feast faist, feat fate, flea flay, freak frak, frease n. grace v. graze, heal hale, heaithen heaithen, key kay, lead ladle, leaf laif, league laig, leak lake, lean lane, least laist, leave love, mean male, mean mane, measles maizels, meat mate, pea pay, peace pace, peat pale, please plays, prey prach, reach raich, real rail, reap rape, rare rair, reason raisin, repeat repait, sea say, seal sale, seam same, seat sait, sheaf shait, sheath shaft, sneak sneak, speak speake, steal stale, streak straik, stream straime, teay tay, teach taich, treacle treach, treason thraizin, treat thrait, treal vale, trean wane, weave wave, wheat whait, wreak rake.

2) Words in ea having the (ee, ee) sound in S, as well as B and C, breathe braithte, endevour endaiver, neat nait, weak wake.

3) Words in ear having (aa) or (ææ) in B, and the regular (əə) or (ər) in C, dearth darth B, S (əə), earth C, arth B, S (əə), heard C, hard B, S (əə), learn larn B C, S (əə), search C, sarch B, S (əə).

4) Words in ea having (e, e) in both B and C, leap lep, meadow medda.


EI is not sufficiently exemplified, but the xviith century pronunciation appears to be the rule, either aither B C, leisure laizhir B, laizhir C, inveigle inveigl B C, seize saize 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).

EW. The few cases given are quite exceptional, chew chow B S, chau C, showkar skivver B C, Matthew Matha B C.


I short when written ee by Mr. D. Patterson represents the Scotch short (l), and does not reach to C: brick C, break B, delicious C, dilesheayis B S, giggle C, geegle B S (l), idiot eedyet B S, ujiut C, malicious C, mileshayis
B S, militia C, milleeshy B, snivel C, sneevel B, ridiculous rideelkils B S (l), rideliks C, wick C, week B, (wik) S. Even the changes of ı into (e, e) in miracle merrike B C, (me1'rův'kɪ) S, melt B C, (me1lt) S, rid C, red B, (re1d) 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 ruflian rufnin B C the ı seems merely a mark of the indistinct final syllable, as used so much by Buchanan, see example on p. 1053.

I long is exceptionally pronounced (ee, ee) in diameter C, daymeter B, fatigue fitnaig B, fataig C, intrigue inthraig B C, liitie, laylock B S, occ. C, quiet quate B WS, quite C, of which fatigue, intrigue are remarkable, since oblighe C, obledge B, and obledge C, does not follow suit. Notwithstanding the usual impression that Irish people say ı or naturally, I am led to suppose that giant joyant B C, riot royet B, ríit C, are also exceptional.

In Belfast there appear to be two regular sounds of long ı, 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 (áı) and S (dí).

I was hurt
My native country I' ll disown
The die is cast
He will dye it red
He dyed his hair
He was dyeing it first
He prior 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 (áı). But he adds, "a Cork man would say, o've hurt mee oh." This Mr. Healy, being a Cork man, repudiates. He knows in general only one pronunciation of long ı, which he considers to be (éı), and, after noticing the habitual pronunciation of by, my, as (bi, mi), adds, "Some of them also say moi for my, but these are very few; in fact, that word and noise for nine are the only ones I can speak of as having heard personally of the change of ı into o." He had forgotten giant joyant, which he had already acknowledged. Rev. Jas. Graves "never remarked any

is (áı), and the second (éı) or (eí), or (éőı) with the first element slightly lengthened. The first occurs in almost all words where long ı precedes r, s, z, th, and in a few where y, ye, ie, are final.

The following words are said to have (áı) and in Scotch (áı), and hence are both B and S: alive arrive blithe buy by client connive contrive dry deny deprive derive desory despise dive dry dye expire fire fly have my pie ploy prior prize prey revise revive rye scythe shy siren size spy sty surmise thic tiche try wry wry.

The following six have (áı) in B, and (dí) in SE, but not in vernacular S: byre desire dire fire tire tire.

The following two have (áı) in B and (ii) in S: biree, friar.

Other cases have the second or (éı) sound in B, and generally also in S, but the following eight have (éı) in B and (dí) in S: choir idol idolize iron piracy pirate quire squire.

This double sound of long ı, 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 (éı).

His eye was hurt—S (éı)
I will my native isle disown—S (éı)
They die at last—S (éı)
He will die in bed—S (iı, éı)
He died in despair—S (éı)
He was dying of thirst—S (éı)
His pride was the cause of his fall—S (éı)
The tide rose fast—S (éı)
That is a gold mine—S (éı)

difference [between I and eye] in the southern parts of Ireland," but adds, "eye is pronounced ee in the north." However, he writes height hoot. Now Sheridan and Knowles, both Irishmen, make the English sound of long ı = (Λı), see (108, c), and only differing from oy, made (Λıı), by the length of the first element. Now what caused this, and what makes English novelists write poir 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 gutturising (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 (o') becomes (o¿) or very nearly (o'ê), see (1100, d'). 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 (ê, e') in Belfast: eyee, idle, ice, Irish, pipe, pide, pike, pint, spite, spider, spice, bible, bite, bile, bind, fife, fight, fine, find, vice, vile, vine, wise, wife, wise, wire, wind, twice, wonne, white, whine, quiet, tide, tile, time, sight, side, silent, sign, shine, child, chime, high, lie, liar, life, light, like, line, line, oblige, fly, flight, slight, slide, slice, glide, ripe, right, wrigbt, write, ride, rice, rhyme, bride, bright, bridal, brine, fright, Friday, thrive, tripe, trice, stripe, strife, drive, gripe, kile, kind, guide, guile, might, mice, miser, mild, smile, night, night, knight, knife, nice, snipe, and their compounds. Of these oblige has 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 precedes 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 (oo) or (o') in cord coard B C, (coard) S, sort soart B C, (soart) S.

In the following words, where the received dialect has (a, æ), we find (o) retained: constable constable B S C, govern C, govern B SE, hover hover B SE, none none B C SE, but one waun B SE, won C, nothing C, nothing B SE, even C, even B SE, but B and C shew different habits, and the contrary use of (o, a) for (o) seems confined to B in body buddy, for fur, hod hud, nor nur, or ur.

That the (u')-sound after (w) should become (ê, e) 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 wemen C, wumen B WS.


The further gradation to (i) appears in Donegal Dunnegal 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 -shīn C. For -īn as indistinct (-ən), see Buchanan (1054). It is possible, therefore, that this is an old Scottish tendency, retained in Belfast.

O long, QA, OE, are generally the same as in the received dialect, but board board B C, coarse coorse B S C, slot slot B, are exceptions, though (slot) is the common technical word in England. Before t there is the usual old change into an (s') diphthong, now very characteristic of Irish: bald boul B C, and boul B, bolt boul B C gen., cold coul B, could C, cot coult B, C gen., hold houl B C, and holdi C, jolt jolt B, C gen., mole moul B C gen., old oldl B C, pule poul B, roll roul B C, scold scoul B C, sold sowl B, sould C, told toul B C, and tould C, but gold goold B SS C. Exceptional changes occur in oser osier B, pony C, pouny B S, swore C, sore B, tobacco tobecky B, tobecky C; but phoenix fainix B C belongs rather to long e.

OU, though generally remaining, even in door door B C, floor floor B C, (floor) S, becomes (o, a) in many words, but the usage varies, as hood C, hud B, look C, luck B WS, shock shuck 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 (o') sound in boil, point, join, etc., is I believe common.

OU, OW, in the following has an (u') sound, contrary to received usage: bowl bowl B SC, gouge gouge B C, pour C, pour B, C also and more commonly, (puur) S, route rout B S, shoulder showdther B C, soul soul B C, tour tour B S. On the contrary, the received (u') is (oo) in devour C, devoir B, and (uu) in cough cough B S, course coorse B S C, court court B S C, crouch crooch B S, drought drooth B SC, pouch pouoch B C, slouch slooch B S.

This becomes (a, a) in could C, cud B, courier currier B S C, mourn morn.
B S C, should C, shud B, would C, wud B, and (ə) in nourish C, norrish B.

Final -ow becomes regularly indistinct (ə) in B S C, as fellow fella, and tought fares the same in borough C, borra B, thorough C, thorra B. But we find the favourite -i in window windey B C, possibly etymologically founded.


U diphthongal, commonly called long u, becomes (i) or (e), or (a) when unaccented, asague aigay B, aige C, (isgo) S, argue C, argay B, (ergr) S and C, education C, edication B, impudent impudent B C S, manufacture C, manufacteth B, value C, valyea S. Also we find the usual suite shoot B, and buoy boy B C.

3. Consonants.


C functioning as (ə) becomes (sh), as s often does, in spancel spanshil B S, spansil C; guttapercha guttaperka B C 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-, tr-, 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 B, T or not, whether the D, T be preceded by S initially or by any long or short vowel, or by 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 Barony 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 th, 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 explosdent 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, dthram = (t.th,rem, d.thh,rem), 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 (th,rem, 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 bidental (t, d) on (1120, b). If Mr. W. H. P. is correct, therefore, the sound is (t,th,rem, d,rem). Mr. Murray, who has been in Ulster, and knows the Westmorland (t,r, d,r), says: "I do not at all identify the th 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 perforid oratory, as though the force of the explosion were carrying out the saliva with it. The northern English has a much finer [more delicate] and more simple-sonlon effect." This would make the effect nearly (t,h,r, d,hr,r), the windrush (th) and the jerk (h) carrying some saliva with them. Mr. Healy, in answer to the question: "is t or d pronounced dentally before r?" 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! Murdther! heard from an Irishman, and the feeble 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 (t,hth,rem, d,hr,rem). But merely English readers would be led to nearly the right sound, most probably, by endeavouring to say (th,hram, d,hth,rem). 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.

- Dth—drown dtrain draft draft, drem dthram, drrill dthril, droll dthroll, drop C, dthrap B, and ooc C, (drop) W's, drownd drownded, drunk dthrunck, foundry foundthrty, hundred hundthetr B, b'oondthert C.
- dther — spider spidther, powder powdther, soundrel sounddthrel, boulder blundtherr, tender tendther B, tindther C, thunder thundther, murder muorthr, border bordther.

- Thhr—trade thtrate, tract thtreck B, thtrack C, treble thtreble, triffle thtrifl, trim thtrim, trod ththrod, troop thtroop, trouble thtrrouble, trousers thtrousers, truth ththtrth, trudge thtrudge, try thtry, pailry palthry, sultry sulthry, sentry sentthrty, country countthrty, partridge pastridge.

- Sthhr—strange stthhrath, straight stthhrath, straw stthhrro B, stthhrau C, stretch C, stthraitch B, stthrive stthrivhe, sttr thtsirsp, sttroke stthrkro, destroy destthtrty, strong stththr, struck stthhruct.


Miscellaneous — children chilther,
udder eldther B, udher D, solder sother B, saudther C, (sadar)S, consider con-
sither B, considither C, ladder leather B S, ladther C, bladder blether B S, 
bladther C, fodder fother B S, fodther C, splendour splendyoor B, splendthur 
C, nearer C, neardther B. In some of these latter cases most probably th B 
is an error for tth or dth.

D is in gardened—

after R in gardener garner B C, 

hardly harly B S C, lard C, lar B S;

after L in child chile B C, field C, 

feel B WS, held C, hell B WS, moul 
moul B C, scaffold skeffl B, skaffl C, 

wild wile B C, world wort B C WS;

after N in and an B S C, band C, 

ban B, N and WS, behind C, behine 
B, bind C, bine B, (be'n) S, blind 
bline B C, bound boun B C, (ban) 
S, end C, en B WS, find C, fine B, (le'n) 
S, friend C, fren B WS, found foun B 
C, (fan) S, grand gran, B C, N and WS, 
grind C, grine B, ground C, gron B, 
(gran) S, hand C, han B N and WS, 
hound houn B C, kind C, kite WS B, 
land C, lan B N and WS, lend C, len 
B WS, mind mine B S C, pound poun 
B S C, round roun B C, sand C, san B 
N and WS, send C, sen B WS, sound 
soun B S C, stand C, stan B N and WS, 
vagabond, veggabone B S, veggabone 
C, wind C, win B.

Hence of course D also disappears 
between N and L, as in bundle C, bunnul 
B, candle kennel B, kendl' C, chander 
channer B C, dandle dannil B, handle C, 
hamnil B S, kindle C, kennel B S (e') 
spindle C, spinnel B S, windlass winlass 
B C.

The participial -ed becomes -it or -t, 
contrary to received usage, at least in 
crabbled crabbitt B S C, "in the sense of 
'cute, not sour, morose,'" C, crooked 
crookit B S C, killed, kilt B WS C, 
naked nakit B S C, wicked wickit B C.

The following are exceptional forms: 
soldier soger B S C, common dialectally 
in England, necessity C, needessity B S, 
which looks like an attempt to make 
necessity intelligible, but occurring in 
America (1226, ba), may be an old form, 
though clearly erroneous etymologi-
cally, breadth breth B, breth C, the 
last is not at all uncommon in England, 
especially among dressmakers.

F occasionally becomes voiced in B 
and S, but not in C apparently, as calf 
C, calve B S, staff C, stav B, (stav) S.

G in blackguard bleggavard B seems 
to be merely palatalised before (aa), as k 
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 
xxvii th centuries.

K is not (as in received English) 
transposed in ask ex B, (aks) S, ax C, 
and disappears in asked ast B C, which must 
be considered a form of (æskat), and not of (æskt). It seems also to disappear in 
lukewarm C, luewarm 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 flammen B S C, will be 
paralleled under N. In corporal C, 
corporal B, we have almost a Spanish 
interchange of l and r. In fitch C 
flinch B, l is inserted, and in Walter 
Watter B, Wauthier C, omitted, as of 
old. In aluice C, sloob B, l causes a y 
sound to vanish, and in column colyum 
B SE, occ. C, to be inserted!

M in mushroom musheron B C has 
gone back to its historical n. After 
L it appears to be always vocal: elum 
elim B S, ellum helm heliim B S, occ., 
helium C, realm rellim B S, occ., 
rellim C, wheel whellim B S occ., 
whellium C, where, as usual, l replaces 
the indistinct vowel.

N becomes l in chimney chimley B S, 
or chimbly C, damson demsel B, 
(dem'lsh') S, remnant remlet B, and n 
in brine C, brime S C, ransack ramsack 
B C.

NG in participles and gerunds is 
regularly (n) in B S C, as cunning 
eunnin B S C, evening evenin B S C, 
gawning gnawin B C, herring herrin 
B S C, sitting sittin B S C; in blacking 
blecknin B, S occ., blacknin C, there is 
an evident confusion with blackening.

In kingdom C, keendom B, it would 
appear that the vowel also is lengthened 
as in the old Forth and Bargy dialect. 
Before th it becomes n in strength 
threeth B S C, length leinth B S C.

In dangle C, dangle B, and all similar 
words, C like E has ng (qg), and S 
like B has ng (q) only, as in ang-er, 
bung-le, ding-er, hung-er, jag-le, jing-le, 
mang-le, mong-er, ting-er, long-er, 
ming-le, sing-le, strong-er, stran-g-le, 
swong-le, young-er.

P becomes b in baptism C, batbism 
B, and often in England, serape scrub 
B, scrap C.

QU is k, as often in England, in B 
and C, in quiot, guorum, quote, quotient.

R is often transposed, from before to 
after, in afrain afeard B C, (fiird) S,
bristle C, birse B S, crib C, kerb B, grin C, girm B C, pretty purty B C; and from after to before in burst brust B, bust C, curb C, crub B S, curb crud B S, seurf, scruff B, scrob C, (seraf) S. It is also sometimes inserted after p, th, as in pokker C, pokker B, potatoe pratie B C, and also often pality, (tarto) S, thistle C, thistle B S. The prior vocalisation of r occurs in February Fayberwary B, Febbery C, proprietor proprietor S, propriethor C, propriety propriety, B C, library libraryary B S C, sobriety sobriety B C, umbrella umbrella B S C, none of them uncommon in England, where also curiosity curiousity B C is well known.

S is evidently mistakenly inserted in molest mislist B, mulest C, and omitted in corpse C, corp B S, but in sneez C, niecee B S, the omission, and in guinsey squinny C, the insertion, is ancient. It is changed to (sh, zh), but chiefly in B, in blunderbuss blundtherbush B, blundtherbis C, fleec C, fleesh B, S occ., grease creesh B S, crees C, harass C, harrish B, mince C, minsh B S, rinse rensh B, rinsh C, rinzh S, utensil utenshil B S, utensil C. On the contrary SHR evidently creates a difficulty, found also in Scotch, and in Salopian, and or is used for it in B, not in C, in shrubsrub, shrine, shrewd, shrew, shriek, shrikr, shrug, shrill, shrunk, shread, shrivel, shrowd, shrunk. Is not shrave C, seraff B, a mere blunder? Dictionary dicsinary B, dickshinary C, is old, and rubbish rubbitch B, occ. C, is known in English as (re’bzdh).

Although it is, strictly speaking, beyond the scope of this work, it seems advisable to supplement some other Belfast peculiarities and their relation to Scotch.

Past Tense.—He begun to sing, he sung well, he drank water, he rid home, he ta’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, strev, riiz, are used for threw, drove, strove, rose. I gie it him an hour ago, he come home this morning, he run down stairs. Sut, spat, lot, brung, are used for sat, spat, let, brought.

Scotch Words in Belfast—Bing heap, boke to retch, brush short and sudden illness, cleek hook, clype large piece, coggle to shake, to rock, cawp to upset, to barter S, dunsh knock against, jolt, but, dint knock, blow, divine pine, farl cake of bread, footy mean, paltry, taking a mean advantage at play S, fozy spongy, hoke make holes, jeuk to dodge, lappeder congealed, clotted, oxtther armpit, prod to stab, sernyn gizzard, scumther to disgust, (skanmor) S, shenug a ditch (sekwh) S, skelly quirt, skelp slap v. and n., sleekit sly, slocken slake, quench, smudge to smirk, soon pang, ache, speel climb, smush refuse n. [quasi what is smashed], stoor dust, strop pipe, sprout, thole endure, throw twist, thud knock or
thump, warsh insipid, tasteless (warsch) S, wheen a quantity.

Unusual words not Scotch.—Curdnapiotssed crabbed, captious, dotter to stagger, floosther wheedle, footther to bungle, a bungler, jubious suspiscious, mistrustful [dubious?], jundy to jostle, ramp rank, rancid, sappple to soak, to wet thoroughly, scoom to scorch, springe to creak, sevendible thorough, sound, skef 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, clod 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], well 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 ove whose is [see Murray, op. cit. p. 193], the t’other the other, throughther 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 pronunciation, 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 Orrin 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 insonated thought, yet it is insonated, 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-orthoeptist 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. Garnett and afterwards Dr. Morris have done much to compare them with one another grammatically, and, so far as mere letters allow, phonetically. In the present work an attempt has been made to determine approximatively the value of those letters. The determination can be at most approximative, for the writing even by careful writers, as Dan Michel and Orrmin, 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, ee, a, aa, o, 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 rüttn en printed
représentedeeshen e dhe sauzn
ev laagwedzh bi minz ev
karekzez, whitsh er
inselfishent both in kaind
en nomber, en whitsh
mos dheafoa bi kemberd oa
modiäid if wi wed giv e
grafiksel simbelizesheen e
dhe fonettik ellements widh
oonli som digrib ev
egzaknes en kenviimiens,
nez biin frem oal taim, fe
neeshez ez wel ez
individuelz,
liqgwistikel stiudents
not ekspeted, won
e dhe moos nessseri
en won e dhe moos
difikelt ev problemz, en
ez konsekwentli skeasli
evve bin happli solvd. Let
dhis tiitsh es dhet dhi
invenshen ev raïtiq, dhe
greesten ev moost
impoatent invenshen
whitsh dhe niumen maind
ev evve meed, en whitsh,
az it indiud oalmoost
ekisiizd its streqth,
nex bin ofn en
not ondzhosli etribbiuted
te dhe godz ; laik dhi
oagenizm ev e steet et wons
simpl en kompleks, iz not
dhe weak ev individivialz,
bot ev sentiurez, penaps
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 (ə ee', ɪə') in accented syllables. The (ʌʌ) 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 to 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 xiv th and xv th centuries, but to-day in the xix th, 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 like Dogberry's reading and writing, to come by nature (MA 3, 3, 7).

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. 147-196, 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 Accident (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 eked 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 bethought 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...

1 In putting this together I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Murray, who made many excellent suggestions and additions, and the Athenaeum 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 con-
siderations 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 crystallisa-
tions. Next, in No. 8, will be added an abstract of the Bavarian
dialectal changes of vowels and consonants, which offer an impor-
tant 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 ortho-
graphical 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 some-
thing 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
Dr. Gill on English Dialects.

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 Orrin 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 dipthongis impropriis.

Dialecti præcipuum sunt sex: Communis, Borealium, Australium, Orientalium, Occidentalium, Poetica. Omnia earum idiomata nec noui, nec audiui; quae tamen memini, vt potero dicam.

(Ai), pro (ai), Borealium est: vt in (fai er), pro (fai er) ignis: Et (au) pro (ou), vt (gaun), aut etiam (geaun), pro (goun) toga: et pro
(uu), vt pro (wuund) wound vulner (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 (noaz) pro (tooz) digitum pedum, et (noon) nose calige. Efferunt et (kest), aut etiam (kusn), pro (kast) iactus, a, um; (ful'a) pro (fol'oon); (klooth) pro (kloth) manus; et contra (spok'n), pro (spok' n) dictus: (dunn) pro (dun) factus: et (tuum), pro (taim) tempus: (raitsh) pro (raitsh) dives: (dhoor) pro (dheer) illic: (briks), pro (britsh'ez) bracca: (seln) pro (self): (nez), pro (nath): (aus) pro (aal'soo); (sudl) pro (shuuld): (oil, iost), aut 3 etiam (aill, aist), pro (ai wil), futuri signo: vt et in reliquis personis (dhou), aut (dhoust); pro (dhout wilt, dhou shalt), et sic in reliquis: (niil), aut (niist); (wiil, joul) aut (joust); (dheil, dheist), aut (dhei sal). In (ai), abjiciunt (i), vt pro (pai) soluo (pa); pro (sai) dico (saa); et pro (said, sed). Pro (u) et (uu), substituunt (yy): vt, pro (gud) kuuk, gyyd kyyk), bonus coquus. Voces etiam nonnullus pro visitatis finguunt: ut (strunt) et (runt), pro (rump) cauda: (sark) pro (shirt) camisia; pro (go) ito, (gaq), et inde (gaq'grel) mendicus; pro (went, jad) aut (jood) ibam, ab antiquis etiamnum retinuet. 

Australies vsurpant (uu) pro (ii), ut (nuu), pro (mii) ille: (v), pro (f); vt, (vill), pro (fil) impleo: (tu vetsh) pro (fetsh) affero: et contra (f) pro (v), vt (fin'eger) pro (vīn'eger) acetum; (vik'ar) pro (vik' ar) 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 (siq) cano; et (ritsh), pro (ai) ego: (tsham), pro (ei am) sum: (tshil), pro (ai wil) volo: (tshi voor ji), pro (ai war'ant jou), certum do. in (ai) etiam post diphthongi dialysin, (a), odiose producunt: vt, (to paai) solvo, (dhaai) illi.

Orientales contra pleraque attenuant; dicunt enim (fir) pro (foi'er) ignis: (kiv'er), pro (kuv'er) tegmen: (ea) pro (a), vt, (to deans),

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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 ent.

4 See a specimen of connected Northern pronunciation as given by Gill (854, 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 J is to be remarked when Wiltshire men are speaking; as, for instance, chave 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 Queenes | Entertainment at | Richmond. | After | their Departure | from Oxford: In a Masque, | presented by the most Illustrious | Prince, | Prince | Charles | Sep't 12 1636. | Naturam imitare licet facile nonnullis, | videantur haud ent. | Oxford. | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, | M.D.XXXVI." At page 6 of
pro (dans) saltae: (v), pro (f), vt (vel'-ou), pro (fel'-ou) socius: (z), pro (s), vt (zai), pro (sai), dicito.1

At inter omnes dialectos, nulla cum Occidentali æquam sapit, barbariæm; et maximè si rusticos audias in agro Somersettensi: dubitare enim quis facilē possit vtrum Anglicē loquentur an peregrinum aliquid idioma. Quedam, enim antiquata etiamnum retinent; vt (saks) pro cultro, (nem) aut (nim) accipe; quaedam,2 sua pro Anglicis vocabulis intrudunt, vt (laks) pro parte; (toit) pro sedili, et alia. Sed et legitima corrumpunt, quedam vsu, quedam pronunciatu, vt (wiiz wai) pro freno; (wiitpot) pro fæcimine: (ha vaq) hue projice, aut etiam arripe proiectum; item (nii vaqd tu mi at dhe vant). i. in baptisterio pro me suscepti: (zit am) i. sede; (zadraukh) pro (asai· dher-of) gusta; (mi3 iz goon avsht-) pro (a fish·'iq) abijt piscatum. Sic etiam protollunt (throt·'in) pro (thir·tin) 13. (nar·ger), (pro nar·ouer) angustior: (zorg·er), pro (moor sor·ouful) tristior. Preponunt etiam (i), participis præteritis à consonanti incipientibus; vt (ifroor*) aut (ivroor·), pro (frooz·n) gelu concretus; (nav j idu·), pro (dun); perfecisti? Hoc etiam peculiare habent, vt nomina anomala utriusque numeri in (z), per numerum vtrumque varient: vt (hooz) hose sing; et plur: caliga vel caligae; apud illos singulariter manet (hooz) et pluraliter fit (hooz·n): sic (peez)4 communiter pism vel pisa, cum illis fit pluraliter (peez·n) pisa.

Communis dialectus alienando esse est ambiguus. Audias enim (inuf*) et (inukh·) inouche, satís: (dhai) aut (dhe) they illi; (tu fiit), aut (tu floot) floate aqua innatare; (haal·berd, haal·berd) aut (hool·berd) bipennis, sic (toil, tuuil; soil, suul; beild, bield, byyld), vt ante dictum.

Dialecti poetis solis ex scriptoribus concessa;6 quibus tamen, exceptâ communi, abstinent; nisi quod rythmi, aut iucunditatis causâ sepiusculæ vtutur Boræali; quia suavissima, quia antiquissima, quia purissima, vtpote quæ maiorum nostrorum sermoni proxima. Sed quia dialectum suam Metaplasmis solà licetíad defendunt, de cā satis dírectur vbi ad prosodiam perucernímus.6

this small quarto volume of 31 pages, I find: 'and because most of the Inter-locutors were 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, Ise is very generally used for I; and in the southern parts of the county Utley, Ichē, Ch for I are still employed. Ise is also to be heard in some parts of Devonshire, particularly in those adjoining West-Somersetshire."

The remainder of this paragraph is the passage about the Mopsae, already given at length (90, d. 91, e). 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.

2 Misprinted quadam three times.
3 Misprinted 'hj' = (hoi), for 'hi' = (ni). No ('i, 'ë) sound of he is known in the West.
4 (Pez) in the original must be a misprint.
5 In his preface he says: Quin etiam vbi dialectus variat, facilē patior vt ipsa scriptura sibi minimē constet: vt, (fardber, furdb'er), aut (furdb'er); (mur'dher) aut (mur'dher), (tu flai) aut (tu flit), (tu diit) aut (tu floot), &c. Dialectis autem (excepfā Communi) in oratione solutā nulla est locus; nisi vbi materie necessitas postulat: Poetis metaplasmus omnis modestē conceditur."

6 The passage referred to is quoted at full, supra p. 936, No. 7.
Et quod hic de dialectis loquor, ad rusticos tantum pertinere velim intelligas: nam mitioribus ingenijs, & cultius enuntitis, unus est ubique sermo & sono, & significatu. De venenato illo & putidissimo ulcere nostrae reipub. padet dicere. Habet enim & fæx illa spureissima errorum mendicantium non propriam tantum dialectum; sed & cantum1 sive loquem, quam nulla unquam legum vindicta coercet, donec edicto publico cogantur Iustitiarius eius auctores in crucem tollere. sed quia tota hæc dialectus, unà cum nocentissimis huius amurcae sordibus, peculiarì libro2 descripta est; quia exteris hominibus nil commodi allatura; ex oratione meæ 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, 6), 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 (i i e e a a a a oo uu, i e æ o œ 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 dilettanti 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 palæotype 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 (ə) long, without much thought as to whether (ə) short and (əə) long would not be equally correct. The distinctions (i, u, w), although seldom known, are yet clearly made. Many persons vary also in the sound of (æə), 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, ə). 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, ə). 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 (əi əə) would seem to make (əə) the same as in shun (shon). By putting (əi əə), this appearance is avoided; but still no r effect is produced, for the theoretical (əi əə)ː hence refuge is taken in (ə), thus (əi əə), the sound (ə) being only known in connection with r.

For unemphatic vowels (y, w) are practically undistinguished from (i, ə). Those, however, who use (ə) emphatically, do not use it unemphatically, and employ either (ə) or (w) in such cases (1160, d). What the precise differences are cannot be said to have been yet determined.

For the Proper Diphthongs, the long i varies as (əi, æi, āi, āi, dī), and occasionally (w i, e i, e i). 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, āi, āi) must be admitted as received, and of these perhaps (āi) is commonest, and (āi) most delicate. But (æi) is also heard from educated speakers, though both (æi, āi) have a broadness which offends many ears. The form (æi) is distinctly "cockney," and (æi, e i) are mincing, to such a degree that they may be understood as long a. Hence I would regard only (æi, āi, āi) as received.

The ow diphthong has similar, but more divergent, and more numerous, varieties, and only (æi, āu, āu) can be considered as received; (æ i æ i) are cockney forms, and (æ i æ u æ u, æ i æ u, w æ u) provincial, and often characteristic of particular dialects.
The oy diphthong has a much smaller range, at most (\(\lambda^i\), \(\lambda\lambda^i\), \(\acute{o'}\)), of which the first and last are most generally received. From educated people the long \(i\) sounds for oy have disappeared, and (\(\acute{o}i\), \(\acute{o}i\), \(\acute{u}\)) are distinctly provincial.

The second element of these three classes of diphthongs is, at least occasionally, tightened into a consonant as (\(o'\hat{e}\), \(o'u\), \(o'i\)) or (\(o'\lambda\), \(o'\acute{w}\), \(o'\lambda\)). 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 (\(i\hat{u}\)) or (\(i\hat{u}\)), varying in the length of the second element, and with its first element either falling entirely into (\(\lambda\)) as (\(ju\)), or using a (\(\lambda\)) as a fulcrum, thus (\(ju\)). These variations are of no importance. But (\(i\hat{u}\), \(i\hat{u}\)) are distinctly non-received. They are known and ridiculed.

The vanish diphthongs generally recognized are (\(e'\hat{e}\), \(oo'\acute{w}\)) already described at length. To these may be added (\(\lambda\lambda\lambda\), \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\)), although they are generally condemned, because they are supposed to consist in adding on 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 (\(\lambda\lambda\lambda\), \(\lambda\lambda\lambda\)) 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 (\(i'\hat{e}\), \(ee'\), \(oo'\), \(u'w'\)), where either a vowel usually short is lengthened, or a new vowel is introduced, (\(oo'\)) for (\(oo'\)), and to these we must add (\(\lambda\lambda'\), \(\lambda\lambda'\)), where there is no new first element. These are heard in merely, fairly, sorely, poorly, marly, Morley. The use of (\(\lambda\lambda'\)) for (\(oo'\)) is very common. The omission of the vanish in (\(\lambda\lambda'\), \(\lambda\lambda'\)) is also quite common, and in (\(ee'\)) the vanish is usually very brief. Besides these there is the simple “natural vowel” (\(oo'\)), or else its substitute (\(oo'\)), and these may go off into an indeterminate voice sound, as (\(oo'\), \(oo'\)), in which case the first element would be usually considered short, as (\(o'\), \(oo'\)), although it is as long as in the other cases. When (\(\acute{o}\)) is used, it is difficult to feel any transition in saying (\(\acute{o}\)), but (\(\lambda\acute{a}\), \(\lambda\acute{e}\)) are quite marked. The sound of Mr. M. Bell’s untrilled (\(r_{\text{c}}\)), 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 (\(\acute{o}\), \('h\)). Whether it is necessary to insist on this separation or not is a question. It is possible that (\(r_{\text{c}}\)) 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 (\(r_{\text{c}}\)), 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 (x), as explained on (1099, c).

The notation (xii, eex, aax, aal, ooa, oxx, eal, eex, ooa) is therefore ambiguous. But it is so far clear that the (x) must not be employed unless a trill may be used. We must not write really, idea, as (rii'-li, o'idiu'-r), because it is offensive, or unintelligible to say (rii'-rli, o'idiu'-r). But in common talk merely, really (miii'-li, riiv'-li) are perfect rhymes. We may, however, say (miiv'-rli), and also (riiv'-li, riiv'-rel), but not (rii'-li) or (riiv'-rl). There are also murmur triph-thongs formed from the first set of diphthongs, as (o'ii', ou', i'u'). The murmurs (l', '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 (l, m, n) might be used, such cases as stabli-ing (stree'-bl-iq) being provided for as above, or as (stree'-bl-iq), or fully as (stree'-bhling).

Hence we have the following list of received vowel-sounds simple and combined.

*Long Vowels*  
ii ee oo aa oo oo  
Short Vowels  
i e e e e e  
Proper Diphthongs  
ö'i åhi åi', å'i å'i', ö'u åhu åu, i'u i'u  
Vanish Diphthongs  
ee'j  åao  åå' oo'oo  
Murmur Diphthongs  
ii' ee' aa' oo' oo'  
Murmur Triphthongs  
ö'i åhi' åi', ö'u' åhu' åu', åu' åu'  

The list is a pretty long one, and far beyond the usual resources of orthography to note. But it has to be considerably augmented dialectally. In the provinces we certainly hear long (ii ee ee ææ oo uu), which are always professedly short in received speech, and short (i e a o u), which are only known as long in received pronunciation. And there are new long and short sounds (aah ah, aa a, yy, y), where (y) lies between (y, a), and varies possibly with (y, a, æ) 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 (u), 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, æ) in emphatic syllables, they confuse this (u), as I will write it for the moment, with (a). The confusion thus arising between (æ, 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', u_0, o_u, u_i, u_0), but either one of the first three seems its best representative. As however (o x) and also (e e) have seldom to be distinguished except in phonetic discussions, so (u u_0) 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^5). 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, e, e), but these are hardly distinguishable by southern ears, to which (i e e e) already present difficulties. See (1106, d').

The number of diphthongs must be much increased. Besides the received, and the non-received (a'i a'i w'i E'i o'; E' u' u', E' u' u', A' u' o' o' o' o', A' u' u', u, u, u, o, o), 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 i o u, u u' u o' u o'), 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 (a' o o, o o o). The stress also may fall on the second element, as (i' o', u 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) or (y, e, o) occurs as an element, and sometimes the whole diphthong may be made up of these elements. Thus (e'y) was heard in Norfolk (135, c) as a variety of the (i'i) form, and (a'y) is said to occur in Devonshire as a variety of (a' o). 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', u') 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 o o, o o o), which belong to those mentioned in the last paragraph. At other times the first element is lengthened, as (i'i), 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, k w g w, wh w, f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, j h j, r l m n q). These all occur dialectally, together with the glottids (u ';). There are, however, new consonants; certainly (k g, k h k k k), and perhaps (g h g k h), but these are doubtful. (Nh, re) seem to be known, among a few old people, but (Nh) 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 (ts h, 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 (a), 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, 6 to 1241, a). 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 (w), 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' house, t' abbey, without coalescence. I think that in these cases there is a true, though very brief, implosion (1097, c. 1113, a), and that the result is (at 't tám, 't unu), 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 tám, 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 supersedes 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, e'en, i'it, 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', e'en', it', in'], but if, as occasionally happens, a short accented vowel occurs without
a following consonant, two direct periods, a usual sign of unfinished utterance, must be written, as [ee., i.], and [gno.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'), 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 [tunpeikmun'], 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-too].

These rules for quantity are very important, because they enable quantity to be exactly expressed in every case, thus (aa aa) = [aa aa.], (kaat k'a-t) = [kaat kaa't'], (kaat) = [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 dialectically, 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 (1259, 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. Sic vos nón eòdis ‘vulnera’ fertis, ové !

All consonants may be considered short, and doubled for length if desired, as [st'ai-bil, reez'znu], or have the long [·] added, as [st'ai-bil', reez'znu']. 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] = [to-au'd], not [to-aud], and may be written [to-aud'], distinct from [to-aud', to-au'd].

When several words are written together, they may be distinguished to the eye by the divider , thus—[1wudd·nt'doo; dhat'y]doo]. This has no phonetic significance whatever.
Received Vowels and Diphthongs.

The 12 received emphatic vowels (i.e. ee an aA oo uu) are 
[ee ai aA au oo oo] the alternative vowels (e en, a as) 
= [ee ae au oo i e a o u oo].

The unemphatic vowels (y, u) always 
short are [i', u'], but need not generally be distinguished from [i, u].

Any one of the diphthongs for long 
i is represented in an unanalysed form by [ei]. 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 
[ei] diphthongs was heard. Similar 
analysed forms are used for the other 
diphthongs for the same reason. It is 
rather an inconvenience of palaeotype 
that it does not possess such forms. The three received forms are (oi, ah, 
a) = [ui ay, a y, a y] in accented syllables, 
first element short. If the first element is long, as (oa', ah, a), 
write [ui, a y, a y]. 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 distin-
guish which vowel, another contrivance 
is used, which will be explained pre-
cently.

Any unanalysed ow diphthong is 
[ou]. The received forms (o, ah, ao, as) 
= [ow aw aw aw] and if the first 
element is long, [uw aw aw aw] as 
before.

Any unanalysed oy diphthong is [oi]. 
The received forms (oi, aA, o') = 
[oy oy oy'].

Any unanalysed u diphthong is [eu]. 
The received (uu, ju, jiu) are all written 
yoo]. It is not considered necessary to 
mark these distinctions. But, if 
required, the short [e'] or [j] may now 
be used, thus [i' oo, yoo, y' ee] or 
[oo, yoo, y' yoo]. On account of the 
way of representing quantity, 
the short and long marks need not 
and should not be used for other purposes, 

Dialectal Vowels and Diphthongs. 
We have thus exhausted the received 
vowels and diphthongs. For the 
dialectal additions we have first:

= [i' e' ao no, ee a aao oo] 
and (ah aah, a oo, y y, o oo, ce oo) 
= [a' a' ah ah', uae, ce oo, ce oo] 
with perhaps a West (oe oo) 

It is not considered necessary to dis-
tinguish (y) from (y) = [u e u] with 
which it is generally confused, on the 

DIALECTAL GLOSSIC. CHAP. XI. § 2. No. 5.
one hand, or \( (\theta) = [eo] \), with which Mr. Murray identifies it, on the other; but, if required, we may write \([\theta e]\) for \( (y) \), and similarly \([\theta e]\) for \( (e^1, e_3) \). The four degrees of rounding (1116, \( b \)) may be marked by superiors, 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 \( (6) \) for the pouting (1256, \( a \)).

Thus \( (\lambda o, u_o, e_u) = [au^2, u_o^2, oa^3] \), 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 \( (u_o) \), \( (uo^2) \), is identified rather with \( (ah) \), write it \( [uo^2] \).

The same \( y, w, \) diphthongs represent the same principle will be \( (x^i, a^i, w^i, e^x, e^1) = [uy^y, ah'y, aw'y, ey'y] \) = \( [x'\nu, e'u, a'u, u'\nu, b'u, a^w ew, a^w, aw, a'w, oaw, aw' uww, ah'w] \) 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 \( (dai, dau) = [ah'y, ah'w] \), or unaccented \( [ah'y, ah'w] \). If \( (i, u) \) in place of \( (i, u) \) occur in the second element, as \( (ai, du) \), write \( [ahe, ahhe] \). The same contrivance is necessary in such cases as \( (i^i f a i = f u) = [i^i e e c e = e c e = e c o d] \), and \( (e a e o a e) = [e a e e o c a o c o a e] \), which are of very rare occurrence.

When the second element is \( (i^i, e^e) \), we may write \( [y] \), and when it is \( (u^i, o^u) \), we may write \( [w] \), with quite sufficient exactness, as \( [iy, now] = (i^i, u^i) \). When the stress falls on the second element, as \( (i^i f a u o) \), we may either write fully \( [i^i e e a o o a o a] \), or concisely \( [y e y a c a w o a] \), as quite near enough for every dialectal purpose.

When the last element is \( (oe) \), we may write it thus or by \( [w] \), because the effect is a variant of \( [w] \), thus \( (e y o w y) = [a i t e e o e] \) or \( [a w, o e w] \).

The murmur diphthongs without permissive trill, when ending in \( (e w) \), will be written with \( [u u] \), but when ending in \( (\theta) \) with \( (H) \), which represents the simple voice, thus \( \theta (o o u \theta) \) \( \theta (u u \theta) \) \( \theta (i u \theta) \) \( \theta (i u \theta) \) \( \theta (u o n o t \theta) \) \( \theta (u o n o t \theta) \) of which \( (h' o u h') \) are the usual forms.

Of course if the first element is long, we have \( [i h' u o h'] = (i i w') \), and this gives us a means of distinguishing \( [i r] \) with a permissive trill, into \( [i h'] \) with no trill, and \( [i h' r'] \) with a certain trill, while \( [i r'] \) has no murmur. Compare English deary me with French dire \( \tilde{a} m \) \( = (d i r' i m) \), ditir a mu \( \tilde{a} m \) \( = (d i h' r' i m) \), deeer' a mwa a.

**Received Consonants.**

The received consonants (p b t d, k g, wh w, f y, th dh, s z, sh zh, l m n) are the same in glossec as in palaeotype.

But glossec \( [ch, j] \) are used as abbreviations for \( (t s h, d z h) \), which are of constant occurrence; \( [t e h, d j] \) ought not to be written, in clutch judge [kluch, juj], unless we desire to shew that the \( [t, d] \) are held, as [klutch judj] = [klutsh juddzh].

For \( (j h, i) \) use \( [y h, y] \), and for \( (r) \), the trilled r, employ \( [r'] \); but, as in received glossec, 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 = (engrow's) = (en-gr'oo's).

Similarly as \( [h] \) must be used for \( (nh) \), and also as a part of the combinations \( [th, dh, sh, zh] \), etc., we must often distinguish \( [t-h, d-h, s-h, z-h] \). The mere accent mark, however, is often enough, as in pothook [pot-huok] potther [pudh'ur].

The mere jerk \( (n) \), which sometimes occurs dialectally where \( (nh) \) could not be pronounced, is written \( (h) \) thus get up = (g'hae'v' uop) in Leeds.

The catch \( (j) \), 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 \( (k g k h k k w h) = [k y' g y' k y'h k k w h] \), where the apostrophised \( [y', w'] \) answer to the diacritics \( (j, w) \), and are thus distinguished from \( [y, w] = (j, w) \). Properly \( (k w, g w) \) should be \( [k w', g w'] \), though few persons may care to distinguish these from \( [k w, g w] \). The \( (nh, rw) \) are \( [n h, r w'] \). The French \( l \) and \( gn \) mouille \( (l j, n j) \), would be \( [l j, n y'] \), if they occurred in our dialects.

The dental \( (sh, zh) \) are not required, on account of \( (eh, j) \).
We have thus probably a complete alphabet for all English dialects. If new signs are required, they will generally be found in 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 to Dialectal Glossic.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossic</th>
<th>Palaeotypic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, e, a' ee, a' ah, a' aah.</td>
<td>a a, aa' aa, a a, aae ba, aae ba', aae ba, aae ba, aae ba, aae ba, aae ba, aae ba, aae ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah (a), ah' (aa), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di), aheh (di)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai (e), ai (ee), ai (e), ai (ee), ai (ee), ai (ee), ai (ee), ai (ee), ai (ee), ai (ee)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo, ao oo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aw, aw, aw, aw, aw, aw, aw, aw, aw, aw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu, ay wu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasal (b) is [b], the sign [l] preceding, instead of following. The same mark [l] will nasalise vowels, when they occur, as [la' y]. French nasality is indicated by adding [n'].

Implosion may have its palaeotypic sign ('), but it will generally be enough to write (at 't taim) as [aat'taay'm] or [aat taay'm], or even [aat taay'm], in place of the full [aat'taay'm].

*dialectallects.*
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 glossic, 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, any, aaw, yoo]. Next he should endeavour to appreciate the varieties [aay, a'y, ay, aey, ey, 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 ay, uo 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 [s] 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 brort arter, for [brau't aar'tu']. The difficulty experienced by northerners, who have always read a, u as (a, u)=[aa, uo] in their dialect, to refrain from writing a bad nut instead of (u' bad 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 uo²], occasioning terrible confusion and tediously evolved rectifications. Again, there is a very strong tendency to consider [ee, ai, aa, au, oa, 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; uo'] as long, as in [ti'h', te'h', ba'ht, 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 hurn for run in Somersetshire, where simple [u'n]=(soon) 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 glossic 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 con-
sidered. 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 

The vowel and consonant quantity has been provided for. 
Syllabic quantity is made up of a 
number of vowel and consonant quan-
tities of marked differences. To go 
into this minutely requires a scale of 
length, and those who choose may em-
ploy the numerical system already given 
(1131, d). But for rapid writing, an 
underlined series like . . . 0 = + 
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 = + . + .
This is abundant for most purposes.

Force also requires a series or scale, 
as already suggested (1130, a'), but the 
musical terms and signs there added 
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 inter-
preted 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 
I, 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 con-
siderable practice upon his own pro-
unciation, 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, drawing, 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, wavelingly 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., 527) with freer breath (freieres athems) to review the relations of quantity (quantität), quality (qualität), weakening (schwächen), breaking (brechung), transmutation (umlaut), promutation (ablaut), and pronunciation (ausgesprache). 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 advancement 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, a), 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. 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

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, 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, however, 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.

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, transmutation, and promutation.

Of these promutation—such as the grammatical vowel change in (sēq, sæq, saq), or (sēq, saq, saq)—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 supra, 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. 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 uncultured 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, (c, 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):

```
( i   e    a    o    u )
red yellow white blue black
(ei) (ai) (au) (fu)
orange rose azure violet
```

These are mere fancies, unfounded in physics, 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 (sunlaut) had some analogy with the change of oS into later R (op. cit. p. 34, note).

2 If we adopt the vibrational or undulatory 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, e), 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 analogies 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 analogous 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 mixtures of colours he was of course unacquainted. 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!
Vowel Quantity.

Chap. XI.

Weakening consists, according to Grimm, in "an unaccountable diminishing of vowel content" (dass zuweilen ohne allen anlass der gehalt der vocale 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 "observed" (getrübt) into some nearly related one, comparing ags. stäf, bæc, crift; engl. staff, back, craft; fries. stev, bek, 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 vocale), without particularizing the nature of the fraction. Assuming the full short vowel to be = 1, the long would be = 1 + 1 = 2; the broken = $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{2}$ = 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 bairan faura, 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 Anglosaxen works, and especially in Ormin.¹ 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 (aw), "at the opening of the sixteenth century." (p. 247), nor that long a 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 con-
stantly at fault, and I have no doubt that many of my correspon-
dents 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, aa), 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 com-
parative among one another, and bear no assignable relation to the
lengths of adjoining consonants or of vowels in adjoining syllables.

to labialised consonants," (p.
253). And he dwells on my short-
comings with respect to quantity on pp.
259-262. Thus (412, d) ass is (aa'se),
but (asc)—he should have said (as)—
occurr (413, a'). Of course the first
should also be (a'se). On (442, d') we
have (don) compared with (doon) below.
The latter is correct, of course, and
(miss'doon') on (442, d') should, I
think, be (mi's'doo'n). The (laa'verd,
laa'verd, ded, forgiv', forgiv'eth, forgiv-
ness), suprà, p. 443, should probably be
(laa'verd, deed, forgiv', forgiv'eth,
forgiv'nes). I am sorry to see that
(dead'lishe) for (dead'lishe) occurs on
(505, ed). Prof. Hadley subsequently
did better than criticise; he supple-
mented my shortcomings, in a paper
on Quantity, read before the American
Philological Association in 1871, re-
printed 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,\(^1\) and short vowels may be pronounced at great length (as in singing) without altering the character and signification of the word.\(^2\)

The length of vowels in received English is very uncertain. How far it is dialectally 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 (e) and (o), there is a great tendency to lengthen the short vowel before the mutes, and to pronounce *egg*, *skep*, *yett*, *beg*, *bag*, *rag*, *bad*, *bog*, *dog*, *bæg*, *skæp*, *ræt*, *bæeg*, *baag*, *ræag*, *baad*, *boog*, *dogg*” (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

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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 Diphthongen sind stets mittelzeitig, d.h. nicht völlig kurz, aber auch nicht producibel, sonst geht die Einsilbigkeit verloren. Phys. Laletik, p. 522). His true diphthongs are (aɪ, əu, əy, ɔi, ʊu, ʌy, ɑɪ, ʌɪ). He considers combinations like (ɛɪ, ɛu, ɛɪ) to be “altogether and under all circumstances dissyllabic, and to have no claim at all to be considered diphthongs” (ib. p. 128), 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-tar-dee) 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 (ə) is heard. I took refuge finally in (sahɪə, tea), making the first vowel medial, and the two next short and indistinct, though I could not determine their relative lengths, the (ə) decidedly dental, the (d) not certain, the quality of the first vowel (əh) 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. 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. 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, ūu) 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 (oo’j, oo’w) are cases of a similar kind. 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:

Quo fit Macedūs, ut nēmō, quam sibi sortem—
Contentus vivat? laudet diversa sequentēs—
O! forfūnātī mercātōrēs, gravis annīs—
Contrā mercātōr, nāvīm fācantibus australīs—

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 suffectures 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 mature 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, as in thieves (thiivz)= [thee·vz], we almost seem to want an extra sign, as [th·eevz]= (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 c 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 c 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, a) 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.
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, 6. 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 e'', 10. the octave a''' 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 violincello upwards. The small letters e, a, 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; e'' on the second ledger line above the treble; and then e''' 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 (u) ; 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 (aah), while a box tuned a major third higher, to d'', gave "a clear A," perhaps (aa). He also obtained various grades of (ae, ooee, ee, 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  for (uu),  flat for (oo),  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,  and  for (ee),  and  flat for (ee),  and  for (ii),  and  sharp for (oeoe), and  and  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  ,  ,  , , 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>a''</th>
<th>f'''</th>
<th>a'' flat</th>
<th>b''' flat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VOWELS</td>
<td>(uu)</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(oo)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
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<td>ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(aa)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ee)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(ee)</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>mf</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>ff</td>
</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  ,  ,  flat,  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 shows at once that (un) 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  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, e), 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, e). 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, 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 (a, o, u), or contraction of the arches of the palate, thus (e, o, u, e), for some of which distinct signs are provided, thus (e = e, o = o), 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 (e, e), 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 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 vowel are wonderful. Do the same with (aa), and produce (oo) by rounding lips only. Next take (un), 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 vowel-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 (ii), and (a) from (aa), 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. 64) 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."¹

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 (æ̂, ê). 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 (ee), 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 (uuæ) or (uuu). 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 have a thin whistling effect, the (ce) sounds a rattling reediness, the (aa) sounds an open sonoroussness, the (oo) sounds a round fulness, 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 (æ æ ə) 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 (œ, ə, œ) are merely (u ə ʌ) with the lips open, and (ə) is (ah) with the pharynx narrowed. Of these (œ) does not seem to occur even dialectally in English, but (œ), I think, does. Both (œ, ə) are frequent, and must be considered as obscurations of vowels for which the positions are nearly the same, such as (œə oo oʊ, ah, e ə æ). If Mr. Bell is right, (u, œ) also frequently occur in the same capacity. Here (u) is (u) with open lips, and (œ) is merely (ə) with a lower tongue. All the flat-tongued mixed vowels (y, ə, œ) 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 (u, ə, ə, œ), however, are so much alike, that I feel no certainty in separating them from one another and from (ə). 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 (i, i, e, e') 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, ə).

Again, (e, ə, œ) are far from being well separated in accented syllables. No certainty can generally be felt respecting (e, ə), and few care to distinguish (e, ə). When unaccented, all become (ə).

Again, (a, ah, ə, ə), on the one hand, and (æ, ə, ʌ, ə, ə), on the other, pass into one another when accented. Unaccented, all become (ə). And not unfrequently, when accented, they approach (ə).

But (ə, u) more frequently interchange with (ə), the former directly, the latter perhaps through (u), its delabialised form, or through (u) or (u'), which strangely vary as (ə, ə).

When one of the former in the group (i, i, e, e'), or in the group (e, e, ə, ə), 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, u), 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, e, i), 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, A) or (a, o, ə). 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, o, u) is also one of thickening, and (u_u) or (u4) 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 (a_u), 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, (o_u, u_u), and various other modifications of (u).

Any approach to (u, a, e, o, w) 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 (u_u) and ( qa) 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 (i), or, with wider pharynx, the French (y). Whether these sounds occur in our dialects or not is disputed. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte inclines to (y_u) or (u4), 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 (y₁), 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 (ə), which, on widening the pharynx, gives (ae). As (e) replaces (i) in Scotch, one is not surprised to hear (ə) in place of (y) or (y₁), and Mr. Murray recognises (o), or the French eu in 'peu', in his own dialect, rather than (y₁), which lies between eu in 'peu' and u in 'pu'. In point of fact this (ə) 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 obscurer. That is, it approaches to that of (a). When we get to (ae), this approach is still nearer, and few Englishmen, without study, distinguish (a, ə) and (a, æ), and many mix them all up together. In precisely the same way, Frenchmen and Germans hear (ə, æ) as (ə, æ). The (æ) is a still nearer approach. Yet in (ə, æ, æ) 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 (æ) is supposed by Mr. Baird to occur in Devonshire, where it appears in the diphthong (œy), an alteration of (œu), where first the (u) is "thinned" into (y₁), and then (o) is by "attraction"—in fact by transmutation, owing to the preparation for (y₁)—thinned or obscured, in fact palatalised, into (æ). It is possible that some speakers say (œy) or (œy), rather than (œy). 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, 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 (æ), which must be held to include (ə) on the one hand, and (o) on the other. The vowel scale (I, E, A, O, U, Y, CE) practically includes all the "classes" of unanalysed 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, d). Then (i) at once leads on to (e), and the passage is rendered easier by the development and distinction of (e), thus (i, e, a, e). By a similar process (e) generated from (e), and first (ah) and then (æ) generated from (a), give the transition (e, æ, ah, a). Again, (a) develops first (a), and then (A), in the direction of (o); for although the change from (a) to (o) is most
easy and rapid, yet when we come to hear the intermediate sounds, we recognise the bridge as being (a, a, A, o, o), the (o) being on the one hand confused with (a), which is again confused with (e), and on the other with (o). The next bridge is (o, o, o, u, u). Then begins the shift of the tongue through the first series (i, e, a), and we have the bridge (y, e, e, e, u), which we have here very nearly reached (a), whence (a, a, y) lead up again to (i) through (e). Thus we obtain a much extended vowel-scale, which may be grouped under the former seven heads, thus:

I E O U Y È
i i y, e e e, æ ah a a, A o o o, u u, y e, æ æh x æ u e

This only gives 24 vowels out of our 36. The peculiar (œo) or (œ'), which would lie thus (o œ o u) or (o œ' u), and (y) lying thus (y y, e), 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 show the relation of (I) to (Y), or of (È) to (E) and (O), and in fact, if (œ) belongs to the family (È), of (È) to (A). This is partially accomplished by a triangular arrangement, much used, and very attractive, thus:

A È O
I 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, (È, 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 (È) 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; È) compounded of the resonances of (I, U) and (E, O) respectively. Hence such an arrangement as

I E A O U Y È

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, e), for, like the blind man who imagined scarlet to be like the sound of a trumpet, he makes (Standard Alphabet, p. 47)

E A È O analogous to red
Y U brown violet

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, ø), (O) into (ø, ø, ɔ), and (E) into (ø, ø, ɔ), as I presume I may interpret his examples, because he distinguishes the last (ɔ) from the "indistinct vowel," in which he seems to mix up ('h, ø, ø). He thus gives, as "the complete pyramid of the European vowels,"

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{a} & \text{æ} & \text{ã} & \text{A} \\
\text{e} & \text{ø} & \text{o} & \\
\text{i} & \text{y} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

but he is very anxious to omit "the second row," and consequently proposes to identify the vowels in 1) English past, heart (aa), French male (aa), German that (aa, aa); 2) English hat (ø), French mal (a, ah), German hat (a, a); 3) English hut, fur (ø, ø), French heurter (ø, ø), German hörner (æ); 4) English naught, war (ø), French cor (o), what, hot (ø), French vote (ø, o, oh), German sonde (ø, 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 øe, 6 ø'r, 7 ii, 8 i, 9 i'r, 10 ø, 11 øe'r, 12 AA, 13 ø, 14 ø'r, 15 oo, 16 ø'r, 17 uu, 18 u, 19 u'r. Hence omitting the ('r), and disregarding quantity, and the confusions (a, ø, e), Lepsius admits only (æ æ ø ø, ø ø, ø ø) as English vowels, disregarding (i, ø, u), and recognising (ø).

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 (Aa), "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 (A), 1 the lip-position being the same as for our (u), and this is the meaning of

1 This retraction of the tongue for (A) 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" 1! and also to notice that they must shade their own mouth and nose when examining, so as to avoid the dangerous misma almost always exhaled from a diseased throat.
§ 2, No. 6. iii. VOWEL TRIANGLES.

\( (\alpha_u) \). Then he makes \((y)=(i_u)\), but makes the Russian \(i\) or Polish \(y=(A_i)\), or \((u)\) taking the \(u\) he describes, and \((\omega)=(e_o)\), but the Wallachian \(\ddot{a}\), etc. \(=(o_o)\). He would therefore arrange his triangle thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
& a & & & & & & \\
& & e & & & & & \\
i & & i_u & & & & & \\
o & & o_o & & & & & \\
u & & u_i & & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

which is very pretty, if correct. But Prince L. L. Bonaparte, as will be presently seen, identifies the Wallachian sound with \((\alpha)=(A)\), being delabialised \((\ddagger)\), which would have the tongue lower and the lips opener than \((o_o)\), the real representative of \((\ddagger)\). Between \((\alpha, \ddagger)\) the difference is not really very great, yet, if I am right in my appreciation of the Forest of Dean sound of \(ur\) as \((\omega\ddagger)\), it is very sensible. The Russian sound has been hitherto treated in this work as \((y)\), and the Prince, being familiar with this sound before he heard the Welsh \(u\), which seems to be \((y)\), felt the connection to be so great, that he at first confused them, and afterwards connected them, as Bell did \((y, y)\). 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 \((1100, d', 1107, e)\), I represent it by \((y_2)\), 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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
& a & & & & & \\
& & & e & & o & \\
i & & & y & & y_2 & \\
\end{array}
\]

Brücke, 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
& a & & & & & & \\
& & & e & & & & \\
i & & & i & & & & \\
o & & & o & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \((i, o, o, u)\) 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 \((\lambda)\), 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 \(\lambda\) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
? & ? & ? \\
? & ? & ? \\
\end{array}
\]

The other two pyramids are merely the nasals formed by adding (A) 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, aA) 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 uvula, 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 (,) or (A) to an ordinary vowel-symbol, and the choice of that vowel, are altogether uncertain, as indeed is shewn 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, suprà pp. 1189-93. The ? in this triangle marks doubtful identification with his vowel-symbols, but a brief key is added.

```
Fr. âme a  o  urn
    aue A  a Suabian ?
odd o      æ  add
Italian o  e, Coptic ?
Fr. o1 ?  æ Fr.  e, Suabian ?
    ove o  æ there
obey o1 ?  ø Fr.  e  ebb
                   e1 Gudjarat'hi ?
Italian uh
    i  Germ.  e  sight
     ?  Alsatian  j
Swedish u,
    fool u  v  Swedish u  e1 Fr. é ?
x2 Russian  i  pin
pull u  y  Fr. u  i  machine
    y  Welsh u
```

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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{a} & \text{A} \\
\text{ah} & \text{oh} & \text{oe} \\
\text{ae} & \text{eh} & \text{ao} \\
\text{e} & \text{e} & \text{eh} \\
\text{e} & \text{e} & \text{eh} \\
\text{y} & \text{y} & \text{u} \\
\text{i} & \text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{Y} & \text{Y} & \text{U} \\
\text{i} & \text{i} & \text{u} \\
\end{array}
\]

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, OE). But to carry out this last restriction, apparently, the forms (α, e, a, v, oh, o, oe), which have to me all more or less a tinge of the (OE) quality, and which are practically constantly confounded together and with those here assigned to the (OE) 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 i), 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 u'), 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 OE 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 (ε), which is a theoretical intermediate form, for which he has given no key-word, but see (1108, a). That the forms with (1) 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 (IE), including (a). Unmistakable instances of all these will be found, but whether they are due to the feelings of weakening, thickening, narrowing, broadening, obscur- ration, 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, i), of (e, e) or (e, E), of (ah, a, o), of (a, o), of (u, u, u), of (y, e), of (o, o), of (o, o), of (a), of (a, o), of (a, o), of (a, o), of (a, o), of (a, o), 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 (e, e) prevails. The French distinguish (e, e) 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 (e, e) in French as (e1, e); and what is marked (o, o) in French and (o, uh) in Italian as (e1, 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, 7' 1109, d' to 1110, c', 1114, d), 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. 

\[ a = (a, a) \] or, as Mr. Sweet's pronunciation sounded to me, (a) before (l), otherwise (a).

\[ aa = (a, a), as in Danish, maan (m aan). \]

\[ e = (a), bed (bet), sometimes (ae), gebid (ghabe't), D only. \]

\[ ee = (ee) L, (eel) D; been (been) L, (been) D, the diphthong quite distinct. \]

\[ eer = (eer) L (ceer) D; meer (meer) L, (meer) D, so that L follows English use. \]

\[ e unaccented = (a), de goede man (de guwe man). \]

\[ i = (e) or (e), Scotch i, unaccented often (a), awintig (bohe'n takh). \]

\[ i = (i) short, except before r, niet (nit), bier (bhir). \]

\[ o, from original o, = (o) L, (o) D; slot (slot) L, (slot) D. \]

\[ oo = (oo) L, (ou) D, boom (boom) L, (boom) D. \]

\[ oo = (oor) L, (oor) D, boor (boor) L, (boor) D. \]

\[ u = (o, ce, ah), dun = (dan, dax, daxh). \]

\[ mu = (i), minut (minut), neur (ninur). \]

\[ eu = (o), L, (oo) D, neus = (nas) L, (nast) D. \]

\[ eur = (oor) L, (oor) D, deur = (oor) L, (oor) D. \]

\[ aaw = (aai). \]

\[ ei, ij = (x'i). \]

\[ ui = (ah'ee, oh'ti), huis (nhaht'wiz), lui (loht'i), final. \]

\[ w = (bh), v = (vy), wat vat vat (bhat vat fat); w and v are always distinct, v is often whispered (vy), and appears sometimes to be made voiceless (v), so that it is confused with f (in Amsterdam). Land's slag consonant or explosive (h) [at which Donders was equally surprised with myself (1103, b)] is made by drawing the under 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 (vy) by Lepsius and Brücke. Neither Mr. Sweet nor myself have heard (v) from any German. Prince L. L. Bonaparte has recently heard an old Dutch retainer call v (vy) and w (wew).]

\[ x is often whispered (z). \]

\[ r is strongly trilled, either with point of tongue (r) or uvula (r). \]

\[ g is pronounced quite soft (gh) by good speakers, the trilled (ghh) is vulgar. \]

\[ l is more guttural than palatal, like the English and Scotch l [i.e. more near to (lu) than (lj), or rather (l) than (jl)]. \]
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 Bonapartean, 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 OE 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, OE, 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 (t); but, as
Mr. Murray considers it nearer to (i), the Prince has made it intermediate to (i, i), and I have used (\(r^3\)) as the symbol, where the greater closeness (1107, \(b\)), indicated by (\(^7\)), 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 (\(u_4\)). The English and Icelandic examples of 61 sufficiently identify it with (\(^\omega\)). Perhaps 62, which is only identified in Swedish, is not quite properly represented by (\(u^1\)), but its position in the triangle leads me to that symbol. A similar doubt hangs over 63, (\(u^1\)), identified only in Lap and Norwegian. As to 74 and 75, the systematic character of the Prince's symbols leads me to think that (\(o^1, o^1\)) are probably correct, especially as the latter is also identified with the Scotch \(ui\) in guid. Here (\(o^1\)) is the sound I have hitherto written \((y_1)\). 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 (\(\lambda\)) or (\(\gamma\)) 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 \(e_i, 46 o_{II}, 55 o^1\)) were identified by the Prince with sounds which Mr. Sweet writes \((e, A_{\alpha}, o_u)\) 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 (\lambda, 17 o^1, 19 ah, 22 e_1, 24 e_3, 42 oh, 44 ah, 45 o_1, 53 oh, 73 (\lambda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= 10 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (\alpha, 5 \gamma, 6 ah, 9 e_I, 10 (\lambda), 11 (\lambda), 12 e_1, 13 (\lambda), 14 (\lambda), 21 (\lambda), 36 (\lambda^1), 38 (\lambda^1, 59 u, 62 u^1, 64 u, 68 (\lambda), 70 (\lambda^2), 11 = 18 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 (\alpha, 26 e_1, 30 (\alpha), 33 (\chi), 40 (\gamma), 41 (\alpha, 52 (\alpha), 56 u, 61 'w, 63 u^1, 66 (\alpha) = 11 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>47 (e_1, 50 oh, 67 (\lambda), 74 (\alpha^1), 74 (\lambda^1), ( r^5 = 5 ) vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20 (\alpha, 39 \gamma, 60 (\alpha), 65 (\alpha), 75 (\gamma^1 = 4 ) vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3 (\alpha), 23 (\alpha), 48 (o_1), 54 (\alpha) = 4 vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>27 (e_1), 55 (o^1), 57 (u^2 = 2 ) vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7 (\alpha, 31 e_1, 32 e^1, 34 (\gamma^2) = 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 (\alpha^1 = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8 (\alpha = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>35 (\alpha, 43 (A = 2 ) vowels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>72 (\gamma^1 = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>71 (\alpha = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>16 (\gamma = 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 (o = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>29 (e = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>28 (e^1 = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>46 (o^1 = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>23 (e_\gamma = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>18 (\gamma = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>58 (\gamma = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1 (\alpha = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>37 (i = 1 ) vowel.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 2. No. 6. iii. BONAPARTEAN VOWEL LISTS.

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—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>37 i, 44</th>
<th>28 e, 25</th>
<th>71 œ, 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a, 43</td>
<td>29 e, 24</td>
<td>72 e, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 u, 42</td>
<td>51 o, 21</td>
<td>35 i, } 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'h, 41</td>
<td>65 y, 20</td>
<td>43 A, } 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 e, 33</td>
<td>49 o, 15</td>
<td>8 œ, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 ø, 27</td>
<td>16 'h 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these we may reject (18 'h) as not being generally considered a vowel at all, because not “voiced,” 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 a, 7 a, 10 u, 11 œ, 13 œ) and (16 'h) as all forms of the same vowel, which, to agree with Rapp and English phonologists, may be looked upon as (ø). Giving then to (ø) 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 (ø) instead of (ø) has put (ø) out of and (ø) into this series. The Prince has not found (ø, ø) simultaneously, except in 12. Ostiac, 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 œ, 23 e, 25 ø, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), where 4 means are interposed between (æ, ø). It is of course possible that other observers might note the sounds rather as (8 œ, 22 e, 23 e, 28 e, 29 e, 35 i), or even as (8 œ, 23 e, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e, 35 i), or might consider the sounds here separated as (23 e, 25 ø) to be the same. The recognition of all the terms in such a series is so difficult, that (ø) may be considered as the Prince’s appreciation of what other observers class as (ø); thus in 40. Danish, he appreciates Mr. Sweet’s (ø) as (ø). If we do not count these two languages twice, (ø, ø) 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). Norwegi-

1 The Russians reckon their ñ 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 (ñ), coming immediately after a nasal, and very short, as (vin;'h). The (16 'h) when final, he usually pronounces more strongly than is customary with careful English speakers.

2 See also Ascoli’s Archivio Glotologico Italiano, 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 (e_i, o_i), instead of (e, o) as he formerly thought them to be (1180, δ), 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_i) is maane, which is (a_o), according to Mr. Sweet. Altogether, therefore, we may consider that (o_i, 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, and 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 'h) is omitted, (4 æ, 7 e, 10 u, 11 æ, 13 ω, 16 'h) are all confounded as (e), (e_i, æ) 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).

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37 i</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28 e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 a 43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71 ω</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 u 24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 o  20</td>
<td>65 y 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 æ  35</td>
<td>8 ω 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and there is little doubt that with these 15 vowels, forming the series

I E A O U Y Ø e e e æ æ æ a æ ø 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:
### BONAPARTEAN VOWEL LISTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>occur in languages.</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>occur in languages.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 3 = 19 Modern Greek, 22 Spanish, 43 Illyrian.</td>
<td>11 2 = 2 Finnish, 26 Rhetian, Oberland dialect.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1 = 32 Lettish.</td>
<td>12 7 = 1 Basque, 10 Hungarian, 12 Ostiak, dialect of Surgut, 17 Albanian, Gruég dialect, 35 Dutch, 36 Modern Friesian, Western dialect, (37) Scotch.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 5 = 6 Permian, 9 Morduin, 11 Vogul, 14 Welsh, 45 Bulgarian.</td>
<td>13 4 = 3 Estonian, 5 Lap, dialect of Finnmark, 34 Low German, dialect of Holstein, 38 Icelandic.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 7 = 15 Cornish, extinct, 25 Roman, Catalan, 27 Wallachian, 42 Russian, 44 New Slovenian, Wendish, 47 Bohemian, 50 Lithuanian.</td>
<td>14 1 = 49 Cassubian.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 3 = 4 Livonian, extinct dialect of Salis, 8 T sheremissian, on the right bank of the Volga, 21 Italian.</td>
<td>16 4 = 16 Breton, 24 French, (39) Norwegian of Aasen, 46 Danish, after Sweet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 4 = 7 Votiak, 33 High German, 46 Polish, 48 Lusatian.</td>
<td>17 1 = 39 Swedish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 æ, 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 sonorousness, 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, uα], which were accidentally omitted, the following 30 vowels from the Prince’s list, (1 a, 4 e, 6 ah, 7 a, 8 æ, 10 u, 13 æ, 20 a, 21 æ, 25 e, 24 e, 25 e, 28 e, 29 e, 31 e, 33 y, 35 i, 36 i, 37 i, 41 o, 43 a, 49 o, 51 o, 54 uh, 57 u, 58 u, 65 y, 71 æ, 72 a, 75 s), to which (o, u) or (i, a) have probably to be added, and other vowels may yet be recognised, for example (42 oh, 50 oh), in Bell’s accented 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 Müller is the nearest approach to this, but it is extremely defective in vowel signs, and requires several (4 or 5) special types. Merkel’s 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, 1856. 2 Lalettik, 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
5 & (12) & 11 & 10 \\
6 & 7 & 19 & (13) (14) 15 16 17 18 \\
(9) & 8 & & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
22 & 23 & & \\
24 & (25) 26 27 & & \\
28 & (29) 30 & & \\
31 & 32 & & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
68 & (69) 70 & & \\
69 & (72) 73 & & \\
71 & 74 & 75 & \\
74 & 75 & & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
44 & 43 & 41 & 42 \\
(48) 47 46 & O & 45 & \\
53 (52) 51 & 49 & 50 & \\
55 & 54 & & \\
\end{array}
\]

33 I 34 35 36 (37) 38 39 40 67 Y (65) 66 64 63 62 61 60 59 58 I

**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).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{A} & 2 & a, 13 = 1 \\
1 & a & 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 \\
14 & 15 & 16 17 19 21 22 23 24 \\
25 & 26 & 27 33 34 35 36 37 38 \\
(39) & 39 & 42 43 44 45 46 47 \\
48 & 49 & 50 52 = 43 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
3 & a & 1 16 17 23 24 = 5 \\
4 & a & 37 (37) = 2 \\
5 & a & 40 = 1 \\
6 & a & 37 = 1 \\
7 & e & 5 13 37 39 40 44 45 = 7 \\
\end{array}
\]
### § 2. No. 6. iii. BONAPARTEAN VOWEL LISTS. 1299

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.12.13.23.25.26.35.37(37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 øA</td>
<td></td>
<td>23 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 øv</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 ør</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 ørA</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 ø'h</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 17 23 24 25 26 33 34 35 36 37(37) 49 52 = 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 ø'h</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ø'h</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34 35 36 37 (37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 52 = 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 ø'h</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 34 36 (37) = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>27 = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E

<table>
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<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 5 8 12 26 = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 4 5 7 9 10 11 12 13 16 21 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(37) 38 (39) 39 40 44 45 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47 48 49 50 52 = 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 16 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 17 23 24 46 49 = 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 14 15 16 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19 21 22 24 26 34 37 (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39 40 43 45 = 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 3 10 12 13 16 21 23 24 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 33 34 35 36 38 (39) 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44 47 48 49 50 52 = 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 ε _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 23 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>16 23 35 36 (37) 46 48 = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 ε _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 4 5 27 (37) (39) 40 = 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33 ÿ</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 14 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 7 9 13 27 42 46 = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 13 15 26 37 38 (39) 39 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49 50 = 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(37) = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 19 21 22 23 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25 26 27 33 34 35 36 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(37) 38 (39) 39 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 50 52 = 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 ÿ _1</td>
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<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 16 17 23 = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 ÿ _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 38 = 2</td>
</tr>
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### O

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 40 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 ø'h</td>
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<td>0</td>
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### U

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43 A</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 12 13 15 34 36 37 42 44 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49 = 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 o _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46 o _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 3 5 6 7 8 9 12 13 15 16 21 23 24 25 26 27 33 34 35 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38 (39) 39 40 47 49 = 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 o _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 46 49 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 ø _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 16 17 23 24 = 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 o</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 4 11 14 17 19 21 22 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(27) (39) 43 45 50 52 = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 7 8 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 10 13 16 21 23 24 25 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 ø _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>28 49 = 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>53 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 ø'h</td>
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<td>10 23 46 48 49 = 5</td>
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<td>55 ø _1</td>
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<td>3 5 (37) (39) 40 = 5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56 u _1</td>
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<td>2 39 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 u</td>
<td></td>
<td>17 23 37 38 (39) 50 = 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58 u</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>14 15 16 19 21 22 23 24 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26 27 33 34 35 36 37 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>38 40 42 43 44 45 46 47 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>49 50 52 = 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 u _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 u _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 17 23 49 = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 'w</td>
<td></td>
<td>37 38 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 u _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>39 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 u _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (39) = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 u</td>
<td></td>
<td>39 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 y _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 7 8 10 11 12 16 17 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33 34 35 36 (39) 39 40 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>= 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 y _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 17 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 l</td>
<td></td>
<td>40 47 48 = 3</td>
</tr>
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### OE

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<tbody>
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</tr>
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<td>69 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 14 16 24 34 35 39 40 = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 ø _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 = 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 ø _e</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 4 6 7 10 12 26 33 34 38 (39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39 40 = 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 10 13 16 24 33 34 35 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(39) 39 40 = 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73 ø _A</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74 ø _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 8 13 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 ø _1</td>
<td></td>
<td>(37) 38 (39) 39 = 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Murmurs.

1 47 = 1
2 43 44 47 = 3
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 enclosed 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 italic letters, except, of course, for the English language itself.

Morphological Classification of European Languages.

CLASS I.

A. Basque Stem.

1. BASQUE. 13 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, R, after a word, indicate the Souletin dialect, and the Roncalais sub-dialect, respectively.

1 a ura, 2, the water
3 à uahalké, 1, 2, S, shame
27 ç méhè, S, 1, 2, thin
28 e ile, 2, hair
27 i begi, 2, eye
39 ia mihi, S, 1, 2, tongue
48 oj òrzi, 1, R, to bury
49 o bero, 2, hot
60 u saga, 2, mouse
60 u òhuñ, S, 1, 2, thief
65 y süt, S, fire
66 ya súhíla, 1, S, the son-in-law
18 ìh bat(ö), one

B. Altaic Stem.

a. Uralian Family.
   a. Tshudic Sub-family.
   i. Finnish Branch.

2. FINNISH. 12 vowels.

1 a maa [1, 2], earth
23 n pää [1, 2], head
28 e reki, 1, sedge
29 e niemi, 2, promontory
37 i illi [1, 2], leach
46 o1 toveri, 1, companion
56 u Suomi, 2, Finland
58 u puu [1, 2], tree

(2. Finnish, continued.)
65 y syys [1, 2], autumn
69 sh kóyha, 1, poor
72 ò työ, 2, labour
18 ì estet(), impediment

3. ESTONIAN. 14 vowels.

1 a, ma, I
25 e1 käzi, 1, hand
28 e enne, 1, before
29 e enne, 2, before
32 e1 k(ø)l' [pronounced (ke'øl')],
   tongue
37 i ilm, world
46 o1 tolmu, 1, dust
50 oh wölg, debt
51 o põõl' [pronounced (poõool')], half
55 o1 tolmu, 2, dust
58 u Jumal, 1, God
65 y üks, one
71 æ ö o, night
18 ìh lüht(ö), light

4. LIVONIAN, extinct dialect of Salis, still spoken at the beginning of the xixth century. 10 vowels.

1 a kaks, two
25 e1 mäd, our
28 e bet, but
32 e1 öegãrd [pronounced (e'ez-gyr'd)], neath
37 i iza, 1, father
49 o koda, 1, house
58 u k'ulk, side
65 y süna, 1, name
71 æ õund, 1, to find
18 ìh pieutt(), to take
2. Lap Branch.

5. LAP, dialect of Finmark. 14 vowels.

1 a hallo, 1, pleasure
2 û läkkå, 1, 2, near
8 æ bårdne, 1, son
23 e ælla, 1, he lives
25 e ænde, 1, mother
32 e jurdélét, 2, 3, to think
35 i sivvo, 1, diligence
37 i sivo, 1, beaten way on the snow
46 û dolla, 1, fierce
55 o1 gonogas, 1, king
58 u ruðak, 1, money
63 u1 jukkim, 1, I parted
68 æh buorre, 2, good
18 'h lokkat(), to read

6. Permian. 8 vowels.

1 a ma, honey
28 e Jen, God
34 x2 kyk, two
37 i bi, fire
46 o1 zon, son
58 u jur, head
74 æ1 ötyk, 1, one
18 'h mort(), man

7. Votiaik. 11 vowels.

1 a zarni, 1, gold
25 e1 nil'ati, 2, fourth
28 e pel, ear
34 x2 ym, mouth
37 i in, heaven
46 o1 vor, thief
50 oh ös, door
58 u jurt, house
65 y üt, 1, white
71 æ tödy, 1, white
18 'h berkut(), eagle

8. Tšeremiassian, dialect of the right bank of the Volga. 10 vowels.

1 a mam, but
23 e ergi, 2, son
28 e edem, 1, 2, man
37 i vid, water
46 o1 kokta, 2, two
50 oh töre, 1, peace
68 u Juma, 1, God
65 y kü, stone
74 æ1 nör, field
18 'h olat(), they are

9. Morduin Branch.

1 a ava, 1, 2, woman
25 e1 kää, hand
28 e lem, name
34 x2 yrne, 1, gold
37 i ki, who
46 o1 on, dream
58 u uaska, 1, weep
18 'h kot(), weaving

d. Ugrian Sub-Family.
1. Hungarian Branch.

10. Hungarian or Magyar. 13 vowels

1 a kár, to injure
25 e1 nyelv, tongue
28 e veres, 1, read
29 e szél, wind
37 i hid, bridge
43 a kar, arm
51 o pok, spider
54 oh nol, where
58 u tudom, 1, I know it
65 y fü, grass
71 æ ökör, 1, 2, ox
72 o fö, head
18 'h atyát(), father, in acc.

11. Vogul, dialect of the Konda. 8 vowels.

1 a kaš, brother
25 e1 ak, hair
28 e ne, wife
37 i ini, 1, 2, thorn
49 o chotel, day
58 u chulp, net
65 y püv, son
18 'h kat(), hand

12. Ostiaic, dialect of Surgut. 13 vowels.

1 a àrev, 1, song
8 æ ñähluñ, 2, morning
23 e [known to exist, but no example known]
25 e1 pet, next
29 e péthleñ, 1, cloud
33 y jüg, father
37 i jipel, 1, shade
43 a pás, glove
46 o1 nok, above
58 u sugus, 1, 2, autumn
65 y múl, cup
71 æ kör, even
18 'h küt(), six
BONAPARTEAN VOWEL LISTS.

N.B.—Finnish, Esthonian, and Livonian, differ from Lap nearly as Greek from Latin. Similarly for Tsheremissian in relation to Morduin, and for Hungarian, Vogul, and Ostic among one another.

β. Samoyedic Family} with their
γ. Tartaric Family
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.

7. Gaelic Branch.

13. GAELIC. 22 vowels.

N.B.—The letters S, M, indicate Scotch and Manx Gaelic respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>adharc, 1 [pronounced (aiərk)], horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>math, S, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>déanta, 3, done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>glas, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>œ</td>
<td>laogh [1, 2], S, calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>maodal [1, 2], S, tripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>fear [1, 2], grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>freumh [1, 2], S, root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>céim [1, 2], step</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>daor [1, 2], dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>mil, honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ri, king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ï</td>
<td>sinnseadh [letters 2, 3, 4], S, ancestors</td>
</tr>
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<td>ë</td>
<td>ard, high</td>
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<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>son, S, sake</td>
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<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>didomhuainch, 2, S, sunday</td>
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<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>leigh, 1, M, law</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>keyn [letters 2, 3, 4], M, sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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II. Breton Branch.

a. Welsh.

14. WELSH. 8 vowels.

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<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>gwin, wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>mor, sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>cwnwyl [letters 2 and 4], cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>dynion, 1, men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ë</td>
<td>bot(), round body</td>
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</table>

b. Cornish.

15. CORNISH, as spoken in the xviiiith century, now extinct. 9 vowels.

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16. BRETON. 18 vowels.

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<td>e</td>
<td>bāni, 1, he did</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>l'ëng, 1, let</td>
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<tr>
<td>ë</td>
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B. Greco-Latin Family.

1. Albanian Branch.

17. ALBANIAN, Guégué dialect. 14 vowels.

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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>born, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>vine, they come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>o_A</td>
<td>done, they do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>zot, lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>burre, husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>ĕ, hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>krūpe, 1, salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>hūni, 1, the sun entered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 'h</td>
<td>unde, in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 'h</td>
<td>dieilit(), of the sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Greek Branch.

18. ANCIENT GREEK, dead.

19. MODERN GREEK. 5 vowels.

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>φενδαπ, 2, moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ύψελγά, 1, 2, cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ψωµι, 2, bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>χρώπος, 1, 2, year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ποιµ, [1, 2], bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Latin Branch.

a. Latin.

20. LATIN, dead.

b. Italian.

21. ITALIAN. 9 vowels.

<table>
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<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>gatto, 1, cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>sella, 1, saddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>sellaio, 1, saddler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>stella, 1, star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>fine, 1, end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o_1</td>
<td>bosco, 1, wood of trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>boschetto, 1, grove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>bocca, 1, mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>buco, 1, hole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. SPANISH. 5 vowels.

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>a</td>
<td>madre, 1, mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>mujer, 2, woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>hijo, 1, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>plomo, 1, 2, lead n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>luna, 1, moon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. PORTUGUESE. 20 vowels.

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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>más, bad, fem. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AA</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>mas, but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>rea</td>
<td>cama, 1, bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>sé, see n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>e_A</td>
<td>sempre [letters 2, 3], always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>sê, be, imperat. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>eA</td>
<td>senha, 1, sign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>cear, 1, to sup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>vicio, 1, 2, vice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>sim [letters 2, 3], yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(23. PORTUGUESE, continued.)

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<td>o_1</td>
<td>avó, 2, grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>o_A</td>
<td>som [letters 2, 3], sound n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>avó, 2, grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>sonho, 1, dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>mh</td>
<td>o, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>soar, 1, to sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>támulu, 1, 2, tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>um [both letters], one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>se, if</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. FRENCH. 18 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>chat, cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>dent [letters 2, 3], tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>diable, 2, devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>père, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>e_A</td>
<td>vin [letters 2, 3], wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>musette, 2, bagpipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>dé, die, n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>if, yeo-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o_1</td>
<td>botte, boot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>o_A</td>
<td>bon [letters 2, 3], good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>beau, beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>poule, hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>lune, moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>veuf [1, 2], widower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>shA</td>
<td>un [both letters], one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>feu [2, 3], fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>cheval, 1, horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>fat(), foppish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25. ROMAN, Catalan. 10 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>casa, 1, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>casa, 2, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>net, nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>nét, clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>cosi, 2, cousin, male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o_1</td>
<td>dona, 1, woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>molt, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>jutge, 1, judge n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>pare, 2, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>foch(), fire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. RHETIAN, Oberland dialect. 13 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>bab, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>essan, 2, we are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>är, field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e_1</td>
<td>punèr, 2, tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>valèr, 2, to be worth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>vènder, 1, to sell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>figl, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>masira, 2, measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o_1</td>
<td>bov, ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>bun, good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>oe</td>
<td>oeč [1, 2], eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>lader, 2, thief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>'h</td>
<td>uffont(), thief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Bonapartean Vowel Lists

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a(ak') needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>(ta.ta), father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>(ve.rs), verse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>(be-ne), well adv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>[1, 2], bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>(vi.nu'), wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>(o.m), man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(ulm'), ehm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>bär.bat', husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**γ. Germano-Scandinavian Family.**

**I. German Group.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>GOTHIC</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>OLD HIGH GERMAN</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>OLD LOW GERMAN</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>ANGLO-SAXON</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>FRIESIAN</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. German.**

**33. HIGH GERMAN.** 12 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>man, fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ehre, honour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>milch, milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Gott, God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ohne, without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>buch, book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>brüder, brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>ö</td>
<td>böcke, roe-bucks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>könig, king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>mutter, mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>gut(), good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**34. LOW GERMAN, dialect of Holstein.** 15 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>dat, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>maken, to make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>het, he has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>leed [1, 2], song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>wien [1, 2], wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>wo, how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>kopp, head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>moder, mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>kuss, kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>küssen, to kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>aver, over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>döchter, daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>könig, king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>hütt, huts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>hart(), heart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**35. DUTCH.** 14 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>vlag, flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>kerck, church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>bel, bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>nemen, to take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ik, I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>titel, title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>top, top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>komen, to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>zoet [1, 2], sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ou, you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>durven, to dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>buk [1, 2], beech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>bode, messenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>kat(), cat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**36. MODERN FRIESIAN, western dialect.** 14 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>makke, made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ald, old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>sette, to set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>leech [1, 2], low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>stik, piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>wit, white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>moarn [1, 2], morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>lot, lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>doge, to be worth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>hüs, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>hüs, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>guds, horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>mûsen, to mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>doopt(), baptized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. English.**

**37. ENGLISH [see remarks on Smart (1199, a)].** 21 vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>father, father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>the book, book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>character, character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>pollute, pollute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>ea()x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>gat(), pronounced (gee')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>more, more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>omit, omit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>book [1, 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>pool [1, 2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ho()me, pronounced (hoo'om)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>open, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>bit()</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 38. ICELANDIC. 14 vowels.

| 1 a | maður, 1, man |
| 25 e₁ | hestur, 1, horse |
| 29 e₁ | bein, 1, bone |
| 35 i | vita, 1, to know |
| 37 i | rikur, 1, rich |
| 40 j | bein, 2, bone |
| 46 o₁ | opnæ, 1, open part. |
| 51 o | göður, pronounced (gōdūdūr), good |
| 57 u | hún, she |
| 58 u | úngur, 1, young |
| 61 w | göður, [see 51] |
| 71 ø | smjör, butter |
| 75 ø₁ | sumar, 1, summer |
| 18 h | loft(ō), air |

### 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 | høt, hatred |
| 25 e₁ | kløde, 1, to clothe |
| 28 e | lesa, 1, to read |
| 29 e | kne, knee |
| 32 e₁ | time, 1, hour |
| 35 i | skir, to clean |
| 37 i | liva, 1, to live |
| 46 o₁ | maane [1, 2], moon |
| 49 o | skot, shoot n. |
| 55 ø₁ | stor, great |
| 57 u | sumar, 1, summer |
| 63 u₁ | hus, house |
| 65 y | by, town |

### (39). Norwegian, continued.

| 71 ø | døkk, dark |
| 72 ø | løk, brook |
| 75 ø₁ | styttja, 1, to shorten |
| 18 h | hatt(ō), hat |

### 39. SWEDISH. 18 vowels.

| 1 a | all, all |
| 7 e | saker, 2, things |
| 25 e₁ | är, 1, glory |
| 28 e | mejla, 1, to mow |
| 29 e | leda, 1, to lead |
| 35 i | vinna, 1, to win |
| 37 i | vin, wine |
| 46 e₁ | sovja, 1, to sleep |
| 51 o | kol, cole |
| 56 u₁ | stor, great |
| 62 u₁ | skuld, cause |
| 64 u | hus, house |
| 65 y | fyra, 1, four |
| 69 sh | först, firstly |
| 71 ø | kött, meat |
| 72 ø | dö, to die |
| 75 ø₁ | syster, 1, sister |
| 18 h | hatt(ō), 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 ø | mane, 1, to conjure |
| 25 e₁ | hest, horse [Mr. Sweet writes (n)] |
| 28 e | læse, 1, to read |
| 32 e₁ | een [1, 2], one |
| 35 i | spille, 1, to play |
| 37 i | hvid, white |
| 41 o | folk, people |
| 46 o₁ | maane [1, 2], moon [Mr. Sweet writes (ō)] |
| 55 ø₁ | stor, great [Mr. Sweet writes (o₃)] |
| 58 u | ugle, 1, owl |
| 65 y | skyle, 1, to rinse |
| 67 r | nyde, 1, to enjoy |
| 69 sh | størs, greatest [latest orthography for o] |
| 71 ø | dør, door |
| 72 ø | han døer, 3, he does |
| 18 h | hatt(ō), hat |

### 5. Slavo-Lettish Family.

#### r. Slavonic Branch.

| a | Slave |

### 41. OLD SLAVE, dead.
42. RUSSIAN. 9 vowels.

[The pronunciation of each word is added.]

1 a палка, 1, 2, (pavlka), stick
8 æ мясо, (mixsa), meat
29 e дерево, 1, 2, (derova), tree
34 y2 мы, (mya), we
37 i мир, (mir), world
43 a худо, 2, (xudo), ill adv.
51 o воля, 1, (vola), wool
58 u муж, (muzh), man
18 h хвост, 2, (khvos'ta), tail

43. ILLYRIAN. 7 vowels.

1 a врата, 1, 2, beard
28 e пета, 1, heel
37 i риба, 1, fish
49 o нога, 1, foot
58 u рука, 1, hand
18 h врата, neck
'r prst, finger

44. NEW SLOVENIAN, Wendish. 10 vowels.

1 a дати, 1, to give
7 a добер, 2, good
25 e, je, he is
29 e je, he eats
37 i мир, peace
43 a боб, bean
51 o зоб, tooth
58 u ура, 1, hour
18 h хр, brother
'r hrt, greyhound.

45. BULGARIAN. 8 vowels.

1 a баба, 1, grandmother
7 e дюп, oak
25 e баня, 2, bath
28 e дете, 1, child
37 i сним, 1, warm
49 o злато, 2, gold
58 u кок, 1, book
18 h brat, brother

b. Polish.

46. POLISH. 11 vowels.

1 a сам, alone
25 e1 тераз, 1, now
27 eA bede, I shall be

(46. Polish, continued.)

31 e члоб, bread
34 y2 были, 1, they have been
37 i пили, 1, 2, they have drunk
47 s1 жда, 2, they go away
51 o погода, 1, 2, fine weather
54 sh Бог, God
58 u cud, miracle
18 h grzmot', thunder

47. BOHEMIAN. 11 vowels.

1 a скала, 1, rock
25 e1 led, ice
29 e мляко, 1, milk
37 i вира, 1, faith
46 o1 зvon, bell
51 o o, o
58 u дух, spirit
67 r kdy, when
18 h kohout', cock
'I vlk, wolf
'r prst, finger

48. LUSATIAN, Sorbian, Wendish. 11 vowels.

1 a трава, 1, 2, grass
25 e1 же, 1, of him
29 e же, he eats
37 i фика, 1, fig
43 a wono, 1, thing
51 o woko, 1, eye
54 wh dwor, court
58 u huba, 1, lip
67 x zyma, 1, cold n.
18 h dörk, mouthful

49. CASSUBIAN, a still-existing dialect of the extinct POLABIC. 16 vowels.

1 a гадац, 1, 2, to talk
25 e1 мяч, moss
27 e1 геба, mouth
29 e зе, evil
35 i фацинек, 2, 3, Latin
43 a jod, venom
46 o1 помоц, 1, 2, aid
47 o1 kat, corner
51 o добри, 1, good
52 o1 дом, house
54 sh Бог, God
58 u szum, rush
60 u kunst, art
65 y хвоп, 1, hyssop
16 h небес, 1, to bear down
18 h czart, devil

CHAP. XI.
Vowel Fractures and Junctures.

II. Lettish Branch.

a. Lithuanian.

50. LITHUANIAN. 9 vowels.
1 a báltis, 1, beam
25 e_{1} vėtis, 1, to drive
29 e dėkė, 1, 2, box case
35 i kūris, 1, 2, axe
37 i yrė, 1, he is
49 o moma, 1, mother
57 u nesū, 2, I bear
65 u puli, 1, to fall
18 h kū-met(), at which time

b. Prussian.

51 PRUSSIAN, dead.

52. LETTISH. 8 vowels.
1 a gars, spirit

(52. Lettish, continued.)

25 e_{1} mettu, 1, I throw
29 e sėja, 1, seed
37 i bitte, 1, see
49 o lūki, pronounced (luoaki), only

B. SEMITIC STEM,

admitting, as I do, the correctness of
Ascoli's opinion as to the con-
nection of the Indo-European
and Semitic stems, although
it is disputed by the majority
of modern linguists.—L.L.B.

On Vowel Fractures and Junctures.

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 replace-
ment 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 mono-
syllabic, 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 south-
western 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 (Suf-fractures). 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, fu), with the first element under the stress, but varying as (iá, uá, uí). 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, uá), 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, áu, úi), and do not, at least commonly, vary as (ai, au), although (ui) 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 (œ). 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 (éci, óou, àæ). 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 (aa) is widely developed in our dialects.

Omissive suffractures arise from the suppression of a consonant, or

1 Here (ái, ad) must not be confused with Grimm's Gothic "broken vowels" ai, âu, where "i and u, losing their purity, pass over into a mixed sound" (D.C. P, 50), supposed to be different from the usual Gothic ai, au, which he writes aï, du, and takes as (ai, au), see table in (561, 5). My use of the acute accent in the notation of diphthongs (419, c) was suggested by Grimm's, but in palaeotype (ai, ad) are real diphthongs, and not any "mixed sound," whatever Grimm may have conceived that expression to imply.
its gradual change into (i, u, ø). The types are (äi, äu, òø), 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'ø) for gnaw comes from the analogy of his omissive fracture (maa'a, maa') 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 (äi, äu) 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 gradated even to obscurity, 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 (ëæ) may have been meant, or really (ëa, êo).

It was in the Cumberland dialect that the apertive prefractions first presented themselves to me in recognisable purity. It was impossible to hear (fhas, dial, liat) for face, dale, late, and (bråid, stian) for broad, stone, with a perfectly distinct (a), and to observe fool, look vary from (fitul, liïk), through (fîol, lîïk), to (fïol, lïïk), 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 gradated representative, shewing that this was a subsequent process, as the gradation, especially when amounting to obscurity, was more likely to occur

1 Compare the "etymological" ã ë i graphy, in the examples, p. 1304, ã æ 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, uo) 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 (3); thus the forms (ia, ea, uo) are the most frequent forms of the preceding types. When this stage is reached, the tendency seems to be to drive the obscuration further, by shortening the second element, till it becomes a mere voice-glade, 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, i', e', o', 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 (a) in the second syllable of real, which occupies a mid position between the Scotch y in myll (mel) and u in mull (mal). I often hear the identical sound in English, when the word real (ri’al) is carelessly pronounced, as (ri’al, 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 wu, 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 (a). 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 (stün) in Teviotdale, and we hear of (steem) in “general Scotch,” and (stian) in Aberdeen.

The most remarkable of these prefractions is (iu), where (u) is a

1 German lieben and such words have (ii) for (i’), see Grimm (I, 227).
gradation of (o). In Cumberland I was for a long time puzzled with what appeared from description to be a peculiar (y, v) sound. Subsequent hearing shewed me that it varied as (iu, ie, ia), and was in fact a real prefracture of (u). In Norfolk the custom varies, (iu, iú, iy, y, yi, ə) being used as substitutes for (uu); this is even the case in a few words in Kent. In Devonshire, while (y, yi, ə) are generally acknowledged, see p. 636, note, yet the fracture (mæn, mən) may be noticed. The sounds (y, yi, ə) as used in these dialects could not be a Norman introduction, as they occur in words where Normans have (uu). They are not a necessity of Scotch pronunciation, for the Scotch retain the (uu) sound where it was received from Anglosaxon and French. Hence I am led to consider this (y, yi, 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 xiiiith century (424, b), which finally introduced ou for (uu), may have been due to a similar prefracture. Even the short u, which interchanges with y, 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 (ëa) could not be orthographically distinguished from the close (e'), except by leaving the former as ea or eo, 2 and the latter as e. This may account for the remarkable treatment of ea, e, by Orrmin (487, cd). 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 (rūm, rį'm, rį'yūm), so that there would be clearly very little difficulty in reaching (rym, ry'm, rym).

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 (ia, uə) in French, so that this hypothesis has an historic foundation.

2 The Anglosaxon fractures ea, eo—to which perhaps the confusion of ea, 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', e').
VOWEL FRACTURES AND JUNCTURES.  CHAP. XI

the stress is very uncertain. Hence (ia, ua) are as apt to become (ia, uå) as (ia, ūa). 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.1 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.2 At present, even in Scotland, we have (jen, je' b'l, jek, jen) for one, able, oak, oat (Murray, p. 105), all being cases of (iå) in the gradated form (ia'). Mr. Murray even writes (hjem) where I seemed to hear him say (nhiem).2 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 (wa' rsthët, wa' rpi lif, wa' pen) for orchard, orpine, open. And similarly to (ua), Mr. Murray writes (uwal), where I suspect (nhu' al), for hole, etc., which is consistent with his secondary historical form huôle, etc. (ibid. p. 112.) The greater number of dialectal writers use y, w, in these cases, even after a consonant, as Jwohn in Cumberland, implying (Dzhwon), which is to me a very difficult combination; but I seem to hear (dzhûon), which is easy enough. Even in this word I doubted the stress, and thought at first that it lay on the introducing vowel, thus (dzhûon). 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 (dzhûon), compare the English pronunciation of Juan (dzhû'n'en). In our received pronunciation we have the fracture (uå) in one (wân). The oldest form of this fracture which I have been able to cite is Jones's (wân), at the close of the xviith century, suprâ p. 1012, for which a little later, in the xviiith century, we have (wôn, wäm, wên), see (1079, a), while at the present day both (wôn) and (wäm, wên) 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 (sh, wh), but these do not seem to be developed. More frequently the aspirate is lost, and (iå, uå) are treated as initials, thus (jep, jed, wäm) occur for (nihêp, nhéd, nhûâm), 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 vvyth (762, b. 763, e), I was much struck by hearing Dr. Benjamin Davies (769, e) read the Welsh wyth = 8, distinctly as (ûyth), 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 (ûhis'm), sometimes as (jhem), and may possibly vary as (zhém).
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 (-tyrr, -dyyr), as imported words, split into two directions. In the xvii th century the remission of accent introduced the ready gradations (-tau, -dau), whence (-tor, -dor), which became the rule in the xvmth 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 introduced, however, (-tiú, -diúa) passed easily through (-tió, -dió) into (-tshau, -dzhau), precisely in the same way as in Shropshire. And the alteration of even accented (siú, tiú, diú) to (shu, tshu, dzhu) is of the same kind. This became strongly developed among the Irish in the xvmth 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, (shaa) champ is (kiám-pum) altered, and (rva) older (rov') is (ruxé-gem), for (ree'gem), Latin regem. We have this even initial as in Italian (uó-vuh) uovo, Spanish (ué-vo) hueco, Latin (oo'vum, uó-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 (kw-, 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 gua 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 gua was a grammatical or accentual, at any rate not a clearly dialectal, transformation of (i, u), and we were so little prepared to accept such a transformation in English 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 (ɪa, ʊo), 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 (iɪ) value of English i. 
But the dialectal treatment distinctly points to the same conclusion.
The change of (i, u) to (ái, áu), in various gradations, is a mere
fracture, exactly comparable to the apertive prefractures. Where
long i was gradated, or shortened, the tendency to fracture did not
act. But when (ái, áu) were once established, the second element
became often obscured, and we find dialectally (áo) or (a') for
both, so that both sink into simple juncture (aa). The pronoun I,
originally short, as in (tʃʃ) tʃh, was treated as long (iɪ), and
fractured to (ái), which is constantly (aa) dialectally, and similarly
while is (waal) in Leeds, and five is (fa'v) in Mid-Lothian. The
word house is retained without fracture in the Scotch (xhus), and
generally becomes (nʌus) in some gradated form, but in Leeds sinks
to (aas), while in the North of Yorkshire it fractures differently, and
gives (iɪ's) from (fus), the old (uus) remaining as a refined form.
This is a remarkable illustration of the comparatively recent develop-
ment of fracture in both forms, furnishing an explanation of such
apparent anomalies as the "change" of received (ʍʌus) into (iɪs,
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 con-
firmation 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 at, 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, áu) are
heard, with various gradated forms, as (ái, əɪ, əi; óu), which are
also common in English, but the mere obscuration (áo) does not
seem to have been observed in this particular case.

These clausive prefractures 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, d'). The prefracture (uɪ), in
the form (ʊé), subsequently gradated to (ʊá), is originally rather a
clausive prefracture than an apertive, as it now appears, and in that
form is frequent. The Spanish (ʊé) form is perhaps to be considered
as originally a suffracture (ˈʊe), a gradation of (ɔe) from Latin (o).
When a dialect has once seized a sound, the distinction of prefrac-
ture and suffracture, which is merely one of origin, becomes lost,
and the phonetic development proceeds according to the usual habits
of the dialect.

Suffractures, 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 (ei, ou), 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 (éei, óou) are the original types, which only gradually reduce to (éi, óu) when they become readily confounded with the elasic prefractures (ái, án). The development of (éi) 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, ei, as in Havelok, supra p. 473, may be solved on the supposition of double forms (ee, éi), such as the following tables will shew to actually exist in kindred dialects. It must be also remembered that suffractures of the type (éi, óu) are largely developed in Icelandic. Corresponding to this (éi, óu) type, is the (áo) 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 í, which has the sound of (e), and represented apparently (a) as well. The combinations ai, ei, oi, would then represent (áa, 6a, 6a), and readily became forms for long (a, e, o). See (410, é. 637, é. 1085, c. and Murray, p. 52). But the suffractures (6a, 6a) 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 (éo éu éy, ói óe óy), and the three last may also appear as (úi úe úy). Now this would give the developments (éo éu), gradating to (óo fu), which would connect (e) with well-known diphthongs in a simple manner. The suffracture (6i), as in (góið) good, really occurs frequently in Yorkshire, but I cannot recall an example of (uí).1 The types (ii' ee' aa' oo' uu') are frequent. These are all simple suffractures, arising merely from the feeling of the speaker, precisely as the prefractures arose, and, like them, co-exist not frequently with non-fractured forms.

Omissive suffractures, arising from the suppression of r, are common in the received dialect, as (ii' ee' oo' uu'), see (1099, a'). In the corresponding (aa', 6a'), the suffracture reduces to the juncture (aa, 6a). Even in (ee', oo') the suffracture is very close, and is barely recognised, so that (oo') often falls into the juncture (6a), or else (ee', oo') are reduced to two syllables, as (eeøæ, ooøæ), 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

1 In the Forest of Dean I have heard the suffracture (ái) as in (náim) 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 show 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 (u, i), generating diphthongs, which did not form a
part of the older language (213, a). These diphthongs are real suffrac-
tures (āi, āu), and hence different in origin from the prefixes (āi, āu),
or the suffractural (ēi, ēu), 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 in-
correct, 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 philo-
logical investigation. The blunders and contrivances of the early
scribes are more instructive than the systematic orthographies of
erlier theorists. The (āi, āu), as derived from ag, ah, should then
appear not only in their original form, but as (āə, aa), as well as in
junctures (aa, ee, əə), and this is found to be the case. The (aə)
form, however, comes from ag, through the (gwh, wh, w) transfor-
mations of g, and hence we must expect it to follow the same
fortunes as suppressed w. Thus enduviain gives (nəə, əəə, əəə,
əəə), as well as (nəu, nəə, nəo'w); dohtor appears as (dəu,taə,
dəu,taə, dəu,taə, dəu,taə, dəu,taə, dəu,taə); weg assumes the forms
(wə́i, wəəi, wəa, wəi', wəe, wəe') with the suffracture="wə́i, wəəi, wəa, wəi', wəe, wəe'").

Suffractures appear in the received dialect by the obscuration of
a following vowel, which ceases to form a distinctly separate syl-
lable. The terminations -ea, -eal, -iel, -uial, constantly lead to these
suffractures, which are sometimes so close that the fractural nature
is difficult to discern. Thus ˈidea, ratafiə, through (ːiˈədiː, rəˈtəfɪə),
lead to (ˈiːdiː, rəˈtəfɪə), of which the first is considered ludicrous,
the second is received. Real (ˈriːl) is constantly miscalled (ˈriːl), and
really, which is pronounced as ˈreəli formed from rear, that is
(ˈriːlɪ), rhyming to nearly, is miscalled (ˈriːlɪ). 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 ˈrəl', having a well-known
S.E. Yorkshire fracture, “genteel”
speakers in Hull are horrified, and say
(ˈriːl), 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 ˈlə. 
tute, that is, which are always intended to be disyllabic, and are printed in italics. 

Ideal deal, real reel, really mealy, dial crocodile, vial vile, denial Nile, trial rile, diet indite, quiet quite, riot rite, triad tried, dyad died, Dryad dried, diamond, dire moaned, die moaned, bias bice, bias lice.

The termination -ual is rather (-u'l, -iü'l) than the theoretical (-új'l, -iúj'l) 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, ïndiv'ïdz'li, mú'tsh'li, po'qktsh'li, jiu'zh'li), in place of the more theoretical and not unfrequent (æ'kt'iü'li, jiuú'zhiü'li), 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 (i', u'). See (1310, c).


The illiterate peasant, speaking a language entirely imitative, unfixed by any theoretic orthography, untramelled 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 untutored, 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 a 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 (λ, o, o), and by its prefractures into (ia, ï, ea, c'), and its suffractures into (āæ, āi). The hypothesis of (a) explains all these cases satisfactorily; the hypothesis (ee', æ) would lead to endless difficulties.

E. An original (e) for modern e, ea, 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, dhii, griit, briik) for where, there, great, break; and of its frequent prefracture into (ii') or suffracture into (ei), 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 grading into (æ), or even (a) before r, on the one hand, and (i) 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 whal, where, ale air; many are not aware of the ĝ fermé and ĝ ouvert of the French, the ș chiuso and ș aperto of the Italians. The triple distinctions (e, e, 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, 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, 74), but this only refers to the short vowels, whereas Englishmen feel the difference especially in long vowels. As to old Saxon and Anglosaxon, Grimm (I, 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 xiiith and xiiiith centuries, the difference of the two sounds, e broad (e, E, œ), and ĝ narrow (e, i), was very strictly observed, although with exceptions there given; but in the xivth century e, ĝ, began to rhyme more freely, which Grimm laments. But coming to his own day, he says (ib. 220) that the difference e, ĝ, remains in pronunciation, "at least in the principal cases: legen ponere sounds to us quite different from gelegen positus, reegen movere different from reegen pluvia: but our present poets are so hard of hearing, or so accommodating, that they rhyme both vowels together." Now Schmitthenner (Dictionary) writes rēgen for both the last words, but Hilpert (German Dict.) distinguishes rēgen to move, with the close sound, from rēgen 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 š, 2) of the diphthongs, 3) of the relations between long and short accented vowels, 4) of ŋ, 5) of š, and 6) of ng, locates the first system, which he calls the "orthographical," in the north-west, embracing Cassel, and says that all ā which evidently come from a, and all ē which come from i, are thrown together as ā, and such ē as thence appear to be radical remain. Here ā, ē=(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, ohg. old high german, etc., are from Schmitt-
henner:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{seel}, & \text{ goth. saivala} \quad \text{öwig, ohg. ëwa} \\
\text{erden}, & \text{ go. airjä} \quad \text{gegen, ohg. kakan} \\
\text{er}, & \text{ ohg. ar, ur, ur} \quad \text{dem, ohg. dem} \\
\text{vergeben} \quad \text{(geben, ohg. köpan)} & \quad \text{edel, ohg. adal} \\
\text{anbete}, & \text{ ohg. anapéton} \\
\text{verkärter} \quad \text{(from klär, ..from lat. clarus)} & \quad \\
\text{dör}, & \text{ ohg. der} \\
\text{beben}, & \text{ ohg. pipèn} \\
\text{leben}, & \text{ ohg. lëpèn}
\end{align*}\]

The same so-called “historical \(\ddot{a}\)” 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):

\[\begin{align*}
\ddot{a} = & \text{(ee).} \\
\text{wer}, & \text{ ohg. huër} \quad \text{entgeht, (gehen, ohg. kân, kankan)} \\
\text{nebel}, & \text{ ohg. népal} \quad \text{wennig, ohg. wênaa} \\
\text{sehen}, & \text{ ohg. séhan} \quad \text{elend, ohg. elilenti} \\
\text{schwert}, & \text{ ohg. suërt} \\
\text{sabel}, & \text{ french sabre} \\
\text{drehen}, & \text{ ohg. drähän} \\
\text{weht}, & \text{ ohg. wahan or wejan} \\
\text{sehr}, & \text{ ohg. sërö} \\
\text{näht}, & \text{ go. nasjan, ohg. nerjan} \\
\text{fohlt}, & \text{ ohg. vælhan} \\
\text{trhâne}, & \text{ ohg. trahin} \\
\text{örzähle}, & \text{ ohg. zellan}
\end{align*}\]

It is evident that though these systems distinguish \(e, \ddot{e}\), in one sense, they confuse \(o\) from \(a\) and \(\ddot{e}\) 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 \(ee\) 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 \(ee, \ddot{e}e\). To my ears (ee) is more frequently used by English dialectal speakers than \(ee\), but my experience is limited. The distinctions between \(e, \ddot{e}\) 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 \(o, \ddot{o}\), and, when the long sound does not appear yet to have reached \(AA\), it is put down as \(oo\). The prefractures of \(oo\) would be \(fo, fo, ū, ū\’; ūo, ēo, ēu, ee’\), and \(oo\) would gradate so easily to \(oo, uu, uu\) 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 (uo) than to anything else, but of course (uo) 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 treat it 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, c), and from its clausive prefraction (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.

U. 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, fu), degenerating into (aa, iu'). 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 prefraction was always assumed to be (ou, xu, u) 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 (y), producing the fracture (oy'), was equally natural. The use of u in French words was a foreignism. In dialects this u is a fracture (iu, iu), and varies as such a fracture.

AI. AU. The combinations ai, au, seem by the dialects to be treated as (ai, án), whether as prefractions of (i, u), or as suffractions of (a). The persistence of (ái), not merely in the South-Western dialects, but in the Eastern and South-Eastern, and the mode in which the (ái, ee, ii) sounds are mixed up together within the same dialect, seem to be inexplicable on any other hypothesis but an original (ái, éi). The forms of (au) as (AA, oo, oo) tell a similar tale.

EW, OW, were also fractures (eu, ou), arising from the disappearance of u, or occasionally g. That laugh, when gradated from (laawh) to (lowh), and thence passing to (low, low), might have become (luu) or even (lù), would not be surprising, when we find a
bow appearing as (bɪə, buu, bóu) 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 (iiˈdhaɪ, oˈi-dhaɪ), 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 Chancer 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 cruciʃt and buriʃt, 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 prosnical occasion by every prosnical 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 (-e) or (-o), much as the final German -e, and as the old final English -e, if pronounced, was most probably so called (119, b), and as we should not find it either elegant or particularly time-saving and energy-sparing to omit this sound and say "pie", "Amerie", "armad", "panace", "ide", "are", "naphth", "acaci", "cyclopadi", "umbrell", "vanill", "vill", "scroful", "wuul", "dram", "anathem", "enigm", "stigm", "dogm", "dilemm", "comm", "hyen", "duenn", "Chin", "er", "chimer", "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-, go-, 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). 1 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. 2 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 Remarking 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, e). In Johan Winkler’s Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesche 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 fits 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.
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 \textit{voiced} and \textit{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 \textit{though} is (thoo) in Scotch, and the usual \textit{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 (prisii'-z, dez'ember, hhaaz) for \textit{precise, december, us}, and other words, and a (v) for an (f) in (kaav) \textit{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) \textit{through, three}, and occasionally elsewhere, as (dis'l) \textit{thistle} in East Cornwall. I have not been able to ascertain if the (d) is then dental as (druu, drii). Medial substi- tutions of (dh) for (d) are not uncommon, and have even crept into older received orthography, as \textit{burthen, murther}, now \textit{burden, murder}. In Norfolk \textit{three} becomes \textit{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 substi- tutes. 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 \((nha\text{-}sta)\) for \textit{hast thou}? and even of \((th)\) in Derbyshire, as \((fi\text{-}stondz}
\text{vt}^2\text{-}t\text{-}bak\text{-}v\text{aar waa},\) \textit{he stands at the back of our wall}, where \((vt\text{ th-bak})\) would have been the regular form. In the example of W. Lincolnshire given below, it will be observed that \textit{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 \((t)\) \textit{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 \(th\) \textit{in the}, \textit{this}, \textit{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 \textit{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 \((b, d, g)\), \(t'\) \textit{dog}, or stands between two voiced consonants, as \textit{in t’ backhouse}, or stands between two similar consonants, as \textit{at t’ time}, \textit{at t’ door}, the method by which its effect is made evident—and it is always evident—seems to be mainly by a slight \textit{implosion}, as \(’t\text{-}t\), 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 \textit{not} \((’ht, t'h, t'h)\), is a remarkable phenomenon, well deserving of most careful investigation. Our old \(’t\) for \textit{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 \textit{de}, \textit{te}, \textit{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 \textit{the} or \textit{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 \((Tu\text{-}te)\) 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.
even among educated people, 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 (hnh-), 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 chiamo ghiaccio (kiá’-muh gia’: t.t.shuh). 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 (-tər, -sər, -zər), 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 (Shirset) Chirnside (56n48, 2w12) may be as much maligned as the inhabitants of Rome, for using (sh) in place of (tsh). 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 (t’mar, tsha’mar, na’mar) consequently occur. The name Hamilton is often (nhæ’mbl’tun) in a Southern mouth, but the Scotch are content to call Campbell (ka’m’l). Similarly (-nl-) often generates (-ndl-), but dialects generally content themselves with (-nl-), as (nha’m’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 xer’do and xer’do 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 cryer shouting out Llandudno at Rhyll 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 (tsh) 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 (kʃ) 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 (gg) final, not (qk). Medially they seem as a rule to prefer (q) to the occasional (qq) of the received dialect, saying (f^qær) rather than (f^qgear). Before (th), the (q) sinks very generally to (n), in (lenth, streng).  

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 grade to (u, i). If R is untrilled, the resulting (r) instantly gradates to (o), 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 grade to (o), 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 (awl, oW) result, the foundation of (oU, zU, UW), 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 (ul, ul) degenerate to (uu).

LD final seems to be a distasteful combination, either l or s 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 the (krup), begins, but marks out a very small district.1 Coming more south, the initial

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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 Carlham [55 n 39, 2 w 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, 55n19, 2w22] we suddenly enter the erhoup (krup) country in the neighbourhood of Otterburn (otohr-bohrn) [55n16, 2e10]. 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 (\( s, v, r' \)), or perhaps a glottal (\( r \)). 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 (\( r \)), 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 \( d \) 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 explosive (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 (Entscheidenhett) with which the initial sound strikes the ear." Thus gebunden becomes (\( bu:n'd'n \)), or perhaps (\( buu:n'd'n \)). The case of \( t' \) 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 (\( aa, a, a \)), the speaker may feel the tongue rise at the end. It may only take the position (\( o \)), the tip may rise to (\( r_o \)), 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 (\( bod \)) to be a representative of an existing \( r \), because it is felt to be so different from the stopped-vowel glide in (\( bod, bodd \)), 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, \( d, 593, 9195, b' 1228, b \)), till the judg-
tion 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 distinctively pronounced, when it may be that a vowel is merely lengthened, or at most a suffracture introduced. When any one writes \( \text{larf brort} \) to indicate (\( \text{leaf braat} \)), 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,\(^1\) 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 \( \text{trill} \) in any one of the forms (\( \text{brh, ur, } r, r, r, \text{ grh, r} \)), 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 (\( \text{br} \)), see (1232, \( \tilde{b} \)), a retracted (\( r \)), see (1098, \( b' \)), and an \( r \) made by a striking of the tongue against the teeth, gums, or roof of the mouth, for which \( \text{tr} \) may be used, the difference between \( \text{tr} \) and \( r \) being that between the actions of the clarinet and harmonium reeds. Anything, in short, which gives a final \( \text{roughness} \) (the characteristic sensation produced by rapid beats) will pass muster for an English \( r \), and, what is more, be intelligible. See also (1194, \( a' \)).

But there are parts of England in which the disappearance of \( r \) is fairly acknowledged, namely in parts of the southwest.\(^2\) The

\(^1\) Donders (\( \text{Spraakklanken, p. 19} \)), referred to (1098, \( c \)), see also (1099, \( c \)), gives some interesting drawings of the phonautographic curves produced by the trills (\( \text{brh, r, r} \)), showing how the trill shuts off and opens out the voice some 20 or 30 times in a second. The lip trill (\( \text{brh} \)) 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 \( \text{shake in music} \) (\( \text{It. trillo} \)), 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 \( \text{tremolo} \) stops on the harmonium and organ are produced in a similar manner. The exact cause of \( \text{tremulous} \) speech, as in emotion, or in that very disagreeable habit of \( \text{tremolo} \) singing, which may be noted as (\( a' \)), etc., I am not yet able to assign. The bleating voice (\( a \)) is another species of trill, the \( \text{snarl} \) (\( a \)) another, "sonat hic de nare canina litera," 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 (\( a \)). 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 \( \text{run urn, red wrd} \), reduces itself to the omission of \( r \) and obscuration of the following vowel with a long vowel-glide, as \( (\text{rən ən, red əd}) \). 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 \( r^r \) (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 (\( ən \)) is much easier than \( (rən) \), which readily becomes \( (ərən, ərən, ə\text{rən}, ən) \). 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 \( \text{flunkey} \). 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 \( (rw-) \) 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 \( (\text{sla}^u\text{'en}) \) for \( \text{sloven} \), and \( (\text{d}a\text{'u}) \) for \( \text{dove} \), and the Devonshire \( (\text{roov}) \) for \( \text{row} \). The exact nature of the \( (v) \) in this case I have not been able to ascertain, because I have not examined 'un-corrupted' 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 \( (\text{maa'v'l}) \) for \( \text{marble} \), 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\(^1\) 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.

\(^1\) In listening to a lecture delivered by Dr. Zerffi, on 15 March, 1874, in which the English pronunciation was generally very good, I noticed \( \text{wice} \),
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, e), 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 confuse hisses and buzzes arising from different sources. Those due to the central obstruction by the teeth in the case of (f) and (th)\(^1\) are closely allied. Hence we must not feel surprised at the Scotch (three) for *from*, or the Shropshire (throks, *f'r-s'lz*) for *frocks, thistles.*\(^2\) The change of (s) to a sound closely resembling (th) in the lisp arises merely from a defective organism or an affected advance of the tongue; it is not dialectal.

The gutturals (*kh kjh kzh*) 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 (\(i\)), 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.\(^3\) A similar abnormal generation of (shuu, shii) from ags. *héó*, through (ghéóo, inéite, for *vice*, inéite, with what sounded to me (and I was sitting very near to him) as a distinct (w); it may have been prefractural (u-), but it was certainly not (v), and it did not recall (bh). He called the *Védas* (*ve'daz*).

\(^1\) 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 *œgaphony* (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 (*f'r-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 *y*, which in MSS. interchanges with *y* very often. We constantly write *y* for *je*-the. So *yon* in Scotch (and the Belfast use is mere Scotch) may stand for *jôn*, and this for the accusative case of the ags. demonstrative pronoun, so that *yon man* 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 *j* for *y* was suggested (639, *a*'), 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 *j*.
DIALECTAL CONSONANT RELATIONS.  Chap. XI.

gjboo, gjhōo, gjhe’), has been already suggested (489, a. 1142, o’). If this view be correct, the Lancashire (rück), the Leeds (shuu) and the received (shii) she, have the same ags. heō for their origin.

The aspirate, in the form (m), seems to be invariably used where written in Scotland, and not to be introduced where not written, except in the predicative (mhz) 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 (m). 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. dét becomes (whóo’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 (I), 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-, xi-) 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 coexistence 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 (ia, ai), or ('v, ə), in (ii', io), 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 snatches (th), or cheek puffs (z), as in using the blowpipe [the symbol (z)] typifies, by the upper and lower lines, the two cheeks pressing out a stream of air, the central line, between them], or implosions (ch), 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 (\(\ddot{a}\)), as in chirps, inspired whistles, sobs, gasps, etc., see (1128, a), and may be nas, as in snuffling (\(\ddot{a}\)), or orinasal (a) and fluttering (z), as in snores (\(\ddot{a}\)z), etc.

3. **Air expired.**

a. **Glottids** (1129, c), including the bellows action of the lungs, continuous, varying in force, jerked (t), 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 Brücke (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 (\(\texttt{th}, \texttt{rh}, \texttt{dh}\)) have been usually considered as consonants.

b. Undifferentiated Glottal sounds, as \(\text{flatus (}'h'\text{'}, \text{wheeze ('}h', \text{whisper (}'h', \text{buzz (}'h', \text{bleat (}'h', \text{voice (}'h', \text{nasal voice (}'h'\text{'}, nasal bleat ('}h'\text{'}). Of these ('}h', 'sh'), are usually taken as consonants ('}h', 'g').

c. Differentiated Glottal sounds.

1). 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 (z) occasionally fulfill the linguistic function of vowels. The contacts between vowels and consonants are especially:

voiced (i, j, gjh) and flatted ("i, zh, kjh, kjh, kh, kj); and also through (kjh) to (sh, s), etc.;

voiced (u, w, y) or (u, v, gwh, gw, g), or \(\text{\(\Lambda\)u, bh, b};\) voiceless ("u, wh, f), or ("u, wh, kwh, kwh, k), or ("\(\Lambda\)u, ph, p), according as we start with English (u) having the back of the tongue raised, or German \(\text{\(\Lambda\)u}\) with the tongue depressed; also voiced (y, wj, bh, b) and voiceless ("y, whj, ph, p);

voiced (a, e) lead to (r, l), and thence to (\(\text{\(\Lambda\)}\), \(\text{\(\Lambda\)l}), and so to (d) and the coronals and dentals, or through (a, e, \(\text{\(\Lambda\)}\)) to lip, and even guttural consonants, etc., and when voiceless to ('h, n'h), and thence either to (kh), etc., or to (sh, 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 inflatus of (1113, b). These are the sonant consonants (b, d, g), or (\(\text{\(\Lambda\)}b, \text{\(\Lambda\)}d, \text{\(\Lambda\)}g), as distinguished from the imploled ("p, "t, "k). They may also be bleated, as (\(\text{\(\Lambda\)}b, \text{\(\Lambda\)}d, \text{\(\Lambda\)}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 (\(\text{\(\Lambda\)})), 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 vocal, and vice versa (1111, c).

Note on Symbolisation.

Palaeotype is meant to be a mere convenient system of notation without implying any system. Thus (h) 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 w wj), have been used with tolerable consistency. Italic 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
CONSONANT CLASSIFICATION.

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. Halde-

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 Devanâ-gari 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, 6’ to 1139, 6’). 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 Atharva-Vêda Prâtiyâkhyâ, 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 (t d n r), as proposed on (1096, c’). The y v are marked as (j v), but I believe them to have been originally diphthongising vowels, as (iá ái, uá áu), 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 (ái 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 áá) come together, therefore, in this table, they properly illustrate the vowel (i) only, of which (ii) is the mere prolongation; (j) and (áá) shew the initial and final diphthongising forms, and (ee) the juncture from (ái). Similarly for (v u uu oo áá).

Sanscrit systematic arrangement of the Alphabet, as deduced from the Rules of the Indian Phonologists.

(1.) Prof. Whitney's Symbols.

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<td>thsh</td>
<td>phhp</td>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>surd-aspirate</td>
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<td>g</td>
<td>a r j i</td>
<td>d r r l</td>
<td>b v u á o áu</td>
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(2.) Presumed Palaeotypic Equivalents.

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<td>kj</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plated</td>
<td>kkh</td>
<td>kkh sh</td>
<td>thsh</td>
<td>thsh</td>
<td>phph</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>g a a a’ r j i ii ee áá</td>
<td>d r</td>
<td>(d r r l)</td>
<td>(b v u uu</td>
<td>oo áá)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleeled</td>
<td>g3</td>
<td>g3e</td>
<td>dg</td>
<td>dg</td>
<td>bg</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nosed</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
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</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. "padántyáh padyáh. A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called a final (padya)."

i. 4. "ántharáh svaraḥ padyáh. Any vowel, excepting i, may occur as final." The Rik Pr. also excepts y long.

i. 5. "lákrávárisvarjániyáh ka. Also i and visvarjanyá."
'surd,' root čras, 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 ghoshavānt, 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, k, and the yamas of g and gh. The yamas, or 'twins,' are thus defined in Tātīt. Pr.: "after a mute not nasal, when followed by a nasal, are inserted in each case nose sounds (nāṣikṣya); 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 d and m, thus (atma).]

i. 18. "mukhe viçeṣhāḥ karaṇasya. 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. "kauṭhyāvādmadharakāntakḥ. Of the throat-sounds, the lower part of the throat is the producing organ." [See discussion (1134, b–1135, b).]

i. 20. "jihvamćutayāṇāṁ hánumūlam. Of the gutturals, the base of the jaw is the producing organ." The word translated gutturals means 'formed at the base of the tongue.' The commentator assigns as gutturals the r vowels, see (1146, c), the guttural mutes, k kh g gh h, the jihvāśālīya "spirant," or (kh), see (1134, a), and the vowel ṭ. By hánumūla, 'root or base of the jaw,' must be here understood, it should seem, the posterior edge of the hard palate.

i. 21. "tālāvyāṇāṁ madhyayābhavan. Of the palatals, the middle of the tongue is the producing organ." The commentator enumerates e ē i y, ç c ch j jh ʰ n and the vowel i. [The expression 'middle of the tongue' exactly corresponds to the modern sound described (1120, c); tālu is 'palate.']

i. 22. "mūrdhāyaṇāṁ jihvāgrāṇī pratīvēśṭiṭam. Of the linguals, the tip of the tongue, rolled back, is the producing organ." [See the discussion (1094, a–1096, c).] The word mūrdhan means 'head,' hence an exact translation of mūrdhanya would be 'capital.' Müller holds mūrdhan 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, ṭ ṭh ṭh ʰ n, and fortifies his assertion by adding the half verse mūrdhasthāṇāṁ shakāraṣya āvarṣayaṃ tathā matam. They are known in all the Pr. by the same name, and the Vāj. Pr. and Tātīt. 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 pratīvēśṭiṭam = back-rolled. The term is too vague, and may mean a further retraction than in the English (l).] The semivowel r and vowel ō are in the Paninean scheme.

i. 23. "shakāraṣya droni. Of sh, the trough-shaped tongue is the producing organ," from droma, a 'wooden tub or trough.'

i. 24. "dant’yāṇāṁ jihvāgrāṇī prasītarṇam. Of the dental, the tip of the tongue thrust forward is the producing organ." The commentator gives the series l s, t th d ṭh n, and the Vāj. Pr. adds ṭ. The Rik Pr. makes the class consist of l s r, t th ṭh n. The Tātīt. 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 = (l).]

i. 25. "osṣṭhyāvādhaṇa rauṣṭhikham (or oṣṭhvyam). Of the labials, the lower lip is the producing organ." The labials are o ṭu, p ph b bh m, the upadhyāṇya spirant [(ph), see (1132, b)], and the vowel u ū. Here ū is emitted, doubtless by fault of copyist, as it is not otherwise placed. The Vāj. Pr. adds further, that in the utterance of ū the tips of the teeth are employed, and so in Tātīt. 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. "nāṣkṣyaṇāṁ nāsikā. Of the nose-sounds, the nose is the producing organ." The commentator cites n h n m, anusvāra, and the generated nasals, that is, nāṣkṣya after h i. 100, and yamas after mutes i. 99.
i. 27. "anunśikānāṁ mukhanāsikā. Of the nasalised sounds, the mouth and nose together are the producing organs." The Tātīt. Pr. says, "nasal quality is communicated by the unclosing of the nose."

i. 28. "rephaṣa dantamūlāṁ. Of r, the roots of the teeth are the producing organs." There is a considerable difference of opinion respecting r among Indian phonologists. Rīk Pr. includes it among dantas as dantamūliya (see i. 24 above), but adds that others regard it as gingival. Vāj. Pr. makes it to be produced at roots of teeth by tip of tongue. Tātīt. Pr. by the tip and middle of tongue, close behind roots of teeth. The Paninean scheme makes it mūrdhanya. [See (1138, a). Probably several modes of forming r, dependent on the adjacent consonants, are confused under one symbol.]

i. 29. "sparyāṁ sparyānāṁ karāyāṁ. In the case of mutes the organ forms a contact." From this contact sparyā the mutes derive their name [literally, 'contact letters'].

i. 30. "tashaspryāṭamantahsthānāṁ. In the case of the semivowels, it is partially in contact." The Rīk Pr. calls it duḥspryāṭ, 'imperfectly or hardly in contact.' The word antahsthā, 'intermediate, standing between,' as applied to the semivowels 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. "ahamāyaḥ evirtei ka. In the case of spirants it is also open." The ka should make these tashaspryāṭ, or partially open. The Tātīt. 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 Rīk Pr. includes the vowels anusvāra and spirants together, as produced without contact. The Rīk Pr. makes the spirants to be ḥ (visarjanyā), ḥ ḥ (jihvāmūliya), s, ḱ, and ḱ (upadhānāya), and anusvāra; the Vāj. Pr. only ḱ ḱ s ḱ; the Tātīt. Pr. omits the visarjanyā and anusvāra.

i. 32. "svarṇāṁ ka. In the case of the vowels also it is open.

i. 33. "eka ṣpryāṭaṃ. Some consider it as forming a contact." No one of the other treatises favours this obviously and grossly incorrect opinion.

i. 34. "ekāravākāryavīrtalam. 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 a."

i. 36. "saṁeṣa ḍāraḥ. 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 Tātīt. and Rīk Pr. do not notice any difference in the quality of a, ā.

i. 37. "saṁspṛṣṭaṛaparpharmvāram. The r-vowels are combined with an r." [This seems to give 'r' or 'r.]

i. 38. "saḷakaṃrīvāram. The l-vowels are combined with an l." [This gives 'l.]

i. 40. "saṁdhyaśkharāni saṁspṛṣṭavajñayekavārvavaderṭith. The diphthongs are composed of combined vowels; their treatment is that of a simple vowel." Here saṁdhyaśkara is literally 'syllable of combination,' and is the usual name for a diphthong, and saṁdhākara, 'homogeneous syllable,' is sometimes used for the simple vowel as opposed to the diphthong. The diphthongs are e o ā ā u. [Of course originally (āi, āu, āai, āau).]

i. 41. "nīlākānuṁkraṇoḥ sthānavidhāu. Not so, however, with āi and āu, in a rule of position." The commentator's paraphrase is dīkānuṁkraṇoḥ sthānavidhiṁ ekavāravad eṛṭīṁ na bhavati. 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 ā depends upon his theory that it is "the common surd of all those sonant letters which are too open
§ 2. No. 7. LEPSIUS'S GENERAL ALPHABET. 1339

to have each its own individual surd,” see the discussion, beginning (1141, d').
This scheme has the advantage of being a mere skeleton, and consequently 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.

| Vowels |          |          |          |          |
|---------|----------|----------|----------|
| a       | e         | o         | u         |
| i        | e         | a         |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>r, l</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surd</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sonant</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Lingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No systematic arrangement can be complete which disregards the Semitic series of sounds; but at present there is so much division of opinion among phonologists respecting them, and they differ so widely from European usages, that it seems best to pass them over, especially as my own knowledge of them as heard from natives, is more than thirty years old, and was obtained at a time when my phonologic ideas were very crude. 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>II. Gutturales</th>
<th>III. Palatales</th>
<th>IV. Cerebrales (Indicae)</th>
<th>V. Linguales (Arabicae)</th>
<th>VI. Dentales</th>
<th>VII. Labiales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explosives v. dividuae</td>
<td>fortis. lenes. nasales.</td>
<td>fricatiae v. continuae</td>
<td>fortis. lenes. semi vocales.</td>
<td>ancipites.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kj</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>qj</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>s, th</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>gj</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>z, dh</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>shj</td>
<td>z, d</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>zhj</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 alphabetical 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 (verschusslaut), continuant or fricative (reibungsgeräusch), an L-sound, trilled (sitterlaut), 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) cerebral, 3) dorsal, 4) 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.
   (z), alveolar, fricative.
   (dh), dental, fricative.
   (l), dental, L-sound.
   (r), dental, trill.
   (x) 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 (a) gives German a ('h); with sign for (b) gives sign for r, 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 impled (1097, c').

   e. Larynx closed by epiglottis and arytenoid cartilages (c), united with those shut consonants which do not come under (b). The check (;) and clear glottid (;) are not distinguished (1129, d', 1130, a).

   f. Trill of glottis (r).

   g. The ain-action of glottis continued through the vowel (e), see (1154, d'), always united with a vowel. 

   h. Direction to put more metallic quality into the voice; [this affects the following vowel, and must be mainly contrived 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 (c) of (1107, c), and is recognised as present in the Russian (yr)].

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 (t,s), is: alveolar, shut, open glottis+alveolar, fricative, open glottis; ancient Greek z, taken as (d,z), is: alveolar, shut, +alveolar, fricative. Italian c before e, taken as (tsh), 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 bereette 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>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divided</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mr. Melville Bell’s Aspirate, Glides, Modifiers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;h</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>accent</td>
<td>&quot;w</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>emission stopped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>round voice glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>r₀</td>
<td>[doubled letter]</td>
<td>round back glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back glide</td>
<td>x₁</td>
<td>length</td>
<td>throat voice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>hiatus</td>
<td>&amp;yr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>round front glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>r₀</td>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>abrupt</td>
<td>&quot;w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>point glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>round point glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>nasal mixed</td>
<td>stopped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lip glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>round lip glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>&quot;h</td>
<td>whistle</td>
<td>suction</td>
<td>&quot;w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breath glide,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>throat voice glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 ń= (xi) or ńf = ("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 tips. But by signs for outer or advanced (\(=9t\), and inner or retracted (\(=9k\), and for open (\(=9m\), or close (\(=9l\), 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 (l) this is very intelligible, but for (t) and (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 (l) and (v) in one class is liable to considerable reclamation. Line c 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 (1840, c). Thus for line b, (kuch) is taken to be (kh+ph), but (wh) to be (ph+kh), and again (s) = (sh+r,h), but (sh) = (r,h+j,h). As respects these last, Mr. Graham Bell at least has just reversed the combination of the symbols (1121, c). Again, for line d, we must suppose \((\text{khb}) = (\text{kh}+\text{f})\), but \((\text{fh}) = (\text{f}+\text{lh})\), and \((\text{th}) = (\text{lh}+\text{lh})\), but \((\text{th}) = (\text{lh}+\text{lh})\). The two last will probably be disputed. With regard to (th) Mr. Bell says (V. S. p. 58): "the 'front-mixed-divided' consonant (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 \((\text{sh})\) or \((\text{lh})\) shows this, unless \((\text{lh})\) is taken as very dental \((\text{lh})\). Although the back of the tongue is raised for \((\text{th})\) almost as much as for \((\text{sh})\), 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 (' 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 5 a, f, g, \(m = (\text{h} , \text{h} , \text{w} , \text{w} , )\), the last of which I was never able properly to separate from 5 a ("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 \((\text{a} )\) for \((\text{ar} )\), \((\text{ai} )\) for \((\text{au} )\), \((\text{au} )\) 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 place of the glide 5 l in pole, \((\text{pl} )\) according to Mr. Melville Bell, Mr. Graham Bell writes a vowel-sign small, answering exactly to \((\text{pou} )\). This was first suggested, I believe, by Mr. H. Sweet. The use of \( (\text{u} )\) for 5 f 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 palaeotypy. 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
c. Cockney p. Polish
e. English pec. peculiar
f. French sc. Scotch
g. Gaelic sp. Spanish
g. German w. Welsh
h. Hungarian z. Zulu
ir. Irish

**Key-words.**

1 a. (kh) nach ge., pech so.
1 b. (kwh) auch ge., sough sc.
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 (gh) zeige ge., (gh) = my (grh) buried r.
1 h. (gwh) variety of g ge., and of defective r e.
1 i. (l) faogh ga., barred l p.
1 k. (wa) labialised variety of l ga.
1 l. (g) go e., (g) = my (gj) guide e.
1 m. (h) sing e.
2 a. (rh) ich ge. [I hear (ik'jh), which would be Mr. Bell's (i, kh)].
2 b. (s) s, c, e., (s) ciudad sp. [doubtful].
2 c. (lhm) variety of defective s.
2 d. (th) thin e.
2 e. (k) variety of i, see (1120, b).
2 f. (gh) variety of [voiceless] n.
2 g. (j) yes e.
2 h. (oi) seal e., (oi) d, final, sp. [doubtful].
2 i. (lj) lano sp., gli it. [These sounds are (l) or (l'), not (lj), the distinction consisting in the tip of the tongue touching the palate or gums for (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. (gy) Magyar h. [properly (dj), see 2 i].
2m. (qj) Boulogne f. [The French sound is neither (qj) nor (qj), but (nj) or ('nj), see 2 i.]
3 a. (r, h) théatre f. [colloquially (rh), never with untrilled, (r, h), -rh 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. (rh) l w., hl z., see p. 756, n. 2.
3 e. (i) tie e. [The foreign (i, i) do not seem to have been noticed.]
3 f. (nh) tent e. [See (1141, a).
3 g. (xj) race e., (r, x) = 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 k. (dh) dhi z. [See (756, d').
3 l. (d) tie e. [The foreign (d, d) not noticed. See 3 e.]
3m. (n) siri e. [The foreign (n, n) not noticed. See 3 e.]
4 a. (ph) variety of f or wh. See (614, c', 318, b, 542, c, 1099, c).
4 b. (wh) why e.
4 c. (f) tie e.
4 d. (fh) gutturalised variety of f.
4 e. (p) pie e.
4 f. (hm) lamp e. (1141, a), mhm sc.
4 g. (bh) weeg ge., b sp.
4 h. (w) way e.
4 i. (v) vie e.
4 k. (vh) gutturalised variety of v.
4 l. (h) buy e.
4m. (m) seem e.
5 a. (h) va'ry e. [that is (vee'h'r)], for which I write (vee'r'), with the reduction of (h) to (f) 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. (z) die e. day e. [that is (daw dez)], which I write (de'i dez').
5 d. (r) are e. [that is (aar), which I write (aa') or (aa), not distinguishing 5 a, and 5 d].
5 e. (bh) lui fr. [that is (bbhi) or (bbhi), in place of (lwji) or (lyi)].
5 f. ( 'h) p'aper ir. [that is (p'hae-), where I hear (pu'hae-) or (pu'hae-); hence this is the sign for Sanscrit surd aspirates, see (1127, b').
5 g. (w) now a. and c. [that is (nauw)\', (or (naw') not quite (nau, na'w)].
5 h. (r, w) not [exemplified, possibly a burred our (aurw)].
5 i. (w') new north ir. [possibly (niwi) or (niy), found in Norfolk].
5 k. (r, w) our e. [that is (aurw), my (u')].
5 l. (w) now e. [that is (naw), my (now')].
5m. (x') are pec., "a semivowelled sound of h." [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 \( \text{\textcopyright a} \) 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 \( \text{k} \) or \( \text{x} \)), whence the form of the symbol, independently of its subsequent differentiation. The open state of this passage is shown as usual by adding on \( 9 \, m \).\(^{1}\) thus: \( \text{x} \). Of course the effect of \( \text{x}, \text{i} \) is nearly \( \text{j}, \text{h} \), or even \( \text{h} \). No jerk \( \text{n} \) seems contemplated. See (1125, \( c \) ) for description.\(^{2}\)

9 b. \( \text{x}^{1} \) vowel whisper. [See 9 a. Here the contraction of the super-glottal passage is shewn by adding \( 9 \) \( l \). See description (1126, \( b \)). The effect is nearly \( \text{h}^{1} \) or \( \text{h} \). The distinction between \( \text{x}, \text{x}^{1} \) is marked by Bell's circular and elliptic form of symbol, see p. 15.\(^{3}\)

9 c. \( \text{b} \) bu'er for butter, west of Scotland.

9 d. \( \text{.} \). This sign \( \text{u} \) applied to any of the preceding consonants shews that the breath flows through the nose \( \text{a} \) as well \( \text{as} \) through the symbolised configuration. The effect is to dull the oral stimulation, and to deprive the transitional action of percussiveness, (V. S. p. 56.) Partial nasality without glottal modification—such as is heard in some of the American dialects, and from individual speakers—is represented by the ordinary nasal sign \( \text{ } \) placed after the affected vowel." (ibid. p. 78.)

9 e. \( \text{a} \). "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 configuration. This, with a degree of 'gliding' semi-consonant contraction in the guttural passage, is the formation of the common French sounds represented by \( n \) after a vowel letter. To indicate the 'mixed nasal' or naso-guttural quality of these elements, the special symbol 9 e (\( \text{a} \) ) is provided. This symbol [see its shape on p. 15] is formed by uniting \( \text{b} \) \( \text{a} \) \( \text{x}^{1} \) subordinately with the ordinary nasal sign \( \text{.} \)." (V. S. p. 77.) Hence systematically it should be rendered by \( \text{x}^{1} \).

9 f. \( \text{hw} \) [no example].

9 g. \( \text{v} \). "Symbol \( \text{v} \) 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 forming Scotch or Spanish \( \text{R} \)," this would make them to result from a striking and not a free reed action, and be \( \text{r} \), but Mr. Bell writes the equivalent of \( \text{r} \); "the uvula vibrates against the back of the tongue in producing the French \( \text{R} \) 'grassey' \( \text{v} \) [literally, 'lisped,'] or the Northumbrian 'burr' \( \text{r} \). The lateral edges of the tongue vibrate in forming a close variety of \( \text{L} \);" [this is apparently different from his 3 \( \text{i} \) \( \text{a} \), and should be \( \text{l}^{2} \)]; "the lips vibrate when they are relaxed and closely approximated, \( \text{brh} \); and in the same way the edges of the throat-passage vibrate \( \text{f} \) exact meaning], with a 'grumbling' effect, when the current of breath is intercepted by sufficiently close but loose approximation. Symbol \( \text{v} \) thus refers to the element after which it is written; as \( \text{h}^{2} \) a flutter of the breath; \( \text{h}^{3} \) a quiver of the voice; \( \text{x}^{1} \) throat vibration; a 'gruff' whisper; \( \text{x}^{1} \) hoarse vibratory murmur:—"grumbling." (V. S. p. 47.)

9 h. \( \text{x}^{1} \), variety of defective \( r \), emission of voice with the throat contracted. See description (1126, \( \text{e} \)). [See 9 a and 9 b, to the last of which \( \text{.} \) is prefixed to shew the buzz. See also end of last quotation about 9 g. The glide of this, of course, becomes \( \text{x}^{1} \), see 5 m.]

9 i. \( \text{.} \), see examples to 1 e, \( g \), \( l \), 2 a.

9 k. \( \text{.} \), see (1098, \( b \)).

9 l. \( \text{.} \), see (1107, \( b \)).

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 unfamihar to ourselves, while we may exegogitate 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. 198a., 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></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Lingual</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Palatal Guttural</th>
<th>Soft Palatal</th>
<th>Posterior Palatal</th>
<th>Posterior</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Laryngeal</th>
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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>w, b</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r, t</td>
<td>rzh</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>jh rsh</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td>g</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>'w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l'h</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **Nasal:** 1
- **Sonorant:** 2, 4, 6, 8
- **Syllabic:** 3, 5, 7
- **Puritic:** 7, 8
- **Syllabic Nocuous:**
  - Little: 1, 3, 5
  - Much: 2, 4, 6

**Interpretation:**
- Prof. Haldeman's consonant system categorizes sounds based on their articulation points and manner of production.
§ 2. No. 7. PROF. HALDEMAN’S CONSONANT SYSTEM.

1347

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 Brucke 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. (x₁), nasalised (x₁), or 5 f, which see.

1 g. (x', x'), nasalised (x) as a separate form, and as a glide. “Nasal (x) 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).

(l), “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 ‘z), 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. (x₁), see (1195, d').

5 g. (x’, x'), the (x) as a separate element, and as a glide, see (1193, c').

6 b. (lhh), “vocal aspirate lh, which we attribute provisionally to Irishy, 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 (rzh), the Polish rz, (art. 612), [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 f. (q), “hiatus is a break or pause commonly caused by dropping an intermediate element, and not closing the remainder” (art. 560).

8 a. (whl), see (1194, b).

8 b. (lhh), “the surd Welsh aspirate ll. 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 (maskoo’ri), in which the name of the ‘large river,’ Withlacoochee, and ‘figured rock river,’ Chattooochee, are respectively (dilhilakur’tsa tsaatunhu-ts) ; the former from (a)wa water, and (lhhaki) large, (lhhakima-rhi) larger, (lhhak’a) largest. All the vowels are short.” (art. 475.) “We are doubtful whether the French l, r, of simple, maître, are whispered or surd aspirate,” that is, whether they belong to lines 7 or 8, “but we incline to the former” (art. 476). This would give 7 b = (lhh), 7 c = (rh), and make 8 b = (lhh), and 8 c = (rhh), a corresponding sound.

8 c. (rhh). “The Welsh surd aspirate rhh may be the smooth element” [that is, the levis 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. (x, l), see (1195, d').

8 g. (j), see (1194, b).

8 h. (j). “the Sanscrit visarga” (art. 571), see (1132, b').

8 i. (nh, l), 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. (x), 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 affiliate (zh)”, (art. 198). The Sanscrit character given is that which I now attribute to (qj), see (1137, c).

1’ g. (q), usual sng.
2' b. (nhh). "Compare Albanian nj and (one) a nasal syllable" (art. 197). The character here given is chosen to harmonise with the sonant (hh) = 8 b.

4' a. (mh), voiceless (m).
4' b. (nh), voiceless (n).

5' a. (b), usual.
5' b. (d), usual.
5' d. (d), Arabic lingual.
5' e. (p), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
5' g. (g), usual.

6' a. (bh), German tc, Ellenio (Romano) 6, the sonant of phi. See (Arts. 126, 127, 451).

6' c. (f), English v.
6' e. (z), usual.
(x), Polish z' (art. 490), see 8'.

6' f. (zh), French j.
6' g. (gh), as g in könige.
(gbh), as g in betrogen.

6' h. (gh), "the 19th letter, ghain, of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 549), considered as vibrating, but as related to (x), that is our (gh) is made = (oh).

7' a. (p), usual.
7' b. (t), usual, for dentality see 5 b.
7' d. (t), Arabic lingual.
7' e. (r), presumed Sanscrit cerebral with inverted tongue.
7' g. (k), usual.
7' h. (x), "the 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet" (art. 547).
(kx'). "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 clack 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. 573. The (kx') gives merely the position, (kx') is the full click, which is abbreviated to (g) on p. 11. The following are examples: (giti'gtx') eye, (or'skx'x') foot, (eskx') hand.

7' i. (g), "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. (1), usual.
8' c. (s), usual.
(sf), Polish s, considered as "between (German) sj and ssch; we have heard such a one in the Waco (werk) of Texas, as in (iskweetsj), five, a word derived from that for hand, as in (Lenape) and Hebrew" (art. 490).
8' d. (s), Arabic lingual.
8' e. (sh), presumed Sanscrit cerebral sh, with inverted tongue.
8' g. (kjh), ch in German ich.
(kjh), ch in German auch.
8' h. (xh), "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 (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, dsh, are drawn back by the following palatal, and in fact they may be considered as the lenis forms of s, z," that is (tesh, dsh) are what he would write, see (1117, d').

Art. 483. (nh), "surd afflante," 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 (= wIan), where the speaker denied its existence, and would not have written it had the language been a written one, as in (ndokh), four, and in the name of the town (ska'sndenhtu'ti'n), beyond the pines, Skeneckadgy, in New York, spelt scheneckady, the och being due to the Dutch. A slight (n), not (q), occurs before (g) in Wyandot (u'mngla';), nuts.
Art. 517. "In Sanscrit \( \mathfrak{I} \), 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 \( s \).’" "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 (krh, grh) are added, and an opinion is expressed that they are different from the Arabic sounds, which he writes (kh, gh), see 6° h, 8° h. 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 \( \gamma \) is very soft indeed, and might be written (igrh).

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 (1134, b), the 'independent vowels' are clacks (th) or mouth puffs (\( \epsilon \)), see (1304, a). Following Prof. H., but not entirely using his words or signs: (p') 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 (Nadaas'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 (kabat, \( \varepsilon \, o \) thread, where the resonance is modified by an \( o \) cavity; (nasst, \( \varepsilon \, a \)), paper; (\( t \varepsilon \, a \)u'rh), tooth, with final \( h \), it may be considered a disyllable; (\( n\varepsilon \haw \, t \varepsilon \, o \)), wind; — (k \, \varepsilon \, a\'s), thigh, a monosyllable, the vowel of medial length" (art. 447).

There seems to be a little confusion between (\( \varepsilon \) and (\( \epsilon \), but the whole observation is important in observing sounds. I have used the subscript (o, a) in (\( \varepsilon \, o \), \( \varepsilon \, a \)), to show the form of the resonance cavity, instead of subjoining (o, a) as Prof. H. has done.

Art. 551. "As independent (p \( \varepsilon \, p \h, t \varepsilon \, t \h, k \varepsilon \, k \h \) can be formed without air from the lungs, so in the Chinook of Oregon (\( k \varepsilon \, x \h \) 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; (bash \( \varepsilon \, x \h e \, e \, k \varepsilon \, x \h e \, e \)), grandmother; (\( k \varepsilon \, x \h a \, k \varepsilon \, x \h a \, w \varepsilon \, k \varepsilon \, x \h \)), yellow.'"

Art. 570. For "the Arabic and Hebrew \( a \, i \, n \),...the vowel is heard with a simultaneous fugal 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 (pa), hence he writes a minute < below the vowel, answering to (\( a \)), see (1130, c. 1134, a'. 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 \( a \, p \, r \, i \, o \, r \) 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 phonologists generally, as thus they can chiefly secure the proper consummation of their own science, and render to philology the
assistant 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. 1 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 circumstance. 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 to 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, a). Several stages are also often distinguished where I had only one, thus dentals become dental, 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 continuous, continues nasales.
- **Sl** soft liquid, liquides douces.
- **He** hard continuous, continues fortes.
- **Se** soft continuous, continues 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 (uj). 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 (\_\_), 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, (1093, d).

The sign for "rendering the consonant alveolar," or dental, or 'advanced,' is (\_\_), and for rendering it 'retracted' is ('\_), and these signs are freely used.

The sign for "rendering the consonant semi-palatal," or semi-mouillée, an operation I do not perfectly understand, is represented by (j) an undotted (j), 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 [].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Labials.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 76 p</td>
<td>pea, p, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 <strong>ph</strong></td>
<td>porum, *p, glass, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 <strong>pp</strong></td>
<td>coppa, pp, cup, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79 <strong>ph</strong></td>
<td>perfer, pt, horse, bavarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 <strong>ph</strong></td>
<td>[f (pr ph pr pph)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 <strong>wh</strong></td>
<td>which, wh, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82 <strong>pj</strong></td>
<td>gap, p, loungar, pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83 <strong>pw</strong></td>
<td>pois, po, pea, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 <strong>pwj</strong></td>
<td>puits, pu, well n., f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Se</strong> 85 b</td>
<td>bee, b, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86 <strong>bi</strong></td>
<td>bar, b, pond, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87 <strong>bo</strong></td>
<td>gobsa, bb, hump, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 <strong>p</strong></td>
<td>saxon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 w</td>
<td>wine, w, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 bj</td>
<td>jdwab, b, silk, pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 bw</td>
<td>bois, bo, wood, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92 <strong>bwj</strong></td>
<td>buis, bu, box (wood), f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ne</strong> 93 m</td>
<td>me, m, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94 mj</td>
<td>maq, *m, thurat, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 mm</td>
<td>*flamama, mm, flame, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 mh</td>
<td>tempt, m, e [after Bell (tambh), see (1141, a)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97 b,</td>
<td>sebm, bm, seven, West-morland eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 w,</td>
<td>sainrad, fa, summer, ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99 mj</td>
<td>karm, m, feeding, pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 mw</td>
<td>mo, mo, me, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101 mjw</td>
<td>mud, mu, hoghead, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 102 ph</td>
<td>[from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sc</strong> 103 bh</td>
<td>haba, be, bean, sp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 <strong>bhw</strong></td>
<td>an occasional, if not the standard Dutch w, between sp. b and e. w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ht</strong> 105 prh</td>
<td>[from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St</strong> 106 brh</td>
<td>[from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107 ur</td>
<td>very, r, e [defective lip r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108 iw</td>
<td>our, r, e [occ.]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Labio-dentals.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 109 p</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 n</td>
<td>[from my list, see (1282, d)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 111 f</td>
<td>te, f, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 ff</td>
<td>schiaffe, ff, slap in the face, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113 f</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ht</strong> 114 .fh</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list, where I took it from Bell, see p. 1343, 4 d.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115 fj</td>
<td>fyaz, fy, flee (imperat. plur.) Guernsey norman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116 fw</td>
<td>foie, fo, liver, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117 fuoj</td>
<td>fuite, fu, flight, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sc</strong> 118 v</td>
<td>vine, v, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119 vj</td>
<td>wara, w, plate, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 vv</td>
<td>avventura, vv, adventure, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121 vj</td>
<td>kjöbenhavn, b, Copenhagen, da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122 v</td>
<td>[theoretical]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 vj</td>
<td>an occ. if not the standard Dutch v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124 vj</td>
<td>[theoretical]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 vw</td>
<td>paw, w, peacock, pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 vv</td>
<td>voix, vo, voice, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ne</strong> 127 v, v,</td>
<td>féim, m, mild, ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Labio-linguals.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 128 p</td>
<td>at'a, t', hay, ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129 pp</td>
<td>ty's, t', sit down, ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sc</strong> 130 b</td>
<td>ad'y, d', field, ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131 lw</td>
<td>lamb, l, hand, ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Dentals.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 132 t</td>
<td>talam, t, earth, ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133 tt</td>
<td>tirn, t, dry, t,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134 d</td>
<td>donn, d, brown, ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 dj</td>
<td>dia, d, god, ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 136 th</td>
<td>thin, th, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 c</td>
<td>existence doubtful, see(4, 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138 ch</td>
<td>thee, th, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139 e</td>
<td>[existence doubtful, see (4, 5)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ht</strong> 140 ah</td>
<td>[theoretical, from my list]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>St</strong> 141 x</td>
<td>ooyl, l, apple, manx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5. Alveolo-Dentals.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 142 e</td>
<td>metsii, ts, wood (forest),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>He</strong> 143 th</td>
<td>vizio, z, vice, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sc</strong> 144 c</td>
<td>zot, z, lord, al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145 dh</td>
<td>lid, d, lawsuit, sp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alvéolaires Doubles.

He 146 s* lo zio, z, the uncle, i
147 së* pazzo, zz, mad, i
148 s* aca, c, granary, ab
149 l* ac'abyrg, c', truth, Byzab ab
150 l* 'ac'a, c', wild cherry, ab
151 ll* 's'abu, s', much, k
152 sj* siac', c', to saw, pl
153 sw,sw* ac'a, c', apple, ab
Sc 155 z* lo zelo, z, the zeal, i
156 x* rozzo, zz, coarse, i
157 xj* jedz', dz*, go (imperat.), pl
158 xw* az'y, z', some one, ab

7. Alveolars.

Alvéolaires.

He 159 t* tas, t, heap, f
160 tj* t'ai, t, eol, k
161 t, t* matte, tt, mad, i
162 t'h* til, t, to, da
163 thj* jatolsha, t, red, k
164 th* tuix, t, salt, thush
165 hj* NIIIP, III, way, rus
166 tow tolo, to, thee, f
167 uqj* tetu, tu, case, f
Sc 168 d* doux, d, sweet, f
169 dj* doxlu, d, freshness, k
170 d, d* Iddio, dd, God, i
171 d' [from my list]
172 dj* JONIAJ, AB, horse, rus
173 dw doigt, do, finger, f
174 dwj* conduire, du, to conduct, f
Ne 175 n* main, n, dwarf, f
176 ny* hak, h, blue, k
177 n, n* canna, nn, reed, i
178 d, bean, n, woman, ir
179 nj* HHIB, Hb, touch, rus
180 ne* noix, no, walnut, f
181 nuj* nuit, nu, night, f
He 182 s* so, s, e
183 ss* cassa, ss, box, i
184 nsj* s'at, s', hour k
185 sn* ar
186 sj* kos', s', now (imperat.) pl
187 sw soie, so, silk, f
188 swj* suie, su, sort, f
Sc 189 z* zeal, z, e
190 zz* azzal, zz, with the, hun
191 z* zaqa, z, how much, ab
192 jz* lez, z', go up, pl
193 zor rasoir, so, razor, f
194 zwj* dixhuit, xhu, eighteen, f

Ne 195 zh* [theoretical]
Hl 196 lueh [theoretical]
St 197 l lait, l, milk, f
198 lj* lop, l, shine, k
199 l* stella, li, star, i
200 lj* koptMB, AB, king, rus
201 lw loi, lo, law, f
202IUj* lui, lu, him, f
St 203 r* rey, r, king, sp

8. Whishes.

Chuintantes.

He 204 sh she, sh, e
205 shb* sarabucu, s, fellow countryman, k
206 shsh* pesc, se, fish, i
207 shsh* soldi, s, green, k
208 sh* aqa, s, rope, ab
209 sh j BOJHB, III, louse, rus
210 shw choix, cho, choice, f
211 sheshuw* a, s, plane tree, ab
212 shw* as, s, door, ab
213 shej* chuniter, chu, which, f
Sc 214 zh pleasure, s, e
215 zhzh* a*zeb, z, the pocket, hun
216 zh* aza, z, hare, ab
217 zhj jin, j, come (participle), souletin basque
218 shu joie, jo, joy, f
219 zhuzhuc* au, z, cow, ab
220 zhuzhuc* zaba, z, ten, ab
221 zhuc* juin, ju,June, f
Ht 222 rhb prez, rz, through, pl
St 223 rzh [theoretical], see B 234 (rhh)


Palato-chuintantes.

He 224 sh* pece, c, pitch, i
225 sh sh* caccia, cc, hunting, i
226 sh* aca, c, quail, ab
227 shh* a'y, c', mouth, ab
228 sh* a'c', c', horse, ab
229 [hy* c'ani, c', early, k
230 shj* NCHB, CB, night, rus
230" shw* chou, chou, to cook, Louisiana fr creole
230" shw* chou, chou, to cook, Trinidad fr creole
Sc 231 zh* regio, gi, royal, i
10. Double Palatales.

Palatales Doubles.

He 234 ås* otso, ts, wolf, basque

11. Palatales.

Palatales.

He 235 t tea, t, e
236 t* huset, t, the house, collo-
237 hue, h, e
238 tj tyuk, ty, hen, hun
239 tijk a tyuk, ty, the hen, hun
Se 240 d do, d, e
241 dd* beddiu, dd, beautiful, sar-
dinian
242 (d* lado, d, side, sp
243 (d*d* Gud, d, God, jutlandish
244 j yet, y, e
245 j* ejel, jj, night, hun
246 dj gyongy, both gy, pearl, hun
247 djddj a gyongy, first gy, the
pearl, hun
Ne 248 n no, n, e
249 nh tent, n, e [after Bell (tznht),
see (1141, a)]
250 j* azkoya, y, the badger, ron-
calese basque
251 nj* digne, gn, worthy, f
252 nij* a nyul, ny, the hare, hun
253 njh* [theoretical]
He 254 s* su, s, fire, sp basque
Se 255 z* zagal, z, young shepherd, pr
HI 256 lh felt, l, e [Bell's (felh),
see (1141, a)]
257 ljh glas, l, knell (funereal),
saintongeais
St 258 l low, l, o
259 ljfiglio, gli, son, i
260 lj* melly, ll, which, hun
Ht 261 gh* [theoretical]
262 h* ar
263 hj* holu, h, orphan, k
264 hjh* hij, hi, pigeon, k
265 rij* hva, h, fish, k
St 266 r ray, r, e
267 rr* terra, rr, earth, i
268 g x ar
269 rj wuhor, r, cel, lusatian
270 ro ro, ro, king, f
271 rwj bruit, ru, noise, f


Ultra-palatales.

He 272 t sn
Se 273 d sn
Ne 274 n sn
275 nh dr
He 276 sh sn
277 rhh dr
So 278 sh
279 rhh dr
HI 280 rh dr
St 281 l sn
Ht 282 rh
St 283 r sn
284 rhh dr

[The whole of this set of
letters was taken
from my list, where
again they were taken
from Lepsius's Al-
phabet, and they must
be considered there-
fore as very doubtful.
For sn see (1096, b'.
1137, 1138); of dr.
I know nothing.
The (sh, rh) were
entirely theoretical
to match (sh, nh).]


Gutturo-Labials.

He 285 p* [from my list, and that
from Lepsius] peruvian
286 wj* h'hy, h', speak, ab
Se 287 b* [theoretical, from my list]
288 wj* huile, hu, oil, f
He 289 fh* [theoretical, from my list,
and that from Bell]
Sc 290 vh* [theoretical]


Gutturo-dentales.

[Note.—The marks over the t in the
elements to B 291, 292, 293, and over
the d in B 295, 296, 297, should pro-
perly go through the stem of the letters.]

He 291 th kat, t, day, s. os. [See
Note.]
292 rth* wattax, tt, without, s. os.
[See Note.]
293 th* sita, t, gunpowder, low
s. os. [See Note.]
294 thth* [theoretical]
Sc 295 dh adan, d, morning, s. os.
[See Note.]
296 dhth* waddax, dd, without,
s. os. [See Note.]
297 dh* sita, d, gunpowder, high
s. os. [See Note.]
298 thdh* [theoretical]

15. Guttural Whishes.

Gutturo-chuintantes.

He 299 sh, sh* la chjai, chj, the key,
tempiese sardinian
300 sh, sh* vecchju, echj, old,
tempiese sardinian

Gutturo-palatales.

He 304 €

305 kj* turtortil, tt, turtle dove, labourdin basque

Sc 306 d

307 kj* yaun, y, lourd, labourdin basque

Ne 308 n [theoretical]

He 309 s* [theoretical]

310 z su, s, first, labourdin basque

Sc 311 s* [theoretical]

312 z Jesus, both s, Jesus, soulein-tin basque

17. Double Gutturals.

Gutturales Doubles.

He 313 kh mac, c, son, ga

18. Gutturals.

Gutturales.

He 314 k

315 kj* korn, k, nest, k

316 kk bocca, ce, mouth, i

317 kjh* kommen, k, come, upper g ['kh, kj, kkh, kth']

318 kjh kala, k, white, k

319 kjh kok, k, foot, thush

320 nh hand, h, hand, g

321 nhzh ahhoz, hh, thereto, hun

322 nh hand, b, e [pure jerk (1130, 8')]

323 ; ar [hamza]

324 kj la chiave, chi, the key, i

325 kjkj ochcio, echi, eye, i

326 nhj la chiave, chi, the key, florentine i

327 kw quoi, quo, what, f

328 nhch [from my list, but ('hw') is the new form (p. 1341, 9')]

329 nhw [from my list, ('hwh') is the new form (p. 1341, 9')]

330 kjw* biscuit, cu, biscuit, f

Sc 331 g
go, g, e

332 gg* veggo, gg, I see, i

333 gg argem, g, I sing, os

334 n'we* huevo, hu, egg, sp

335 gj la ghiana, ghi, the acorn, i

336 gjgi* ragghiare, gghi, to bray, i

337 gw goitre, go, goiter, f

338 gjw* aiguille, gu, needle, f

Ne 339 q singer, ng, e

340 qh sink, n, e, [Bell's (s\(\tilde{\text{n}}\)'\(\tilde{\text{h}}\)] see (1141, a)]

341 h'h, *halh, h, multitude, cutari a1

342 qj sn [from my list, for which I now use (qj), see 1137, c']

He 343 kh dach, ch, roof, g

344 x [existence doubtful, see (9, d'), where it was introduced because the real sound of sp j was unknown]

345 kkh* palchi, lch, because, sas-saresan sardinian

346 kjkjh* x'ot, x'', shade, k

347 kht [from my list]

348 kj bilch, ch, milk, g

349 kkhloch, ch, lake, south scotch

Sc 350 gh tagge, g, days, g

351 z [See B 344]

352 gbgh* olganu, lg, organ, sas-saresan sardinian

353 gh [see B 347]

354 gjh selig, g, blissful, g

355 gwh [from my list, theoretical]

Ne 356 gh,h* xonkodize, x, to snore, avarian

H7 357 lh [theoretical, from my list]

358 lbh law, ll, hand, welsh

359 lhj* [theoretical]

360 lbh [theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell]

St 361 l hamac', t, to break, pl

362 lhh* [theoretical voiced Welsh ll'. The Manx sound spoken of as (lhh) in (756, d') is properly B 141, a dental I.]

363 lhh* [theoretical]

364 lv [theoretical, from my list, and that from Bell.]

Ht 365 krh €

366 rh [theoretical, from my list]

St 367 grh €

368 r rock, r, Newcastle

369 i* var, r, wax, jutlandish

370 r* Paris, r, Parisian

371 rr* irregullier, rr, irregular, parisian

Ultra-gutturales.

He 372 k ß ar
373 xj* qapa, q, hat, k
Sc 374 a [theoretical, from my list]
375 aö [theoretical, from my list]
No 376 a [theoretical, from my list]
He 377 kh nacht, ch, night, dutch

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.

ä (a), ä or a (a), ö (o), ë (e), è (e) and perhaps (o), ë (i), ë (i), ë or o (o), ö (ö), u (u), ü (y), o (o).

Sometimes his symbols indicate etymological relations, thus ç shews the ('j) sound before l which replaces ø (e) and ç is an (i, i), which seems to have become some obscure palatal and may be vaguely represented by (j), as in (oê'j). [-] indicates an omitted vowel, [—] sometimes merely the nasalisation (i), sometimes also the omission of m, n.

Consonants.

g (g), gg (k), gh or hh (gh), kh (km), -l (jl), an (l) disunited from the preceding vowel; -bm, -fm, -pm, -wm, (-b’m, -f’m, -p’m, -bh’m) where (‘m) has arisen from en, -chng, -ngg, -kng (-kh’q, -g’q, -k’q), where (‘q) has also arisen from en, but after a guttural; hr (rh), s (z), şf (s), sch (zh), fch (sh), z (dz), tz (ts); [—] omitted, [—] 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 aî^ means (a,i); [—] an unpronounced r, (‘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 aʊ ei eu ø u 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 ë ë û have been resolved, as usual, into ae, oe, ve. 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(f)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:


**Vowels.**

A (102–123) is:—(aa, a) *gen.* in non-German words, *casse* (ka'es), *rr.* in a few German words, before m, n, r, and others, *gans* spass, *arg* (gans, sbpas, arg):—(aa, a) *gen.* in common non-German words, as Max (maks), and W. in all German words, but E. only before two or doubled or strong consonants, *acht* (akht); which *rr.* becomes (o), *graf* (grøof):—(o) *fr.* before i and single or weak consonants, *alt*, *sagen* (olt, zoorgan), *sm.* otherwise:—(u) *sm.* when long, *blasen* (blørzon), or as (ua) before r, *haar* (nhår):—(ø) 1 *pl.* even before 2 consonants, *apfel* (ow 'pfel):—(a) before lost n 1 *pl.*, before r fr., before lost ch 1 *pl.*, and when long 2 *pl.*, *sanft* (ʃøft), *arm* (ørm), *nacht* (nøt), *schaaf* (søaf):—(e) in a few scattered words, *alles arbeid* hart nah acht (e'les ørbeit nørht nee ekht):—(i) *rr.* in *sontag* (zug'neigh):—(aa) 2 *pl.*, especially before r, *arm* (ørm), *halb* (nhølb):—(a) *sm.* in unaccented syllables *sontag* Leibach, *davan* (zug'nøt Løa-bo dafo'). "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)."

ÆE (124–139) short, and long, "in
good high German pronunciation sm. è
(e, ee), and sometimes ê (e, ee), is:
(a, aa) 3 pl. in various primitives
hächsen (háak'shen), derivatives wäch-
sen (bha'ksen), subj. pret. ich nähme
(nam), diminutives mädlein (ma-dl'),
plurals plätze (pla'a-ts), etc.:
(a, e) fr. in most of the above cases:
(e'a) 2 pl., später (shpe'otar):—(ei) 2 pl.,
gnädig, ich thätte, dann (gna'idi, i t'et', m'e'et, e'e'a) [observe, for Eng-
lish]:—(i) fr. in plurals, kälber (k'i'lar),
comparatives and superlatives, ärger,
der kälteste (i'rgor, k'i'last), and con-
jugational forms, er fällt (fél):—(a) fr.
before r, ärger, du fährst (or'gor, du
fárt):—(i) 2 pl. in a few words,
wächsen (bhi'ksen):—(e) rr., kälter
(kwél'tar).
AI (140–156), usually written ei,
derived from original ei, gothic aü, in
good high German pronunciation (äül),
is:—(aa) 3 pl. tn. en., breit fleisch
t Klein (braad flaash klaa, ), and by um-
laut becomes (e) in a few cases, breite
kleiner (bré'tor klin'or):—(äü) gen.
tn., hence ecclesiastical goest, helig,
and terminations heit, heit, have (äü)
gen.:—(a, a) 2 pl. tn. en. in uninflu-
sed forms, especially before 1, m, n, bein
(baa, boo), stein (shlaash, shloot),:—(äü, 
iü) in uninfluected forms, although the infec-
tion is gen. lost, der kleine (klá,1), mit dem
steine (mit'n shló't), breiter (bró'tor),
weinen (bhó'm), and 1 pl. en. in unin-
luected forms, dicht fleisch (dicht, 
klein, beiner (klá, bá, beér), which by um-
laut becomes (eä), breiter (bré'tor):—
(eü) fr., fleisch (flaash):—(ee) fr.,
klein (kle), leib (leeb):—(i) 2 pl. in
influected forms, reife (riéf):—(i) 2 pl.,
in certain forms of verbs, replacing ag,
as du sais = sagt (dú 'zé):—(ü) 2 pl.
before m and n, eins (üns), heim (nhüi):
—(ä) gen. in unemphatic article ein
and fr. in other unaccented syllables,
arbeit (ar'bat), gewohnheit (għbhu
n), or is quite lost, vorheit (voor'ht).
AU (157–163), original "u,
in good high German pronunciation (äu),
is:—(a) sm. aus dem hause (aas'n
hhás), especially before 1, m, as faul
(fal):—(äu) ed. gen. except W.:
—(a) 1 pl. (aas'n hhás):—(ää) or (óü) W.,
haus (nhüús):—(üu) according to
origin in SW. and N., auf braucht faust
(uf bruukt fuesta), but in N. often
(üu), braucht faust (bruukt fúst).
AU, the umlaut of AU (164–170),
"in good high German pronunciation
(áy)," is:—(ää) fr., häuser, müisse
(nhái'zar, máis):—(áy) sm. "more
careful pronunciation tn. en. ed.,
(hyá'zar, máys):—(ää) 1 pl.:—(ee)
2 pl.:—(e'i) 2 pl., traublein (trú'blí):—
(êi) W., müäise (méis):—(yy) where
au from u is still (uu), which in SW.
becomes (ii), faust (fyst), häuser
(nhí'zar).
A U, or äu, older ou, gothic au, which
in Scandinavian, low German, on upper
Rhein, and in most high German dia-
lects, is almost always distinguished in
pronunciation from the former AU (171-
178) "in good high German pronunciation
(äu), the same as the former au," is:
—(aa) E., auch baum staub traum (aa
baam staab traam):—(Au) W. and ed.
gen.:—(aa) rr., glauben (gláa'ba), baum
(baam):—(dd):—(oo) 5 pl. (boom):
—(óu) 2 pl. (bóum):—(ee) 1 pl. in
several words when (aa) is not com-
mon, glauben (gléz), 1 pl. gen.
staub (shléz):—(ëy) 1 pl. in some
forms where (óu) is not heard, glauben
(glis'ye).
ÄEU = deu, the umlaut of the last
AU = du (179–182), is not distinguished
from du where the latter becomes (aa,
ë, eë), where du = (aa), deu becomes
(ëi); where du = (oo), deu becomes (ee,
ëë), where du = (óu), deu becomes (ë, 
ëe).
E (183–208), "in those words where
good high German pronunciation has
(e, ee)," is:—(aa, as, als, an, am,
geschossen (gšhóó), geben (gab gáa)
and 2 pl. rr., feid (fal).
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:—(ää) 2
pl. en., kle, schne (klái, shnái), ich gehe
(i gái), and 1 pl. for (ë) before ch,
heze, schlecht (shái'ks, shlái'kht):—
(ëë) fr., beten, leeken (bèë'ten, lé'ken)
—(ëë) gen. before [lost] m and n "ob-
scured by nasatisation," mensch (msh):
—(ë) gen. before r, hérn (nér) :
—(ëë) 2 pl., ehe (ëë), relz (rëë):
—(ëë) am. short e before r, erde (ëër):
and 1 pl. before l, and other consonants, gold
pfeffer (golf pif's'or):—(ëë) fr. long
e, kle, schne (klée shné'ë):—(ee, 
ëë) E. gen., even "in those words which
Adelung pronounces with (ëë); edu-
cated people of our parts pronounce
almost all e like (ëë), and sm. before l,
"when it is not pronounced in conjunction with it (mit diesem verbunden),"

as gelb (gelb) — (a) before l, gen. E. even ed., feind, geid (feld, geid), and even (l) alone in 1 pl.: (ee) before r in 1 pl. en., as ernst (eremst) — (er) rr., as beten (bei-ten): — (i) E. tn. on., "in most words which Adelung class as (w)," as gehen (gei'ban), blech (bi'kh), "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 (seht'ji'n), zahlen (tas'ji'l'n); and rr. before (r), herbst (ni'brst): — (t) obscurely by nasalisation before m and n: — (e) before m and n 2 pl., dem (de'm): — (i) 1 pl., esel, heben, leder (ii'z'al); xhiib'ban, lii'dor: — (ii, i) 1 o for e long, in several pl., schnee (shni', shnia), gehen (giin): — (a), or lost "in unaccented root syllables" E. en., ord-"beer (ur'pa), tagwerk (ta'be), herberg (ni'brg)." E in initial syllables (209—216). Be-, ge-, have generally (a). Be- is sm. only pronounced before explodents, as (he, bi, bi), and is otherwise lost, as (e) gohren, b(i) deut'en, b(i)k e(o)ren, n(h)alt'en, rr. (bii) long and accented, (bi'faq, bir'haq, bir'klem). Ge- is fr. (ge-, g'), "only in substantives, adjectives, and adverbs before explodents," otherwise (g); fr. also the e being lost, g itself disappears before explodents, as bi'et = gebielt, etc. Ent- = (in't-, urnt-) sm., and rr. (urnt-). 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. on, 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 kürze 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 participles, on the Danube is (a), on the Lower Inn (i), (gar'ntse gar'ntse) entirely, (na'to) neatly, etc. E, as nom. ending of adj. after der, die, das, is lost, gen. tn. on., but rr. kept as (a, ə). E, as fem. ending of adj. derived from old ius, is (ia, i, i) sm., eine rothe (ə rr'khti, ə re'khti), more fr. (ə re'khti), and sm. lost, eine gute (ə guht). E in nom. and acc. pl. neut. derived from in, and of mas. and fem. derived from e and o, remains fr. as (ə), gute herrn (gva'de), and fr. as (ə), (guv'a). "On the upper Nab, tn. on. the remarkable distinction is made, that e neut. from ius is (a), and e mas. and fem. from e and o is lost, (defl) = diese herren, frauen; (d(e)n) = diese weibcr; (goud shi' ə kson, ke'i), gute schone aohen, kühe; (gourd'ə shi na pfa), gute schöne sferde. Question: Wie viel Oochsen, Kühle? Ans.: (fia) fium ze'ks). Qu.: Wie viel Eferde? Ans.: (fi'ra fima ze'ks). Traces of this very old distinction are found elsewhere. Between the Lech and Inn uneducated countrymen, to the questions: Wie viel aepfel, wie viel bärn? will reply, (fiar fyfm ze'ks); but to the question: Wie viel häuser, kinder? reply, (fiarfry fimaze'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. on., as ich esse, siehe, möchte, könne, machte (i is, zuaq, makht, kunt, makht). E in -el, -en, -er, -es, -et, is sm. (a), more fr. (a), 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. on., as das (re'ned, shie'nad, gbe'ke). [The important bearing of this German final e treatment on English final e has made us give this account at greater length.]

EI, derived from original (236—

245), Gothic ei [for the other ei see AE], "in good high German pronunciation (e)' , is: — (aa) rr.' in a few words, as (ia) 1: E regularly before 1, as weis (bhal): — (aa) E. gen. on. ed. in more careful pronunciation: — (di) in 1 pl.: — (ee) in 3 pl., weiss, ihr seid (bees, ihr zeet): — (e'i) 1 pl.: — (e) E. gen. on. on. ed., drei (drei): — (i) according to origin S., and rr. in other places, as drei (drii), shelteren (shie're). Question: — (oo) 1 pl. in bey mir (bo mis).

EU (246—261), see also AEU = den, "in good high German pronunciation (afy), is: — (aa) E. rr.' before l, as neuisch (na'io); and in neut., drei (draa): — (aa) E. gen. on. ed., as neu (nai): — (aa) 1 pl., es rent (rau) mich: — (afy) on lower Mainz, especially tn., feuer (fa'or): — (af) fr., deutch (dithsh): — (oa) sm. before n, freund (frad): — (ee) 2 pl., neu deutsch (ne' do): —
(ei) lower Mayn, tn. en. ed.:—(ei) 1 pl., neu (niu)—(eii) proper (yy), 2 pl., deutsch (dii) short 2 pl. in pronoun euch, when forming an unaccented suffix:—(ei) sm., neu (niu)—(ai) sm.:—(eu) 1 pl.:—(aii) sm.:—(yy) 1 pl. "In none of these cases does eu 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 (Katő'), Quirinsk (Kirő') anis firniss horniss paradis (a-nais fiñnais ńhurinais pura-dáis), in der stadt (ő.i do shtdt, ő.i d shtdt). [The interest attaching to the change of (ii) into (ii) 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 in has maintained itself in the written 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 einem schon sehr frühe wirksamens hoch-deutschen Hange)—i had been resolved into ei. Thus, in the xirth and xxth centuries, not only was the present diminutive termination in called lein, but also the adjective terminations -ich and -in were pronounced -ich and -en, as: MINMÖGLICH, HERMÖGLICH, VERÖCH, — AUDEINEIN, HULRIN, HURNENIN. Just as now we say laten in from 'latin,' so formerly they said: MARTEIN for 'Martin,' CHRISTENEIN for 'Christina;' and as we now have Arzney, Probatey, they formerly used: SOPHEY, MAREY, PHILOSOPHEY, etc., resolving the termination i of 'i-a,' -i-e, -i into ei:—]—(a) before r sm., mir (mir):—(i) before n and m fr., blind nicht nichts (blind mit niks), and in end of unaccented syllables, habe ich (ührab), evig (e-brů):—(i) in cases not included under (i):—(j) before l, "a very peculiar indescribable sound; like the second syllable of the words halsel sattel, when pronounced without e," E., as still, will, spielen (sht'j, b'h'j, shp'j'n), but it is sm. so purely pronounced that it seems quite unconnected with the l, as still (sh'tj); the same (j) sound sm. occurs before r, as kirche (k'j-rókh):—(ia)

before r gen., mir (mir), hirsch (hrósh), but is sm. pure, as (mii, nhishi) sm. in other places, nicht (nio), nichts (niis'), ihm (iam), euch (eök), nieder (nie'da):—(ü) rr., as tiisch (tush), kind (khrund), fisch (fush):—(a) gen. tn. en. in the pronouns used as suffixes, as wir, mir (mar); E. tn. en. in phrases like hab ich dich, lassen ich nicht, thätte ich dir, denke ich mir (ňho-badi, lás-sami, taa-tade, dwe'kome); and in many unaccented syllables, as -inn, -ich, -iu, -lín = lein:—lost sm. in -ig, -lin = lein, in: gen. tn. en. in hat sie, ist sie, sind sie, gib es ihm, ihnen, laas ihn (náts, ists, zints, gips'n, ńas'n); and ich is lost in da werfe ich dich, wenn ich dir es sage, so will ich dir es machen (do bhr'řfú, bhádn darz zág, zo bhlír dorz ma'kha).

IE (294–310), "where the old language has ia, io, ie, and ie is a real diphthong in the southern high German dialect; in good high German pronunciation (ii)." The old diphthong ie gave rise to ie by obscuring u, and eu by obscuring i. The ie readily passes into é long, and eu into ë long. Verbs conjugated like bieten may in southern places interchange ie with eu, pronounced as (ai itu itu ë ñu), in 2 and 3 pers. sing., pres., and sm. other tenses and words. IE is called:—(ai ñd) in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs conjugated like biegen:—(ii) in die, wie, je (di, bhi, ii):—(ei) sm., as (déi, bhèi, éi), thee, tief (ñeb, téf); sm. in 2 and 3 pers. sing. pres. of verbs like biegen:—(ii) sm. in last case, and some others, as biegen (bíurq):—as (ii) in tieb (líub), and gen., sie die (zii dii); these last two forms vary in other places:—

(iii) in the whole upper Rhine and Donau territory from the Vosges to Hungary, tn. en. and even ed. (di bhiá liáb, fám'd) jemand:—(iii) rr. in particular cases, (tiuf ñiub) tieb dieb:—

(äi) sm. in certain words and forms (tóif, dóib):—(aii) sm. dito:—(a) is lost in suffix in pron. sie, as ich habe sie (iknhe-ðó), gib mir sie (gwnemara).

O, short, often inclining to ù, and in gothic ù (316–324), see O = ó, is called:—(aa) sm. lengthened before m and n, von sohn baron (ťan zām bārān'ñ):—

(áo) sm. before l, hohl (nhául):—

(o), "as an o incluing to w," fr., boden gold (boodan gold), but (o) is occasionally heard:—(aw) or (e) rr. in some words before l, soldat solcher (zolda arterialy.
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zö]lor)—(ðu) rr. and spuradically in lengthened syllables, as (bōd∂an):—
(u, uu) sm., (bu uden kupf) kop[f]—
(ða), rr. (bō∂an koppf).

OE, as umlaut of the last ș (325-329), is treated as simple e, and hence sm. sounds as (e), but gen. as (i); böcke (bēk), oel (ill 'jl) so that in old books ð is written for (i) in other cases. OE is:—(i) sm. as umlaut of u, köpf (kipf):—(i) sm. as umlaut of (ða), (kipf) :—(a) sm. tn. (keipf).

O—ð, the long a which inclines to a, and not to u, and is au in gothic (330-344), is called:—(au) sm., cn. blos (blaus) :—(aa) before m and n fr. tn. en. and even ed., strum (shtraum); and before r in the same places, en., as dorf (dørf); and sm. en., brod gross (broad graas):—(ða) fr., blos brod dorf (blaus brod dørf):—(ðu) rr., ochs (Ödaka):—(ðu) fr. cn. (blaus brød), and sm. before r, thou (tøur):—(ðu) io sm., en., hoch (høfu), tod (tuđ):—(a) fr., so that roth, roth, gross gras, are confused as (root, gross) in the common pronunciation:—(ðu) rr. en., noth (nøtf):—(a) sm. tn. ed.—(u) sm. (bruad grøus):—

(dœ) sm. (grouch), dorf (dørf), floh (fløu).

OE—ðe, the umlaut of the last O—ð (345—362), is:—(a) sm. as umlaut of (a):(i) as umlaut of (ðu):—as (ði) sm., böse größer höher hören schön (høis grörisør nohór'n, sho:j):—

(ða) as umlaut of (ða) and before r, frören (froer'n):—(ði) as umlaut of (ðu, ou) :—(ñ) rr. :—(ñ) rr.:—(i) rr.:—(a) rr. getos (gotøs):—(i) for y as umlaut of (u):—(a) for (yö) as umlaut of (ða):—(ñ) tn. sm.:—(y) as umlaut of (u):—(yö) rr., böse schon (byøs shyö),

U short (363-371) is:—(a, a) fr. before r, as durst (dørsht):—(i) sm. in

(ung) :—(a) fr. before m and n, as jung hund (xøg nhønd); and sm. before r, as burgh (børh):—(u) pure gen.:—(y, i) rr. in a few words, uns unter um (yns ynter ym):—(ði) sm. before r, sturm (shtûm):—(ðø) sm. before r, durst

(ðørsh):—(ða) in unemphatic words, and (ad, a), uns suffixed sm. (as), gib uns (gi:bas), -burg, -berg, often both (barg):—lost sm. in du, as was will'st du (bøhe bhihlst).

UE, as umlaut of the last u (372), is only rr. (y), but is generally treated as i, see I. Even in reading books ü is pronounced as i.

U long, or 7, “Gothic and Scandinavian o 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, ue. But it has remained especially in the diphthongal form (ðu) 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 ou respectively, pronounce it usually as (uu),” (373-383), is called:—(aa, da, d'æ) E, tn. en. in some words before m, n, as blume (blaam bløm), muehne (møam møom):—(oo) 1 pl., as gut frass (good foos), 1 pt. before l, as stuhl (sthoot):—(øi) 1 pl. gut blut bruder mutter (gööt bøld bröı'der môı'tar) [compare Leeds (göänd) good]:—(ðu) fr., buhe bueh (bøb bøbûk):—(u) pure, sm., and ed. gen. (buub buuk):—(øi) rr., stute (stû'ta):—(øa) “from the Alps to the Danube below the Lech, and above the Lech to the Mayn regions, where (øa, ø) interchange," buhe buch (bøb bøbûk):—(øa) before i sm., schule (shøl):—(øa) in unemphatic syllables fr., as zu uns (tøa-n-yns, tøa-r-yøn), zu dir (tøa dør), handshub (nha'ndsba):—

is lost in unemphatic syllables, as zu thun (tøa tsuun).

UE = ue, the umlaut of the last U = eu (386-393, “in good high German pronuncia tion (y),” is sounded as:—(øi) fr., as umlaut of (øo), before m and n, buinlein (bøin'ørm1):—(ee) sm. as umlaut of (oo):—(øi) sm. as umlaut of (øu):—

(1) sm. as umlaut of (u):—as (øa) sm. as umlaut of (ða):—as (øi) 1 pl., müde füsse (müd fœss):—(y, ø) as umlaut of (øa, øa), where ø is not pronounced as (u):—(øi) rr. before i, as kühle (kaul).

Consonants.

B (394-413) is:—(b), “pure Italian b," gen. tn. en., at the end of words, lei(b); in the middle of words before consonants, er gi[b]'ë; uncertainly at the beginning of words, oscillating between (p, b) in (b)ey, (b)ier, (b)lanu, (b)rand:—(f) in a few words and places, as a(f)er, gel(f)licht, kno(f)lach; pi(f)al, schnauf(f)en, zwil(f):—(p) gen. tn. en., “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 confuse beun and peau, boule and poule; a fault which declaimers seek to remedy by introducing a certain after-breath, especially in foreign words, so that for (p)anzor, (p)ein, (P)alerno, (P)aul, one hears (p-nh)anzor, (p-nh)ein, (P-nh)alerno, (P-nh)aul. This seems to have been the origin of the middle Rhenish (p-nh), 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, o. 1113, a. 1129, a. 1136, a.)]:—(p) before lost t, er gi(p)=giht, in which case, as always in such elisions, the remaining consonant is more strongly pronounced [that is, either (kip) or (ki.p), see p. 799, note, on energetic Italian consonants]; "it is also a rule that final consonants are strengthened when a terminus syllable forms, even when it consists of a lost vowel":—(pf) [probably (ppb)] when the initial syllable be, reduced to (b), is welded on to a following (nh) or (rh), as (pfndi) behende, (pf)ravit bereit:—(bh) except initially, gen. tn. on., obacht, in the beginning of words from the Latin, (Bhe-nadikt) Benedictus; "in -ben, this b pronounced as (bh) is fused into (bhm), that is (m)" [this is not distinct enough, compare the Westmorland and Cumberland (b.) in this situation]:—often lost E. buh gro hhol kaf bube grob halb korb, sm. in the end and middle, (mhan, gen gan) haben, geben [comparable to our loss of medial v].

C (414-415) is E. in words of Latin origin perfect (k), as in Italian:—sc, sk, is sm. called st, sp.

CH, not initial (416-435), is as a rule (kh, Xh), the following are exceptions. CH is:—(t) in E. en, sei(f) for seicht, gi(f) for gicht [compare our usual (f) for the lost guttural]:—(g) sm. in -ich followed by a vowel:—(gh, gh) E. en. tn., at the end of uninfeeted words, (bogh) bach, (i magh) ich mache:—(k) before s gen., in -bach final and a few words:—(g) in the termination -lich, freundlich, herschlich [compare our dialectal -ling for -ly, from ags. -lig]:—lost, fr. in various places, at end, (i) ich, (tucl) tuoh; in middle after t, (hxtor) welcher; after r, (a ki-o) eine kirche; before s, (bhaos) wachsen; before t, (it) -icht, (nit) nicht. It is in similar cases sometimes inserted, achselwurm=asef [woodlouse], knüchelt =knüttel, (roukhit n) rute, (o-khtam) otham [for athem breath].

D (436-451) is:—(d) pure final, medial between vowels, initial where the high German wavers between (t, d):—(g) rr. before l, (sirgl) sidel, 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 binden, bleng blind, feng finden, gefongen and gefunden, empfongen empfunden, keng kinder, a" lengo "linde]:—(r) before ending em, (bu-ram) bodem:—(t) gen. en. tn. initial, no constant distinction between (d, t) being made; E. en. tn. at end and in middle before lost vowel, (nhmt) hände:—lost, sm. at end, (bo) bod; (kshat) gesheit; sm. between a vowel and final en, es, (bom) bodem: fr. after l, m, n, and before a terminal e, en, er, the l, m, n, is then strengthened, (ar nar fe lar) ander felder, (bhu nar) wunder; sm. at the beginning of da, der, die, das, etc., (ee z i dis taat) che dass ich dieses thite; (it sta) desto, (a)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 explodent, 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 Kutchten, 'Dieb die Diebe, 'Gans 'Gäns die Gans die Gänse, 'Kunt 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 t for the in English, where I think ('it) is often heard, (1325 c). Certainly (*bubub'n),—where the tongue is placed in position for (t) and the lips in that for (b), and (*b) must be distinguished from (*tw), which is rather (*bhn) with a much looser
position of the lips—is quite different in effect from (.buu·b’n). The release from (g) b simultaneous to the vowel (/u/) produces a perceptibly different glide as well as a distinct ‘hardness of edge,’ so to translate ent-scheidungen. Similarly for (f·kunst). 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) is sm. omitted as if it were merely the article,” (on airs’k) for deichsel [carriage pole], “and it is sm. prefixed where not radical,” (dar·ar·bem) erarbeiten. [There seems to be a similar usage in an adder, a nag, in English.]

F (462–466) is:—(y) E. en. tn. ed. after vowels, as g(rv)’t, kra(y)’t, but elsewhere (/f) (pf) rr. initial:—(bh) rr. medial. FF, answering to low German [and English] p, is sm. (v) and sm. (/f). F is rr. lost.

G (463–490) is:—(g), “pure French g,” fr. at end and middle of words, au(g), je(g)’d, and regularly after n, [meaning (qq)’f]; but sm. only immediately before consonants, as ma(g)’d:—waviering 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 at and t: jaid for jadg, maid for magd, du friast, er fries, gefrait, from fragen, etc. This ai is more usual along the Alps than N. of Danube, and has the sounds described under EI, from (eh) onwards.” [This is interesting in relation to the formation of diphthongs in English from ags. -ag, -egg:—(k) sm. final after n [that is (qk) is said for (q)] in Din(k), gesan(k), etc. —(q) rr. in ending -ig:—(t) fr. initial before l, n, (/t)lanz = glanz, (/t)nuu genug, (/tuu’ma) genommen [compare English (dl) for (gl)], and presumed Cumberland (tnaa) for know; but is not this (/t,n) properly (/dn)?]—(bh) rr. medial, (ploob’bhum) 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 nasalised. The prefix ge, reduced to (g), is heard before an expletive 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. schaugen schauen, ang au, hangen hauen, make hay, knieng k’veen; ilg, ilg illic, galg galg [interesting for the Westmorland usages, and also in Robert of Brunne]; sm. to s, sch, as fleising fleiss, mifchen mischen.

H (491–502) is:—g [with some of its pronunciations] sm. in middle and end, and even commencement of some foreign words, as (groo’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, (goza’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’b’a, a’b’l) for herb, hinaf, sm. in -heit, (bou’set) bosheit. “H is sm. prefixed to words beginning with a consonant, as (nh)o’bou=abou=hinaf; (nh)art=art=ort; (nh)idruken=in-drucken [chew the cud]; (nh)inter, (nh)inter=unter.” [These omissions and additions initially contrast strongly with the English habits.]

J (503–506) initial is fr. (g), “that is, passes into the distinct consonant (g), just as vo becomes b,” (Guction) 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 uninflected words; and after n [that is, (qg) is used for (qk)]:—rr. (xhr), especially after (q), (bqunh) bank:—(k) pure, as in French, Italian, or Spanish, very gen. medi ally, sm. finally, gen. initially before l, n, r:—(khp), “like a pure k with subsequent sensible breath, and also in all high Germany, en. tn. ed.,” initially before a vowel, (kh)alt, (kh)ind, (kh)on men, (kh)orz; sm. before a consonant (kh)p, (kh)necht; and in the same places medially and finally:—(t) rr. initially before l and n, (t laa, t le) kleem, (t le’o) kle, (tnahkt) knecht:—lost rr. finally (mun’zi) muisk. [The interest attaching to post-aspiration (1136, a) induces me to give the following note at length.] “In low German
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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 qa, ge, gi, etc., with ka, ke, ki, etc., just as we now fail to distinguish gl, gn, gr, from kl, kn, kr. In Catullus' verse: 'Chommoda dicebat si quando commoda vellet', the ch appears to answer precisely to our k-h. [Catullus' epigram is numbered 82 and 84, the whole of it is valuable.] This hard breathing (starker Hauchen) is common to many mountain people, as well as to us highlanders. Thus in the Apenines, the 'Gorgia fiorentina' is remarkable, and has earned for Florentines the nick-names 'hoobi, hahafagivoli,' because they persistently replace e by h. 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—choch (sex six), coch (coaxe, les eavises), gucho (garçon), mächo (maison), achë (ve-cello, oiseau), wach (feer). '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 (m n q r), the sudden termination of which is what makes them really consonant; 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 (gewissermaßen) as a vowel, by either forming a diphthong with it, that is, slurred (legirt), or quite purely and not united with it at all, that is, unslurred (nicht leigirt)." 'There is a difficulty in exactly interpreting the above into palatocyt. It seems as if the first case meant ('l), where (') forms a diphthong with preceding vowel, so that all golden = (d'l go'l'd gu'ld'n'), a complete fracture being established, and thus faut, properly (faul), becomes (fa'lt), see under AU (1359, d). The second case would then be simply pure l, as (olt) alt, not (o'lt). L is:—(i) rr. finally, as (kaa-tii) for (kaa'til) Katharina:—(i, i) after a, o, u, (6i'd) alt [producing a suffracture], and, when after e, i, this vowel becomes [(c)], or indeterminate palatal breath?;—(l) fr. as "generally in North Germany, only after e, i," (bild) bld; 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, ü becoming (a, e', o). Final EL becomes wholly ('l) gen. on. tn. after linguals, and nearly ('l) sm. in stem-syllables, where the e or ö would be otherwise ('j'), as (uh'l) hölle. Initial rr, gl, kl, pl, rr. take ('l), as (b'lood) blatt. I is also rr. (r), or lost before vowels, or added. LL medial does not shorten preceding vowel in E., so that fall qual rhyme.

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 (lam ma'n rai'n träum sheu'n), common in North Germany, never occur, but are replaced by (la m ma'n rai'n träum sheu'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 i, 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 m 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, u, 'n), very frequently (o), and is often only shown by nasalising the preceding vowel. The ('n) alone,—becoming (m) after labials—is preserved in the E., and the (a) 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-ni sag=wie ich sage. In some words the n of the article has thus become fixed, as (:nost) =ost, and similarly an original n is omitted, as ganz'aturt =natürlich.

NG (612–614) is generally (q), but sm. (m), as (do dum du'mad du'ma) for der dung (dünger) düngen; (nhu-mar) = hungere; and -um is used for -ung in E.

P (615–618) is (p), rr. (b); pf rarely
(bv) final, and sm. (pabh, phfh, phf') initial — p-hann, p-herd, p-haltz, p-heffer = Hanne, Pferd, Pflaz, Pfeffer.

QU (620) is regarded as kw or gu, and the w is often omitted.

R (621–637), which is generally (r), changes the preceding (a) to (a, é, ú, i), (ou) to (oua), (e) to (e, é, éa, i), (ei) to (eiou), (o) to (a, a, ëa, ëa), (ou) to (oua), (a) to (e), (u) to (a, é, ó, ë), 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 Haupfert, Hraban," which S. writes hr, hbr. [He has used lh for (gh). When this sound hbr is in rr or ghrr it is difficult to say in his own symbols he writes a1 Hrab, a2 Hring, a3 Hrufn, ghhrd, ghhrson, ghhrd(in =geritten, and he says:) "Before a, t, z, only the lh of this hbr is heard, as éoahd = erd, bëoahd = herde, fuzz't fort," etc. [which may mean n'ogbd, n'hr'agh, fught], etc. In art. 663, referring to this place, he says, "where sounds as hhr or ch," which gives (kh) and not (gh). The phenomenon is very interesting, and should be examined. It may be only usval after all.] R is:—(l) in a few cases:—(r) in W. almost universally; this is the case in part of E., with rr, at the end of stemsyllables, 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 verlieren; and sm. becomes s before s. [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 dafaif dorf, and even after a consonant and before a vowel, as (ghod) grade, (sheqk) shrank. 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 (a rû'z'n) ein asen [beam]. An obscure vowel (a) is inserted between r and the following consonant in W., as (dorf) dorf [just as in our Irish after trilled r, in (w'ar) work, 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 tall, something like z, and corresponds to Scandinavian and low German t; and s, ss, for those s, ss, which correspond to z in Scandinavian and low German. The ss is used after a vowel to "stop" or "sharpen" it.] S in E. en. tu. ed. "is always soft = (z), not merely where it is so in good high German pronunciation, but even before t of uninflected forms," as (Azt), t(za)z, bi(za)t [possibly (azd, izd)], as t=(d) at the end of uninflected forms in E., for example below; (azd, izd, however, all possible). In the same places SS is (z) at end of uninflected forms, guiz(a), ku(za), Preuz(a), rz(a), and rr, in inflected. SZ=(z) at end of inflected forms, E. en. tu. ed. S=(a), almost gen. en. tu. ed. after consonants, as dach(z), nisch(z); and E. en. after vowels in inflected forms; E. gen. before t in inflected forms, aez(t), faez(t). SZ=(z) in the middle and at the end of inflected forms, in E., and sm. of some uninflected forms, "as in good high German pronunciation," as ha(za), nu(za). S=(zh) initially, before p, t, k, quite gen. en. tu. ed., and even before b in names of places, as Regensburg (rørzhpurg), Miesbach (mis'zrhsba), and occasionally before a vowel, as (zh)nast = nosnt [Schmeller uses here his sign for (zh), see SCH]. S=(zh) fr. after r at end of words and syllables, unser(zh), vater(zh), für(zh):= fur sich; almost gen. en. tu. ed. after r and before t, dur(zht), or also dur(zht)= durst. [Schmeller here distinguishes his two signs (zh, sh), and both are possible, (turchsh)£ most probable; his signs for (zh, sh) being sch, joch, differ so slightly that confusion is inevitable, and hence I go by his original references to this place in his art. 92.] "S = (zh, sh) before p, t, and after every sound, from the upper Isar to the Vosges, from the Speissart range to the Saar, en. tu. ed., "Ang(za)t, bi(za)t, Cu(sh)per, Ha(sh)pel, ha(zht), ij(zht), kan(za)t, kun(zht), lu(sha)ig, Mi(za)t, saq(zht), Scheve(zht), die schön(zht)." [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 the use of (z, zh, v, d, g) final, are the exact German counterparts of the Somersetshire initial (zh, zh, v, f)elner=sarff, dasz, a considerable translation of German forest, for (zh) is always medially, but finally it is (zh), except in E. before a lost final e. [Schmeller here, art. 667, note, says that this is the case "in good high German pronunciation, but only after long vowels and diphthongs: Rauv(zh), Flei(zh), deutf(zh), whereas on the Nab they say men(sh), deutf(sh)."] Now, independently of the impossibility of (day,v,zh), which should at least be (day,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 (sh) nor (zh), but an indifferent sound lying between them, for which our theory has no sign." This could only be (zh), which would shew itself in the usual way as (shzh) before and (zhsh) after voiced letters. The interest to us lies in the Western English dialectal usages, their intimate relation with West Saxon, the probable development of (sh) from an original (zh), 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 (th, thb), 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-hitan, T-hitus, T-hartarey, T-hee, T-hacitus, T-hempel, and adds:] "This inserted h after initial t is quite inappropriate 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-haq, T-hod, T-heucht, 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), bl(a)d, bre(d), Go(d); (b)er(d), l)nt betten. [Here, again, Schmeller has a note implying that t final is (d) "in good high German pronunciation only after
long vowels and diphthongs: Blüd, brâid, Hüh, Rad Râth, ród roth, wâid weit, zâid Zeit.” His symbols are left uninterpreted. This pronunciation is not usually admitted.] TW medial becomes (p), gen. en. in. (i:p i:pa) etwas etwas, and E. (a:p' ma:p'm a:bm a:bm,d) all = athem. T or TT medial is sometimes (r), as (a:ram) athem, (bhr-dor) wetter. T is often lost, in conjugation endings, after s, sch; but is sometimes added after s, ch, f.

W (682–687), “as a u contracted to a consonant (zum Consonanten verkürzt), has usually the sound known in German,” [certainly (bh) so far south as Bavaria. How can German (bh) be considered as a compared (u)? A key is furnished by Helmholtz, who says (Lehre von den Tonempfindungen, 3rd ed. p. 186, 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 = (A_u), with tongue as if for (a), quite low, whereas English u has the tongue high. The proportion (A_u): (bh) = (u): (w), is perfectly correct. I have always assumed German u = English oo. This must be my faulty appreciation.]

“This sound is sometimes so indistinct (unentschieden) as to be scarcely observed,” thus rr. (aal) for (bhaal) weil, (a:rgaq) argwohn, (mi: dikha) mittwochen [corresponding to our (Grü:mdzh) Greenwich]. “Sometimes it is too consonantal, and becomes quite (b), as (B)urgergarten for (W)urgzarten,” (bäul, bos, bu) weil, wass, 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 termin- nation of an open syllable, (iets ge6b-h) jetzt geh ich, (bo6s, ti6b-h) i-was thueich.

Z (688–690) initially = (t,s), after vowels sm. (s), finally, “in uninflected forms, it is soft” (d,z), as Blit (d,z), Klo (d,z), Plot (d,z) [which Schmeller admits to be good high German after vowels and diphthongs, as Kreuz, Schweiz, Getz, that is, (kr:ay d,z, shbha d,s, gai d,z)]; this must be taken with his remarks on Sch (1567, 6), but before (even lost) inflectional syllables it becomes “sharp” (t,s), as (mi,t:n krâi,t,s) mit dem Kreuz.

“On the Sharpening and non-Sharp-ening of Consonants” (691). [The German phrase “sharpening a consonant” shows that it “stops” a vowel, that is, that the preceding vowel is short, and glides strongly on to the consonant.] “The peculiarity of the dialect east of the [river] Leech, [in Bavaria], in pronouncing a consonant at the end of uninflected forms soft [voiced], and lengthening the preceding vowel, when transferred to the pronunciation of literary German, is offensive to educated ears whenever the consonant should be sharp [voiceless] and preceding vowel short. Before the inflectional syllables the consonants receive their proper sharpening, and the lengthened consonants are generally shown by their diphthongal [fractured] dialectal pronuncia-tion. Now when the native is speaking high German, he pronounces simple vowels, but it is repugnant to his feelings to lengthen them before the sharpened [voiceless] consonants. Hence he unsuspiciously shortens the long vowel before ch, taking the place of his own (gh), in brachen, Sprache, riechen, Buchen, fluchen, Kuchen; also before f in Schäfer, schlafen, strafen, traf; before k in Ekel, Haken, spuken, erschrak, stak, buk; before sz, with short vowel and distinct ss, instead of with lengthened vowel before a somewhat softened (gemildertem) ss [meaning (z) or (‘z’)], in Blööse, Flööse, Füöse, genieszen, gieszen, gröszer, gröszen, and after this analogy, the South Germans say bitte für bieten, bluten für bläten, Gütter für Gütter, ratten für rätten, etc. This is properly a provincialism, to be avoided by educated speakers. Yet a similar error seems to have crept into the received high German pronunciation, in so far as a short vowel is used in several words before tt, as Blatter, Natter, Futter, Mutter, whereas most dialects lengthen it as d, ã.” [This passage is quoted mainly to shew how local habits over-ride historical usage with respect to quantity, and especially to shew the influence which voiced and voiceless consonants have over the real or apparent or accepted quantity of the preceding vowel, and to confirm my previously-expressed opinion (1274, 6) that vowel-quantity, as an existing phenomenon in living languages and dialects, has to be entirely restudied on a new basis.]
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 sitū the dejecta membra 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 more 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 presentment 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, e), or o (o, o, o); and as to the diphthongs ei (ei, ai, oai), and eu (oi, ai, oy, ay, ah'y, oe'y). I have therefore, except when especially warned, contented myself with (a, e, o, ei, oe'y). I selected (ei) because the late Prof. Goldstücker of Königsberg objected to my calling ei (ai), which is the general Middle German sound; and I selected (oe'y) because Rapp gives this or (ah'y) as the North-East German pronunciation of eu, and because, where eu was used, the sound (oi) appeared impossible; whereas even Donders would have said (oe'r); see (1292, a') and (1101, b) for the Dutch and (1117, c) for the German. The o might be (oe, o), I have selected (oe). Thus my vowels are (a, e, i, o, u, oe, y,) and (o) 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 (oeo), u short as (oe), u'i as (oe'i), 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 eitau 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 (t, 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 (t, d) are original even in English, but this is scarcely more than an impression. The (pl, tl, kl), see (1097, a'. 1129, c), 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 (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 tjes, I have left as (tjs), which may be called (t.sh) or (t.shj), with very energetic (sh).

The glottal r (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 (r), perhaps, see (1098, c). I have generally left them, but have sometimes written (r). 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 (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 (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 (fr-) will be quite near enough, like the High German initial (sz-) and our final (-zs), see (1104, c). The difference between v, uc, 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 (m-h, yh), 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, ď) 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 Italics, 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, supra p. 473, and it thus appears that there is no occasion to assume Danish influence for such a form as to doyle, 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 farrow.

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 (supra 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. The approach of ʣ 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 (r) and then vocalising to (o), or by passing through (i) 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 s 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 (khus' tar Khot), and we know that Berliners indulge in (nus' tar Jot). The change of (gh) to (j) 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 (ii, 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 (ei, óu), which result again in broad (ee, oo, oo, aa). 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, e, e) and (o, o, o). 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 (ee) in literary Dutch, but only (éei), 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, chur, 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 hur-tieden for them) their, (etc.). he gave the younger his mother's inheritance.

15 to feed (heed, watch, guard) swine (farrow). to be a swinedriver, 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, 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 fattened (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. 1392 and 1114.

11 on zeer'ker mans nhat tbedhie zoudannan.

12 on nhad de'irdhda nhekn nhat khut. 15 om da zbh'E'nan te bhr'd dan.

18 'vas'ad, ek nhrp khawendikht 'beigihan ('voor') y.

22 breekt uhiir voort nhad br'sten klei'd an dut nhat nsem aan, an gheezit on re'eq aan zan nhand, an skhun nan aan da 'vutan.

23 nhat khamb'stena kal.

24 bhand de'iswa man zouun bhar dooud, en e's khavan'dan.

25 on zan ou'rtstna zouun bhaz en nhat falt, en as nhad'ki kham, an nhat nhab'ye's khanaaka'ko, nhoo'red nhad nhat khaza'q on nhat khawei.

27 i brudar.

29 on dat ek met man 'vrii'anden meekt frou'laek kw'en.

31 ke'nt, khwe' zi'ta'ite'id be' mi'ni.
iii. **High German Version.**

**Ordinary Spelling.**

11 ein mensch hatte zwee soehne.
12 und er theile ihm das gut.
15 der saue zu hueten.
18 vater, ich habe gesuendigt vor dir.
22 bringet das beste kleid hervor, und thut ihn an, und gebet ihm einen fingeerreif 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 zu hause kam, hoerete er das gesegen und den reigen.
27 dein bruder
29 dass ich mit meinen freunden froehlich waere.
31 mein sohn, du bist allezeit bei mir.

**My usual Pronunciation.**

11 ain mensh ha'ta tsbeheen z3e'nno.
12 und er tái-l'to iin'n das gut.
15 deer z6i'ka tsu huyt'n.
18 faa'tor, skjh na'a'be gezyn-digf3t fool diir.
22 brie'qt das be'sta kläid h3rfoo't, undt tuut iin an, und gee'bat iim aí'n'n f3rr'art'i an záir'ne handt, wat shhu'w an záir'na fyy'w.
23 ain gome'estates kalbp.
24 den díi'zer már'n zoon bhaar toodt, undt ist gute'n'den bh3r'd'n.
25 aá'bar dar e'ltastes zoon bhaar auf dem fe'lda, und als er naa'e tom huu'za keem hert'oa he'i dat ghazE'qa on dat réi'ghon.
27 dáin bru'or'dar.
29 das skjh mit mài'ran frói'anden frowli'kh bhe'ër'a.
31 már'n zoon, duu bist a'le-tsáirt bái 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 Göttingen 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 plattdeütsk, and plattdeutsch (plattdü'tsh).]

III. **East Prussia.** I. 6.


11 en mänsch hæde tsbehe zeens.
12 on hëi deel'te e'no dat ghoid.
15 deo so'eyo to hœe da. 18 vaa'dor, èk hœ'bø ghazyndight ver dii. 22 brieqat dat be'sto kleed hœwert, on doot om dat an, on gheeft em eemn f3gg'ert'ef an zii na hand, on shoo'w an zii'ne fee'erta. 23 een ghøme'estet kalb.
24 den dis'o'or miin zeen bher doot, on hëi oes ghafund's bh3r'd'n. 25 aá'bher daw e'ltaster zeen bher opp dem fe'lda. on als hëi naa'e tom huu'za keem hert'oa he'i dat ghazE'qa on dat réi'ghon. 27 diin bru'or'dar. 29 dat oek med mii'ran fró'ï'anden frowli'kh bhe'ër'a.
31 miin zeen, duu best a'letait bi mii.

IV. **West Prussia.** I. 12.

1. **Dantzig, town (54 n 22, 18 e 39).** I. 14.

11 daa bher maal 'n man deí had tbehi zeens. 12 on hëi deel'de e'no zii gháud. 15 de shbbing taw hee'da. 18 vaa'or, èk nèb shhbaar zii ndikht veer dii. 22 haal'd ju dat be'sta kleed on trekd'am dat an, on gheebt-at em'n riqk an zii'ne hand on shu'w up de feest. 23 e'en ma's'tka'lbh. 24 den dis miin zeen bheer doo'dikht, on hëi es nuu hedd'er-fu'qä. 25 aá'bheersht zii el'dstor zeen bher up det felde, on as hëi nee'gher keem an-t huus daa heerd hëi si'qa ook da'nts. 27 diin bro'dor. 29 dat oek kun lo'stikh zii med mií'ne frind. 31 miin zeen, duu best e'mersh bi mil.

V. **Pomerania.** I. 20.

3. **Grijevenwoud, in German Greifswald, town (54n5, 13e21).** I. 21.
11 en minsh harb tbhee zoecns. [described unlaht of (AA), between (ee) and (e(e), openere the first, duller than the second; it may be only (eh), it may be (eh); it is most probably one of the three (ce, eh, sh)]. 12 un he deel'sd an dat ghoott. 15 de sbhii'n to hoeec'dan. 18 vadar, ik hef synidicht vor dii. 22 briigt dat be'sto kleet her un doot om dat an, un ghebbt om eenan fiqarriq'ik an ziir'na hant un shoo up ziir'na foeect. 23 en ma'mstka'lf. 24 den dees min zoecn bhas doot, un is fur'nan bho'r'n. 25 de eel'sto zoecn eexverst bhas up-'n feld un as he dikht an-tuus hamsan, fordere ne dat si'qan un dantson. 27 diin brooder. 29 dat ik mit mii-ne fry'n'un lustidk bhiir. 31 miin zoecn, duu byst y-mor bi mi.


11 en minsh her tbhee zoecns. 12 un he deel'et en dat ghoott. 15 de zoecng'han to hoeec'dan. 18 vadar, ik heb synidicht vor dii. 22 briigt dat be'sto kleet her un trlegt om dat an, un ghebbt om eenan fiqarreep'ik an ziir'na anaun un shaa an ziir'na foeect. 23 en ur'meest kalf. 24 den di'sar min zoecn bhas dood, un is fundon bho'on. 25 eex'-bor de eel'dst zoecn bhas in 'n feld, un as he dikht an 't huuus keem hrt'fik dat zi-qon un dantson. 27 diin broodar. 29 dat ik mit mii-ne fry'n'un kyn froe'sleikh zin. 31 min zoecn, duu biet a'ltiid bi mi.

VI. Brandenburg. I. 28.


11 te'nda -n minsh tbhee zoecn. 12 un de ol deel'ed [spelled akheente] dat ghoott. 15 de sbhii'n hoo-e 'n. 18 vaaa't, ik heebh snynght vor dii. 22 sakte dat be'sto kleet eexer un trek'-t om an, un steekt om 'n ziin hand, un gheebht om shoo exer ziin been. 23 'n gomset't kahb. 24 den di'sar miin zoecn bhiir doot un hlee is bree'dar fu'n'un. 25 aah'-ber de eel'sto zoecn bheer up 't feld, un a'eer'ma hoo'e keem hrt'fik dat ghofzi'qan un ghadauntsa. 27 diin bruor'. 29 dat 'k met miin fry'n froe'sleikh zin kyn. 31 miin zoecn, duu biet a'ltiid bi mi.

VII. Saksen, in English Prussian Saxony. I. 33.

[About Magdeburg; the kingdom and dukedoms of Saxony are Upper Sax.]
Friederichstadt, un broodar. 29 dat ik mik ha-te ke'nan lurstikh maak'on mit mi'n'a friynd-shap. 31 miin kint, du bist a'lotit bi mik abhe'est.

VIII. Mecklenburg. I. 46.


11 daar bhas maal eens en man, deec haara bhee zeecens. 12 un de vate dor-dle en dat formae'ghen. 16 de sbhiin to heec'den. 18 vataar, ik nef mi forslynkt ghee'ghen dii. 22 briqt dat be'sta an'qtoogh en trekt om dan an, en steekt om nan riq an'n fiq'ar un gheebht en sho sho an zii ne foer'ta. 23 'n foer'ta kalf. 24 bhiil dis miin zeecen as dood bhas, un he is bheer er funen. 25 de oe'lsa zeecen oe'e'gh'ar bhas up 'n feld, un as he naa to huus kam neetra ne de muzi'ik un dat dants'en. 27 diin broo'dar. 29 dat ik mit mi'n 'fryn 'n mi lu's-tigh ho'lon kun. 31 miin zeecen, duu bist a'lbhegh bi mii.


11 dor bhas mal en man, deé nar thb'éi zeens. 12 un hee'dla u'n'ne zéi dat forme'ghen. 15 de sbhiin taau he'gyrtaan. 18 vaaar, ik hebb yzniglich vor dii. 22 briqt dat be'ste kleed ner'a un trekt om dat un gheebht om é'n'en fiq'r'qi'q an zii ne hand un shau an zii ne foeryt. 23 en ma'stikalbh. 24 den dear'la miin zeecen bhas dood, un is fu'nan hoo'ta. 25 de oe'lsa zeecen e'gh'ar bhas up dan foer'tan, un as hee nee'gh'ar an-t'nuus kam, neet'ra heei dat zi-qon un dants'an. 27 diin braur'a. 29 dat ik mit mi'n 'fryn'ne frec'el'klik bhier. 31 min zeecen, duu bist taau seer'ne ('every') stum bi mii.

IX. Holstein. I. 54.


11 een minsh nar bhee zeecens. 12 un de deedo za dat ghuedu. 15 de sbhiin to hyu'yan. 18 fi'dar, ik nebb yzniglich vor dii. 22 briqt dat be'ste kleed haw'erf, un doot st om an, un gheebht om an fiq'r'qi'q an zii hand, un sho sho an zii deecet. 23 en ma'stikal'vy. 24 den dear'la miin zeecen bheer dood, un is fun bho'rra. 25 as oe'lsa zeecen e'gh'ar bhas op dat feld, un as hee naa zuu op de bheee ghaa huus in de neegh dat zi'qan un dat dants'en zuo'ce'n kreegh. 27 diin broo'dar. 29 um mi mit mi'n 'fryn frec'el'lik zin to laa'-tan. 31 min zeecen, duu bist a'ldiidi bi mii.

b. friesian in Schleswig. I. 70.

[In these Friesian dialects the short i is said by Winkler to be "nearly perfect," by which he apparently means that it is pure (i), and not (i, e', e, o), or other Dutch sounds of short i. These dialects seem also to have (dh), see note to specimen 14.]

14. Bökingharde variety of the Moringer dialect, which is spoken in a district containing Niebühl, town (54 n 54, 8 e 49). I. 78.

11 an mon nee thb'éi sar'na. 12 an ne dild jam at ghed. 15 da sbhiin to shu'rdorn ([joerdorn] simply?). 18 teet'a, ik nebb he forsee'night in deee.
22 bre'jqa da b'esta klur'dha dhor an tiis ham oen; dou ham an gohr'bre'jqa awer a fai'qar an skur au'er a fe'jta. 23 an fat kuurlebh. 24 aab'hor de haro fon min bi'idha zaara bhas dyd, un as bihi'dhar fyan ham'ordan. 26 ouwers da artsa saan bhas to fe'jida, an as aar ta'ghda ['thought'] to-d nys koum nirr or a siur-qan ['shur-un'] an donsin. 27 dan brour'dar. 29 dat ik ma min fry'o fre'i'ilik bhce'ze kyy. 31 man saan, dyy bast alitet bai mee.

[(kluur'dha, biirdha, bihi'dhar, brour'dhar) are spelled by Winkler with th, as klathe, thite, wither, brothurer, and similarly lithan to suffer, eth to eat, wether wether, or kid, bleth blithe, tofrethe content, German zufrieden, but low only has a crossed 8, which he says is "a soft th as in English, sounding almost as s." I have supposed that where he wrote th, he meant the same thing, that is, (dh), or to a Dutchman almost (z). similarly in specimen 15.]

15. Karrharde, district around Steedasand town (54 n 44, 8 e 56). I. 81. 11 en mon nei thbeiror see'na. 12 an ni diid jem dat ghed. 15 de sbhin to ghii-tan. 18 tee-ta, ik neeb me farzec night jin dee. 22 briq dat best klee'daddle dhor an tiit-tam ham oen; duu ham en go'liq aur a feqar an skur au'war a fe'jt. 23 en fat kuurlebh. 24 au or de haro fon min biir'dha see'na bhas dud, an nee es bihi'dhar fyan ham'ordan. 25 aabha da arsta sen bhas to fe'jida, an as aar ta'ghda ['thought'] to-d nys koum nirr or dat siur'qan ['shur-un']? an donsin. 27 dan brour'dar. 29 dat ik ma min fry'na fro'i'ilik bhe'eze kyy. 31 man sen, dyy best a'litid bai mee. [See note to specimen 14.]

16. Gosharder dialect around Hattestad, Bredstedt and Husum, town (54 n 28, 9 e 3). I. 84. 11 diir bher en mesahe, dii nei tiben sens. 12 un di faar dar dialed dat ghed uner hammon. 15 bhur sbhiri'hor'dar. 18 faardar, ik nee sene'dighet, for dii. 22 briqet dat best klee dadhe shurtta un tiit-tam ham oen, un stee'ghot ham en goh'liq am a fai'qur un tiit-et ham shiyrra oen. 23 en faacht kufaaf. 24 den man sen bhar dud, un ik nei ham we'dar fynam. 25 di ars'ta sen bher too teela'; es ni nyy tou nys ghiiqu niirr ni al fon firi'ron f'alla from far] dat siur'qan ['shur-un']? un dat speelin ['play']. 27 dan broodar. 29 dat

ik miin fry'na bebheriti kyy. 31 man lii'bi'ye ru'qo, dyy best i'mar bai mi.'

17. Amrum, island (54 n 38, 8 e 20). I. 89.

11 an mana hedd taw seeans. 12 an nii diald jha [this (zh) is doubtful] at ghud. 15 a sbhin to hoordin. 18 atj ik haa za-naght jin joxu. 22 briq ham a best kludaar an tjiis-m's ham un, an duu-m ham an faq'ariq au'ar a hun an skur au'ar a fet. 23 an fet kuarlebh. 24 au'er dasktii'or man sen buher dud, an hii as bhe'dar fyndhan ['softened English th, nearly like sh or zh and s', here written, ' sounds generally as dj or dyj'] bhor'dan. 25 man di eelse sean bhhe'au'ar fial, an ys ni hait na'ar to-d nys kaam an nirt a siur'qen ['sho-qon']? an daa'nsin. 27 dan brouder. 29 dat ik mi miin mee miin fri'nder haa'ghi kydt. 31 man sen, dyy best a'litid bi mii.

18. Syit, island (54n54,8e21). I. 94.

11 en man ned taw dreeqar ['servants,' lads]. 12 en de faad'hor dii'let jam diid gud. 15 de sbhin te jee'ton. 18 faad'har! ik haa ze'ndhikht toe'gwhe'an juu. 22 briq dit best kludaad laart, en tii ot heem oen; an dace heem an fiq'ariq oen sin hundh, en skuur aur sin fet. 23 en fat kualet. 24 for des'jarim min dreeq bhcar dud, an es bhe dhar fyndhan uudhan. 26 man de faalt dreeq bhir yf mark, an ye hii nei bii-t nys kaam jert hii dit siur'qen ['shur-un']? an daa'znin. 27 diij broodhor. 29 dat ik mee miin fri'naar mii jens fry'ga kydt. 31 miin dreeq, dyy best a'litid bi mii.


11 diar bhiaar farn'maal 'n man, dee niid taw jou'qan. 12 en daa deelt de ool man sam det ghod. 15 de sbhin to ho'daram. 18. faar! ik haa syn deen. 22 briqat di best kloor duut, an tiid nam det un, an dood hem 'n riq om siin fiqar, an skuur ower siin futon. 23 'n faat ka-loven. 24 den miin zeen nat dud bheen, an es bher fin bhuur. 25 oover de oldes sem bhiaar un-t-feld, an on nee nei bii de shiyys [sounds at present like (n)is], according to Winkler] kim niird he det sir'qon an spriq'qan. 27 diijn brur. 29 dat ik met miin fren ferghnoght bhce kiid. 31 min liif soq, deo has ala'tiitdan bi mi bheen.

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§ 2. No. 8. ii. LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTS. 1381.

XI. TERRITORY OF THE FREE CITIES OF LÜBECK, HAMBURG AND BREMEN. I. 103.

20. Schultup, village near Lübeck (53 n 52, 10 e 51). I. 104. [To serve in place of a Lübeck specimen, which Winkler could not obtain.]

11 een minsh har tbehe zoons. 12 un he deel-šda dat ghood un'ner eer. 15 de sbhiih hoer-čdan. 18 vaa-daar, ik nev zyn daan ferc dii. 22 haalt mi dat beste kleed heru-čt, un tce -t em an, un-phoo om en riq an zin hanf un shoo an zin fect. 23 een ma'șkilf. 24 den bhat min zoon is bhas doud, un is bhe'čer fun. 25 da œlста zoon œe-ččors bhsas in -t feli, un as he nac'g'har an -t hws uleen hoer he dat zī'qen un dan-ørn. 27 din bro-čder. 29 dat ik mi mit mirn frun shul lu-stkh hoo-lan. 31 min zoon, duu byst ymár bii mi.


11 een minsh har tbehe zoons. 12 un hee deel-šda dat ghood maq jym. 15 de sbhiih to hoer-čdan. 18 vaa-daar, ik nev zyndonight vor feli. 22 briqt dat beste kleed heru-čt un trekt ot em an, un ghevt om eeenen fi-qarriq an zī'na hand un shooe an zī'na fect. 23 een masted kalft. 24 den dyše miin zoon bhas doud, un hee is bhe'čer fun. 25 aabbers ziih œlsta zoon bhas up -n feld, un as he dat huus nac'g'har koem dan nac'rd da dat zī'qen un dat'ørn. 27 din bro-čder. 29 up dat ik mit miin frunnd suul unstgh bhee'čen kyn. 31 min zoon, duu byst ymár-s bi mi.


11 daar bhas un minsh de har tbehe juq'qens. 12 un he deel-šda dat ghood un'ner em. 15 dat he daar de sbhiih hoer-čdan shol. 18 vaa-daar, ik neb zu-night ghee'g'hen dii. 22 haalt mi dat beste kleed heru-čt un teekt id em an, un steekt om eernen riq an zī'na hand un trekt om shoo an. 23 en masted kalft. 24 den miin zooen [for (œ) see spec. 3, v. 11; here however it is said to be “a middle sound between œe and æ or ō and ø German, and that it sounds at Bremen very nearly as œ or ø,” that is (œ); this would favour the supposition that the sounds were nearer (œh) or (œh),] bhas

dood, un is nuw bhe'čer funn. 25 aa-var da œlsta zoon bhas up dan fe-čo, un as he duun bi nuus-dee keem hoer-ce dan dat zī'qen un dan-ørn. 27 din bro-čder. 29 dat ik meel ['once'] mit miin-frunnd fergnova-g'ht zin shul. 31 miin kind, du byyst ymár bi mi.

XII. Hanover, Brunswick, Schamburg, Oldenburg. I. 122.

23. Deister, district (52 n 16, 9 e 28). I. 124. [A remnant of the old Hanoverian speech of the Calederm species.]

11 e mi-nsho haa-ta tbee juq'qens. 12 un hėt de'f'lo un'ner zed dat'ørn. 15 de sbhiih to no-čy'en. 18 vaa-daar, ek nev zyndonight vor fjo. 22 briqt dat ghii'laest kleed, un trekt ot em an, un ghee'vet om riq an zī'na hand un shu-ču an zī'na ferc'go. 23 dat fet o'maak-kete kalft. 24 den dyse miin zoon bhas doud, un hėt is of funn. 25 zīin œlsta zoon aabber bhas up an fels, un as hėt in de new'-ghа zī'na noo'zis kam hoo'ča hēi spee'cl. ['playing'] un dan. 27 Hoobour. 29 dat ek mit mi miin frunnding lu-stgh bhee'čer. 31 miin le'i-bha kind, duu bist ymár-bi mek.

[Some additional words are given compared with German, on account of their vowel frature.] 12 gu'tarn gütarn. 14 varteart verzehrt, lian leiden. 17 vé-lo viele. 19 bhärart wird. 27 bhär wieder. 29 zy's siehe. 32 gu'er gout'er.


11 da bheer ins en minsh, de'j nar tbee'j zoons. 12 un nej deel jym dat ghood. 15 de'j sbhiih to no-čoen. 18 vaa'är, ik hēf zynight jej'ghans roo. 22 briqt dat besthe tygh her un trekt om dat an, un gheef om en fit'qarriq an do hanf un shoo an de fect. 23 en me'jsh kalft. 24 den dyse rjuk bheer doud, un is bhe'er fun' [32 fry'rn].

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 see sagt. 14 fyq fing. 16 nyms niemand. 19 meej'
25. Altendorf, village (53n36, 9 e 27). I. 140.
11 en Vää'var har tbrive zeeën. 12 un de vää'dor deel jym dat ghoo'd.
15 do sbhiin to hoo'd-an. 18 Vää'dor, ik herbh u'nrekkht dään vor díi. 22 brïikt dat best kleed huru't un tee-Ü om an, un ghëcht om en fîq'errich an zin hand un shoò an zin fceêt. 23 en me's't' kalbh. 24 den mën zeeën bheer dood, un is bhe'er fun't'n. 25 AÀ'var de oc'flste zeeën bheer op 't' feld, un as nêe nooee'gher naa huss koem hêr de dat zirgen un da'nson. 27 broor'dor. 29 dat ik mit mii'n 'n frå'n'd'n fargnhoce'ght bheer kun. 31 mën zeeën, duu byst jym'rër bi miî.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 ghoo'cor'nu gût'orn. 13 ghûq gîng, ründ'nok't hindhrr. 19 ik byn 'ich bin. 26 fröogh frug. 29 duu bheesu du weesêi, oc'zheesan übergangen. 32 ghoo'cor'mo'os gutes muthes.

26. Rechtenfleth, village between Bremen and Bremerhaven (53 n 32, 8 e 84). I. 143. [The speech is Friso-Saxon.]
11 en minsk hör tbrive sêee'nan. 12 un nee deel'da jum dat ghoo'd. 15 do sêee'ghon to hoo'd'a'n. 18 Vää'dor, ik hêf zu'nuf'gîrt for dîi. 22 brîikt dat be'sto tygh nig hér un trek'k om an, un ghève om en frêq'errich an zin hand un shoò an zin fceêt's. 23 en mee's't'd kalbh. 24 den ës'sa, mën zeeën bheer dood, un iz bhe'er fun'dun. 25 do oc'lsste sêeen AÀ'var bheer op'n fél'da, un as ne naa huss koem hêr de dat zirgan un dat da'n'son. 27 diin broor'or. 29 dat ik mit mi'i-no fründe lustigh bheer, 31 mën sêeen, du bist a'lëitd bi miî. [Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zee sêage. 14 fuq fîng. 15 huq king. 16 buk bauch, num's niemand. 29 zzy sêieh, AÀ'vertree'oor übertreten.

27. Eckwarden, village between Jahde river (53 n 26, 8 e 12) and Weser river. I. 147.
11 ee'mmal ins ['once', Dutch eens, a repetition] bheer d'r een man, de

har tbrive zeeën. 12 un hee deel'da er dat ghoo'd. 15 do sbhiin'na to hoo'd'an. 16 Vää'dor, ik herbh ghrôoo'ta zyn dään gheec'ghen díi. 22 hâalld dat be'sto kleed her un toed om-an an, un stëkt 'm 'n frîq'an un shoò oc'ee'zq'ean fceêt. 23 'n goed fît kalbh. 24 den di' ja mën zeeën bheer dood, un is fur'n bhoote'n. 25 AÀ'var de oc'flste zeeën bheer up't land, un as he dikht bi't huus koem hê'erde de dat zirq'en un spîr'q'en. 27 diin broor'. 29 dat ik mit mii'n fôren'n fargnhoce'ght bheec'q'un kun. 31 mën zeeën, duu byst joo a'lîtîd bi miî.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 14 ghûqk gîng. 16 buk bauch, num's niemand. 17 zee sêage. 20 zeegh sah. 29 zzy sêieh, noo'nikh noch nicht.

11 t'bheer mal ins ['once', Dutch eens] een mïnsk, dek har tbrive zeeën. 12 un do vää'dor deo dat. 15 zïn sbhiin to bha'.rar'or. 18 Vää'dor, ik hêf u'nrekkht dään te'erghen díi. 22 briikt up do stee her de besto kleed'dazîi un trekt ym deee an un gheffy fûm fâar'q'ean riq ym zïn vîyer un gheffy fûm shoò ooc'h'bar zin fceêt. 23 'n fêt kalbh. 24 den di'jön zeeën bheer doot, un hee is bheer fun'dun. 25 do oc'sse zeeën bheer up dan a'k'er, un as he koem un dikht bi't-n hëus bheer doo fagnoo'q'ee hee lystikkh ['merryly'] zirgan un la'r'mon ['making a noise'] van de zo'le'sup ['from the company', German gesellsehaft]. 27 diin broor'or. 29 dat ik mi'i mi'm gooo'da frîq nylystikkh bheec'q'un kun. 31 mi'n sêeen, duu byst y'mar bi miî. [Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 't'- dûyr'da ës dawerte, de blu'dra bhël dîe wîte weît, 14 fuq fîng. 15 huq king. 26 fröogh frug. 27 zee sêage.

11 en minsh hör tbrive zeeën. 12 un hee deel'da er dat ghoo'd. 15 do sbhiin to hoo'd'a'n. 18 Vää'dor, ik hêf zu'nuf'gîrt for dîi. 22 hâalld dat be'sto kleed her un toe't om-an, un stëkt 'm 'n frîq'an un shoò oc'ee'zq'ee zin fceêt. 23 'n mest kalbh. 24 den di'ssa mi'n zoom bheer doot, un is bhe'er fun'n bhu'en. 25 AÀ'var de oc'lsste zeeën bheer up't feld, un as
31. Wangeroog, or in North Friesian Wangerooge, island (53° 47', 7° 22'). I. 171.

11 der is himmoo' en shee' [‘charl,’ used for married man] bhi'zin, dan häd' bhéin fent'ar [‘unmarried men’]. 12 daa fardéi'd dan oo'l mon si'n zil [‘money,’ geld] un ghood fono'o'r [Dutch van eliander, from each other, apart] un'or da béd'uh, un vo’t oon dan gúst sin dëi', saa fel as him too kâm. 15 un da bhi'zin too waar'riin. 18 bá'! [‘father,’ (maum) ‘mother’] ik néb svá'nhkt zë'n dii. 22 há'liu't jum mii ins [‘once’] kî'tíi'gh [‘quickly’] da best kloö'dar noo’d [‘litter’] un tjoo't him da oon; rëk-kat him uk en riq oon si'n nãam un nii skoo'r [‘new shoes’] oon si'n foot. 23 en mas'tad koolv. 24 un'de't din fest fon mii sa ghood as döö'd bheer, un nüu bhe-bi him bhi'lii'fur dan. 25 un'ast-skoon bheer dan mon si'n alst fent up't felt bhi'sii'n, to a-rbë'dan, man daa si'n áir'ys [‘in the evening’] nau nüus ghiqu un thikht bii ki'niin bheer daa neerd mii dä'tt scho'gn un dä'tt du'n-san. 27 dii broor'. 29 dä't ik un mii' frun yus ain'nool frau ku'run'n. 31 mii lii'ñaf beeg'en, duu best ja a'lii'tid bi mii.

[th is both (th) and (dh); (dh) is assigned in (béd', kwi'dhlin, liidh, up sti'dhi, sin lee'dhígh), in German beide, sprechen, leider, zur stelle, sein leitung; in (thikht, thio'o'mston) German dëicht, 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 conjectures for sj, tj, dj. Winkler in his notes writes in v. 11, sjeel schehet, but an East Friesian lady would not hear of (sh, tsh) for her sj, tj, which are nearly (sj, tsj), see notes on specimen 87°; the plural in u is remarkable, as (nuusu, sky'y-pu) German häuser, schiffer. The whole dialect is remarkable.]

11 'n minsk har tbhee zeens. 12 un he dee-l'd her-t'ghood. 15 de sbhii in to bha-r'dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zy-n'gndt foor dì. 22 briq't t' best klee her un doot hym-t' an, un gheefit hym 'n fi-qarrig an ziin hand un shoo an ziin foorêt. 23 'n mes't t' kalf. 24 den dis miin zeen bhee dood, un is bhee fur'n'd bhur-du.'n. 25 man do olst zeen bhee up-t' land, un as he naa bii-t' huus kweem her he dat ghezi'q "['singing']" un-d rii-ghdants ['country dance']. 27 diin breer. 29 dat 'k mit miin fry'n'd n'lystigh bhee. 31 miin zoen, duu bist a'ltiid bi mii.


11 en minsk har tbhee zeecens. 13 un do vaa'dar deeld hæe'r dat ghoud. 15 to sbhi in hae'a'ton. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zy-n'ghed veer dii. 22 briq't dat best styk klee'er neer un dou-t' hym-t' an, un gheefit hym 'n fi-qarrig an ziin hand un shoo an ziin footan. 23 'n mesd ['mes?'] kalf. 24 den dis miin zeecen bhee dood, un is bhee'er fu'n.'n. 25 man do o'lsa zeecen bhee up-t' feld, un as he dikht biit' huus kheeem, hæe'er he dat zii'q'un un spriq'n. 27 diin breer. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'n lystigh bhee. 31 miin zæcen, duu bist a'ltiid bi mii.


11 en minsk har tbhee zeecens. 13 un he vardeec'ta dat ghoud un'der her. 15 de sbhii in to hæe'er-dan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zy-n'gndt foor dii. 22 haalt dat be'st' klee her un trekt nun dat an, un gheefit hyn 'n fi-qarrig an ziin hand un shoo on ziin footan. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 den dis miin zæcen bhas dood, un is bhee'er fu'n.'n. 25 aa'dar da o'lsa zæcen bhas up-t' feld, un as he dikht bi huus keem, hæe'er he dat ziiq'un un danaan. 27 diin breer. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'n lystigh bheezen kun. 31 miin zæcen, duu bist a'ltiid bi mii.


11 en minsk hæa' thba'i zeens. 13 un hæa' deel hæa' da dat ghoud. 15 do sbhi'nan to hæe'er-dan. 18 vaa'da, ik heb zyn daan vo dii. 22 briq't dat moist ['most beautiful', Dutch mooiste] klee hæa un doot rum't an un gheefit ruum 'n riq um ziin fi'qa un shoo'en um ziin foortan. 23 'n fet kalf. 24 din di'sa miin zæn bhas dood, un hæa' is bheea'fu'n'an. 25 aa'bh'rst deef olst zyn bhas up-t' feld, un as hæa' nau biit' huus kheeem, hæa' hæa' dat zi'qun an spriq'an. 27 dii bre'a. 29 dat ik mit miin fry'n'on mu'nta bheea. 31 miin zoen, duu bist a'ltiid bi mii.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zai sagte, paat part, theil. 15 hæa' varhyy'a zyk er venni'shete sich. 17 ik vagan' ich ver-gehe. 20 hæa' mook zyk up er marble 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 Groningenish than East Friesian.]

11 'n see'kar min'ska har twêe zæecens. 12 en hæa' deel la hæe'er-ghout. 15 de swii'nan to waa'tan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zy'n'dight teeg'han dii. 22 briq't t' be'st' klei'd neer on trekt num-t' an on gheefit nom 'n riq an ziin hand un skhûun an da fûun. 23 't mes'ta kalf. 24 want miin zæen was dood, on is hæa' weer fûaan. 25 en ziin o'lsa zæcen was op-t' feld, on as hæa' kbaam, on-t' huus naa'dardsa, hæe'er do hæa'-ti' ziiq'an on danaan. 27 ûou bre'er. 29 dat ik mii met miin friu'ndan varmaak'ken koon. 31 kind, duu bist a'ltiid bi mii.

["The letter o in the words on, jongste, honger, horn, etc., is very ob-secure, almost exactly like High German u 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 Winker 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 (kbaam), not (kwam, kwam). See notes to speci-men 87*.]


[A lady, who is a native of Emden, 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 bas ans ’n mink, de har [the (r) effective, but almost (r)] tbhee zoeeons. 12 un do vaa’r dee’lde do boudal [distinctly, not merely ‘nearly’ as Winkler says] u nar do bai’dan [distinctly (âî), (not (êî)]. 15 tu sbhíra’ ba ha a ran. 18 vaa’r, ik bin ’n free’si’k ghru’ü’ta zu ndar teerghon dii. 22 zee zu’lun up-o stee-t best pak klee’r brequn un zo zu’lun zií zooon dat a’tre’-kon, un hum óuk ’n gol’ta’n riq an. 23 un tend steekan un zu’lun rúm shío’u an zii̇ fó’ton döun. 23 ’n set kalf. 24 umdat zii nuu tu do doo’dan al kórt har, un baa tu’ndan ko man. 25 man do o’lste zooon bhaas up-t feld bhest. as he nuu dikht bi muus kbbham, doo vanna’-m alo f a’mo’nd-zii qian un spee’-lan un dãson. 27 jiiñ breece. 29 dat ik mit mii’na klârtan mií dar bhaat bií varma’-kau kun. 31 miín juq, duu bast jaa’ali’dián bi mií.

38. Leer, town (53 n 13, 7 e 27). I. 212. [My Emden authoriy said the writer of this was a personally known to her, and the version good.] 11 dor bas ins ’n man de d’j har tbhee’j zoeeons. 12 un de o’la’ de e’j l’dla dat ghshiuond [(ziou) one tetraphthong, in rapid speaking sounds as (jou)] un’dâ ho eeer. 15 da sbhí’na to hó’i’dan. 18 vaa’dar, ik heb mi an dii vari’ndiffñt. 22 breqot de basta’klee’-jr neer un trekt zo ruum an, un steekt num ’n riq’ó up do fi’qer un trekt ruum shhieú un de fi’ó’tan. 23 jiiñ uke’r-baal. 24 den kikt, di se miín zooon bhaas dood, un hee’j is bhee furan. 25 doo baa to a’lste zoona in-t feld doo døo kom un naa an -t ruus bhaas, hhee’ords hee do vioo’-l’ (’violin’) un-t dunaun. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miíña frew’ude do plesear ’n maal’ti’d kon ho laun. 31 miín zoën, duu bast a’ltilid bi mií.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 vrea’am freamm, vodex verchta, deé’ar durch. 14 ver-te’ar verzehret. 15 kocér [Eng. unter]. 18 un ewod. 19 ik byn ich bin. 20 ghu kan ging, medliidigh miteileig, em to ma’ta [Eng. him to meet]. [’(zé-ne) is pronounced nearly as Dutch zanne," variably with (o, o, ah), see (1292, a). "(z’) in (vermxy’ghan) is between Dutch vermugen and vermeigen."

40. Vreden, town (52 n 3, 6 e 49). I. 221. 11 daar bas es ’n man, deee’ har tbhee zoëna. 12 un he vordeedlde un’dâ ho eæk-t verme’yghan. 15 de vartuken to hee’-on. 18 vaa’dar, ik hee’ba zynda daan teegh ën. 22 haal’t ’t basta’kleed un trekt ’t om an, steekt ’n riq an ziíño hand un trekt em shoo an ziíña foe’eota. 23 ’t meestkal. 24 den dy se zoona bhaas dood, un hee is bhee furan. 25 doo baa to o’lste zoona in -t feld doo døo kom un naa an -t ruus bhaas, hhee’ords hee do vioo’-l’ (’violin’) un-t dunaun. 27 diin broor. 29 dat ik mit miíña frew’ude do plesear ’n maal’ti’d kon ho laun. 31 miín zoëna, duu bast a’ltilid bi mií.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 13 vrea’am freamm, vodex verchta, deé’ar durch. 14 ver-te’ar verzehret. 15 kocér [Eng. unter]. 18 un ewod. 19 ik byn ich bin. 20 ghu kan ging, medliidigh miteileig, em to ma’ta [Eng. him to meet]. [’(zé-ne) is pronounced nearly as Dutch zanne," variably with (o, o, ah), see (1292, a). "(z’) in (vermxy’ghan) is between Dutch vermugen and vermeigen."

41. Müntzer, town (51 n 57, 7 e 57). I. 224. 11 et bas dormaa-l en man, de ká’den tbhee zoën. 12 un he ver-deedlde ziín varmygyghen unnder de bërdan. 15 da sbhi’na to hó’i’dan.
45. Gelderen, in English Guelders, town (51 n 31, 6 e 19). I. 244.
11 ee'ne vaad'or had thihee zoeen. 12 gheft miik min kind'sdeel ['give me my child's share'] en de vaad'or dei dat. 16 oem de ve'rkos te mii-yoon. 21 vaad'or, ek neb gezondigheid teeg'han af. 22 zo so lon zii'nan zoon nei kleer ghee'even, oem ee'naan riqk an de fri'qars stee'k en oem nei shuun an'tre'k. 23 een vet kalf. 24 bhant gheil met bhe'te ['for you must know'] deer'e miir'ne zon bhor ver mikh vorloo'ra, mar hen net zikh beke'rt ['he has reformed, converted, himself'] an en sau bher min kind. bhoi zii nau ta zaa maen bhooren, 25 khbom den e'er'sta zon van't veld terse'gh an ma'e'rd dat zi'qon en da'anse. 27 din bryyr. 29 dat ek mikh met min vrii'ndaan lysthig maar'ka kos. 31 min kind, duu blyfet oem' mar bai mikh.

46. Meurs, in German Mores, county, and town (51 n 27, 6 e 37). I. 247.
11 ee'ne man had thihee zoeen. 12 on deec'lda oen net ghud. 15 oem de pooc'kon te mii-yoon. 18 faa'dor, ik neb zoe'n gha'daan for dikh. 22 briqdat dees'ta kleed niiir on trekk'et oem aan, on gheeef'd oem ee'na fiqorriq aan zin hand, on shuun aan zin fytt. 23 an ghamaa'st kalf. 24 den deec'za miir'na zoon bhor dood, on es bliir ghee'oondan. 26 maar de e'er'sta zoon bhor op st feld, on es ne kort

47. Dusseldorf, in German Düsseldorf, town (51 n 13, 6 e 46). I. 250.
11 no man nad tsh'sheii [[High German form]] joo'gas. 12 doo de'lda oen dar va'tar de erfshaft ['inheritance']. 15 do verkaos tso hooe'da. 18 va'tor, ek han geze'ndighe ghee'ghan deek. 22 breqt op dar stel oes'ta kleed, on trekt op oem an, on dod'm an reeqk on da raqk ['hand'] on shoon an da feeces. 23 dat fe'ta kalf. 24 den hee miir'na jooq bhor dood, on es bhi'dar ghaso'q bhoode'. 25 zi'na e'er'sta jooq bhor e'beer op dom feld; as hee noo ['now'] no hooz koom, hoee'dan speel on dants. 27 dii broo'dar. 29 dat ek met min frie'nda e es' ha'lda kunnt. 31 zykh ['see'] jooq, duu bes i'mar bii mekh.

11 na va'tar hat thihe zen. 12 un hee de'rt'eaan dat vorn'mo'qgha uqar zee. 15 da veerkaas tso hooe'da. 18 va'tar! ik han mikh varz'ndighe ghee'ghan deer. 22 fiek ['quick'] breagt im dar bees'ta rook eruus, trekt en im aan, doot ee'na riq aan ziq hand un shoon aan ziq feeces. 23 dat ma'skalb. 24 dan drs', miqz qone, bhor duut, un noo es nee bhi'dar fuqo'q bhoode'. 25 et bhor e'beer tiqon ['his'] e'er'sta zon om feld, als dix nuu'maam ghig un ob et ruus aarn'koom hoot hee miizum'ik en dat da'nste. 27 dii broo'dar. 29 dat ikh met miq'a ['my'] fryntend ens a fest'straqkh'aan [diminutive from French festiv] ha'lda kuntu. 31 zykh ['see'] jooq, duu bes i'mar bii meer.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zeeet sags tsoo kyt zukoommt. 13 bhys weias ['manner']. 16 bhoor bauer. 16 kein zikh ghoo fo zo im kine seele gab sje nhm. 19 bheet werth. 20 feen fern. 27 kree'ghan krieren.
ikh nam mikh vary-ndigh ghosh-ghe dikh. 22 ghashbihnnd ['quickly'], breqqt em -t bresta kleed aru'u's, doot et am aan, on stekht ee-na riqk aan ziq hand on shoon aan ziq feoas. 23 't ghoemesta kalb. 24 den dir sa miqa zon bhoor duut, on es bresta ghafu'ga bho'oo. 25 ot bhoor e-var ziqo elst zon on den feld. altes duu koom on den huus noo bhoor, hytt-2 de muuzii-k on dan danz. 27 dir-qa broonder. 29 dat ikh met miqa freend ee-na fre'y-damool-tsik [German freu-demaalzeit, 'joy-meal-time', jollification] ghaha-'la het. 31 miqa leewe zon, duu bes imar bii miir.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 12 zext sage. 14 huq-sharhnuut hungernoot. 17 brund broot. 26 reef rief, kne-khdo knechte. 29 ghaghovo gegeben.

50. Aken, in German Aachen, in French and English Aix-la-Chapelle, town (50 n 46, 6 e 8). I. 261. 11 c'qa man nau tsbehi rosqghera. 12 ghef mikh miqa a'mdeel, dar awo ['old man'] doqgh dat. 15 da ve'rkas ho'ya. 18 vaar'dor, ik han bveqlikh [German bengel-lich, 'like a rascal'] ghosq-ndigth an der niimai. 22 breqqt henm do berti-sta montuur, en trektd dei hem aan; gheft hemm no req a'qon ['on the'] haqk ['hand'] 'n shoq ['shoes'] a'qa puu-too ['feet', either an interchange of f and p, or related to Dutch pooten, paws]; in Zeeland (puu-tan puu-traas) are hands, and in Leeuwarden, in children's language, both hands and feet are called (puu-tan, puu-takes) or (paartan, paartakes); compare the English nursery term, 'little patches'. 23 en het kauf. — [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.


11 daa bhaas ins na maan, dee hat tbhii zoecen. 12 en duu verdii'den er za ghoot om'dar z'n tbhii zoecen. 15 em de ve'rkas to heoce-2. 18 vaar'dor, ikh xoeb teeg'gha oegh ghazoe-ndigh. 22 briqk se'fons ['fast', a Flemish word] ein van da bresta klei'er an doot-st-am aan; ghef-am na riqk aan z'n viqer en doot m shoecen [sjoecen] aan z'n voecet. 23 't vesta kaaf. 24 bhant deez zoon of mikh bhaas duut an nuu is er bheer ghavvondo. 25 den a'bhtsta zoon bhaar op-t feld, an bhiir er taroe-k kaam, an al kort boi z'n huus bhaar, hyt-2rden er daa ziqo aan dan'na. 27 oooor broor. 29 em m'n vroen ins ['once'] ta trakteero ['treat']. 31 hyivr ins hei, joq, dikh bis 'atid bii mikh.

52. Sittard, town (51 n 0, 5 e 52). I. 277.

11 ne minsh heet tbhee zoecen. 12 en hee verrdeel'dan oqar heecen-t ghout. 16 om de ve'rkas te sce-2 ['heerd', (x) lost, (d) changed to w]). 18 vaar'dor, ikh xoeb ghazuun-nigh, teeg'gha oedh. 22 briq nuu rekht tuu zi ghoo ['good', W.] kleer an doogh za-m aan, an ghhef sceem na riqk aan zii-2 enj en shuun aan da voecet. 23 't vit kauf. 24 bhent miina zoon bhaar doot, en za heeban-m bheer ghese-fuutdza. 25 an dan aawtsta zoon dree bhaar in -t feldj, an bhiir er evesh [Dutch heemwaarts, 'homewards'] koom, duu heecen-dan heec-zoan-en-t dan'son. 27 dii brour. 29 om-dat ikh mit miin foeenj ookh ins da gjhek [Dutch gek, German geek, English gavk, here for 'mad fun'], koos afghheerva. 31 kindj, duu bis altiid bii mikh.—[The Limburgers pronounce q = (gh) in Dutch as (gh) or nearly (x), and also palatalise d, n, and change st, st, sn, into (sht, shl, shn). Possibly the (dj) may become (dzh).]

53. Roermond, town (51 n 12, 6 e 0). I. 280.

11 bina zee-karo mins had tbhee zoecen. 12 en ne deel'do hoeer-t ghood. 15 om de ve'rkas to hoce-2. 18 vaar'dor, igh xoeb zoen gha'daan teeg'ghan eogh. 22 briq vaart 't bresta klei'd mii, an doot 't hem aan, en gheft ei-nan riqk aan zin handj en skhoon aan de voecet. 23 't vet kauf. 24 bhant deez'miina zoon bhaas doot, en is taroe-k ghavvondo. 25 an ziiran aildsten zoon bhas in-t veldj,
en bhii dee khaaam en kort bii-t huus khaaam, neeve'r de eee zanke ['song'] en dans. 27 eer broor. 29 det ifg mit miin vroenj eins le-o'th zighe kos. 31 kindj, duu boes a'ltiit bi migh.

54. Venlo, town (51 n 22, 6 e 10). I. 283.
11 eine zoe'kero mins had tbheee zoeen. 12 en eee d'e-'idee eee'-t ghood. 15 oem de verkas te huur'ja. 25 veer. 18 vaat-dor, ik heb zeent ghadaan nee'ghaan ogh. 22 breei bede'ijn [bed for med, 'with one,' 'at once'] -t be'sta klei'd heit, en doot t-em aan, ghieaf e'i-no riik aan zin hand, en ekhoon aan de vaet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant deezo miin zoon bhaas dooo'd, en is taceek ghoo-von'da. 25 on zii-nan a'dl'sta zoon bhas in -t veld, en bhe diie khaaam en kort bej't huus khaaam, hyv'e'rd eee zookj en dans. 29 det ik mit miin vri'nden eins le-o'th zighe kos. 31 kind, diikh bis a'ltiit bej' migh en't miint ['mine'] is't tiint ['thine'].

55. Weert, town (51 n 16, 5 e 43). I. 286.
11 daa bhhaas na mins, dee hai ti tbheee zoeen. 12 en eee skhe'-de-t in de helft. 15 mit de verken. 18 vaat-dor, ikk heb zeent ghadaan vor eek. 22 lauptj en haaljt voert 't skhoeo'nts klei'd en doogh t-em aan, aukh e'i-nee riik aan zin vijer en skhoon aan zin veect. 23 oet kaaft. 24 bhant miin-no zoon', deek ghe-zeetj, bhaas doo'at en bhe he-be'n bheem [Dutch wede'ren, 'again'] ghoo-von'ja. 25 mer ['but'] bhi-d'un aad'e'ts [oa en ao are here said to be between o and a, but ao nearer o, and ao nearer a; I have hence transcribed as (aa, aa) respectively] zoon uut 't velj'd hae-r'vars [Dutch huiswärts, 'housewards,' homewards] khaaam, en z'n huus naa'nder'djen, hee're'djen hee'-t ghokshel [sound] van't viesip'ee en't dan'sa. 27 eer broor. 29 eem ens mit miin vroenj te fi'e'sta. 31 mii'te zoon', undet jee bi milkh ghallow'ee zeetj es al miin ghood vor diikh.

56. Stamproot, village (51 n 12, 5 e 43). I. 290. [This is a specimen of the Kempenland, a large, mostly barren and heathy district in Dutch and Belgian Limburg, which, owing to isolation, has preserved many peculiar words and expressions.]

11 'nee mins na thihi' zeo'en. 12 en heh verdie'-ljen zi ghood o'er eie. 15 om verken to hee'en'en. 18 vaaw'er, [formerly (täaai) ikk heb zeent ghe-da'an teegha eekk. 22 lauptj mer ghoo'n ['quickly'] de be'sta klei'fer haal'en, en dootj zo-a-nem aan: dootj eem e'i-nee riik in zin vijer es shoon aan zin veect. 23 het vet kaaft. 24 bhant de zoon dze ik mendeijn ['minded,' thought] det dootj bhas, es bhrom vonijn. 25 zii-nan a'dl'sta zoon bhaas op-t veldj, bhii dze nii-f'er ['homewards'] khaaam, en doo'nder bi-t huus kwaam, hee're'den-t or det binoon-t speel ghiq ['heard that within play was going on']. 27 eer broor. 29 om ens met miin vriijn ker'miiks [Christmas, feasting] te haer'sen ['hold']. 31 joq, duu best a'ltiit bi mikh.

[Additional illustrations compared with German.] 17 zeet sagt [but 12 sagt (zaged)]. 18 zegghien sagen. 19 miit 'mehr. 20 kompaat [compassion, used also in Belgium and Zooeland, 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 one mens naa thihi' zeens. 12 on tuu hiih zo vaat'dar däi-liq ['dealing,' dividing]. 15 diiie mark'ta n'm veer'koshay'jar. 18 vaav'er, 'k heb's-'t eerie voeghad [German ich habe neben gethan, I have done beside—what is right, i.e. wrong, a euphemism] ti'ghe àn. 22 ghaa gha'n ['go quickly'] in hö's on vat't skhaa'nts vo'ska, det i-t avery ['on-do,' don] on skuun an z'n voort; en häädee-m onon riik an z'nan hand. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mane joq'a hiezer bhaar zooveec'e as daand on nan heb k'm bhoreem [Dutch wederom, again]. 25 on zonan ânt'ta joq'a bhaas op-t veld, as as i töös [(ta 'ös) to the house] khaamm, hee're'dan ii-t zi'gaa en't dausra. 27 ånu bruurjaar. 29 dor ik m'n ka'maar'ta op kos trakteer'ta. 31 mana joq'a, ånu heb ik e'val al za leee vo flur'. en war ik heb is e'val oek t-ån.

58. Sambeek, village in the north-east part of North Brabant, the
Low German and Friesian Dialects

So-called Land of Kuik (51°37', 5°08').

11 dar bhaas-as ['was once', (os)] is the remains of eens 'n mins dii tbhee zooms zaar. 12 en de vaa'dor deili-de z'n ghuund en ghaaf'm ziin porsri. 15 om de vee'erkos te hoo'cjan. 18 vaa'dor, 'k-nab bi-tar ghooze'ndight tsee'goen 6u. 22 haal-s gau ['quickly'] ma zoondaghes ['Sunday's'] spoelen yyt de kis on trek'm dii-s an, en duu'm e'naan riek en ziin rant on skhyyn en de vyyt. 23 't veta' kalf. 24 bhaant deee'za mir'me zoom bhaas doot, en ii is bher ghoo'vand. 25 en de austa zoom bhaas in-t veld, maar tuun i kort boi kwyys kwam, hoo're-do ii't gha'ziq on gheda'an. 27 uu bryurt. 29 om ris ['once', apparently daaren, German darein] vrool'ik met ma vyr'nda te h bee'en. 31 hoeer os ruq, jo'it bint en bl'itf a'tliid bo'i mee.

59. Oorschat, hamlet (51°30', 5°08'). I. 302.

11 'n'ea mins na tbhee zee'cens. 12 an de vaa'kar deili-de mee o'erzo contraction of Dutch amuleten, 'them' af. 16 op de verkes te pa'sa ['attend']. 18 vaa'kar, 'k hent't hoo'cwa ghedaan'm 'k bin eno sle'khts mins. 22 laag mo de besto keel [Dutch kiel, a peculiar frock worn by the Brabanders] en laat i'm an'skie'ts en duv-m 'n riq aan zono hand en skuu'n aan de vuu'ts. 23 't ghoom'sto kalf. 24 bhaant deee'za mene zoom bhaar dood, on ii is ovoor'de. 25 an d'n outo'st zoom bhaar op d'n a'kor, en kwam op kho'is ghooen, an hoere-do oit ['some-what'] af nuu'-tiran snoger'ts ['was jolly']. 27 zo bruur'or. 29 om te varteer'o. 31 joqk, ghee zo'it al'to'd bo'i mee.

60. Rijsbergen, village (51°31', 4°41'). I. 306.

11 na zee'kara meens haar tbhee zee'cennan. 12 an de vaa'dar ghha'i aan a'loobai bhat-or tuuur'kham. 15 daar mos i de vaat'erkas huy'ya. 18 vaa'dar, 'k heb misda'an teeghe' sjo. 22 haal do besto kleer en skhiit ze'm aan, en duut' t'ene riq aan zono vijar en skhuun aan z'n vuut'o. 23 't mes'tkalf. 24 bhaant deee'za zoom bhaar doud, en is bher ghavo'no. 25 den ou'dston zoon bhaar in-t veld, en toen i op de bherf ['wharf,' barn, home stead] kham, hoo'rdon i dat-ar ghiao'spoel'd en gheda'anst bhuir. 27 ro'fizien [Dutch jeelieder or jeluitder for ulieder, your] bryurt. 29 om mee ma kamaara'de deech te maa'ke. 31 joo'qaa, gha'i zo'it a'tlii bo'i mee.

61. Dussen, village (51°44', 4°58'). I. 309.

11 ins bhas-tar is ['once was there once'] na muunskh dii-dar ghuund bo'i kost, en dii na tbhee zee'cens. 12 en de deel'de aan ilk aan paart. 15 om de verrekes te hyy'ya. 18 oo vaa'dar! ik vyyl in man haart da-k groo'ta ynd geda'an heb. 22 ghaa'da gha'isi ['once'] seies ['quickly'] 't be'sta steeck kleer yyt da kaast haa'la en da mous'to'm aanskiit'a, en steekt ene moo'jo ['beautiful'] riq aan zano viiqer: brik dan medee'na ['at once'] 'n paar skhuun mee, da [(a) quite short, "as if the consonant were to follow' ] in ni leger ber'suu'ts muut te gha'an. 23 da ghoo'miin ka'leet. 24 lio-n'k mens joo'qaa, dii-k vyr dood' ziil, bhere leen'vandigh [the Germans accentuate levensdig] boi mir megz unii o dii-k bheer ghoo'vondo hee. 25 s'bho'ilas da a'laes veg'rghav'a la bhas, bhas dan aar'de zoom op't veld. tu'un i onderdena'nd bheer naa'ho'is knhaamp en di-khto bo'i bagoost to ko'me, dokht i; bha-s da nou ver'n a'larom da z'n in noes maa'ka's? 27 z'n joo'qaa bryurt. 29 daar'k ma kamoraats is ['once'] op traktee'ra kos. 31 za'idha gha'i dan nii al'to'i bo'i mee?

XIX. Gelderland. I. 317.

62. Betuwe district, between Arnhem, town (51°68', 5°58) and Nijmegen, town (51°51', 5°52). I. 318. [This may be taken as the type of the Frankish dialects in Gelderland].

11 'n zee'kara mins had tbhee zee'cens. 12 en ni deel'de noorerly'i-ghuch. 15 om de verkes te huy'yan. 18 'k bin 'n zoondaar vee'or 6u, vaa'dar. 22 breqt 't kastantygygh ['the chest-dress,' stored clothes] vort'bobbeghi hiir, on trekt 't koem aan en steek'-om'-on riq aan de viiqar, en duut'-on skhuun aan de vyyt. 23 't veta' kalf. 24 bhaht deee'za, miin zoom, bhas dood, e ii is bheeeg'havo'nden. 25 on zin ou'dsto'zoom bhas in-t veld, en tu'un i naar hwygh huuq, an dikht boi de no'fsteek khiimim, tuun hoecro'oi te ghoo'liq on gheda'an. 27 uu bryurt. 29 da-k ook is ['once'] met miin kamaraad'klos vrool'ik zin. 31 kind, gha'i bint a'tliid bo'i me.
63. Tielerwaard, district
(51 n 53, 5 e 27). I. 322.
11 'n mins ha tbhee zoons. 12 en i deer'-lda haeli'i -t guhd. 15 om de vorkes te hyy'ja. 18 Vaa'dar! 'k hev kbhaad ['sin'] ghodaan teeghan oon. 22 breqdo gheeli'i -t be'sto kleer'd en trekt-at-am aan, en gheef-om -aman riq aan de ha'and, en skhuun aan do tekt-t. 23 't veta kalf. 24 bhant deoes m'n zoon bhas dood, a ii is ghavon-d. 25 en z'n ou'dsta zoon bhas in-t veld, en tuu ii-t ma's kbham, hec'e-don ii-t z'iqan on-t myyziirk. 27 uu bryy-vor. 29 da-k mee m'n vrin-d kon vroo-lok bhees. 31 ko'ind! ghii za'it a'tio'd be'i ma'.

64. Uddel, village (52 n 16, 5 e 46). I. 326.
11 'n mins aaar'ghans had tbhee joo'qans. 12 en ii doq-t ['did it']. 15 om de kuus-en te hyy'ja. 18 Vaa'jar, ik heb-t nii zoo best smaa'kt met juu. 22 kriigh-t be'sta ghara? ['or (gharret], clothing, in Friesland geres ['horse-cloth'] y'yt de ka-sta, en trekt-at-am on, en steekt-on riq-an z'n viqer en laat ni skhuunen aan dun. 23 't vette sa de kyy'soos [or (kyy'hoes), 'calf', occurs in other Gelder dialects, but Winkler does not know its origin.] dit bhe be'teron ['water', that is, fatten, eat and drink]. 24 bhant dr'eso min zoono bhas yyt do tiid, en is bheer sko'man. 25 tuu de oolda roj bi hyy's kbham, hec'e-roo nii -n ghazqii en ghahbhir as van-on m'ee-ca viziit. 27 un breecer. 29 dat ik-s met-t 'roqa volk skhiik ['jollification' same as Dutch gek?] sol w'a-ban. 31 joo'qan, ji bheer'a a'lotiit bi mi.'

11 'n man dii tbhee joo'qes had. 12 en z'n Vaa'dar dii deeb hath ii-m vreeegeh an ghaf 'm z'n part. 15 om op de keecon te pas'am. 18 Vaa'jar, 'k hee nii ghuhd adaan teeghan juu. 22 breq zoo ghoh a jo kynf ['as fast as ye can'] do be'sta kleer niir on trekt 'm dii an, on duut-am-on riq an z'n viqer on trekt 'm ook shuunan [or (siqunnan)] an. 23 't fii'rsto veta kalf. 24 bhant deexa roj van meee bhas dood, en nnu hee bhee-m bheer taar-e gevordan. 25 de ou'sta roj, dii bhas op-t land, en tuu dii bheer op hyy's an gheq, en kort bi hyy's kbham, tuu hee-roo ii ze ziqon an dan'sen. 27 z'n breecer. 29 da-k ook ees met de aar roo'qes pleiziirt kast maar'kon. 31 me joq, ji b'nan a'litit bi m'n.

66. Scherpenzeel, village (52 n 4, 6 e 30). I. 333.
11 dor bhas as 'n man dii tbhee zuuns had. 12 en daa ghaf z'n vaa'dar-oon. 15 om de vorkes te hooe'en. 18 Vaa'dar, 'k het z'en adaan en juu heer-k sleekt boaam'del. 22 ghaf daa-dalik ['quickly'] do be'sta kleer haal-on en trekt-at-oon dii an, on duu-n riq an z'n haand en ghooef-am shuun [or (siqun)] an z'n vuruta. 23 't o'me'sto kalf. 24 bhant m'n zuun bhas dood, en ii is bheeroom avond. 25 en z'n ou'sta zuun bhas op-t laaand, en tuu dii dikht bi' hyy's kbham, noor'den ii za ziqon en dan'son. 27 zo breecer. 29 om-s vroo'lik te bhees-oon mit m'n kammera'ads. 31 kiind! ji bint a'ttoos b'ee mei.

67. Dinxperlo, village (51 n 52, 6 e 30). I. 337.
11 i'mes had tbhee zoons. 12 en de vaa'dar deiri'de oooer-t ghod. 15 oem de var'kes te hyy'den. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb oooer'nijdgh teeghen oon. 22 maait 't be'sta kleed en trekt-at-oan, en, on dood-am-en a rik an da hand, en skhuu'se an de yyy'-ta. 23 't vette kalf. 24 bhant d'res-o min zoem bhas dood, en is avoonan. 25 en ziin ooldo'st roo'qas bhas op-t land, a too a kort bi's [like a short Dutch I followed by j, possibly (hiizh), which is on the way to (bii' boii')] 't hyy's kbham, hec'e-roo niit-t z'iqan on-t dan'son. 27 ou bryy'r. 29 oem met mi'n vorroo vreec'lik te bhees-oon. 31 kind! ii b'ent a'litid bi'm.'

68. Varseveld, village (51 n 57, 6 e 28). I. 340.
11 iimes haad'a tbhee zons [a brighter (that is, open) sound than o in French sonnet]. 12 en hii deir'idan oooer-t ghud. 15 oem de var'kens te hyy'-den. 18 vaa'dar! ik heb oooer'nijdgh teeghen oon. 22 kriigh do be'sta kleere-t niir on duut zo'm aan, stek-an rik an zii-nan hand en skhuu'se an de yyy'-ta. 23 't mees'to kalf. 24 bhant di'son miir'oon zo'o bhas dood, a hei is bheer avoonan. 25 en zii-nan oold'an zona bhas op-t land, en as ee kort bi' hyy's kbham, hec'e-don ee-t z'iqon en-t dan'son. 27 ou bry'r. 29 oem miis met miir'one kamaraad'a vreec'lik te maar'kon. 31 kind, ji b'ent a'litid bi'm.
69. Winterswijk, small town
(51 ° 58', 6° 43'). I. 342.

11 daar bhas ens-ona man, dii tbhii zëns hâ-da. 12 hâ'i ghîqîq ñâLLøn-ø-mo tot da dii-fâqâ ÀLÀVY. 15 ëm de vûrûsks ta nhyy-øn. 18 vaa'dar, ik nêb-hi boçi bâzøn-dîghdîgh teêqg-høn òo [(òu) is said to be obscure, that is, close]. 22 haalit-on ñâ'i pak klet-ir, on tRE-rëkt 'm dat an; duut-øm-øn go-lødøn riqj an dan ëiq-ør an skhuuñ an de vy'ta. 23 't ma-sta kalf. 24 emn-dar't 'k ni'-øn zë-nø bheer skrøw-øg-høn he-bo. 25 dañ'ol'døn-zø-n'k bham tøwq-gøn don âv-ønd van-t land, on høeq-ønda, duu ë nóqg bhiið van huus bhas, al dat ghaq-âqk on gheøpp-y'øl. 27 ziin brocer. 29 ëm miin vRøn'de ta trakt-rereon. 31 miin kind, duu bësøtø tokh a'lltiid bi'ø mi'.

70. Zutphen, town (52 n 8, 6° 12'). I. 346.

11 e'mand had tbhii zëoons. 12 on nö dei-lødøn-ø-t ghuud. 15 ëm de vûrûsks ta høeq-øn. 18 vaa'dar, ik nêb gheøn-dîghdîgh teêqg høn. 22 broqt mir vorari 't be'sta kled dan doot-støn-an, on gheøt-støn-an en rd in an niin mand on skhoøn'øn an de vûn'en. 23 't gham-østa kalf. 24 bhant dieren miin zoeen bhas dood, an is gheøvøndan. 25 an zii òldøstøn zoeen bhas in-t veld, an too ëe bham on-t nhys naa'-ndødan, høeq-øndøn ee-t ghaq'aq on-t ghuødøn. 27 un brocer. 29 dat ik met miin vrøn'de lik mokh bhaaw-øn. 31 kind, i bint a'lltiid bii miin.

XX. Utrecht. I. 349.

71. Soest, village (52 n 10, 5° 18'). I. 350.

11 'n zeekar mins nad tbhii ziu'na. 12 an ni dei-lødøn nëm't ghuud. 15 om da vûrûsks ta bhët-øn. 18 vaa'dar, ik nêb zoøn-dîghdîgh teêqg-gøn jûn. 22 briqt de bësta klet-ir nìr on duu høem dii anan, on gheøt 'n riq an z'n hand on skhuu'n-an de bët-øn. 23 't gham-oes-østa half. 24 bhant dee-eze miq zoon bhas dood, on i is a'voqon. 25 z'n ëorse zoon bhas in-t veld, an tuu dii bham an dikheh bë'-t ruus bham, hoordø nii 't gheøq-søn-an ghaq'aq's [(nois'es]]. 27 juu brocer. 29 dat ik mit miq vrøn'døn skik kon bë'n'an. 31 kiqd! 'i bint a'lltiid 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 xvi-th and xvii-th 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, 5° 7'). I. 353. ["Older dialect, formerly common in Utrecht, and still spoken by older small-tradesmen or workmen."

11 dor bhas is 'n ma'n en dîi ad tbhii zoeens [(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'idë ze de buul [(household stuff, all property). 15 om de ve'rakes ta høeq-øn. 18 vaa'ø, ik nêb gheøn-dîghg teêqg-gøn jûn. 22 briqt de bësta klet'-ir, in trek zë-m an, in ghif-støn-an riq an z'n hâ'dn in skhuun' an z'n bët-øn. 24 bhant ma zoeen bhas dâa'd, in iis is bheer'm gheøv-øn'do. 25 ma'ar z'n òrstø zoeen bhas op-t la'nd, in tuu dîi dikhe bë'-t hoes khba'm tuu haa'ddan ii-t ghaq'aq in da'ns. 27 za bruur. 29 om mi-ma [(for mit ma), that is, (met miö)] kà ma'í-søn's pret [...] ta ma'ka. 31 ro'q'sø, joi bint a'lltiid bi'm. 3337. 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.]

dor bhas ces ['once'] 'n man, dîi had tbhëe zyyns. dø jœq'søtø zee ['said'] : vaa'dar, ghee me m'n œr'ø'øns [(inheritance, Dutch erfenis)], daa ghàa'i ik dø bha'ì'ø ["wide"] bheer-aal in. z'n vaa'dar deec-t ['did it']; in ['and'] 'n hÔr'tsi ['short-time'] dør an snøz'est 'kojhi y't ["the young one cut out", went off]. ma'ar ['but'] al hëe'l ghôû ["all whole quickly"] bhaas al z'n lii-vø gehelet'si ['money'] naà dø ma'an ['after the mouth, swallowed up']. daa ghàaro'stø porsï ['portion'] na'da dø môtö me'sis ["the pretty misses, girls"] m'n aghøavo'ka ['stolen from him'], bhant dor ghqo dîi rëdíyy'r ['constantly'] naa tuu. nóu dëe dîi z'n bes ['his best'] om 'r'bhrs ['somewhere'] an-t bherk ta'ko'na, maa'ar i kon 'r'bhrs tere'khi ['to-right'], he could succeed
nowhere] omda't i dar zoo rot'tigh yy'-tzagh ['because he looked so nasty']. Ho'lii liip lans da hyy'za ['he ran along the houses'] to skhoo'rra om 'n snee'-tsi braad ['to beg for a slice of bread']. Op't la-qa les ['at last'] khbham dii be'ti i'mand, dii -m nAA-r land lii kha'an ['let go'] om do ver'kres te hyy'-ra, da fond i 'n orch [Dutch erty, 'terrible'] lee' ['bad'] bherk in i doku ['thought'] in z'n å'ghes: hhaa bin ik tuu gheko'ma? ike zue ma'ar bheer nAA m'n yaa'dar tuu kha'an, in vtaa'gho oft i m'n as knekk bhiil ghobry'-ka, bhan't nu' léi-k tokh e'rommúi.

zo'o gheze'e'd, zoo gheda'aan; ma'ar tuu z'n yaa'dar-m an zaggh ko'ma, liip't i å'ghes nAA-m tuu in hyy'lda van blo'skap. Ho'i had net ['exactly'] 'n ka'la'fet gheme's, in daa mos voort ghesla'kh bho'to in dii bhir 'n khoort fees ['a great feast'] gheeirt' ['celebrated', 'German, gefeiert']. Zue da o'uresta zyy'n na hyy's khamam, dokht i: bhat zóu dar tokh tuu deem bheva da zo zoo 'n pret heeb, in i vtaa'gheda't-an 'n kne'khi, on dii verte'ld'a-m t' hee'la ghav'si, tuu bhird in erhk boos ['angry'], bhan't ihas 'n re'khto lee'jas ['bad one'] z'n yaa'dar ghoq nAA-m tuu, in zee: zo'khi, kom nóu tokh bi'na, bhan't je bruur, bhii bhehk khabbi'e's is ['who has been away'], is bheer torc'kh kho'ko'mo! maar i bhóu nii, in i zee: neem'; ik eb å'li'i khuud ['good,' well'] op'ghepa's ['given heed'], in zee heb nogh nöokit 'n gëi'tsi ['little goat'] voor mee ghesla'kh, maar voor koom, dii al z'n lee'ya ni khodee'kh néit, in dii zo gheld ni: de suurron ghébre-kh néit, voor zoo'n rot'tagh maak i zoo 'n star'tisi ['for such a nasty fellow you make such state'].

XXI. OVEBIJSSEL.

40. Oldenzaal, city (52 n 19, 6 e 56). I. 362.

11 eene na'da bhee zoenas. 12 en na' deel'da koer 't ghoud. 15 em de zbhii'mo te nuo'erd. 18 vaer'dar, ik eb azem'dight teeg'dhan ou. 22 bre'got voort 't ki'sentitygh en teek't-ot-am an, on dout-em-onon riqk an da hand en skho aan de vero't's. 23 't gham'sta kalf. 24 bhan't do'son miin'n zoö'n bhas dood, on hee is bheer ouv'ndan. 25 on zii'nan o'lsot zoö'n bhas in-t veld, on doo 'n bheit 't huus khamam, no'r'd-o-t zii'qon en dam'son. 27 en broe'er. 29 em met miir'a vre'nd bhi'il te ne'bon. 31 kind, dòu bis a'loos bit miis.

75. Deventer, town (52 n 15, 6 e 9). I. 374.

14 zee'ker ii'mand nad tbehe zoenas. 15 on hee'def'da-t. 10 em da ver'kres op to pa'san. 18 va' rer'dar, ik eb azem'ndighde veeer nu, 22 breq da'de'lik ['workfully, immediately'] -t beste kleed wiir en doo 'm dat an, on duoo-em-on riqk an da hand en skhoo'nan en do voo'tan. 23 't gheme'sta kalf. 24 bhan't deeezee zog bhas dood, en is a'vo'dan. 25 en zii o'idsta zoö'n bhas in-t veld, on tuun de khamam en -t hyy's naa'dar'dan,heer'erdan-ee-t ghëzaq'en q't gha'daan. 27 uu broe'er. 29 em miin met miin vi'rndan -s ['once'] veeq'lik te maar'kan. 31 kind, i bint a'liiid bit miit.


11 dar bhas-as an ['was once a'] man dit bhhii zoons a[d] ('a') is the short'est possible long a, not the short a of Dutch 'ladder', but nearly so'). 12 en do va'er'dar deela zii ghuud in thbi'am. 15 om op do ver'kres ta pa'san. 18 va'er'dar, k-eb't eel, eel sleekht maerk't. 22 alt ['fetch'] 't besto kleed op en duut-at-om an, steekt-on riqk en zii viqu'rr aan teekt-on skuun'ann. 23 't vet-ko'val. 24 bhan't miin zoö'n bhas dood, en is a'vo'ndan. 25 de ho'idsta [(n) prefixed, but (u) omitted in (ad, eel, yys)] zoë'n bhas naa bytan, ein tuu 'n bheer dikht beit-y yys khamam, aadrr'een ee-t zii'qon en da'mson. 27 uu broe'er. 29 em's-an fee'sir na o'ldan met miin vi'rendan. 31 kind, i bint a'liiid bit miis.

77. Zoertsluis, town (52 n 33, 6 e 12). I. 381.

11 on ver'dar ad bhhii zoons. 12 en miir'da oer't ghout. 15 em de ver'kres te bhér'dan. 18 va'er'dar, ik eb azem'ndight teeg'dhan ou. 22 breq 't besto kleet iir, on duu't 'em an en gheeft om 'n riqk an zii aant ['hand'] on skhuum'on en da vuut'ran. 23 't gheme'sta kalf. 24 bhan't miin'zoo'n bhas doot, en is bheer avoor'nan. 26 on zii o'idsta zoö'n bhas in-t laant en as is drière biit -t yys khamam, ooor'do ko-v-t ghëzaq'en en -t ghora'a'. 27 uur bryyr. 29 da 'k iis mit miin vre'ndon veeq'lik kon bhee'zan. 31 kint, i bin a'liiid bit miis.
XXII. Drente.  I. 387.

78. Meppel, town (52 n 42, 6 e 11).  I. 388.
11 in zee-kar meensa'nde daf'dhey zoeeens. 12 en da'hi ghafl-t oem. 15 en daaar mees he'i op de zbehiinan pasean. 18 veers'ar, ik nebe'ghroot kbaad ofdaa'n. 22 hemel ghou'n zo peerspak ['the Sunday's pack' of clothes] en laat 'm dat entre-kan, en gheef 'm ook 'n rigk an ziin vigar en noa'ke skhoe-nan. 23 't dikaste kalf. 24 bhant ik meende dat miin zoee-naa doud bhas, en-k neb 'm bheer oev'andan. 25 da ol'dste zoee-naa bhas er neet be'i, en doun deel be'i hyys kkhham nee-ndo'ra he'i dat alarm. 27 ziin broecer. 29 oem 's pleziir te maa'kan met miin kamere-aats. 31 miin kiind! i kent al'tiid be'i ma' bhiiv'en.

79. Zveeol, village (52 n 48, 6 e 44).  I. 391.
11 daa er bhas iis 'n meeesen an deii ha-do' tbeh'i zoeeens. 12 en de vaad'or ghaaf noem ziin part van -t ghuu'd. 15 om zo in zbhii-inan te huy-on. 18 'k nebe zeen-dighe veder de'i. 22 krii-gho ma' net na'digh 't be'sta ghuu'd iis uut 't kaarnet ['cabinet'], en trek 't heem an, en gheef om-an rigk an ziin vigar an skhau'n an de vuur'tan. 23 't ve-te kalf. 24 bhant miin zoeeen bhas doud, an is bheer-voe-nan. 25 en ziin ol'dste zoeeen bhas krek ['direct, correctly, exactly'] in-t veld, an duu niit.dickht be'i nuus kkhham, duu khae-v'de xit dat za zoee'an an daa-ranen. 27 doun zius. 29 da -k oder met miin kla'ntan iis pleziir van koen maa'kan. 31 doun zuis jaa al'tiid be'i ma'.

XXIII. Groningen.  I. 396.

80. Selliingen, village (52 n 57, 7 e 10).  I. 400.
11 daa er bhas iis 'n man an deii ha's daf'dhey zoeeens. 12 en de vaad'or ghaaf noem -t ghout toul. 15 bhaar he op de zbhii-in panen skol. 18 'k kan-t naik voo'er juu veran'thoordan. 22 ghaat henen haal't 't aarbe'sta klaid, an doo hom dat an; doo nom ook-an rig a da' vigar en stee'vals ['boots'] an da voo'ta ['with these 'boots on the feet' compare the 'shoes on the legs', frequent hereafter, see spec. 101]. 23 't aar'dikste kalf. 24 'k do'khto nikh anders as dat he doo doud bhas, an syu-ni leeft tokh nogh ma'j is fot bheest an is tar nou bheer. 25 en de ol'dste zoeeen

bhas op-t land, an doun do'i bi huus kkhham, hoee'ordo heii daar zi-qan en dan-son. 27 juun broer ['compare (rov'igh) called (rov'igh) asked]. 29 dat 'k bhat pleiziir maa'kan kon. 31 miin joq! doun bist jaa al'tiid bhi mii.

81. Oldamb, district, containing Winschoten, town (53 n 8, 6 e 57).  I. 404.
11 er bhas is 'n vaad'or deii tbeh'i zoeeens na. 12 en a'i mook dat elk bii zien part kkhham. 15 om op zien zbhiinan te pasean. 18 'k nebe zoen-dighe teeg'han juu. 22 ghaat i hen en trekt nom 't no'i-zeedaghspe-k an, en dou t hom en riq an ziin vigar, en skhau'nan en de voo't-an. 23 't ve-te kalf. 24 bhant diis miin zien bhas stoe'ren, an is bheer te re'khtan. 25 en ziin ol'dste zien bhas op-t land, en daa' deii heng ghooq en sirk'm bii ['close by', Winkler has not been able to trace this word] huus bhas noe'oeda o-i't spee-lan en dan'son. 27 diin broecer. 29 da -k mit miin ka'ma'at-an iis bheer'le' kon maa'kon. 31 miin joq, doun biid dagh en doecer ['day and night, local] bii mii.

[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, e) in Dutch. In his opinion the real sound is (e), 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 (ei, ai, e'i, ai) indicate Winkler's ei, ai, y, ui.]

82. Woltersum, village (53 n 16, 6 e 44).  I. 408.
11 daa er bhas iis 'n mensk do'i har thbe'si zoeeens [(eis, da'i, tbha'i), specially identified with German ai and nearly Dutch iy]. 12 in hai dai-il ada noeer -t ghoud. 15 om zbhii-inan te bhai-don. 18 voo-ar, ik nebe zoendighe veder juu. 22 briikt ghaat 't be'sta klaid, in doude 't hom an; in gheef 'r riq an ziein rand, en skhau'nan om -o voo'tan. 23 't ve-te kalf. 24 bhant diis zoeeen van mii bhas doud, an is voorn. 25 in ziin ol'dste zien bhas iin-t land, in doon o dikht bi huus kkhham, hoee'ordo ey myzz-li in dan'son. 27 juun broer ['also (rov'igh), but (rapij)]. 29 da -k
mit miin vreetanden bliid ['blithe'] bheezan kon. 31 kiind, duu bize a'lliid bi mi.

83. Ulrum, village (53 n 22, 6 e 19). I. 411.
11 daar bhas rai's ['once'] 'n man dái tbhái zoeëns haaër. 12 on hái dair'da-t ghoud tar-skhan ['k?kk] huëcer. 15 om op zbhii'nan te paa'san. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb mi boze'nigheid an juu. 22 birect 't ovanstaans ['at the hour; at once'] 't aklerbasta pak kláirr heer, on trekt 't hom an, on doekk hom 'n rig om viqar, on skóurnon om yöur'tan. 23 't vete kalf. 24 om díza miin zoeën bhas dood, on is bheer'to-onan. 25 in zii o'lsta zoeën bhas op-t laand, an dôu dëi dikht bi nuus khbham, hoëercrä hecer ziq'an an daan'san. 27 juunn vrest 'n but (vrough) asked. 29 om mit miin vreetanden raiis pleveter te maak'ann. 31 kiind, dôu bı'sa ja a'lliid bi mi.

84. Groningen, city (53 n 13, 6 e 34). I. 415.
11 der bhas rai's 'n man dëi têbhéi zoeëns nad. 12 en dôu dair'da ha'i hecer uut bhat zo kriïgh'an ko'n en. 15 om op dö zbhii'nan te paa'sen. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zoendighed teeghan jôu. 22 brest hiiir vort 't bestra kléid on trek 't hom an, on dûo-on-on rig om zii viqar, on skhóurnen an zii yöurtan. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bchant deez'o zoeën ván ma'i bhas zoe ghoud as dood, on is bheer'to-onan. 25 de o'lsta zoeën bhas yxvoo op-t veld o dôu o dikht ba'i yxys khbham, hooorrdó nei do myzýik-k, on núu za daarnst an da rii'ghië ['rows', as in country dances]. 26 jôu brest 'ir [also (reek), (vreak)'gh] called, asked]. 29 om meit miin vreetanden bhat plezëer ['printed poeleer', I have presumed by mistake for plezëer] ta maak'ann. 31 joq'a, dôu bist ja a'lliid ba'i mo'i. [Winkler remarks that t, e, s, f, are constantly pronounced by the small tradesmen as (d, b, z, v).]

85. Den Ham, village (53 n 17, 6 e 27). I. 419.
11 zee'kar man tad tbhéi [not (ês)], rather (éel) zoeëns. 12 in ha'i vardéil'da-t ghoud onder hecer. 15 om op do zbhii'nan te paa'sen. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb zoendighed teegh'huu. 22 brest rift vort ['forth'] 't bestra kléid, in trek hom 'at an, in dun-am-on rig an zii yöurtan, in skhóurnan an zii yöurtan. 23 't vete kalf. 24 bchant di'so zoeën van mii bhas dood, ø is bheer voo'n. 25 maar de o'lsta zoeën bhas op-t land, in dôu déi ba'i yxys khbham, hoêerc'rd ø-t ziq'an in daan'san. 27 juun bre'er [reak'ip] called, (vrough) asked]. 29 dat 'k ook raiis meit miin vreetanden plezëer maak'ann kon. 31 joq'a, duu bize a'lliid bi mi.

86. Grijpskerk, village (53 n 16, 6 e 17). I. 421.
11 'n man nad tadbii joq'aas. 12 on ha'i parto heec'r tghoud. 15 met de zbhii'nan. 18 vaa'dar, ik heb varke'er handeld teeghan jôu. 22 birect niir daaldek de bestra kleeren, in laat-am díi a'ntre'kan, in gheef't-on rig om zii viqar, in skœurman an a vüurtan. 23 't beste kalf. 24 bchant miin joq'a bhas dood, in nôu heb 'k niiheer'to-onan. 25 in zii o'lsta zoeën bhas maar 't land, in dun díi bheer'tom khbham, in dikht ba'i yxys hooorrdó ha'i'-t alram. 27 juu bruur [(riip] called, (vrough) asked]. 29 om mit miin vreetanden-s pleveter te maak'ann. 31 miin joq'e, jôu bii ja a'lliid ba'i mo'i.

XXIV. Friesland. I. 424.

a. Friesian in Friesland. I. 428.

87. Friesland, province (53 n 5, 5 e 50). I. 433. [The present Dialectus Communis of the whole province. The spelling of the original is that of G. Colmjon, 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'ir [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] 'n'kék on man (minska) end da'í ni' twaa so'n. 12 and ha'i di'da naaron 't ghoud. 15 om de
bar'ghon to wéi'djæn. 18 néit ['father'], ik hab suu'ndighe tshin [written tʃin], and may be (tʃin, tʃin, tʃin), and the last is probable] ju. 22 briq forth 't be'stø pak kléan Jhir [written hɪr, possibly only (ʃir, ʃir) is said] and tshian nim da'i o'n, and jou nim an riq o'n sin rand, and sko'n o'n de fo'ton. 23 't me'stø keå. 24 whent [written hu'vent] di'so sön fen mæ'i wi'r déa, and nuu is werfu'n. 25 and sin a'ldste sön wi'r in-t field, and doo do'i néi nuus ghuq, and dhi'khta [written tʃɪchtə] bø'í nuus ka'ım, høa'rdø nó'i-t sin-quen and -t dum'nsen. 27 diin brø' 29 dat ik mèi min fruí'ndø ek ris froo'lik wee'se mu'khta. 31 bejrø, duu bist a'ltid bøi ma'i.

87*. Grouv, village (53 n 6, 5 ø 60).

[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 fractures 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 ø seems to be generally (v), varying to (f) rather than (v), and I have written (f) throughout, following Winkler's spelling. The ø seems to be (bh), judging rather from the English of my authorities, who did not then seem to use (w) at all. But a clear (ʊ), etc., occurs, so that there is a false appearance of (wa). The (h), (tsh, dzh) seemed to be clearly developed out of (ʃ), (tʃ), (ʃʃ), although occasionally I seemed to hear (ʃ-, -tʃ, -dʒ). I did not attempt to distinguish (t, d) from (t, d), but I believe the dental form is correct. Where I have written (ʃ), 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, oh), 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. (butær breá on tsiiiz
dar dat næt seer-ə læn is geen
æprío'khta Friiz.)

2. butær breá on grii'na tshiis,
dii dat næt sezə læn es næt on
riokhta Friís.)

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. (güwید brød, botær, on tshiiz, iz güwìd El'-deks on güwìd Friiz),
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 (23% 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
Commūnis 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 Meulen, 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 wie jenkear en man (minské) end dy tie wáa seen.
12 de jungste fen dy twa sei t'jin sin heit: heit! jow my’t diiel fen 't gud dat my takum. end hy dield hiarren 't gud.

13 end net fulle dagen der nei (end en bitsje letter) forsamm'le de jungste soan alles by enoar, teach forth up reis nei en fir land end brocht der al sin gud der thruch in en eerdwealsk libben.

14 do er alles der thruch brocht hie kaem der en greate krapted oan item (hungersnead) in dat selde land, end hy bigún brekme to iyen.

15 end hy gung hinne end gung by ien fen de borgers fen dat land end dy stiirde him up sin land um de bargen to weidjen.

16 end hy woe wol jerne sin bük fol ite mei 't bargefoer; mar nimmen jooch him dat.

17 do kaem er to himselm end hy sei: ho fulle fen min heite fulk habbe oerfloedig hiar brea end ik kum um fen hunger!

18 ik scil upstean end nei ús heite's gean end ik scil t'jin ús heit súdze: heit! ik hab súndige t'jin de himel end foar (t'jin) ju.

19 end nu bin ik net mear wírdig juw soan to hieten; meitsje my mar ik as ien fen juw arbeiders.

20 end hy stoe up end gung nei sin heit ta. end do er vette fir fen him of wier, seach sin heit him al, end dy waerd mei inerlike barmhertígens

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 all 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 burghers 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 workmen.
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
21 end de soan sei tsjin him: heit! ik hab sündige tsjin de himel end foar ju, end ik bin net langer wirdich juw soan to hiefften.

22 de heit likwol sei tsjin sin fulk: bring forth 't beste pak klean hjir end tsieen dy oan end jow him en ring oan sin hand en skoen oan de foettten.

23 end bring 't meste keal end slacht it; lit ås iste end frolik wëse.

24 hwent disse soan fen my wier dea end nu is er wer libben würden; hy wier forlern end nu is er werfün. end hia bigünen frolik to wirden.

25 end sin aldste soan wier in 't field en do dy nei hüs gung end thichte by hüs kaem, hearde hy 't siungen end 't dünsjen.

26 end hy rõp ien fen sin heite feinten by him end frege him hwet dat to bitssitten hie.

27 end dy sei tsjin hem: dün broer is kumd end jimme heit heth 't meste keal slachte, um 't er him sünd wer krige heth.

28 mar hy waerd nidich end wol net in 'e hüs gean; do gung sin heit nei bütë end bea him der um.

29 by likwol jœch sin heit to 'n andert: stîch! sa fullte 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 fründen ek 'ris frolik wëse muchte.

30 mar nu disse soan fen ju kummen is, dy juw goûd mei hoeren 'der thruch brocht heth, nu habbe ju 't fetmeste keal for him slachte.

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 wëse; hwent disse broer fen dy wier dea end hy is wer libben wirden; end hy wier forlern end nu is er werfün.

inward compassion on-done [=attacked]; he ran him to, tell 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 wheres there through brought hath, now have you the fat-masted calf for him slain.

31 then said the father against him: bain! 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 blithe 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 bhi'ir i'ner'1 en man2 (men'ska), aan di3 xhia tu'aa sau'da'an [soon'oon M1].
12 de xqes'ta1 fan2 dii tu'aa sae'3 tshen sin3 xha'e'it: xha'e't! jou mar'1-t di'l fi'en-t gu'd? dat me3 tak'cemt,9 aan xha'e'dee'id10 xha'ra'n [xa'ren M1] 't gu'd.
13 aan net fo'e'0 daa'gon1 dar nai2 (and een brit'sha3 [brit'sha M3] le'tar) fuxsa'amla4 de xqes'ta su'n [soon M] a'les bari e'mu4,5 takh6 fuert7 eop ra'is nai'an fih lan9 en brokht10 deex a10 sin gu'd trokh in en uu'deelsk11 leb'an.
14 doo or a'les deex trokh brokht xhia, kaam4 dar en gree'a kr-ept5 o3 ir'tan [nhow'qarso'n-d] M3] in dat sa'irdi lan, an xha'e' biog'o'o gob'aak [bra'k-m M1] te la'ir'en.9
15 aan xha'e' goa' nha'e an goa be'i 'n fan de bu'u'a' gars [baugars M1] fern dat len, an di shuu'ra'ds [shu'ura'M1] nheem eop sin lan eem de bag'gon te bha'z'dhon.9
16 aan xha'e' bhuu bhol jerna (graakt, gaaraq M3) sin buuk fol li'to mie'i-t bearguur'2; maaz3 nemon4 ruug [juukh M3] nheem dat.
17 ddo kuum [kaam M1] or too neemse-l'm2 and xha'e'si: xhoo fo'e la fen min xha'e'to feek xha'bo uu'fluumadgh3 xha'ar [xaj M4]' bre'a,5 and ek keem eem fen in xha'o'ar.
18 ek sel1 oep'ste'n2 and na'i us3 xha'e'to ge't2 ean ek sel tehen us xhe'it see za [seza M4] : xhe'it, ek xhoo za'en degho [son'dogha M3] tshen de xham'ol [xheem'mal M3] aen fo'r (tehen') jou.
19 aan nou1 ben ek net me'ei bhaeagh [bhaeaggh ; bhae-aggh M3] jou su'n [soon M] te xhi'to xan'tan [xe'tan M3]; maaz'tha me max lik as 'n fan jou a'reibe'ders4 [ar-be'e'ders M].
20 and xha'e'st2 aop end goaq na'i sin xha'e'it ta', and ddo or nokh3 fiix feen nhem AA3 bhaft, saeakh sin xha'e'it nhem a1, end ddi bhaar [bha'rd M4] me3 enor'k'a baar'muhaa-teqagho3s o'ndin4; xha'e'r ruun [ra'ven M3] eop nhem ta'a, fue11 nhem eem sin nhels an peta6 nhem.
21 aan de su'n [soon M] see'i tehen nhem: xha'e'it ek xhoo za'en degha [son'dogha M] tshen de xham'ol [xheem'mal M] aen fo'1 (tehen') jou.
22 de xha'e'tik li'khol sau'i tehen sin feek: breq1 fuert7 't bae'st pak kle'n

4. Mr. C. C. Robinson's Halifax Version.

11 dhi' we wun taim6 en man, et-ad tuu ledz.9
12 th-xuquis12 on on sed tal-t fee-dhars13: fee-dhars14 gi-me-t she'er-o-t staf wot-sa ta kum tu-ma,15 on-i de'id t-staf tal-am.
13 on a pis et-ata12 th-xuquis led samdi13 ool up, on meed iz ruud14 twul'edz15 ef faa lend,16 en brout isen' throo ool at i ed17 wi ow'er-bri18 lev'in.19
14 wen i-d dhi' brout isen' throo ool, dhi kum a gat9 sqor9 i-t lend, en-i bigon te lem.10
15 an-i went age'etadz,2 on-went bi-wan an t'enn'ment dhi' o dhat lend, at9 sent im i-t wai'dz,6 fa-te ruit t-pigz.
16 an i-d fee'x a eet9 iz bel i ful o-t pig'ment, bod norva'vet gaz im nust.
17 wen i kwaun tal isee6 i spek up, on sed a mi fie'dhad-touk ee moni on-a'm ev ow'er-inet a bre'd,7 on oo-m kom te perish o sqar.
18 oo shoal up en gu' tal az fie'dhars en oo's see tal-im : fie'dhars, oo-v send10 agiti9'ev'en, on agiti11 dhi.
19 an nee5 o amret6 wath bin koold7 dhi san; mek me nobet8 see'm az wun a dhi waa'kaz.9
20 on-i up on went tul'edz ta't fie'dhars, on wa10 i war sit a guuid pis oft-on-im,11 iz fie'dhars siid im, an bikkem ov'reemee'stad at ee12 for-im, on-i ran tal-im, an fel stop-o-iz nek, an pat'dad im.
21 on-t sun sed tal-t fee'dhars: fee'dhars oo-v send agiti9'ev'en on agiti9 dhi, on o amret wath to bi koold dhi san on'i laq'aa.
22 on-t fie'dhars sed tal iz foku : breq ez-t best ti'swz iz',6 en don-om on-im,
[kle'en M] rea', an tsha'nu [tshokh M] nhem dii o'n [oon M], an joo nhem an req o'n [oon M] sin nhem, an skoon o'n [oon M] da fosta' [fes-tan M].

23 and 'breq-t maestö ke1 an shalez et: let us ito an froole'ke bheee.

24 bhant! de'se suen [soon M] fen ma' i bhi'ria an eon an or bheez le-ben beo-erdan; nha' i bhi'ri fallae-n an noud es an bheerfo'n [bherfoö M]. an ja bgoq'qent froole'k an beoerdan.

25 an sin alsta' suan [soon M] bhi'ri en-t field [fielt M] an doo dii nai nhuus queer, an tekhtö be'i nhuus kudem [kaam M] nhearde[n seer'do nhe'a'do [nhe'a'do M] nha' i tshiqents an dornشه [doo'shan M].

26 an nha'io roop i'n feen sin nha'ta'te fa'ntan ba'i nhem an free'go nhem bheez dat to bitscho'tan nhaa.

27 an dii sai' tsehen nhem: din bruuu es keemö an 'ema nha' xihetö 't maesta' kela sle'khta, oem-t an nhem suum bheer'kii' gha beez.

28 maax nha' i bheaa nii'dakh 3 an bhuus na't in-t ruuz' ge'n; doo queer sin nha'it na'i buute an bia nheim der eem.5

29 nha'i li'kheollo jukh sin nha'iti ta'n a'ntatö' [a'ntatht M]: shiekh [shokh M]! an fa'-le'ar'en tsha'na'2 ek joo, an ek nhab na'ea nhaat bheen joo sen dii'n, sen dokhs ha'be joo me nes'mar nai bok-sa joun, dat ek ma'i min freen'aman ak ras4 froole'k bheee'ko'dhe.

30 maax nou de'se suen [soon M] fen joo ko'men es, dii joo gud' [gued'M] ma' i nhuuren [wzem M] der trockl brokht jhaat, nou na'be joo't fa'maesta' kela far nhem sle'khta.

31 doo sai'i do nhaa'tish tseen nhem: ben [ben M]! doo bostalid bee'ma [be'i ma'i M], an el beaat mii'nis es, es dita'n sak.

32 me mo'stö dam froole'k an bheez; bhant de'ss2 bruun feen dai' i bhi'ria an eon nha'ei an bheer le-ben beoerdan; an nha' i bhi'ri forlae'n an nou es or bheerfo'n [bherfoö M].

on gi-im a req on-t and,7 on shaw'in o't fit (fit).8

23 an breq-t fed koof, an slef-to-t; let-s set, an bi mar'i.4

24 kos dhis led-a maain we da'd5 on née iz le viv'gigh' in; i we lost, an née iz fun5 gigh'in an dha begon to bi gam'sam.7

25 an-o to' ודוש6 led war-i tloo-iw7 on wen i went tul'ezd t-e'e'e,8 on kem tliês9 be't, i sis10 t-seq'in on don'sin.

26 on-i koold wam o ix fer'dho3 men bi im, an ekst im wat it wax.9

27 on-i sed tal-im: dhi breddha-z kom, on-dhi fer'dhaz slef-to'd fed koof for-im koaw' in bek see'end.3

28 bot-i get med6 an wad'ont goo in,9 soo iz fer'dha went eet', an bisou10 im tal.

29 dhien i spek ta-t fee'dhvar i dhes ruu'd,8 sezii': nabrat 'nii ee'n moni 'r'az oo-v saav j-ool,8 an-z niv'ar dan nout raq9 gigh' in jo, bod10 roo-v niix 'mii nun-o-a ked gin,11 soo oo 'ancoo'12 mad13 fa wans bi mar'i wi dheem at o noo.14

30 bod 'nee ot dhes led o see'r3 ez kuem, ot 'get' thoo wat si 'e'v wi uu'e'e,4 'nee soo-v gum'n5 on slef'tod t-fet'fed koof for-im.

31 dhien sed t-feedhvar tal-im: bee'm,3 'dhaa-z' oool's bi-ma, an ool ot-s maain iz dhud' an nool'1.5

32 wi-man dhun bi mori on dled-som3 laik, kos dhes breedhar-o-dha war diid, an-i was lost, an née iz fun gigh'in.


11 Fr. 1) approaching (kéar). 2) at times approaching (mon, mon, man), and sometimes rather lengthened, as also in (lan, inaen), 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'n'en, soo'nen). F. called attention to the resemblance and difference between the word and Dutch zwaan, swan.

Ha. 5) Mr. Robinson marks ( tá'ém), as a general rule I have marked the medial vowel in diphthongs as short in
dialectal transcriptions, its real length is in such cases rather variable. 4) 'lads,' there is a great tendency to this thinning in the more refined speech.

12 Fr. 1) the sound which I have here throughout written (o) seemed at times (a) or (a), and may have been (eh); the English (a) may certainly be always used. 2) this vowel hovered between (e, a), but on the whole (a) seemed to be nearest. 3) the diphthongs y, ei, were both pronounced alike, but both seemed unified, and hovered among (a'1, x'i, a'i) for the first element, and (a'i, w'i, w'e, w'e) for the second. As I use (a) in "fen" (fien), I write (a'1) as a compromise throughout. 4) the (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 (t'si, tsi'). the vowel was unfixed as (e, e), at least I could not feel certain, except that it was not (a), and not (i, i). 5) ('sin) had distinct (i), not (e), and hence is clearly (sin) shortened by rapid utterance. 6) (nh) was generally distinct (nh), not simple (n). this is the general word for "father," as (maem) for mother. F and M did not know "tete, tata." 7) the (g) seemed clear, not (gh, oh), as in Dutch, but in "Emden," sp. 37, it was (ghout). (a') seemed to vary as (ue'), thus (gu'd, gna'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. 8) (me) for (ma'l) when without force, shewing that (me, me, me, me') were the probable stages; it is not a change of (a'i) into (e). 9) the short vowel in (ta) must be noticed, it was quite run on to the consonant, as I have indicated. 10) in Winkler (di'lda), but F knew only (dee'lda) 11) 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. 12) "youngest," no t. 13) "till = to the father," the r vanishes frequently. 14) 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 oz e't oz 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 (anui); (aa) does not seem to occur intentionally, but only to be generated by following consonants. 6) the (a) was here distinct; it is the German sog (tsogo). 7) (faer), both F and M agreed, in (aa), in trilled (r), and in final (t), 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 (laan), and nearly (laan), quite as in Scotch. 9) (brokt) with (o) rather than (a). 10) (al) was always very like (Al). 11) Winkler, noting the Hindelopenish (sp. 89) form oeruevelsk, which he considers to be more correct, translates it into Dutch as oeruewelderig, over-luxurious or wanton, and derives it from old Friesian weald, English "wealth." as respects the d, however, we must remember the old Saxon forms giot-uuelo, gold-uvelo, oel-uvelo, for riches in the plural, see Schmeller's glossary to the Helian, sub uvelo.

Ha. 12) "a piece at after," a little after that, observe short (i), not (i). 13) "gathered," this is quite Friesian. 14) "made his road." 15) "till-wards = towards." 16) "a far land," the refined (lend) is most usually heard, the unrefined is (lend). 17) 'brought himself through all that he had.' 18) "over-high," or, equally common, (owar-den-ti) "over dainty." 19) "living." 14 Fr. 1) F preferred (kudin), M said that was Dutch. 2) Dutch knob, narrow. 3) or (oo'n, oon). 4) this was the form M knew, not (náed). 5) both F and M seemed to say (q) at the end. 6) F said breheine was quite out of use, Winkler says it is becoming rapidly obsolete, and is replaced by Dutch gebrek, M admitted (bre'k'um). 7) for leiden, the d lost as usual.

Ha. 8) for (ga't, gat), 'great.' 9) 'hunger,' observe absent aspirate, and the (g) for (gg). 10) 'starve,' a common Yorkshire word, usually written clem, clam; another phrase is,
[kudʻnt bâd], '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 in the juncture (yy) in sturen (styy-ron) to steer, or send. 2) (dzh) was clear in each, the word stands for Dutch woeden (bhaʻi-dan), and the change of (d) into (dzh), instead of (j), or simple omission, as in (læ-ʻron) v. 14, is noticeable, the two seem to point to an intermediate (blaʻi-djon), which would easily fall into either. the word is connected with English weed, with the.

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) 'townsman,' burgesses, citizens. 5) relative at=that in meaning, but the derivation is disputed. 6) 'woods.' 7) 'root,' give roots to, feed.

16 Fr. 1) (je-rna) 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 voedder 'fodder,' with the d omitted. it is curious that (uu) is sometimes spelled oe as in Dutch, and sometimes a. 3) 'more,' and hence 'but,' as French mais = Latin magis.

4) Dutch and German niemand. 5) although I noted (ruug), F may have said (ruug).

Ha. 6) 'he would fair have eaten.' 7) 'pigment' is "any offally mess, unworthy food, a mixture of ingredients of any kind; one of the commonest of South Yorkshire words; it has nothing whatever to do with paint, and would not be understood dialectally in this sense."—C. C. R.

17 Fr. 1) see v. 14, note 1. 2) this was from M, I have not noted F; observe the final (m). 3) the (d-lach) as in Dutch, a short faint deep guttural vowel sound, possibly (loch), 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 (see) is rather medial than long. "in the villages about Halifax and Keighley, and generally in the Lower Craven district (classification, variety 23a), the l is usually followed by n, as (i-sec, in, wæ-sec, in, mi-sec, in, dhæ-sec)lnz), and these are casual Halifax forms; so also n is added in (mfn, meln) for mill. sometimes the l is lost to the ear in (sen) for self, and when l is heard in this word, n is lost, as (seel). I have also often heard people add on an m:"

—O. C. R. 7) "(bre'd), usually (bru'id) 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 acil was not noticed in pronunciation, it seems to be entirely etymological. 2) ('en), and not (čan), 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 side, but F seemed to lengthen the vowel. 5) neither F nor M acknowledged sun = (sun), but I seemed to hear (zoon) from one, and (son) from the other; the (z) was slight, "more of a z" 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 foar, and Winkler says "or bfoar, but bzej is better Friesian." The Greek εἰς τὸν ὄμπαν καὶ ἕνωτον. σοῦ seems to have led all translators to adopt a real Hebraism in this place. 8) both F and M said (zoon) exactly as in v. 12 for 'give,' and objected to the je of Winkler.

Ha. 9) 'I shall,' or lse. 10) 'sinned.' 11) "(lōx) is common in this position in the southern dialects (classification, subdialect 23); at Halifax it is called (lōx)."—C. C. R.

19 Fr. 1) I am not quite certain whether F said (nun) or (nōu), but I think the latter; and M certainly did say so. 2) F gave the two first, and said that (bluegh) 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 (ar-s) may have been accidental.

Ha. 9) 'now.' 1) 'here (nee), because of the following (o) for I; (nee) is the usual form in Lower Craven; (nē) is also used."—C. C. R. 6) 'I am-not.' 7) 'worth being called.' 8) (bhn) is in v. 21 (to be), both forms are in use, but the first is considered to be most refined."—C. C. R. 9) 'nought but,' only.

20 Fr. 1) both F and M objected
to stoë (stuu), but Mr. said (stuu) could be used, though (stii) was more common.
2) F said (i-v-ta) was not heard, M said it was still used "by old-fashioned people." 3) (AA), the (f) of off dropped.
4) F did not pronounce the ë or attend to the e in æ, 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. 6) 'patted,' 'not kissed,' as I was told, but Winkler says, on the Hindeloopenish paaikje (specimen 89, v. 20), "kissed, from paaikje, to kiss; the usual Friesian is patje, patta; een zoen, 'a kiss,' in is Hindeloopenish en paaikje, and in usual Friesian en patje, and formerly, as still found in Gysbert Japick, in."  

Ha. 2) 'to the, ' 'in the Leeds dialect (tst, tsit), the latter emphatic and before a pause; in Halifax the heavy sound may be either (tst, tot), but seems most like the latter.'—C. C. R. 10) 'while,' 11) 'off on or from him.' 12) 'overmastered at heart,' or (we sluft s-t sit on i'm), '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 (breag) or (breqk)
2) see v. 13, note 7. 3) M admitted (ishe'n), but said (ishokh, German zog (tsokoeh), was more usual. 4) see (lan), v. 13, note 8. 5) I hesitated as to (fu'ton) or (fuooton), 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 (ë). 9) (fuwt) 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 beech-mast, oak-mast, 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 (ahwaun), but I may have overlooked it. 2) no trace of (r) or (z) in the second syllable certainly, in the first I am doubtful. 3) (bheer, bheer) 'again,' Dutch weder with omitted (d), as our old who'er for whether, the last syllable (lo'n, foon), 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. 4) 'this lad of mine was dead.' 6) 'found?' 7) 'gamesome.' 25 Fr.) the ë 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 (ie, ie). 3) no (th), German dicht, 'close.' 4) the (tsh) arises from the coalescent article (t), (shoqun) is the word otherwise; this serves to shew the correctness of the analysis (tsh).
8) as (duur-shen) is implied by the spelling, it was probably also so heard.
Ha. 4) 'oldest.' 7) 'in the close' or field. 9) 'the house.' 10) close, adv. observe the difference between (?) and (W), (tlo-iis, tlois). 10) 'heard.'
26 Fr. 1) uninflected genitive. 2) Dutch bedwidden (badass-dan) 'signify.' 3) Ha. 3) uninflected genitive. 4) 'asked him what it wor — was.' 5) observe that both (was) and (wor) occur in this example, and compare (475, e).
27 Fr. 1) the final (d) distinct, almost the vulgar English coned. 2) final (t), not (th).
Ha. 4) '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 (bhun), probably wol is a misprint for voe, which is written in v. 16. 3) I presume in 'e hüs is a misprint for in't hüs, I did not particularly notice the t. 4) the (z) seems due to the following (g). 5) German bat tharm darum.

Ha. 5) '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 (goe), but in v. 18 it was (goe); 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, ags. gâm, both an (oo) and an (uu) sound subsisting side by side in the same dialect; of course (goe) comes through (gaa, gaa, gAa, goo), and (gu) through (gûa, gûa, gûa, gu); but the example is extremely instructive, and shews the necessity of great caution in older cases. 6) 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 tjenje, and so becomes (tshœnna). 3) F almost said (frœç-nan), I have not noted M. 4) German auch dereinst.

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) (god, guoe'd), I did not notice this variable force in v. 12. 2) this (weœm) is evidently obtained thus:

88. Workum, town (52 n 58, 5 e 26). I. 441. [As it was still generally spoken up to the year 1800.]

11 dar bhîr·ris en mînske, da'i ni·thbha soo'n. 12 in ha'i dee·le·døo·tøn 't ghud. 15 om da ba·rghan to weî·døn. 18 héit! ik nev suu·ndigha tshin [or (tšin)] jû. 22 briq iar·da lik da be'tøta kłaan, in doogh sa him oon; in šœan xim en riq oon siñ haan in skú·nøn oon a futan. 23 't me'sta kòal. 24 bhant di·za soon faa ma'i bhîr·da, in ha'i is bher fuu·ndøn. 25 in da ma·nøn siñ aad·sta soon bhîr in·t fiild [or (fiild)], in doo da'i koom, in ba'i·t nuus bhîr·zhe·rda ha'i·t siq·qøn end·t spii·ran. 27 jû bro'r. 29 dat ik màai miin frïce'·nøn froo'lik bhe·za mo'khta. 31 bør·nø, dû bi·sta a·litte bøi ma'i.


11 sirker mi·nske nee'b tbaa soons. 12 in ni·de·le·døa jem·tøghood. 16 om op do barghen to pas·søn. 18 feer, iker nev suu·ndigha tøen ri. 22 briq hir daa·dítk 't bestøt pak kløan, in dukan it him oon, in jàan xim en riq oon siñ haand, in skoon oon siñ fu·tøn. 23 't me'sta kaal. 24 bhant di·za miin soon bhe·rør daa, in niis isor fuu·føndøn. 25 in siñ da'a·løt soon weer iim·t fiild in deee nii tikht bì nyy's [or (ruu's)] kaam, nee·rdø naa·t ghe·suoq in·t gheduo·n. 27 diim bro'r. 29 dat iik (khuœ'røn, huweœ'røn, wœœ'røn, woem), if indeed I ought not rather to have noted (nuœ'm), as I think more probable.

Ha. 3) 'yours.' 4) 'whores.' 5) 'gone.'

31 Fr. 1) perhaps both said (baen), the r was quite unpronounced. 2) the variation between (ee, wi) 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'ist) was M's pronunciation; I am inclined to think that his (soon), see v. 11, note 4, was rather (soo'n) 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).

90. Schiermonnikoog, island 53 n 28, 6 e 12). I. 458. [In Friesian (ski-rmuuntsieaakh) or (ski-rmuuuntsieaakh).]

11 dar bhîr réis 'n man, in dëi hîeá tbaa joqøs. 12 in hår héit ['father'] deel·de·na har 't ghy'd. 15 om hår sshii'¿na to nyy'doan. 18 ik nev seàru'a diin tshin [or (tsitin)] joo. 22 briq hir ·t bøst pak kløana, in tshok it nìm oon, in seèe' uîm 'n riq oon siñ nàaun, in sky'y'no oon siñ fu·tøn. 23 't me'sta kaal. 24 bhant di jö qua bhieá daäid, in nii is bhir fiëan. 25 in de oûrøda seecen bhiea iin 't lâaun, in daa·t or nöoi nyy's to syy'a, in ti·khtø bì koom, nee·røs nìi siq'oq in daau·nsøn. 27 diim bryr'ar. 29 dat ik mào miin fiëdøm réis plesir me'stø kùy's. 31 børn, do bi·sta oö daa·gøn bìi miì.
and hence the Schiermonnikoogers omit l and r in the combinations /l, /r/.

Then he gives examples, *juwed* for *liu,* "as the Hindeloopers say *teed* = (leé'd)?; *juocht* for *riucht,* *sjuocht* for *stüchht,* so that *sjuocht* in *juocht* = high German schlecht und recht, is a shibboleth of these islanders; and may be (síy"kht in *jy"kht*) (1397, b). Another curious point is the use of -s (or -(th,-dh) final, or of (dh) or (d) medial, even in participles, as *fortaura* = (fortaurus), high German verzehrt, or devoured, usual Friesian *fortard.* "The Friesians on the continent have frequently softened the old *th to d.*" Examples are *stjuerseen,* "steered, stirred, sent," usual *stijarden; we, we* "worthy; we, *ween* "become," *hec* "heard, these earth," here "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-es-an man, in dii na'de thbiir's *sceochen.* 12 in duu *fddor* le da *avrda* man *t* ghyyd. 15 op *barchan te pa'san.* 18 faa'dar, ik *hee* *sondrea deen teow'ghon jou.* 22 breq *hir* ghóu ris *t* bëste pak *keleeran,* in trek *kim* dat an, in gheef-am-an riq an *siin nan,* in *skhy'nan an sin fyy'tan.* 23 *t* me'sta kalf. 24 bhaant *di'za* *sceochen* fan *ma'i* bhar dood, in *nóu* *hee* bheec-'m bheero'm *fonan.* 25 in de man *siin* *srü's* *sceochen* bhar op-t land, in duu dii bheero'm *khamb,* in di'-khê boi *nyys* *khbham,* *hoo'rd* i *nuu* *te* *sø* *soqan* in *danston.* 27 *jou* bruur. 29 daa-k uuk-*s* met miin *frindan* *fröolu* lik bheecza *moerkhts.* 31 *kiin,* döu *birste* *om'ga arliid boi ma'î.*

92. *Dokkum,* town (53 n 19, 6 e 0). I. 477.

11 dar bhaar-es-an man, in dii na'de thbiir's *sceochen.* 12 in *nó'i* ghaf *xor* *hoo'ro ghyyd* "[*a very short perfect o precedes a long, perfect, and somewhat lengthened u,* on which the stress falls,*" this is the noun *goode;* the adjective *goed* is *ghu'd]." 15 om op *barchan te pa'san.* 18 faa'dar, ik *hev* *sondiched teowen* (and *tow'ghonu*) faa'dar. 22 briq *daa'dalik* da *bèsta* *klee'ran* *hir,* in duu *kim* dii an, in gheef-am-an riq an *siin nan,* in *skuur* nan an *o* *fuur'tan.* 23 *t* me'sta kalf. 24 bhaant *di'za* *sceochen* fan *ma'i* bhar dood in *nóu* *is sröfom.* 25 in *siin* *srü's* *sceochen* bhar in-t land, in duu-t er dikht boí *nyys* *khbham,* *noord-ar-s* *sirqen* in-t *danston.* 27 *jou* bruur. 29 dat ik ok-s *fröolu* lik bheeza *kon* met miin *frindan.* 31 *kiin,* döu *bist a*t'tiit bøi boi ma'î.*


11 'nam man ("n mins* had thbiir*s *sceochen.* 12 in *nó'i* *deed'la* *nyyr* *t* ghoo'd. ["the imperfect u in *put*" = (pet, pat), see (1292, a'), Dutch for *pit,* or well, *"with preceding perfect a.]"

15 op *a* *barchan te pa'san.* 18 néit, *ik* *hëf* *sønda* deend *teow'ghon* jou. 22 briq *'m* *hir* *siin* *bèsta* *klee'ran,* in *trek* *s'm* an, in *gheevo'am-on* riq an *siin nan,* in *skuur* nan an *o* *fuur'tan.* 23 *t* *fröolu* kalf. 24 bhaant *di'za* *sceochen* fan *ma'i* bhar dood in *ii* is *bheero'm,* *fonan.* 25 in *siin* *srü's* *sceochen* bhar op-t lan, in duu dii dikht boí *nyys* *khbham,* *hord* *ii* *t* *sirqen,* in-*t* *danston.* 27 *jou* bruur. 29 daa-k *met* miin *frindan* -s *fröolu* lik bheeza *mokht.* 31 *kiin,* döu *bist a*t'tiit boi* *mi.* [We *find* 20 (*lii'p*) *raan,* (*fi'il* fell, in *duu-t* i *nog* "with ind fan *m'o* bhar" *'and when he yet a whole end from him off was," (o) (for) off, with (i) suppressed.)

94. *Nes op't Ameland,* village of Nes in the island of *Ameland* (53 n 27, 5 e 45). I. 486.

11 'see'kar *minsk* had thbiir*s *sceochen.* 12 gheef *ma'i* "*t* deel *fan-t* ghuu'd.* "*in* daa'dar ghaf *xor* *el sik* *sin* *paart.* 15 om da *barchan te muu'don.* 18 ik *hev* *ma* *an* *jou* *bë'voondiged.* 22 briq -t *bèste* pak *keleeran* *hir,* in *trek* -t *im* an, in *gheevo'riq* *an* *siin nan,* in *skuur* nan *o* *fuur'tan.* 23 *t* me'sta kalf. 24 bhaant *dooce'za* *siin* *sceochen* bhar dood in, is *bheero* *fonan.* 25 mar da man *siin* *srü's* *sceochen* bhar *op't* lan, in duu dii kam, in dikht boí -t *nyys* ko'man bhar, *hoo'ro* *no'ai* -t *sirgan* in *danston.* 26 *ii* ['we.' *jou* bruur. 27 om *sa* *miin* *fril* 'ndan *fröolu* lik *bheeza.* 31 *miin* *kiin,* *jou* *bi'n* arliid boi ma'î. "[*The pure long (ii) has often been changed into the Hollandish (a'), but the Amelanders are not consistent, and you may hear them say: (bha'ì* sergha* arliid ta'id, in *nif't* tiid), 'we all-tpeed (tiid) say *tide* (ta'id), and not *teed* (tiid)," *Such in*
consistencies are valuable for shewing the unconsciousness of transitions.

95. **Het Bilt**, parish, a Dutch

gemeente, and lordship, Dutch gristenvet, containing St. Anna-Parochie, village

(53 n 17, 5 e 40). I. 492.

11 dor bhaer as 'n man, dii nad
tbhee see-zen. 12 an mi'n paar te
heer -t ghuu'd yit ana'endar. 15 om
d'a ferkenas ta bha'iran. 18 ha't, ik
nev ma'i base'ndighd teecn jou. 22
nael -t be'sta kleed foer -t likht en
duun nim dan at, on gheed nim 'n
riq an si'n hand, an sku'nan an e
fuu'-tan. 23 't fettmast kalft. 24 bhant
doe-za seecn fan mi'n man bhaer doo'd,
an mi'i is fo'nan. 25 ma'er man si'n
ou'dste seecn bhaer in -t feld, an
du dui bheero-kam, an dikhto boi-
't nuu bhaas, noord ii-t ghaes'q an-t
ghespri'q. 27 jou bruur. 29 dat ik
met mi'n ghuur'de fri'ndan as froo'lik
bheee ma'khta. 31 kiind, dou bist
a'ltid boi me'li.

96. **Noordwolde**, village (52n53,
6 e 8). I. 498.

11 'n zee'kar meens na'da tbhii
see-zen. 12 an hiir dii'da heecer 't
ghuu'd. 15 om de va'rkonas ta yu'yan.
18 heit, iik hee'zndighd teergahn jou.
22 breq hiir an'ustons 't besta
klid, an trek -t hom an, an ghee't
riqk an zi'n haad en skuur'nan, an e
bii'tan. 23 't veto kaalft. 24 bhant
diiz zee'na van mi'i bhaas deed, an
ou is hiir vornan. 25 an zi'n o'sta
see'na bhas op a a'kar, an tuu í
kbbam, an hiir bhaas, hee'zrd
hiir -t zi'qan on juu'lan ['revol', Dutch
word]. 27 jou breecer. 29 om mit
mi'n kameraan'dan froo'lik te bheero-
31 kiind, ís bin a'ltid boi miu.'

XXV. **Noord-Holland**, in

English Province of North

Holland. II. 1.

97. **Wester-Schelling**, west part

of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 13). II. 10.

11 dir bhaas in minsk, dii mi'i tbhia
sins. 12 in ta ['father'] zookh ['gave']
eik si'n o'ndeeel ['share']. 15 om op
de bairghan ta pa'san. 18 ta, iik ha
sondighd tshin [or (tsim)] jo. 22
na'la ghou do be'sta kleen, dokh 's
nim o'n, stek 'n riq o'n si'n fiqar, in
dokh sko'nan o'n si'n fo'tan. 23 't
me'sto keal. 24 bhant mi'i sin, dii
for yys deed bhas, is bher foq ['found,'
or 'caught']. 25 do A'A'dsta sin bhaas
iin -t frild [or (fiild)] in daa ni, biit-
néi nuu yaa ghuen, ti'khta bii koom
heer'da hii -t si'oqan in-t spi'llaan.
27 diu bruur. 29 om mi'i mi'i min
freo'qan froo'lik te maar'tan. 31 okh,
mi'n bo'ren, dou bii'sta o'mas a'ltid bii
mii.

98. **Ooster-Schelling**, east part

of island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 20). II. 15.

11 dor bhaas ris'ni mink, in dii mi'i
tbhaa sins. 12 in da man deel'da -
ghuu'd. 15 om op da bar'ghan ta
pa'san. 18 ta, iik ha ghre'ta so'nda
thshin [or (tsim)] ta bidir'o'an. 22 brik
de be'sta kle'n, in dokh nim dii o'n, in
jokh nim-an riq o'n si'n maan, in
sko'nan o'n si'n fo'tan. 23 't fa'ta'ke'l. 24 bhant doe-za sin fan mi'i bhas
deed, in nii is bher foon. 25 in da
A'A'dsta sin bhaas op-t frild [or (fiild)],
in as ni tikht bi nuu koom, meer'da
hii si'oqan in spi'llaan. 27 diu bruur.
29 dak iik mi'i mi'in freo'qan froo'lik
bhe'e'za kau'. 31 mi'n sin, dou bist
a'ltid bii miu.

99. **Midslands**, village, middle-

of-the island of ter-Schelling (53 n 20,
5 e 15). II. 18.

11 dir bhaar ris'an mins, dii nad
tbhii seecn. 12 in na'i deel'da nar-
ghuu'd. 15 om op da bar'ghan ta
pa'san. 18 ta, iik hef'zndighd teerg-
ghan ta. 22 naal ghou -t be'sta kleed,
in duu'n nim dan at, in duu'n nim-an
riq an si'n fiqar, in skuur'nan an si'n
fun'tan. 24 bhant mi'i seecn dii ik
mi'i'nda ['thought'] dat dood bhaar,
is bher fo'nan. 25 do ou'dste seecn
bhaar in -t feld, in duu mi'i naa nuu
ghooq, in dikhto ba'i kbbam, noo'rda
na'i -t si'qan in -t daan. 27 diu
bruur. 29 om mi'i met mi'in maats
['mates'] ris froo'lik ta maan-kan. 31
mi'n jo'qa, dou bist i'mas a'ltos ba'i
ma'i.

100. **Flieland**, island (53 n 15,
5 e 0). II. 22.

11 deer bhaas dris 'n man, hen dii ad
tbhii seecn. 12 hen taat deel'don -
ghuu hov'sder om hen si'n noord'stan
15 hom de sb'hcover ta bhef'n. 18 taat,
ik eb so'ndighd teergahn jou. 22 breq
jaaloi ['you', Dutch
gijtieden] 't kna'pta pak ir, nen trek-
em nan, nen gheed 'n riq han sin
aqd ['hand'], han skuur'nan nan sin
fuu'tan. 23 't kalf dat bhe nopp -t ok

mest e-ban. 24 bhaqt doëv'a min seen bhas good, nén o'ís ris fon'dan. 25 hen de man sin nōu'dste seen bhas hop -t feld, tuu dii nee iís ['near house'] kham, oor' dan o'ît ghasi?q hēn-t ghōda'ns. 27 ṣa bruur. 29 nom ris froo-lik to bhee'zan met min maats. 31 kiin, ṣa bint ha'lted boi mee.

[Observe the regular omission and insertion of (a). (iis), for house, is said to have "a very peculiar sound between (iis) and (es)." (dris), once, shews the form (ris) to be derevenet.]


11 deeer bhas ari'sn man dii thbiis seenes nad. 12 on dō vaadar deed-ot. 15 om op do ferkes to pe'sa. 18 taat, ik hebh ghrōo-sa soinda deen tex-fa žōu. 22 brīq in 'n amov'i-tsa'[i'in an ave-maris'] in a moment! min besta rok niir on duun-am dii an, on gheef hēm-on riq an oni hand, on skuum'na an oni biir-ne ['put shoes on his legs.' Winkelker says he has been asked by a maid servant at Haarlem to wipe his legs (instead of his feet) on the doormat: meheer! sel ujes assi-blījej je seevine of fege? see spec. 80, for boots on feet]. 23 't fet me'sta kolf. 24 bhant doev'a seen bhas four mo'i net ['neat; quite] so ghudud as dood, on ni is heereom fon'da. 25 on do ōrste seen bhas op-t land, on duu in bhee'ro kham, on dikht boëi nyy'is bhas, noord i si'q on speec'la. 27 ṣa bruur. 29 on mit me frii'nd an ari'sn part'i an ta legho. 31 kiin, ṣi bint i'mars o'lan boi mee.

102. Wieringen, island (52n55, 5 e 0). II. 30.

11 deer bhas ari'sn man dii thbiis jo'ques had. 12 sin fan di jo'ques, do jo'ques, fraugh an oni taat ['dad'] om siin me'mes ['mammy's'] babhiis; om dat kreegh i. 15 om do ferkes to bhāir'dan. 18 ik sel tece'ghan taat se'gho dat ik soondigd mēf. 22 maar siin taat se'i do tece'ghan siin knechs, dat sa siin besta kleer'ba gleq mo'sta, en sa-n a'n'tre'ka mo'sta, om dat sa-n riq an oni haq'd, on skuum'ne an siin biir'na duum mo'sta. 23 't me'sta kalf. 24 bhant siin seenen dii i dokht dat dood bhas, bhas nōu bhee'rom fo-qaan. 25 maar tuu kham bhai aar' ['other'] jo'qua fan-t laq'd-t nyy's, on dii noordu mu'u-r so'qen on daqst bhīr'd. 27 siin bruur. 29 bheer no'i met aar'jo'ques ris klukht [local word for 'pleasure'] mee maak's mo-khte. 31 kīn, ṣi'bin a'tloos bo'i mee.

103. Schagen, country town (52 n 47, 4 e 47). II. 35.

11 door bhas-ar'sn u vaarder on dii had tbhee seenes. 12 ni'i ghooq or den maar tuu o'var om-em z'n por-sī to bhee'von, deen i'anpraak op had. 15 op do var'kens pe'sa. 18 m'n vaarder is zoon guīr's keetral, as k-ar n mee 'm tuu ghooq, om zē'īds dat -st-m'n spo'ī ['food'] taak k zaa raar deen hēp, dan, deqk ik, zōo-k bhal bheer in Ho's korma mā'go. 22 no'i most in ii-nan dii sii-kondo kleer'eo o'tt duum, an do knekht most nyy'is ma'la, on dii most i a'ntre'ka, an i kreegh 'n ghūwa riq an z'n vīgen, om skbūn'a an. 23 't meès'tkafl. 24 bhant m'n seen bhas zōo ghūwa as dood, nōu is i oov'ooba'khs bheer o'pordan [Dutch opoorts an, upwards on] ko'man. 25 thē'si in in me'a las a laa klaar maart na'da, bhas do ōrste seenog nogh op-t land, om tuu-t zōo bhat omee'none'bi [Dutch om ende bij, nearly] skhee'merk'vand bhas, hat i dien en tuu ghooq i nee hois tuu, maar tuu i bhat diik'hta bo'i nee'is kham, noord i dat zo zōo o'siš'ālīk ['awfully'] vrook bhee'a. 27 ṣa broor'. 29 tuu ik ii'mosdāa'go kamara'ae bo'i m'n had. 31 m'n jo'quan, see bin a'tloos 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 (6a, 6a, e), "and the open long o nearly agrees with the Friesian oe," (6a, 6a, o); but I have put (ez, eo) 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'sn man, in dii had tbhee seenes. 12 on hāi deeer'a hoecier'k-t-ghuud. 15 om de ver'kons to bhāir'dan. 18 vaadar, ik hebh kbaad deen tece'ghan jōu. 22 breq niir ghuu da besta plecn ['clothing; old (ploé'tsjas), in Oostend (ploé'tsjas), origin unknown], in duum 't m an, in gheef om-on riq an s'n hand, in skuum'ne an s'n biirne. 23 't mees't kalf. 24 bhant doev'a m'n seenen bhas good, in
näi is bhee voondon. 25 in s'n öurdsta secon bhas in -t veld, in tuu dii dikht bäi nøis kham, hoord i zi'qan in spee'ven. 27 ëø bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'nda ør-s vro-lick bhee'za mokht. 31 kind, jëi bi'na a'ltaid bääi mee.

[On the word (boek) for Dutch buik (boe'ik), Winkler remarks that long (yy) and (ii) were ancietly common all over Holland, as at present in Zeeland, West Flanders, Friesland and most other Netherlands provinces. Only Holland, Brabant, and East Flanders have changed long u = (yy) into u = (øi), and long i = (ii) into ë = (øi), which Winkler identifies with (øi). See (1292 d'). "But even in Holland the old pronunciation is not thoroughly extinct. Some words, as duvel, dwend, teevry, are pronounced with (yy, ii) by almost all Hollanderen, even townsfolk, and those who speak so-called 'fashionable' fatsoenlijk Hollandish. But in some Holland dialects the sounds sink to an intermediate sound, as buik (boe'k) rather than buik or buuk (boe'ik, byyk), and dik (di'k, de'k) rather than diyk or diik (di'k, diik), and this is the case at Benningbroek." In sec. 106 these are apparently rather (øi, ii). All this confirms what was said on page 236.]

105. Enkhuizen, town (52n42, 5 e 17). II. 45.

11 dor bhoon'da arghans 'n man di argh rikh bhas en dii töbee zeecons ad. 12 an i dee'l'da z'n ghuhud o'ndar 'rle'i'es. 15 om op do var'kons op to'paas. 18 vaa'dar 'k eh zoundhgh teevoo'ghan jøu. 22 aa'lt t besta pak klee'ra t's iar, an laset ["sound as long e with a slight inclination to a; this sound is not easy to describe, and is very peculiar"] -ot'om an'nduun, en ghee'f-om-an riq an z'n and, an skuur'n an z'n bir'na. 23 't ve'te'kaalf. 24 bhant deee'zo miin zeecon bhas dood ["a sound between Friesian oo and ooa (o', oo')?, the Netherland boom (boom?) a tree, and the Netherland bot (bot, bot?)"], on is voondon. 25 on z'n õû'sta zeecon bhas in-t veld, on duu dii bhook kham, on kort bi øos bhas oor'do ii't ghaza'q en-t da'ns. 27 ëø bruur. 29 dat 'k oek ør-s mit m'n ma-korz ["mates"] pret êba kon. 31 kind, jëi bint a'ltaid bii miit.

[On (øi, ii), see note on sec. 104.]

106. Hoorn, town (52 n 36, 5 e 4). II. 47.

[As a workman would relate the parable to his children.]

11 dor bhas ørs 'n e'regh rô'k neer dii töbee zeecons had. 12 ma taat, je mo'sta ma'in ma muu'dors behö'iz gheev'o. 15 op z'n var'kens in-t land to paas. 18 taat, zoundhgh heb ik, voor jøu. 22 steekt sa'loći i do'qo dår 's ghau ferm in do plou'na ['clothing'] dat iir bhee kadree ["smart"] o'rtziit. 23 't ve'ta ka'lef. 24 bhant m'a r'qya bhas zoó ghud as dood maar nüu kan a'les negh bhee in-t efts ko'ma. 25 maar nüu do ôurdsta zeecon dii khham-t nøis van-t land en dii hoo'rd labhái ["up'rower, row", used in all Dutch dialects] en dii zagh dat spekt'a-kal. 27 ëø bruur. 29 dat ik m'n ēirgho mit më kaamera-ats verdii'vartee kon. 31 r'qya, je'i bi'n o'mars a'lti'di nen en o'mtrent mee.

107. Urk, island (52n40,5e37). II. 54.

11 daa' rhas a'rs 'n man, in dii a'ada 'thbi'hi zyyuns. 12 in z'n taaa dii-l'do 't ghudu, en gha'f m'z'n part. 15 om op do var'kens ta paasen. 18 taa'ta, ik æv ozoundhgh tyy'ghan jiu. 22 briq iir daa'lelik t besta kló'f, in trek-at-am an, in ghi't'-om-an riq an z'n aand, in skuun'non an z'n bi'r'naan. 23 't gha'me'sta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zyyun bhas dood, in ii is bhee aavun'dan. 25 in d-öurdsta zyyun bhas in -t laand, in duu o'k kort boi'-t øoe kham, oord ii'-t ghassa'q in -t ghada'an. 27 ëø bryyrr. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'nden ok ør-s væoo'lick bhee'za mokht. 31 keend, je bir'na o'mars a'loos boi m'n.' ["Long a has four sounds, as long o in goon, stoon (oo); as oo (AA) in doar, toate; as pure a (aa) in dagen, maak; and finally as æ (æe) in meær, væe'reig, 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-as 'n man, en dii ad töbee zeecons. 12 an o'j var'dee'da 't ghudu. 15 om op do ver'kons ta paasen. 18 taa, ik ebl ozoundhgh teevoo'ghan jøu. 22 briq iir ghaoq ["quickly"] 'n bas ['beautiful', old Friesian basq] kleed, en trekt-at-am an, en gheef'riq riq an z'n aand, en skuur'n an z'n bir'naan. 23 't gha'me'sta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zeecon bhas dood, en øi is avun'dan. 25 en z'n õû'sta zeecon bhas op-t laand en tuun øi dikht bat øis kam, oör'do øi'-t ghaza'q en-t ghada'ns. 27 ëø bruur.
109. Holysloot, village, near Buiksloot, village (52°24', 4°65'). II. 62.

110. Zaankant or coast about Zaandam, in English Saardam, town (52° n 26, 4° e 49'). II. 65.

111. Heemskerk, village (52°30', 4° 41'). II. 68.

112. Egmond aan Zee, village (52° n 36, 4° e 38'). II. 71.

113. Zandvoort, village (52°23', 4° 32'). II. 74.

114. Haarlem, city (52° n 23, 4° e 38'). II. 79.
it is nearest to the present literary language. Genuine Haarlemish, as far as it exists, is certainly not spoken by more than half the inhabitants; the other half, including many strangers, speak modern Hollandish." The g is very strongly guttural, and t and n final cause the insertion of (i) before, and (a) after, the preceding short vowel, as (khiê-ōlda) for guldōn (ghoê-ldon). Both the specimens 114 and 115 are dated, August 1870.

114. Haarlem, see specimen 114. II. 82.

"Modern Hollandish," that is, literary Dutch, called "of course almost exclusively in the province of Holland the polite (beschaafde) pronunciation of Dutch." See pp. 1292, and 1377, c.

115. Amsterdam, city (52n22, $4 e 53). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journeymen still speak Amsterdamsch, which was original Friesian; in the xiv th and xv th centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xv th and beginning of the xvi 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 Adriaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the xvi th century, and now barely half of the genuine Amsterdammers 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 Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognises at present nineteen varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following 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 fatsoendelijk" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "elegante expressies" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.

116. Amsterdam, city (52n22, $4 e 53). II. 93.

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119. Amsterdam, city (52n22, $4 e 53). II. 93.

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120. Amsterdam, city (52n22, $4 e 53). II. 93.

[The better classes speak literary Dutch, small tradesmen and journeymen still speak Amsterdamsch, which was original Friesian; in the xiv th and xv th centuries it was still half Friesian; in the xv th and beginning of the xvi 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 Adriaenszen Bredero for proofs. The "watering" of its spirit began in the latter part of the xvi th century, and now barely half of the genuine Amsterdammers 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 Amsterdamish what it is." Winkler recognises at present nineteen varieties of Amsterdamish, and gives as the following 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 fatsoendelijk" (very fashionable), and is corrupted by "elegante expressies" (elegant expressions); but by old gentlemen, born and bred in the Heeregracht and Keizergracht, it is still spoken purely. Modern inhabitants of Kalver Street speak Frankish, High German, Italian, Flemish or Brabantish, or Jewish and modern Hollandish.
zoon bhista-r nogh niks niir'mandal van, bhant ha'i bhas net nii't noeis, mar' tuu'n-i na noeis khabam, noordan-i dat-r braaf ghazo.qa-n-an ghada'st bhuir-an dat-ta vo'o-ghiq. 27 yyes bruur. 29 om 'ni virdamaa'l
d[\(\text{["\text{ordre]]}
\] met m'n ke'nise to n'ou'ba.
31 kind, zii da vaad'ar tuu, heb'ja-n-t niit-a'la daga'ha vol-op bo'i mee gheda't.

117. 

Laren, village (52 n 15, 6 e 13). II. 98.
11 'n zee'kar mins a'da tbhee zeecns. 12 en o'i deel'da noen't ghoo'd. 15 om da vartkes to noo'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik eb azoe'ndighd too'qe'ghan jou. 22 breq ghau-t be'ste kleed ifir, en doo-t em an, an gheef em-on riq an z'n aq'd, en skhooon an z'n bee'en. 23 'ti ve'ta kal.' 

24 bhant dii zeecn van mee bhas dood, en is ovdou'don. 25 z'n ou'ste zeecn bhas op-t veld, en too o'i khabam en kort bo'i ecce is khabam, ovrde na'i ghiz'aq an ghada'as. 27 ja breer. 29 om met m'n virdon is voo'lik to bhee'zon. 31 ko'ind, zo'i bin alto'd bo'i mee.

118. 

Huisen, village (52 n 18, 5 e 14). II. 102.
11 'n mins had tbhee zeecen. 12 en ha'i deel'da z'n ghiu'd. 15 om da varvons to behi'en. 18 vaad'ar, ik heb azoe'ndighd too'qe'ghan jow. 22 breq daa'lek 't beste pak an doo'u tam an, gheef-em-on riq an z'n haqd, en skho'oon an z'n bee'en. 23 'ti ve'ta kal.' 24 waqt deoc'za zeecn van mee bhas dood', en is ovdou'don.
25 en do ou'ste zeecn bhas op-t laq'd, en too u'i dikht bo'i noeis khabam, zagh ha'i 'n ghoo'o'te vera'qarig [Dutch veranderen, 'change']; zo zo'gan, spoee-idan en da'stan. 27 ja breer. 29 om met m'n virdon voo'lik' to bhee'zon. 31 ko'ind, zo'i bint a'lastid bo'i mee.

XXVI. ZUd - HollanD, in English Province of South HollanD. II. 105.

119. 

Woubrugge, village (52 n 10, 4 e 37). II. 106.
11 dar bhas arasi's 'n man dii tbhee zeecns had. 12 an do-ow'a man var-deel'dan z'n gheal en ghmu'd. 15 om da varvks te huni'zan. 18 vaad'ar, ik heb ao'ndighd too'qe'gha jow. 22 breq 's ghau-t zeo'ndagiskha ghmu'd niir o trek-tat-am an, en steek-an riq an z'n vi'qar, on trek-om skhuu'n-an. 23 'ti ve'ta kal.' 24 bhant deoc'za zeecn van mee bhas dooud ["long o with the accent, and a faint aftersound of ou'"], on ik heb'm bheer aoro'da. 25 za'in ou'ste zeecn bhas 't land in ogha'an, en tuu dii bheer op noeis an ghooq, an op de bhoer [Dutch werf, 'wharf', homestead], noord
ra'i zo zi'qen an darsan. 29 om met moo kamaara's shikh to ne'bo. 31 kind, jal bent omaa's al'ta'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 teelijkte), most unpleasant, and most countrified (plaat) 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 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 conformation of the country, like Lowland and Highland applied to Scotch. The educated speak literary Dutch.]
11 dar bhas eri's 'n man dii tbhee zeecen had. 12 en tuu deel'da da vaad'ar z'n ghun mit aelby ["the diphthong ou is not pure ou (63), but has something of the ou sound," and Winkler writes oui, which I interpret (67)]. 15 om op do vartkes to pa'so. 18 vaad'ar ik eb zondo ghada'an t storytelling jou. 22 naa aris ghau-'t ao'ndado pak, on trek-at-am an, en stiek 'n ghoo'o'r riq an z'n vi'qar, on trek-om skhuu'n-an z'n voo'ta. 23 't ghame-sta kaf'af. 24 want deoc'za zeecn van mee bhas dooud, en naai is bheir torggh ghavo'nda. [The (ei, aai) are here separated, according as Winkler writes ei, ai, but he says ei and iy are not pure ai, but are somewhat prolonged, as a-ai.] 25 en da man z'n ou'ste zeecn bhas op 't land, en tuu dii ghada'n ad mit bheerko, en naa noys ghooq an dikht baai noys khabam, noord'ant dat za zo'qen an dan'sta. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mir'me ['with my'] kamaara's vrooi'lik' te bheirza. 31 ja, jai bint al'ta'id baii maiain.

121. Katwijk aan Zee, village (52 n 12, 4 e 23). II. 122.
11 dar bhas 'o ris 'n man, dii tbehe jocular fai, do iin 'n pearsu zeurtshaes [or (taos)] au-or ['older'] as d- andar. 12 in tuu deel'de do vee-dear z'n gheld in ghulud, in ga th 'n z'n porsii [or (portsa)]. 15 om do varrkes te bhaitya. 18 vee-dear, ik neb oezon-ndighd teveh-je joo. 22 mael oirs ghout'-moo'i-sta pak kleetra, in trek-st-aan an, in ghee-eem-an rig an z'n viquer, in skuurun an z'n bii'-na. 23 t ve-te kalf. 24 bhattu doo'eez zoee van mee bhas dood, in nan ne be bhee-m bheer sved-nda. 25 du c'aste zoee bhas in-t veld, in tuu dii-t noes khbam, noor-idi-t ziqan in-t daanssen. 27 Juo bruur. 29 daik mi mit ma kareraas ari's vrool'lik kon bhee-zea. 31 ma yoo'ja, Jai bint ailtad bai mee.

122. Scheveningen, village (52a w 16, 4 e 16). II. 126. 11 dar bhas 'oori's 'n man, on dii ad thbiiz zoeeen. 12 an z'n vee-dear deel'-de baal of voor zoeeen ['him', Dutch zjijn, properly 'his'] an z'n bruur. 15 om z'n varrkes te uin're [remnant of hoeden (nuuddan)]. 18 vee-dear, ik ebb oezon-ndighd teveh-je soo. 20 laq deel-dalik 't bosta ghumud, an duut-am dat an, an duu-n rig an z'n an on gheeef om skuurun an z'n bii'-na. 23 t sme'sta kal'f. 24 bhattu doo'eez zoee van mee bhas dood [written dood, and said to be the 'Friesian and English ood in boat', the former is (6a, o', oo'), the latter is certainly not so in lettered English], an ii is bhaero-ek o'ma. 25 on do man z'n ouaste zoee dhi bhas op 't land, an tuu dii war cees ['house'] ghiq, oo'ru-dan'i-ja zo zi'qa an daanssen. 27 Juo bruur. 29 om mit ma kareraas ari's vrool'lik kon bhee-zea. 31 Jooi ['young one'], Jai ben ailtad bai mee.

123. '8 Gravenhage, village in English the Hague, city (52 n 3, 4 e 18). II. 131. 11 dar bhas 'o ris 'n man, an dii sad thbeeti zalan. 12 an tuu dar'i'de do vaah-der z'n ghuud oando nulili. 15 om do varrkes te nuurja. 18 vaah-der, ik nep ghaizon-ndighd teveh-gen yu. 22 breg biir ris ghau-t beste klaifd an duut-st-an on, an gaeef-it-am-on rig an z'n hand, an skuurun an z'n vuurta. 23 t ghame-sta kal'f. 24 bhattu doo'eez zaan van mee bhas daad, an nou heem-am teve-ggh ghouvo-nda. 25 on z'n ouaste zaan bhas in 't veld, on

tuu dii khbam on dikht beent hoo'is bhas, noor-دو-n-ni-t ghazaq an-t ghada-nsen. 27 Juo bruur. 29 om dar met ma vrii'n vraa-lik mael te bhee-zea. 31 m'n kind, jee bin a'leos bhe m'n. ['e and o are very broad; e comes near a', and o near ao (AA). et, eu, ou, y, are close and pinched (benepers); et, i, are almost long French e; 'ni is end 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 ('t) to express an "imperfect, obscure" a', 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 a (we)," which I have represented by (ah).]

124. '8 Gravesande, village (51 n 59, 4 e 10). II. 134. 11 dar bhas is 'n man dii tbehe zoeeen had. 12 en op 't laq'a lest ['at the long last'], deecr z'n zaniok oen driina mos z'n vuad-bhar bhuu-gheeva, on zoo kreegh-ini z'in ['he got his mind,' got what he wanted]. 15 om do varrkes te nuui-ja. 18 vaadar, ik neb ma ergh slekht teve-ghe see gheedraa-pa. 22 breg in 'o ma'azii'ntsha [or (tta)] do besta kleere joi jo virudo ken, on duu zo-am an, on gheeef-am-on ghout-riq an z'n viquer an skuurun an z'n vuurta. 23 t vetghe'me'sta kal'f. 25 bhattu doo'eez zoee van mee bhas dood, an noo is-ti bhaero ghavo-'nda. 25 tuu dat zoo plaas nad, bhas don ouaste zoee in't veld, an tuu dii van 't land khbam, on dikhte boi no'is bhas, noorda-niit gha'zaq on-t ghadaans. 27 Juo bruur. 29 daik mi'ma vriindo ris vrool'lik mokh ['might'] bhee-zea. 31 ooh, ma kind, jee ben o'maars ailtad boi' mee.

125. Groot-Ammers, village (51 n 54, 4 e 19). II. 139. 11 dar bhas-os 'n man on dii sad tbehe zoeeens. 12 on do vaad dar deel'da-n-or-t ghuud. 15 om do verkans te nuui-jaan. 18 vaad-der, ik nee gaizondighd teveh-gen joo. 22 breg me m'n besta kleera, on duu zo-am an, on gheeef-an rig an z'n hand, an skueurun an z'n vuurta. 23 t ve-te kal'f. 25 bhattu m'n zoeeen niir bhas dood, an xii is ghavo-'nda. 25 da man z'n ouaste zoee bhas op 't veld, an tuu niit biit 'h'hiys khbam, noor'de xii -t ghaza'q an ghadaans. 27 Juo
bruur. 29 om mit më vri-nde vroolik ta bheeza. 31 kind, see bint a’tiid bii mee.

126. Gorinchem, town (51n49, 4 e 59). II. 140.
11 dâar bhâs is de man mi tbhee zoëns. 12 on tuu deel’dá de vââ’dar z’n gnhud. 15 om op de vërsakes te pas’e. 18 vââ’dar ’k neb zee slekt ghee-leeft dat ’t skhânda-n-is vooer joo. 22 haal is ghâuu, zie i, ’t mooirsta kleed, on trek-at-am is [’once’] aand, on-on riq mot i aan z’n hand ne’ba, on duut-on skhuu’nun ok aan z’n vuuta. 23 [’t vëta kalf. 24 omdaa-man-jo-quen op d’n hoł bhâs ghaghâan [’had gone to the hole,’ as it were ’to the bottom,’ the word hol is very idiomatically used in Dutch], on nêu bheer bo-o-vâ waâ’ter is [’and is now above water again’]; — nêo bhâs op-on-on dbbaall-bhegh [’lost path’], on ii is bheer te rekht. 25 noû bhâs d’n ûûste jo-qa net [’exactly’] op’t land, en tuu in nia nœs is tuu’khabam, dohk ii [’thought he’]: bha noor-k vooer-on ghârjik on-on ghoda na? 27 jo bryyr. 29 om is mi m’n vri-nde ta sme’o [Dutch ’feast,’ gormandise] 31 joqaska, see bent o’mars a’ti’di bii me’e.

127. Rotterdam, city (51n55, 4 e 29). II. 146.
11 dar bhâs isis ’n man dìi tbhee zoëns nad. 12 in vaardar ghafaam em z’n porsii; 15 om de vârakes op te pas’o. 22 haal mo iis ghâan de bêste klee’ren en-to-a kast, in duut-on dìi an; ghee-fon-om riq an z’n vi qur, in skhuu’nun an z’n vuuta. 23 [’t vëta kalf. 24 bhant me zoene dii -k dokh [’thought that’] dat döod bhâs, heb ik bheerom ghovorda. 25 tuu ze nû draaf an de ghau bhaa ro, khabam de ûûste zoene dii van ’t ghovaal nogh niit on [this (on) is a mere expletive associated with (niit)] bhist, in nooi’erde za zi’quen in daas’o. 27 jo bruur. 29 dat-i [’that he, the words are reported in the third person] voor heem van z’n vriende nogh nooit zoe o’tghâh-nan’al [’fetched out’] nad. 31 kind, see bint o’mars bo’i me’e.

[”The sound aë must not be pronounced too broadly (volmondyg), it is intermediate between aa and aë; the orthography aë, with high German aë, comes nearest to the sound.” Hence my (aë’i)]. Compare the note on (a’i) at the end of specimen 128.

128. Vlaardingen, city (51n54, 4 e 21). II. 150.
11 dar bhâs erë’s ’n man, in dìi ad tbhee zoëna. 12 in tuu deel’dá niit. 16 om de vârakes te úoujan [remnant of (woer’don)]. 18 vës’oëd, ik eb zoe’n-didh teeg’hâan joo. 22 aal xâli’ë m’n bêste klee’ra-s iir, in duut-on dìi an, in steekt-on riq an z’n and, in ghee-fom skhuu’nun an z’n vuuta. 23 ’t ghame ste karil’f. 24 bhant dëeëz zoene van me bhâs dood, in ii is ovoûnda. 25 z’n ûûste zoene bhâs in -t veld; in tuu dìi kham in dikht boi z’n vës’oës û’eis kham, oor’dan-ii zo’q’an in-t daas’o. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mit m’n vri’nde vroolik ta bhee. 31 kiind, jëi ben o’mars a’ti’d bii me’e.

129. Dordrecht, in English Dort, city (51 n 49, 4 e 41). II. 154.
11 dar bhâs ces ne man, en dìi had tbhee’ zoëns. 12 on tuu ghâf de vaa’dar-em z’n zin [’mind’] en de zoene kreegh de ne’laf. 15 om op de vërkanos te pas’a. 18 vaardar, ’k neb ghazooûndigh teeg’hâan yy. 22 maalt de bêste klee’ra, trek-at-am dìi an, duut no riq an z’n hand, en skhuu’nun an z’n vuuta. 23 ’t ghame’sta ka’lfe. 24 bhant niir neeb see man-zeen dìi bhee do’khto dat doo’d bhâs, on ii is bheer ghovorda. 25 do ûûste zoene dìi op-t veld an-t ar’o-be’i [’work’] bhâs, bhâs in-t ghameel [’altogether’] niit in z’n shikhik [’delight’] tuu-d-i dikht boi’t xois khabam, an’t ghoozq on-t ghoda’n noo’rda. 29 om met mo vri’nde vroolik to bheezaen. 31 kind, see bint a’ti’di boi me’e gheebeest.

130. Oud-Beierland, village (51 n 48, 4 e 50). II. 157.
11 dâer bhâs ris ’n man, on dìi had tbhee zoëns. 12 on tuu deel’dá de vaarder z’n ghuhud. 16 om de vërkanos te bhài’e. 18 vaardar, ik heb ghooûûndigh teeg’hâan joo. 22 broeg ris ghau m’n bêste speerlô voor dan dagh, on duut zo-m an; gheef ook-an riq an z’n hand, en skhuu’nun an z’n vuuta. 23 ’t ghame’sta ka’lfe. 24 bhant dooû’zo zoene van me bhâs dood, en is ghavo’ra. 25 on de man z’n ûûste zoene bhâs in-t veld, an tuu dìi kham en dikht boi’i ûës khoam, tuu noo’rdaan ii zo’q’an on daas’o. 27 jo bruur. 29 dat ik mit m’n vri’ndon ail ook ris vroolik mokh bhee’za. 31 kind, jëi bin a’toos boi mëin.
131. Brielle, or den Briel, town (51 n 53, 40 e 10). II. 160.

11 dor bhas is 'n man [mann'] in country Briellish, dii had tbhee' zooana. 12 en no'i vordeel'da t ghuund oonder noeliir [Dutch kunlieden, 'them'] be'er 't [both']. 15 op da varerkes ta pa'sa. 18 vaa'dor, ik ne zondo ghadaa'nee'geh jour. 22 breq 't be'sto kleed niir in duut-tom an, in gheeft-am-on riqk an z'n hand, in skhuun'nan an z'n vuurtom. 23 't gho'mesta kalf. 24 bhanh deecho' zooena van mee bhas do'd in is ghavooda. 25 z'n 'uosta zooena bhas in't veld, in tuun 'n kham in't kys ghanaw'kta [Dutch, 'neared'], tuu nooord'-n-t zii'qan in't sprii'qan. 27 za bruur. 29 dat ik mit m'n vri'udan sak is vroulik mokht bhee'za. 31 kind, juu bint a'tliid bi m'n.

134. Ouddorp, village on West-Voorn, formerly an island (51 n 49, 3 e 57). II. 172.

11 'n zee'kor mir'so had tbhee' jooqas. 12 en z'n zoor'dar ghaft om. 15 om da verker's-te bhe'i-on [observe the gerundial final (-o), te weiden-e]. 18 voo'dar, ik eb zondo baghoo' tee'ghan juu. 22 breq ghau do 'be'sto kleeran niir om an ta duuna [gerund], gheeft-am-on riq an z'n viqer an skhuun'van an z'oon be'en-on. 23 't mesktaf. 24 bhanh deecho' zooen van mee bhas do'd, an is nuu bheeroom ovo'qa. 25 en z'n 'oosta zooen bhas in 't veld, en tuu i bheigh ['away'] ghiq an bi kys bagho's te ko'ma, noor'da ii-t tromoe-it [French tumult, in a form spread over all the Netherlands]. 27 za bruur. 29 om is lecet [see sp. 131] ta e'bhoo mit ma kameraa's. 31 kind, juu bint at'tiid bi miin.

XXVII. Zeeland. II. 176.

135. Burg, village on Schouwen island (51 n 42, 3 e 50). II. 182.

11 'n zee'kor mens ad tbhee' zooen. 12 in in deex'lida za't ghuund. 15 om da verker's te bhe'i-on. 18 vaa'dar, ik en ghazo'ndiahg tee'ghan juu. 22 briq -at be'sto pak kleeron irr, in duut-am dat an, in gheeft-on riq an z'n hand, in skhuun'an an z'n vuurtom. 23 't ghame'sta kolf. 24 bhanh deecho' zooena van mee bhas do'd, in is ghavooda. 25 in z'n 'oosta zooena bhas in't veld; in tuu in di-khto bii kys bh bee'am, oord'-ii-t ghezaq in't ghedaa'm. 27 za bruur. 29 da-k mii ma vri'andan is vroo'lik kon bhee'za. 31 kind, jii bin o'ttoos bi m'n.

136. Tolen, island (51 n 32, 4 e 6). II. 186.

11 'n zee'kor me'nso a [had, the final consonants are constantly omitted] tbheen' zooenas. 12 en in deex'lida e'ldar [Dutch kunlieden 'them', -r universally
used in Zeeland] 't ghuud. 15 om do verkers ta bha'khton. 18 vaa'dar, k-k ["I have"] khbheed ghaadse teeg'han juu. 22 briq m'n ghau-t besta klæ'd, an duut om dat an, on gheeet-om-on riikj an z'n and, on skhuurunan an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't ghaame-sta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoec'e-ba hhas zo ghuud as doo'd, on is vrom [Dutch wederom, again] ghavo-nda. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas op-t land on tuum-an van-t land vrom kham an a ['quite,' Dutch al] dikhto bi yis hhas, oo'rdan ii da-za zoqan an da-za daaamtan. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mee m'n vrii'ndan is pleeziir-t e'bon. 31 kind, see bint o'ltiid bii m'n.

137. Zuid Beveland, in English South Beveland, island (51 n 27, 3 e 59). II. 190. [Lowland language of the greatest part of the island of Wolfaartsdijkg.] 11 di' bhas is 'n man, dii tbheer' zoecens a. 12 an i verdcns'ldan 't ghuud. 15 om da verkers ta bha'kton. 18 vaa'dar, k see zo'nda o'dee-e teeg'han juu. 22 aelit iir 'n best pak klæ'ren on leet om dat an duut, an gheeet -an riikj an z'n aan'nan [hands'], en skhuuran an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't vet'a kalf. 24 briq iir ma zoec'e-ba hhas doo'd, on ii is o'vono'de. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas in 't veld; an as 'n vrom kham, en kort bi yys kham, oo-ndan iiîghaqaq an-ô ghadan's. 27 jo bruur. 29 om ok is m'i m'n kamarah's plazir' t o'rawn ['hold']. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

[The word (dô), v. 11, is written di', and Winkler notes that this r is not spoken, but serves to give the preceding vowel its sound in short syllables; this is theoretically (dô), but practically (de). Similarly for (mû), v. 29.]

138. Wemeldinge, Jereke, and Katendijke, villages on the north-east of the island of Zuid Beveland, specimen 137. II. 193. 11 'n zoec'kar'menas a tbheer' zoecen'nan. 12 on da dece z'n vaa'dar. 15 om de verkers ta bha'kton. 18 vaa'dar, ik se zo'ndigheid teeg'han juu. 22 briq iir is 'n moooi-e pak ghuud, on duut-an dat an an gheeet-on-an riikj an z'n viiq'ar, on skhuuran an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't besta kalf. 24 bhant m'n zoec'e-ba hhas doo'd, on is o'vono'de. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas op-t veld, on as dii yyt 't veld nir yys kham, oor'dan ii zo ziiq'anan spri'iq'an. 27 jo bruur. 29 om mi mo kamarras' is pleiziir-'t wën ['have']. 31 joq'an, jee bint o'ltiid bai mee.

139. Goes, or ter Goes, town (51 n 29, 3 e 53). II. 196. [Winkler remarks that the close and open o and e are distinctly separated, and te, ae, are diphthongs.] 11 'n man a tbheer' zooecen'an. 12 on tuu vordezie'ldan i oeldar 't ghuud. 15 om de verkers ta bhéiren. 18 vaa'dar, ik ooe-kghaoerndigheid teeg'han juu. 22 briq iir daa'dolik 't besta klæ'd, an duut 't 'm an, on gheeet 'n riikj an z'n and, on skhuuran an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't ghaeto half. 24 briq dii zoecen'an m'on hhas doo'd, on is ghavo-nda. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas op-t land, on tuum-on dikhto bi yys kham, oor'dan iiî 't gheaz-q an-ô ghadan's. 27 jo bruur. 29 da-k mee m'n vrii'ndan is pleiziir-eak kon. 31 kind, jii bin a'ltiid bii mee.

140. Noord Beveland, island (51 n 3, 3 e 47). II. 199. 11 di' bhas is 'n man, dii tbheer' zoecens a. 12 en i verdcns'ldo't ghuud. 15 om de verkers ta bha'kton. 18 vaa'dar, k-œo, khbheed o'dee-e teeg'han juu. 22 aelit iir 't besta pak ghuud, an leet-on dat an duun, on gheeet-on-on riikj an z'n viiq'ar, on skhuuran an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't vete'a kalf. 24 briq iir m'n zoec'e-ba hhas doo'd, on ii is vrom o'vono'de. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas in 't veld, on as dîi dîi kham, en kort bi yys kham, oo-ndan iiî-tiir'qan en-ô daaamtan. 27 jo bruur. 29 om aak is m'i m'n kamarah's plazir' t aen. 31 kind, jii bint o'mas a'ltiid bii m'n.

141. Warcheren, island (51 n 30, 3 e 55). II. 202. 11 dier bhas is 'n man on diîn aa tbheer' zoecens. 12 on de vaa'dar, kshhe-da z'n ghuud on gaafad dan juurq'an z'n e'rpo'si ['inheritance-portion']. 15 om op de verker ta par'on. 18 vaa'dar, k-m-k ['I have I,' repeated pronoun, frequent hereafter], zo'ndo ghaadse teeg'han juu. 22 briq iir ghaa do baso plazir'na, an duut-on dîi an, on gheeet-on-on riikj an z'n viiq'ar on skhuuran an z'n vuu'tan. 23 't ghaa'ma'ska. 24 briq 't is net x'ndor of dees'za zoecen'a van mee doo'd ghabbi'st êit, on blec ghavoon-dan is. 25 an z'n 'ousta zoec'e-ba hhas
142. *Arnmuiden*, small town (51°29', 3°30'). II. 204.

11 'n zee-kar men's aa theeber zoëns. 12 en z'n ghaaf 'm z'n posee [or (po'se)²? 'portion']. 15 om op de ver-rakens to pa'son. 18 vaadar, k-e-k ghoor-te zo'nd adaeb toe'ghan juu. 22 briiq ir tan oost-an 't besta kleert, en duut st en z'n liif, en gheef en riiqk an zi'n vii'qer, an skhuu-num aan z'n vuutun. 23 't ghama-'sta ka-la�.

24 bhaan m'n zoæ‰n'n bhas doad, en k-e-d-n ['I have I him'] bhiiro-mo avo-nda. 25 en zii oostæ‰ zee-nee bhas-t-aar nii bie, mer ii bhas in-t-feld, en as-en koorta bie z'n vaadders yys kbbam, oord-ii ziir'qa en sprii'qa. 27 zo bruur. 29 om meee mii vr'ndan is 'n vrooi-elikan aa-vaen ['evening'] t-o-ua ['to hold']. 31 juu't'qaan, see bint o'maa Aa'-ltiid bie mee.

143. *Hulst*, town (51°17', 4°2'). II. 209.

[The h and g are confused; Hulster men will say een hooete goet voor een goede hoed 'a good hat,' een houte ring voor een gouden ring 'a gold ring,' een goote tafel voor een houten tafel 'a wooden table.' This confusion occurs among the lower classes, especially those who cannot read, and is not uncommon in Zeeland and Flanders. It is not shewn in the specimen.]

11 'n zee-karen men's-aa'di theeber zoons. 12 on-ái des'-ld-an 't ghud. 15 om de ver-rakas te bhaal. 18 vaad'er, ik-eb-'k ghezo-nigdigh tee'ghan-ou. 22 briiq-iir voort- 't besta kleert-an duit-st-en aan, en gheef -aan riiqk-ään z'n-ant-en skhuu-num aan z'n vuu'ta. 23 't ghav-te kalf. 24 bhan dees mii'n vuun doaan zoon bhas doax-an-ii is ghav-no'da. 25 en zii'naan'-ouste zoon bhas-aa-t-felt, on-assi kbbam en-ii'w is ghav-no ak, oor-öd-ii't ghoza'qek on-t laabhai't [supposed to be connected with French Aubade, and not with lauaw, specimen 106]. 27 uu bruur. 29 dad-ik meee-ma vrii'nda mokh vrooi'lak ziiän. 31 kind, ghäu ziiit-a'-ltiïd bii männ.

144. *Aksel*, or *Axel*, town (51°17', 3°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 wærghans ii'mand dii tbeehe zeece'n-ään AA. 12 en zoon vaad'er deeld wëld-yt yyt bhas zä noo-digh aan, om te koo'n-ään leevan. 15 beesten en væer-rakas op te pa'sen en te vuurun. 18 vaad'er, k-vën zoe-ke'z ondán ghadaan en aairmodal ghud meee juu ghaandel ['handled, dealt']. 22 broeq-om don nie'bhaam laq'qork, en duut-'en ghó'tus kno'pän an z'n wær'-msii'zaran ['gold studs on his shirt-front,' hennuboor or boezen, the prop-digal son is treated as an Aksel peasant lad], en zoe'Ivare bruus'k'tö'kan ['silver breeches-seams'] an, en skuur'ma mee ghi'spen ['buckles']. 23 en va'der zee-lân ['we shall'] kru'kaka 'cakes,' take the place of the calf] laa't'en ba'kon. 24 bhan meen zoeæ‰n bhas voor ons zoo ghud as dood, an ii is ghavo'n'dan. 25 don örd-stan van de zoeens bhas in-t land, en tuun in diiktéer bi yys kbbam, oor'don ii ziir'qon en spriq'qa. 27 zo bruur. 29 om plezieri t-aen mee aandro juu'qon. 31 bel ['well'], en juu'qon, see bint a-al fi'n bii man.

145. *Kadsand*, village and district, formerly an island (51°21', 3°24'). II. 216.

11 dää bhas ees 'n mens dii tbehe zoëns a. 12 in dee'l-don-t ghud oonders d'slder. 15 op de ver-rakens te pa'sen. 18 vaad'er, ik een zoon'd had aaghe'en juu. 23 aalktor 't mooirte ghud, in duut st 'm an, in duud 'n riiqk an z'n vii'qer, in skhuu-nan en z'n vuu'tan. 23 't ghavo-te kalf. 24 bhan m'n zoëns-ir bhas dood, in ii is ghavo'nan. 25 in z'n oorstæ‰ bhas bhas in-t land, in as i kbbam, in kort bi yys bhas, oord'en ii-t ghaozq'qk in-t ghadaans. 27 zo bruur. 29 om meee ma vrii'n'den ees-on plezir-ighan dagh t-aen. 31 juu'qon, see ziiit a-l'tiïd bie mee.


11 'n zee-kar mens a tbeehe zoëns. 12 an in deel'-de-t ghud oon'der derl. 15 om de ver-rakens to bha'khtan. 18 vaad'er, ik en ['have'] kbbaat
ghodaa'n tee'ghan juu. 22 Aal-t be-ste klaed, in duut-at-am an, in duud-on riig an z'n and, in skhuunan an z'n vuut'an. 23 't gheeve'to kalf. 24 bhant deer-dee-zoean von mee bhas dood, in it is ghevo'dan. 25 in z'n d'ursta zoean bhas op -t land, in is diikht bi yys kbham, oordan ii-t ghazaq' in-t ghoda'ns. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mee me vri'ndaan lee'tigh te zuin. 31 kind, zee bind a'tliid bind iee mee.

147. Aardenburg, town (51n16, 3 e 27). II. 222.
11 d'a bhas 'n keer [and (okeer) 'once,' Dutch een'ker, much used in Belgium] 'n man dii a tbee zoeanz. 12 an ii vordeel'dan 't ghund. 15 om da varraaks ton bha-khtana. 18. 19 k'keexa-k-ik [this repetition of personal pronoun is common in Flanders] ko'nde tee'ghan. 22 Aald-o-keer 't be-ste klaed'd an duud dat im an, an-an riig' an z'n vii'qar, an skhun naan an z'n vuut'an. 23 't ve'to kalf. 24 bhan d'n deer-zan m'n zoea'na dii bhas dood, ii is ghavo'nan. 25 z'n 6u-dsta zoea'na bhas in 't land, an os ik kbham an t-yys naa'darden, oordan ii-t zi'i-qaan an in da ro'nda dat'san. 27 ja bruur. 29 om mee m'n maat's ess loow-to to'en ['to have']. 31 m'n kind, ghee zii ghiit a'tlii bii mee.

[Really East Flemish, much mixed with French.]
11 non zeek'raan mehr'so daa tbeer' zoeanz. 12 an zoon-vaa'dara parte-zee'en oor'de de syykesi, ['succession'] 15 om zo zheem to bha-khtana. 18 vaa'dara, k-ex'a-k-ik [the pronoun tripled!] mesdaan zee'ghens ou. 22 breet iir voorts 't be'sta klaed', en duurgho-tom aan'na, en laq't-am onen-riiq an z'n aand, en skhuuns an z'n vuut'en. 23 't gha-me'sto kalf. 24 bhant den deen'naan manon zoea'na bhaa-ro doood, en af es bhederom gho'vonan. 25 an z'n a-ston zoea'na bhas cep do skirk'en en os-t-an kaarnsa on t-bis genaa'k'thega, oordan af den zaq on-t ghoro-khta. 27 ouren bruur's. 29 opdaa-k mee m'n vri'ndaeks m'e's ghee'ertagh moikt zuim. 31 kiind, ghee zai ghai a'tliai bai mai.

[Observe the gerundial dative (to bha'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 doagene, '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 dso' bhaans ons on-mins deel'bbii zoeans ha. 12 an da vaa'dar'dar lyyt z'n kins ['let his children'] den-lan. 15 an daarkheer dooo'hnom den d'reen hy'yon. 18 vaa'dar, ik nem zoon gheado'm-teeqi gehok. 22 duun dooo do vaa'dar se-fas ['quickly,' see specimen 51] z'n be'sto klir haa'lan. 23 a'et kalf. 24 da zana-roq trek [Dutch terug, back] ghaako' me bhaans. 25 o'arto'se-as ['meanwhile'] kbaam daan a-dsta zoon oot met veld, an bheii 'when' ar in hoos hy'aan daa'lan... 27 uur brytt. 29 an veeq mikh haman'za ['have they'] za lee'van zaoo ghiin ['none'] koo'termis ['Christmas,' fair-time, feasting] ghaa'aghan. 31 joq, ghee'zeet a'tleet bii 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 Hasselter to force one's tongue to it." I have written (ao) as a compromise.]
11. do bheoker ins na man dia tbee' zoon ha. 12 dou 'then' verdil'ilsdo de vaar 't ghoud te'son ['between,' Dutch tuschen] hin tebhe'ra. 15 upp z'n ne'e'niq var z'n verko's te ke'ra. 18 vaa'dar, ikh heb focoet gheeko' teeq'g'ha y'kha. 22 hais'ldso ins gheo 't be'sta klid, en douteh [or (doutuh)] oem da aan, an stek-am onen-riiq in zana-veq'ar, en skhaan in z'n veet. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mana-zoek hen bhoeer dood, an noo as am bhir [Dutch weederen, 'again'] tregh [Dutch terug, 'back'] gheov'na. 25 maa zanaan-a-dsta zoeen bhoeor op 've'el'sch [may be ('veltsch, 'veltsch, veldsch)] an bheo 'm in 't tregh ko'ken'ma kort an zee'naas ghek'vor'ma
bhæor, niir'dan om da-so an-t'ze'qan an an-t daa'son [the first (n) lost] bhæor'. 27 uur bre'iir 29 vor m'n kamer-a'ten ins to trakte'ren. 31 juuq, dzhee [written deje, may be (tsieè) zeet a'teèd bee mikh.

151. St. Truiden, in French St. Trond, town (59°48', 5°12'). II. 242.
11. doo bhas ona-kii'r see (specimen 147) ana-man, dea a bhiih juu-qos. 12 an de vaar di'ir'do an ghaf 't oem. 15 most oem bee noo buur as ve-rakos-ee't ['as farrow-herd'] voryy-roo [‘hire’]. 18 paa, kh-aceh ghowo-nighd tee'ghe uukh. 22 6ilt ['fetch'] se-fos niir'va klii't an o paar niir'va stii'vals veerz oem aan te duun, en ana-ghoo'no reeqk veerz ena-zan-vigcr to stee'ko. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant mana-zoon bhas duu'd, en ikk oeb oem trek ghauuurqa.
25 zuo-maa ['yes, but'] dan aars'te zoon deh bhas en-t veld; an as-t-ar t-avz ka'm, on al de baasghir'il 'ye-da, kos-t-ar bee baghro'tpoo bhaa da t-bhas. 27 ze bryrr. 29 veerz z'n vi'ndan ins te trakte'ree. 31 kand, dzhee [or (dieë), written deje] zoii'a l'to'id bee mikh gheebee'reet.

XXX. Zuid Brabant or Bel-gian Brabant. II. 247. See No. XVIII. 57, etc., p. 1390.

152. Zuurbeemden, village near Haelan (50° 57', 6° 7'). II. 249.
11. d'ou'oo bhas ona-kii'ir no man, d'ai'o bhiih' zoon'na. 12 en de vaar liit dan alos deili. 15 veerka-hee't to bhoo's [to become farrow-herd]. 18 vaar'dor, ikk bhihi't-ot, ikk hem gere-ligh ghoom st tee'ghe uukh. 22 helt ghoo, ghoo de be'sta klii'ran, duut z' hem aan, gheehe hem ok ona-rigk in zoi'nà vi'gar, on briqt hem skhùun'or om an to duun. 23 't vet kalf. 24 bhant meir'na zoon bhas duu'd, en ha'on as teeqh ghowo'na. 25 tabha'il'a daa da ad ja'mou', ia veerz'vill ['every-time happened'] bhas den aar'ste zoon in 't veld; duun er noo'ù ha's iep, hy'dar ar vye't labhe'il van-t zoon an t-daasen. 27 uur bryrr. 29 veer m'n vi'ndan ona-kii'rta trakte'reen.
31 soq, ghee zo'it hama's a'teèd bo'i mikh.

153. Diest, town (50°58', 5°8'). II. 253.
11. dar bhas eens ana-zee-kèr'a vent

[‘man’], diil'thii zooman ad. 12 on da vaad'ar verd'ido elk ze paak. 15 uum do ve-rkas te yy'or. 18 vaad'ar, ikk om bhaa baad'gha' aen t'ee'ghe uukh. 22 spuu ['hasten'] uukh al ghau, breqt bo niir klii'd an van da skhou'nsta ['most beautiful'] an duung-at-am aan, an gheet oem ona'riqk aan z'n and, an skhou'naa aan z'n vuu-tan. 23 a fav kalaf. 24 bhant mana-zoon dii' daa as, bhas dood, an ee ce iou ghowo'na. 25 mar dan ou'sto bhas baas'ta ['without'] upp't feld, an as am on'trent de'tigh okh fitfigh spaa van oo's ['about 30 or 50 steps from house'] bhas, uur'dan om zi'qan an spri'qa. 27 uur bryrr. 29 om mee man vri'nda in kompaa'na-t ear'tan. 31 zoon, ghee zeet a'teèd bee mikh.

154. Tienen, in French Tirlemont (50° 38', 4° 56'). II. 256.
11. d40' bhaar 'n kir 'n mns der' bhiih juu'qos a. 12 en de vaar eet cem 't ghuud gheede'ld. 15 vor de ve-rakos 't yv'or. 18 vaar'kko [this should mean 'little father,' but may be a misprint, as the word is (vaad'ar) in v. 21], ikk om on'ghoelkek gh'ad ['I have wrong had'] teeqh ghan cekk. 22 naa'tl ona-kir aghoo [Dutch al gauo 'all quickly'] de be'sta klee'ree dee' ghe viq't ['find,' Dutch vindet] en trekt-oem 'dee' aan, on stekt oem ona-riqk in zana-vigcr en skhuan in z'n vuu'ta. 23 do ve'to ma'eta ['calf,' also (mo'to, moe'ta, meec'ta), (mo'tiin) in Overijssel means 'stuff']]. 24 bhant mana-ruuq iif bhas dood, en on-o es bhiih trseqh ghowo'va. 25 ondertees'oo ['meanwhile'] bhas dan aar'ste zoon upp't veld, on as-t-ar trseqh kamp on bek-a'st ['near'] an z'n oez [or (oehs) "house"] bhas, yyn'd'o-t-ar z'iqon an spri'qa. 27 zo brea'. 29 vor man vri'nda ins o fie'eka to ghee'vo. 31 okh juuq, ghee'zed oez'mas'atee'd bee mikh.

[On the word skawodder, ‘whore’ v. 30, Winkler remarks that it is properly the word sloderd, ‘sloven,’ with a join inserted (een lasch er in) in the Flemish way, thus: al-av-odder, and in the same way West Flemings make the North Nederlandsch stet, ‘slut,’ into al-av-etse, with the same meaning; similarly in spec. 147, v. 14, the word schaubouwelik occurs, which is schouwou-lijk, ‘showily,’ with a Flemish insertion of ab.]
155. Louvain, in French Louvain, city (50 n 53, 4 e 43). II. 261.
11 doo ['a simple sound, nearly long Dutch oo, nearest French eau, and approaching German u'] bhas me man dit thee zoomen a, 12 on de voor gardee-ldan in dan't ghuut. 15 uum ar do verrekas t-aava [(aa-vaa, oo-va, noo-va, hoa') from (hoo'da) 'hold,' the usual (nuu'dan) 'keep is unknown at Louvain.' 18 voo'dor, k-em ghemist, k-em zoo veel kood ghadon tee-ga aa. 22 dilt sefas at be'sta kleet on duut-at-am on; stekt anen-rig on zonen-vi-qar on duut-am skhu'unon on. 23 't vet kalif. 24 bhat mana-zoon bhas dood, an 'Ais e ghavo-no. 25 so-moo, dan oudsta zoon bhas tarva'i-lend ['whiling, staying] uup 't velt, on as da'i-na bhee khhamp on baka'inst ['almost'].
on 'Ais bhas, oood-am vaa bai'ta daa ze doo bee-zigh bhoor mee ziqon on da'no. 27 uu brii. 29 uum mon vrii'nden ins te trakteeron. 31 mo kint, gh'ei za'id a'ta'id ba'i ma'i. [("A'i") is said to "sound nearly like the English boy, but the (i) is very obscurely pronounced," more as ("A'j") perhaps, but it is a mere variety of ("ai.")]

[The 'sneeze' of the Brusselsers is stated not to be exactly Dutch sj, or French ch, or German sch, but resembling all, and to have something of/, and n moullies 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 jsh, as hitjsh, and Winkler writes it sj. The Brusselsers 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 onen-kii ana-man dii tbhi'i-aa zoo'onen a. 12 on de voor ghaif uun idar ze poot ['part']. 15 uum de verrekas t-aava. 18 voor, t-es bhoor ['true'] 'k em-ik-ikavel, ghii'l [Dutch geluweet, altogether] veeel khhbod ghahoon tee-ghehn aa. 22 spouiid aaloon isj al ghaia, o'tsjj ['fetich'] a shkhiol ['beautiful'] nytt klii't veece ['fore'] om uun to duun, stekt om anan-riq uun zano-vi-qor, on gheefem-e poor skhuunan uun z'n vuuta. 23 a vet kalif. 24 bhat mana-zoon duu bhas doid, on naa erma bhee 'm bhee ghavo'na. 25 moo dan oudsta zoon bhas boositu nuu 't feltsj gahbee'st, en as em zuu abha'd [Dutch ietwat, 'somewhat'] in de ghebbyro ['neighbourhood'] van z'n oois khhbamp, 60idn aai al-t siqon on da'nosti. 27 a bryy. 29 om mee'mn kamerooned isj braan te sma'leen. 31 zoon, ghee zaaai ghaa i'mas a'taaid bhai ma t-oois.

157. Noord-Brussel, Schaarbeek, etc., the suburbs on the North of Brussels, see No. 156. II. 273. 11 doo bhas onen-zee'karo man dii tbhi' zoo'onen a. 12 en de voor dir'tsjjan ece'en ceel-e [Dutch hunieden repeated] poot. 15 uum z'n verkas ghahul to sloo'ghto [Dutch gade te slaan, 'notice to strike,' to mind]. 18 voor, t-es bhoor k-em tee-ghehn a khhbod ghaudum. 22 ghef ghaia e kli'di on de juurqa, en hi'n ['one'] van de be'sta; duttsjx om anen-rigk en zonne-vi'naar, en skhuunan on z'n vyy'ten. 23 't vet kalif. 24 bhat mana-zoon bhas doid, an aa as bhee gahovo'na. 25 dan daa'ls zoon bhas in 't field gheblivei'va; moo as on noo z'n dius khhbamp, lee' don a myzzik-d, da'nsen on zank. 27 ce'e's bryy. 29 uum mee men vrin'tsjj moo'i'taad t-aa-va. 31 juurqa, ghee zaat a'taia baa ma.

XXIX. Antwerfen, in French Anvers, in English Antwerp. II. 279.

158. Tielen, village, near Turnhout, town (51 n 19, 4657). II. 281. 11 dar bhas es ne vaa'dar meer bhee tiel' zoo'onen. 12 nee, do vaa'dar dii' bhas droo-var konten, on i liit z'n juurqas daa'lan. 15 da verkasdee hye'yan. 18 vaa'dar k-em veeel kaad ghaada'aa. 22 duut-am ghaif skhooon dii qan aa, an-na riqk aa z'n vii'gar an-skhuun aa z'n vuuto. 23 't vet kalif. 24 bhat mana-zoon bhas dood, on-ik em taro'g ghaovo'na. 25 vaa'mor den eer'dstan juurqan bhas dan uup 't veld aan 't bherken, on as e tee'ghan 's aay's ['evening'] uup hois aa kkhbhm, ooroden ee va vaas da laha'id an-e-kost ar ghaio kop aa kra'i'ghen 'f and he could there no head on get,' as he could not understand it.] 27 e bryy. 29 om m'n vrii'nden es te trakteeron. 31 juurqa, ghee zaiit uur'mes a'ltai bai mai.
159. Mol, town (51n12, 5e7).
II. 284.
11 daa bhas 'ne man dii' ttbhe' zoom're aaf1 ['had']. 12 en de vaa'dar vard'k'da dan 't ghunud. 15 de ve'rikas yy'ra. 21 vaa'dar, 'k am o'nghal'o'ik. 22 brekkt sefas 't be'sto kleed, on duu ghe'o 't aam; stek-an rigak a zoom-ve'qor en duut-am shkuur-nan aam. 23 't vet ka-laft. 24 bhant mana zoom bhas doot, en ii is ghavo'no. 25 dan a'usta zoom bhas te'qen di'in to'id oit; as o1 t-ois khbamp, yy'rdan o1 va bo'te-t labhaart. 29 om mee m'en vree'ndan uup 't eer'ton. 31 do vaa'de zee-m dan at na'oi a'le'i bo'i -m bhas.

160. Antwerpen, in French Antverpen, in English Antwerp (51 n 13, 4 e 22). 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 than oo, almost the French o in fantôme [that is, (A)]. When without stress, it is like a common short e, (o, o), as meer=mur.

A short is very like e short or German ä short; man, had, kwam, sound as German mann, add, kwammen [that is, (ë)]. But when it has the stress, it sounds as half long A, nearly as French âne [that is, (ã)].

E long and close becomes among the lowest classes ei, or rather eei, eej [that is, (ëi, ëei, ëez) or (ëi, ëei, ëez)].

E long and open becomes a diphthong ëë or iëë, exactly like the Friesian ië or ia, and this is general Belgian [that is, (iä, i')]. When without stress, it becomes in Antwerp simple i [(i, i', e')].

E heavy, "de zware e," is a bleating sound between a and e, the æ found in many Holländisch forms of speech, the French faivre, père [as distinct from (e), given to short e above, this is certainly (æe)]. It often occurs before r, where the genuine Netherlandish has aa or e, as gärne. In Frisic towns, Groningen, etc., these words have ee. The same e or æ sound is used in other words at Antwerp, which in Belgium generally have ei (ëi). The final -aar, -laar, have (œ).

E short before r becomes a short, as werk, kerk, sterk = werk, kark, stark [with (a?)].

IE diphthong has the pure, not the Holländisch, pronunciation [that is, (is), not (ii)]. The lowest class, however, change it to a close long e followed by f, as ziel=zoekil [that is, (iäel, zeej)].

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 u, as kowmen for komen (kóou'man); zoon, koning, are zoon, kweun (zœen, zoon; koce nik, kœuni).

O or oo open and long is pronounced eëi, that is, as ee with an aftersound of unaccented e, just like Friesian oe or uo [that is, (uu', uu')]. 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 ue, (yy'), as schuurn or schuën (skoyun, skyy'n).

O short has generally in Belgium three sounds; 1) regular, in top (top, top ?); 2) as Holländisch oe, or German u (uu, u), in most words, where Holländisch has the obscure short o [apparently (o, o)], as oep for op; 2) before r, as short eu, or as German 0 [perhaps (o), and not (w), may be meant]. Many of these words have short u [(w) in my transcription].

U long retains its sound generally (yy); but when followed by w, as in uu, dween, and also in nu, it becomes au or awu (au).

U short in Antwerp and all Belgium, except occasionally in Flanders, is pure u, like German ü (y), as ët for but (yt).

IJ and EI under the stress become aai or ai or oai (aai, ëai, ëai'); without the stress, they fall into simple a.

UI, AAI, are both ooi (ooi), as oois for huis.

OEE and OOI are both oei or oøj (üai, ëu) at Antwerp. In OOI the i is sometimes lost, and the long open oo becomes oëë (üu') at Antwerp, as (nuu') = nooot.

AUW and OUW are both awu (au).

EEW is ëiw, "that is, the long open ee, which in Antwerp becomes te or iëë [ii'], ending with a te?" [ii'u ?].

IEUW is generally ief (iif, iäf ?).

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 wai moeten ălle dongs warke.

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 j, as spoeven for spoeden.

Cases do not differ in adjectives, but genders do. Article: masc. 'ne (na) before all consonants but b, d, h, t, and 'n en (nem) before these and vowels; feminine 'n always; neuter e (a) before all consonants but b, d, h, t, and 'n before these and vowels. Definite: masc. de, den; fem. de; neut t. Possessive: m. m'ne, m'nem; f. m'ne; n. me, m'n. Demonstrative: m. diee, dieën; f. die; n. dat.

Pronouns: git or ge placed after a verb becomes de, as oor de nem = hoeft gij niet. Hij, otherwise a or aai, 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 the 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., te nem, a mènt, we nemen, ge nemt, ze nemen; nèm, nèmt.]

11 dor bhas is no men on dii'n ad tbihi' zoo'na. 12 on an a-reet en ii'dar zo kiiqghe'diit'a ['child's portion'] gheeqe'va. 15 uum do vaa'rakas t uu'ta. 18 vaa'dar, k-em khaa ghodo'neeq ghaa'a aa. 22 ma'na, ghàån, bretch a paa'sheesta ['pachal best, the custom being to put on new clothes at Easter'] kii'd an duu gheeq-t-om aân, stekt enaan-rîqon on zon'-viiqar, on trekt skhuno'na on z'n vuu'ta. 23't vet kaaf. 24 bhan mana-zoe'en bhas duu'd, on a-ze is trygh ghavoqda. 25 mor tarb'hâq-lot bhas dan ârstâ zoe'en uup't veld; on âs am bheer kbhëm, en sê dikht baa z'n dois bhas, uu'rdon am ziq'en daa'nna. 27 uu bryr. 29 um m'n vriqdan is te trakteero. 31 aii, ju'qa, ghee za ghàåi a'tla be mâi.

161. Lier, in French Lierre, town (51 n 8, 4 e 34). II. 297.
11 na man ad tbihi' zoo'na. 12 on a vardii'ldon-at ghudd on'dor ceo'la. 15 om zan vaav-rakas t-ce'baa. 18 vaa'dar, k-em teeq'ghan aa ghazo'mdigh. 22 bretch dan ii'rstan teq'bard ['tabard,' frock, a Dutch word] dan be-sten, duut-am-am ân, stekt-am non-rîqon on'z and, on skhu'unon on z'n vuu'ton. 23 o me'stakal. 24 omedt maan'e zoom dood bhas, on is bheeru'm ghavo'na. 25 mor dan aad'sta zoom bhas op-t veld, on tuun a bheer kbhamp, on z'n ouos núordardo, oord-an-aat ghaza'qk. 27 uu bryër. 29 om mee maan vriindo t'oëtoen. 31 zoom, ghaa zaad a'tlaa baa maa.

162. Mechelen, in English Meeklin, in French Malines (51 n 2, 4 e 23). II. 299.
11 der bhas no kii' no man, dii tbihi' juqas aa. 12 an do va'i'dar vardii'don ceéla paaat. 15 um do verka ghóoi ta slaígh. 18 va'i'dar, k-em ghazo'mdigh teeqghan aa. 22 gheet al ghaa a klij'd on't besta dat ar is, gheet-am non-rîqon aân z'n and, on skhuunan aan z'n vuu'to. 23't vet kalf. 24 bhan manu'qaa bhas duu'd, on a-r is bhee ghavo'na. 25 jaa'mor dan aad'st zoom dii' bhas up at veld as daa voeer viel; on ghala'k am nor âois kbhamp, oord-an-dor a labhàànit van ziiq'on on spríiqa. 27 uu bryër. 29 um mee'm vri'nda na kii' bllaà tizàain. 31 ghee zaa ghàäi uur'mas a'tlaid ba mâai.

163. St. Amands, village (51n3, 4 e 12). II. 302.
11 dòu bhas no man dii' tbihi' zoo'naan aa. 12 on do vòu'dar ghaf 't am. 15 do verka ghó slôrghàan. 18 vòu'dar, k-em khbëud gherdu'n teeq'ghan aa. 22 gheet al ghaa a klij'd on'du za juq'an; ii'n van da be'sta; stekt dan non-rîqon on zii'non viqar, on gheet-am skhuunan on'n zain vuu't. 23't vet ghamo'k't kalf. 24 bhan ons kii bhas duu'd, on âi as-'heer ghavo'na. 25 don aad'stan zoom bhas ihn't feld ghabeelleven, on an on nòur o'is kbbamp, uu'rdan âi daa sa beex'khi bhó'run me ec ci'qan en ta dat'son. 27 a bryrer. 29 um na kii're maain vriindo kerms t-aavan. 31 gha zai' uur'mas a'tlaid bai mâi.

XXXII. OOST-VLAANDEREN, in English EAST FLANDERS. II. 306.
164. St. Nicolaas, town (51 n 10, 4 e 7). II. 308.
11 dör bhas na kii,r na mens, dîi thbîi' zool'na am na. 12 an da vô'dar ghaf z-elk ol'dar pôurt. 15 om o de vêrkas to bâh'ka'tan. 18 vô'dar, k-ei misdôn. 22 ûst ol'dar ['haste ye'] an ôult al ghâa do bëstê kleeran an duu za-e-m ôn; stîkt-am-na riqk an zaîra' viirqar, an shkuuron an za'm vuut'n. 23 't vet kald. 24 bhat mârma zoon bhas doot, an ûi is bheer ghavôt Balanced. 25 don ao'za zoon khâm in'to'ren van -t veld bheer, an as âi nogh an boorghskeekt ['a bow-shot'] van e'-is bhas, kost âi al-t myyziik', en-t lahâbît oo'ten. 27 êu bruur. 29 meen mâi vrîndan ni kea lôut' ton smaadran. 31 ghe zii gâi a'ltd bài mâi.

165. Eeklo, town ([51 n 12, 3 e 33]. II. 311. 11 ter bhas na kii,r na r'i-kon eeto [Duteh heer, gentleman] dîi thbîi' zool'na am na. 12 in do vaa'dar verdîl'-lôdgh ol'dar za'i ghuit. 15 do vêrkons to bâh'ka'tan. 18 vaa'daro, k-en misn'dân yooz vee er. 22 briq tîr al ghê'ba [Duteh goaue, quickly] za'in bëstê dii-qan, in dôugh'ta-tân an, in stek-o'm r-a-rîqk an zaîra' viirqara, in shkuus a za'm vuut'n. 23 't vet kald. 24 bhat mâni-zool'na bhas dy't, in o'i is bheero'm ghavôd'en. 25 maa'b bints ['in the mean time'] bhas zaîna'ni eeb'sta zool'na in dan a-karya, in os do dii'non bheero kii'r'dagha in an e's khamp, in y'i-r'dagha zîi-qan in lahâbî t'ebhôn. 27 êe bruur'a. 29 om môi m covid na 'ii viiri'don na kii'r bhal to dunn. 31 tuut, tuut, môi'kind, ghê'ee ghê's a'l't'id boi'î maze ghouh heere'erd ['returned'].

166. Maldegem, village ([51 n 13, 3 e 27]. II. 316. 11 dor bhaar no kee'tko no rô'ikê man, dîi tbhée zool'na am na. 12 ee laa-tor [?] morstô deeel. 15 bhaar ghadwoqon ['forced'] van do zbheecns to bâh'ka'tan. 18 vaa'dar, ek en misn'dân yee'ghon uu. 22-24 ee liipt-om teeg'gha'no ['he ran towards him'], vlâagh an zanen-als ['flew at his neck'], kee'sta-am, en ee de ['did, caused'] van blee'skhaap ['from blitheness'] om dat aar bhaa'rron, 'n vet kaal sla'ka'ton. 25-30 don a'dornado zool'na bakhahl'ghd'ên om ['complained'] dat oô'vôr dat ee a'korns ['ever', Dutch at keerens], bhaa'rro ghâbheerst bhaa'rron, en dat dil kee're ['scamp'] zyy' ghuud o'taald bhiir'a. 31, 32 maar do vaa'dar zei: maa kend! t-an os nii meer of rekht ['it-not is not more of - than right'] dana mee aar voor loo't-e ['feasting'] maaskaan; bhaan u duu bhaa'rra daa'd, an ee os varree'ën ['risen from the dead'], bhaar varlooo'ën ['lost'], an ee os bheer ghavôd'en.

167. Klett, a hamlet belonging to parish of Maldegem, 166. II. 319. 11 do bhaar no kee'tko no ree'ko man mat tbhee zoons. 12 do jô'sta vrûugh zoon deel'laqo. 15 most do zbheens bhaa'rra. 18 vaa'doro, eek een ['have'] misn'dân teeg'gha uu. 22-24 ee viïl om om don ne'k an ee dea en vet kaal sla'ka'ton om ko'tma'ees a-t'borah van blee'skhaap omdaa zee'na zee'na [Dutch ziji' zoon, his son] goko'me bhaa'rra. 25-30 maar don ûûstôn bruut'bhaa'rra daar khbaad o'ma, dat ee a'kôs bhaa'rra ghouhees'ten om dat zeen vaa'dar vooer om nii an deee'. 31, 32 maar do vaa'dar zei: meen kend, laat ons bhiir'a zoon, bhaan u duu bhaa'rra daa'd, an ee os varree'ën, ee bhaa'rra varlooo'ën, an ee os bheer ghekeer'd ['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 (platter) than ordinary Gentish, and much drawled (sleepend, lijmerig). 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 brugge for brug, steemme for stem, etc. The short i and e of other dialects becomes ë (ôi), as driijnke, zijrne, wijnkel, schijnke, mijn, (mensch).

Long a is oà (aa) and before r often sounds as a diphthong like French oi in noir (uà).]
Open e or ee is a diphthong iëë (ii') or nearer iëë, eë (ee', ee').

Heavy e [the (œœ) of Flemish generally] is ii, and this is the sound of short e before r, as ptîrd, zwîrd, begîrê; stîrk, biirg, kîrke, viirke.

Open long o becomes ye (yy'), as buem, briood = Dutch boom, brood.

Close long o becomes eu (œœ), as yeveël, vogel.

Long u retains its sound (yy), but uw generally adds on an unaccented e (-ø).

The ū is ai (ai) or even aai (āai).

The ei is also usually ai, but in some words eëë, eë (ee', ee'), as gêeë, geit, schëën, scheiden.

The ui becomes aai (āai).

The ou and au are French ø (œ) in some words, and Dutch y (oï) in others; but when followed by e, are always œœ (œœ) ; schëuve is both schaun or schadun, 'shade, shadow,' and schouw or schoorsteen, 'chimney,' when followed by t, these ou, au, are generally ū (oï), as stifjt, stout,'bold.'

The i in ing is not merely long (ii), but has the secondary stress, as deëlinge, leëzinge. [This is quite Chaucerian.]

The old termination -ege, -ige, is in full use, as naësterigge, näaster, 'seamstress.'

The termination -is becomes -esse, as geschiedenesse, and -lær, properly -leer, becomes -lûre as dompelîrre, dompelêer, dompelâar, 'loiterer.'

The termination ue becomes em, as zwaalëm for zwaluwe, swallow (bird); but weduue, weduueaar, become weue, weueirre.

Short a before r becomes long a or oœ (AA), as oarâm, voarûm = arm, warm.

The h is not pronounced.

Unaccented -o is often added, as moedere, emele (hemel, 'heaven'), ende (hemel, '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 egers, gras, as in Friesic bust for burst, borst, 'burst, breast, brush.'

But ch is heard in mussee, bossche, mijnsee, menschen, where it is omitted in Hollander.

For mp, they use np or nt, as lant, lamp. Medial ð either falls into f or j or is mute. Final foreign ȝ is called de, as familie, familie.

Ulter, wulder, gulder and zulder are used for hen or hun, wij, giij, sijj. Hij is often called jij, as 'k en ben te 'k ik nie geweest,' t cete fijj geweest (kemertekik nij gheheerst, teetaja'i gheheerst), literally 'I not am it I not been, it has he been,' = 'twasn't me, 'twas him.

Gentish.

11 tor bhaas no kiir' n man, in ài aa tbihi' zeœens. 12 in ài díi-'dëgha-t ye-yldar aait. 15 om de virkës ta bha'khtaa. 18 vaa'dara, k-ee misdâa'nn teëghân ee. 22 aas ài no bâi zâi ze'lva ghek'omna bhaas, riiì aii'ñë ['he called one'] van zàin knekhta, in ài ghebirdâgh eem-t bees-t do're,tâ-ko îm een t a duun, een o paar skhüuna ta gheeva, in n râiûk oop zaí'na vairg to steertka. 29 't beeste kaalft. 42 'omdaar mâ'na zeœena, dîi dyy' ['dead'] bhaas, bheerox ghou'ndo es. 26 om'dartuyysgho khbâm dan eebh'sto zeœena oop 't land; in ëss ài omtrett een da'ñiê ('house') khbâm, yu'ydgh dîi-'t laHo-baît in de speelman. 27 ee bruurka. 29 oom mâin vriîndo meee ta tрактëreera. 31 mâar, mâ-íû zoe'gna, ghee zàait oo'moreet n'lis lai'd bái mái.

169. Tongval of the werklieden in de wijk der Nieuwe-brug te Gent, speech of the work-people in Newbridge Street, Gent, see specimen 168.

11 no vaa'der aa tbihi' zeœens. 12 on de vaa'dara ghaaf ót eem. 16 de virkës. 18 vaa'dara, k-ee misdáaan teëghân ee. 22 aast œldora' lîyy't oom zàin beets këi're, in duu eem on niecë' paar skhuûn'an an, in stëkt eem no râiûk oop zaí'na vûrgar. 23 't veektsta kaalf. 24 bhant mâ'íû zoe'ena bhaas ghaatoomna, in ài ës bheeroc leeve't ghaobhordû. 26 in ëss dan eebh'sto zeœena naar ëss khbâm, yu'ydgha ëi van veektsto mazikî in't labbaît. 27 ee bruurka 29 om mái meee mâin kamåazstro.ty'yk no këi'r t'amazeëra. 31 kiind, al bhad-k baziît, os-t'bi'bha.
ghavo'ndan. 25 maar don aardsto zoo-9n bhas in-t veld, on as o'i bheer kiir'i-daghon on teeghan o'is khbham, yy'-r'dagho o'i, dat er bi'nan myzyii'k, ghospeel'd on ghada'n stbirr. 27 ou bruur. 29 om no kii' me'm on vrii'ndan keermes t-aaron ['hold']. 31 joq'an, ghee zoit al'tyy's boii moi'.

171. Ninove, town (50 n 51, 4 e 1). III. 334.
11 dua'a' bhas no kii' no mensch, dui tbhii' zuunen AA. 12 on da vuaal't ghaaf on za puu'ar. 15 om da vorkas te bhaa'khten. 18 vuaal't, ke-kem kuaa'd ghedua'an teeghan aa. 22 spudj'ss elon, on duut om se'fas skhiyoo'on ['beautiful'] dirq uaan, on stek no riqk uaa' zuu'n viqor, on skhuu'nan uaa' zuu'ten. 23 o vatijsj kalf. 24 bhan't pre'9den [Dutch peoples, thought] daa ma'an zuun diyoo'd bhas, on aa os van-eer [van her, 'again'] ghovo'na. 25 daan aasta zuun khbamp nuaa'r 'em is van-t veldj'ss, on as on bekaa' ['near'] t'o's bhas, iyy'or'don a zir'qon on daan'en. 27 aa bruir. 29 om mee maan vrii'naan kne'me's t-aaron. 31 juq'an, ghe'tij's ghaa al'to'd on baa.

[On (djs), (tjs)], the 'sneeze,' see specimen 166. On (uAa) Winkler says the sound is somewhat (eeiyniizis) diphthongal, especially before r, and then sounds exactly like the French of in voir. In spec. 170 he had not made that remark. See introductory note to spec. 168, on long a (1423, d').

172. Eichaem, village near Voorde, village (50 n 49, 3 e 50). III. 338.
11 dar bhas no kii' no maan dui tbhii' zuoono o'u. 12 on a vardo'l-jidjohan ei'er -t ghuud. 15 om da vo'rkar's te bhaa'khten. 18 vaar, ke-kem teeghan aa ghazo'ndighd. 22 ost oujar ['Dutch haast u, 'haste you'], brijk a ghaa t'i'-sto ['the first'] kli'd daa gha vendj'ss ['find'], duuv-ed on aan, stekt no-riqk on d-and on skhuu'nan AA zein zuu'ten. 23 on vatijsj kalf. 24 bhan't mai'n noo zoon ir bhas diiyoy, on aa os bheer ghavo'non. 25 maar za'rnan uuir'soon zoon bhas op-t veldj'ss, on as on bheer khbamp, iyy'or'dagho on spec'on on ziq'an. 27 a bryyr. 29 om mee maan vrii'naan op-t eecton. 31 zoon, ghaai zoid al'tyy'ss basai maai.

173. Geeraardsbergen, Geer-
oudsbergen, Geertsbergen, or Griesbergen, in French Grammont, town (50 n 46, 4 e 47). II. 341.
11 tar bhas no kiir' no maan, dui tbhii' zoinsh AA'i. 12 on da va'i'r dui vardii'idshagho -t ghuud tees'khoon zuu'naan. 15 om da var'kuh te bhaa'khten. 18 'k zaan om zeergho ['I shall say to him'] daka-k kaa'd ghada'nan zeen teeghan en. 22 see'r ed'pt, oltji' sh ghau man spli'ta'nrnyy' ['my splinter-new'] pleen'on on duu ze-m AAN; stikt no riqk AA zaan viq'er ['in ng, the g is omitted, and n nasaled 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 (lA), on skhuu'nan AA zuu'vutan. 23 't vet kalif. 24 bhan't maan'noo'na bhas diiyoo'd, on aa os van-eer ghavo'non. 25 mor den a'rintzu'na dui' bhas tarbhai'li'h on op-t land; on as on bheer' kho bham en dat on bai t-o's bhas, iyy'or'dagh on-t labha'h v crying. van't muzyii'k on van-t ghaa'qasal. 27 a bryyy're. 29 om mee maan vrii'naan no kii' taa'fa'tik a'tuur. 31 joq'on, iyy'er on kii', zai ghe ghai nii al'taid ba mai?

174. Oudenaarde, in French Audenaarde, town (50 n 51, 3 e 6). II. 345.
11 tar bhas na kii'r na zee'karo meins dui tbhii' zooens AA. 12 on da vaa'dar vardii'idshagho -t ghuud. 15 om da vir'kas te bhaa'khten. 18 vaa'dar, ke-se misda'an teeghan o'wi. 22 ghoo taa'ta, haalt-at bestra kli'd on duu-t'om an, duut-on na reeqk AA zai'n viqor, on skhuu'nan AA zai zuu'vutan. 23 't fet kalif. 24 bhan't mai'n zoo'na bhas dy'd, on ii as noei bheer' ghavo'ndan. 25 don ousta zoo'na bhas op Feld, on ii on bhi'stagho ['wist,' knew] vaa nit. osi no'oi, al bheere' kii' ran, zain ois naar'deer'gho ['near'], yy're'doghi dan ze zuon on zeek nau daa'nighon deeken maak'tighen. 27 on' brruta. 29 om main vrii'naan mee to traktee-
ren. 31 kind, uu es-t tokh moe'ghalal da-ghe zoo'k on deiq'an on o'i brru'e koent zeergo; ghai, ghai zait al'tyy'ss bai mai.

175. Deinze or Dyneze, town (50 n 58, 3 e 31). III. 349.
11 dar bhas no kii' no man, dui tbhii' zooens AA. 12 on da vaa'dar dui'id'shagho o'idor zeeg ghuud. 15 om da
virkens to bha’khton. 18 Vaa’dar, k-ee misdaa’n tee’gha aa’j. 22 ee
dee om da be’sta kli’-ran a’a’lan veer
zeen oocen aan ta duun, an ee
dee om a’ paar shuuan maan, gheen
om neeqq oop zaan neeqq veer’qor
tee’kan. 23 ‘t ve’sta kalf. 24 oommee mer’oo
cene, dit-e dy’ bhas, bee’ora
vorn’en des. 26 binst dii mi’dalan ta’id
khhamb don aaj’ta ceeene van op-t
land; an oos ee omtren don o’re-zo
khmp, yy’rdeegh ee’ee labho’i-t on de
spee’lman. 27 aaj’ bruurta. 29 om
meen vrii’ndan meee to trektee’raan. 31
maaar mer’oro joqon tokh, ghe zee
ghoo o’moors a’tlind boi’mi.

XXXIII. West-Vlaanderen,
in English West Flanders. II.
352.

176. Brugge, in French Bruges,
city (61 n 13, 3 e 12). II. 356.
[Long a is pronounced aa (AA) before
d, t, t, n, r, s, z (except in plurals of
pasta tense in verbs, where a is short
in singular, as ik bud, at baden, and
except some b, f, g, m, has been, lost,
as made for maagde), but is pure, as a
in French dre (aa, aa ?), before b, p, f,
v, g, k and m. And sch is pronounced
sk, which is old German, and is
still heard in some low German modes
of speech. The version is too free to
be quoted exactly.]
11 dar bhas ‘ker a man, en ii aa
tbee ceeene. 12 Vaa’dar, ghee’mo
[‘give me’] ghi t ghuoo’n [Dutch het
genee, ‘the that,’ the thing or part
daa-k ik muun en. 15 bhiimii.
22 i dii om zoo be’sta klee’ran a’a’lan.
25-30 don uur’tan ceeene bhas daa
zaalun [French jaloux] van, on zeei:
Vaa’dar, t-an is tokh nii ghepemete-
ner! jo duu meer vaar dii sloobar
[‘slobbery fellow’] of daa jo vaa
miu do’t. jaa, zeei do vaa’dar, vee’ntjaa
[‘man’] t-an is maar reks liik of ‘t
ziin muut [‘it is however right like as
it must be,’ it is quite right], ren
bruurto oocen doon, on ii is vorreez’en
[‘arisen’]; zoo is’t ghee simpal daa
mo miindar [for wij mijftlien ‘we
we-folk’] daa vitt’en, jo vii ghe
[‘receive’] da baloom’na van joo ghuu
ghede’rgh [‘of your good behaviour’]
in hahl do staa’naa med iir’doreen,
vorstaaj daa? en laat ghi ons ol to
ghaa’to [‘together’] konten’t ziin dat
i nogh leeft.

177. Oostende, in English

Oostend, town (51 n 14, 2 e 54). II. 362.
[This is also very freely translated.]
10 tor bhas an eek on vaa’dar, an
daa tbee ceeene. 12 dii ghuu seel
ghaal ot om ze, ja bhas most on
doo’n, ee? 15 om zoo zhbiims to
bha’khton. 18 Vaa’dar, k-en zoo
tee’llik ghadaan mi juun [‘I have so
ugly done with you’]. 20-24 bhaa daa
seon vaa’dar mid om dii? ‘k leet sh-
gharaan [‘what then his father with
him did, I let you it guess’]. ghoo,
wan’aj [‘jack, diminutive of Johannes
called Jowannes’] zeet om ghuu, kom
bii’n, man veint, ‘ki ziin zoo blii’ daa
jo daa ziit, me ghaan sefens kerem’s
uu’dan. on’t vet kolf ar an, on
nogh entbath aqaa’rs [‘something be-
tside’] on vaa’dar an on ceeene de’er an
fiin moetoj [‘had a fine feast’].
25 den uu dste ceeene, dii van oo’var an
dagh of tbhei yit bhas, khhamb binst
don mi’dalan’ti’d vaa z’n yts to
bee’ghaa. vaa-maar i ood’a-t myzetik
spec’e’lman, on zo vschikht [‘changes’]
ol met on kee. 29 zo bhor me bhal
zoo vruud ziin, dat ii on bhist bhas
dat on deii, an j-an wi’lds nii bii’n-
ghaan. 31 maar vaa’dar kam ytt,
en a’khtar en bintja bibolabuus’hos
[‘after a little coaxing’] jo tbee’fled
[‘induced’] om toikh tuu bi zi
bruurta, on za koetstan meekkaar,
et bhas vriind lik van to voorton.

178. Roesselaar, in French
Rowlers, town (56 n 56, 3 e 7). II.
369.
11 t-bhos a kee no man an ii aa
ntbee ceeeneen. 12 en zaa vaa’dar-e
vurnez’il i ol zo ghuud oom’er z’n
tbee ceeeneen. 15 om der de zhbiim to
bha’khton. 18 Vaa’dar, k-e-e-k-ik
zonde ghadaan teer’ghen zuw. 22
aast jo, aal-on a kee ziin nibb klin
en duu-t an, stekt no riikiq ip z’n’e
viig’oro [see specimen 175] en duu
shuunan z’n vruuton. 23 ‘t vet kolf.
24 ghe muu bheel’t [‘wit, know
mee’-sceene blos daad, on ii en
bee’tor yyythgak-mon. 25 den
uur’tan zuo’-na bhos ip -t land
bee’zigh mee bher’kons, on en om
bee’tor khhamb van de stiikon, on t-yys
nii’sda, i oortdegaa dao zu van bin
trompeetgahan en zuur’gan. 27 zo’n
broo’ta. 29 omke-aa kkaa vaar mu’n
vrii’ndan zuo kooss a kee kermees
uu’dan. 31 maar zuq’an [here ng is
printed as usual], gha zii ghii o’tliid
bi miu.

[The Kortrijkers omit final 

\[\text{\(i\)}\] especially before a consonant, as i ston \(\text{\(m\)}\) zin \(\text{\(e\)}\) ip zin oof, en i iel \(\text{\(n\)}\) broo in zin an = bij stond met zijn hoed op zijn hoofd, en bij hield een brood in zijn hand, \(\text{\(t\)}\) he stood with his hat on his head, and he held a bread-loaf in his hand.] Final \(\text{\(n\)}\) is so frequently omitted that the Kortrijkers are nick-

called ennebiter, 'en-biters.' Also \(\text{\(l\)}\) and \(\text{\(r\)}\) are frequently omitted. \(\text{\(S\)}\) ch is used as \(\text{\(sk\)}\). Final \(\text{\(e\)}\) (\(\text{\(a\)}\)) is constantly used as a diminutive.]

11 na man a thbee zeecons. 12 on \(\text{\(z\)}\) kree'-ghan elk æl'dor deel'. 15 dii déi om ghaan mee de zhhiiins. 18 vaa'-dor, k-æg ghaoo'ndigh teec'ghan yy. 22 loop om-t be'sta kleer' on duu-t-am an; on duu-ni riik an ziin an, on duu skhuu'n [as \(\text{\(s\)}\)ch, and not \(\text{\(sk\)}\), is written, I copy it] an ziin vu'uta. 23 't vet kolf. 24 bhan mi'-na zee-æna bhaa daa, on ii æs bhee'to ghavo'nda. 25 don ou dato zee'-æna bhaa daar binst ip-t lan. os i bhee'to kee'-rdä van de sti'-kaan, en bii-t yys van zi vaa'-dor bhaa, oor'-dön i ziiq-an on dan'ms. 27 yy bruur'ta. 29 om mee miin vri'-ndon to kerome'san. 31 juq'-qon, ghee ziiit o-l'tiid bii miin.


11 daa bhos en man dii thbee zeecons a'da. 12 an de vaa'q-dee-j-o't. 15 om de zhhiiins te bha'khtan. 18 vaa'-dor, k-æn eexzu'ndegh [this \(\text{\(e\)}\) for (gha) in participles is said to sound just as \(\text{\(e\)}\) in the French etre'] teec'ghan juun. 22 briiqt \(\text{\(a\)}\) keer zee'to ['quickly'] æ niæw'-bhaan bruk on æ niæw'-bha kaaz'-ka, on duu-sa-m aanduun. stekt æ riik an zo v’iir'dor en ghett-an niæw'-bha ([niæw'bha] may be the proper word; niæw) is printed twice and 
ieuwce once, but \(\text{\(e\)}\) does not appear to be otherwise replaced by a] skhuun. 23 't vet kolf. 24 ma juq'-qon [see specimen 173 on \(\text{\(q\)}\)] bhos dood, on-en on bhee'to eexvu'ndon. 25 ja-

"man, os dan uurdsta zoe'-æna van-t-lant khaan, bhaa dat-on bhos ghaa bherkan, on dat-on bi't yys khabam, on oor'-dast dan'san on ziiq-an on spri'iq-an. 27 \(\text{\(j\)}\) broo'ro. 29 om z-ep t'-et-çan ['to eat it up'] mee mën vri'-ndon. 31 juq'-qon, j-œn-æg ghi nii te klaa'-ghen; ghe ziiit van tj'næ-khtæns

tuu tj'naa-vons ['from morning to evening'; Dutch ochtends, avonds] bi miin.


11 t-bhos ee kee ee mens, dii thbee zeecons a'da. 12 on de vaa'dar deel'dor æl'dar-t ghuit. 15 om de zhhiiins te bha'khtan. 18 vaa'-dor, k-en eexzo'ndigth tee'ghan juun. 22 briiqt [see specimen 173 on \(\text{\(q\)}\)] ma zee'to zan be'sto kaaza'ka en duu-so'm an, stekt æ 
riik an za viqor on duu so skhuun 23 't vet kalf. 24 om das bhi'Ia me zoe'-æna bhos dood, on-on is yit eexko'man. 25 tuun kam dan uu'dsta zee'-æna van-t stik, on os on ontrent t'yys kam, an dat on z-oor'da ziiq'an on myyyz'ka spee-lan. 27 \(\text{\(j\)}\) broo'-ro. 29 om miin vri'-ndon to trakteere'n. 31 joq'-qan, \(\text{\(j\)}\) zii ghi o'san [for o'san, that is, \(\text{\(a\)}\)an, always] bi miin.

182. **Veurne-Ambacht**, dis-

trict, manor of Veurne, town, in French *Furnes* (51 n 4, 2 e 58). II. 386.

11 t-bhos \(\text{\(e\)}\) kee \(\text{\(o\)}\) man, on dii man a'da thbee zeecons. 12 on de vaa'dar deel'dan æl'dar-t ghuit. 15 om de zhhiiins te bha'khtan. 18 vaa'-dor, k-en daa leek misda'an tee'ghan juun. 22 zee'to ['haste'] on be'sto kaaza'ka vaa ma zoe'-æna, duut-an z-an, on duut-on a paar skhuun an. 23 't kolf daa ma-exot on en 24 ma zoe'-æna bhos dood, on ma-an on bhee'to eexvoq-an [see specimen 173 on \(\text{\(q\)}\)]. 25 don uu'dsta zoe'-æna bhos 'bi de bhi'Ia on de stirk'an os on nyy van zaa bherk kam, lik of on nii v'ere meer van zon yys bhos, on ooor'da ze daan'san en spri'iq-an en myyyz'ka spee-lan. 27 i broo'-ro. 29 om mee \(\text{\(m\)}\) vri'-ndon \(\text{\(a\)}\) kee kerome'sa t'-urdon. 31 zoe'-æna, i blyf ghi 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-bhas on keer on vaa'q-dar dat on paat zeecons a'da. 12 on dan uurdon brau'ven man, JAA, nem der'ido z'n fortyny'na. 15 dan buur ['boor,' peasant] beo ['well'], be zoq [see specimen 173 on \(\text{\(q\)}\)] on en een land mee-sen
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XXXV. AANHANGSEL, Appendix. II. 408.

[This gives a version in the Roodwalsch or slang of the South-Netherland or Belgian limburgish Kempen (specimen 180), and of Zeele in East Flanders (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 (porsii, porsi) or (por'sha). French words in *-tien, -sion*, become words in *-zie in Dutch, and end either in *-sii, -si* or *(-sia', -sha)*.
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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, iy), 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.