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CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE EXISTING RECEIVED AND DIALECTAL FORMS, WITH A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF 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, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521, ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

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VICE-PRESIDENT, TWICE PRESIDENT, OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
MEMBER OF THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE, B.A., 1837.

PART V.

[pp. 1*-88*, 1433-2267.]

EXISTING DIALECTAL AS COMPARED WITH WEST SAXON
PRONUNCIATION.

With two Maps of the Dialect Districts.

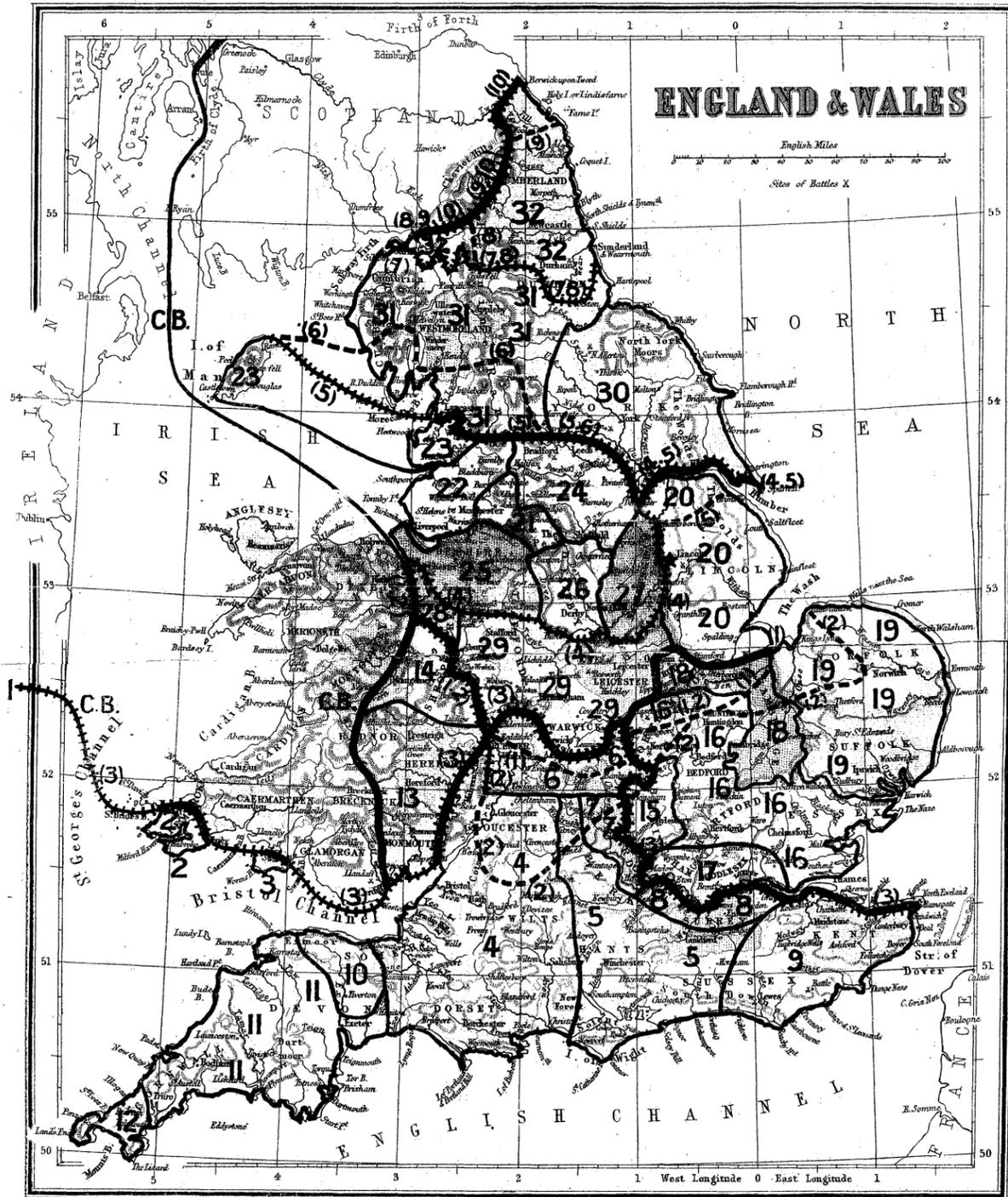
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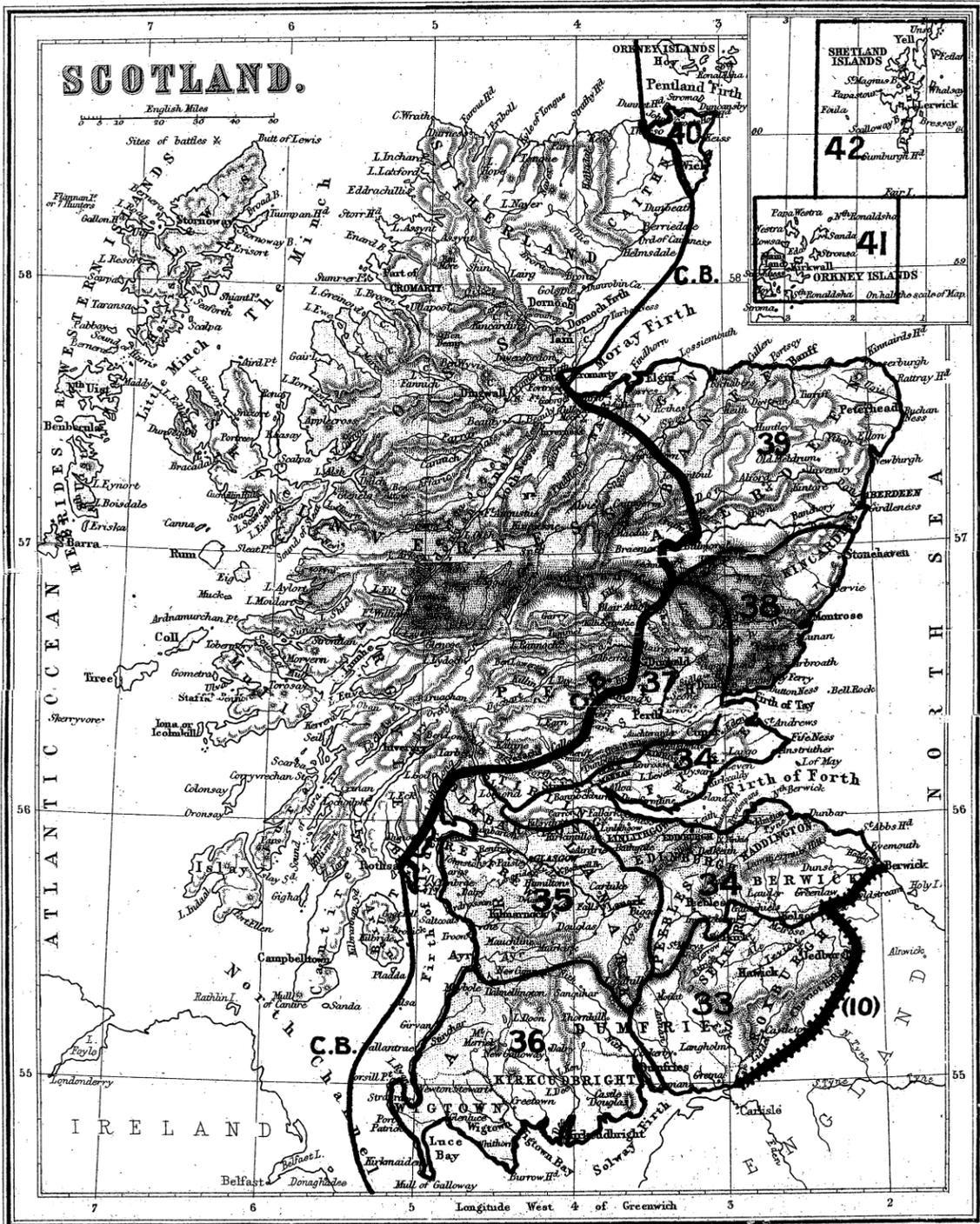
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ERRATA.

- p. 20, l. 20, *read* or *t'*.
p. 32, l. 5, *read* La (*u*).
,, dt. par. 1, *read* v̄ba'ut dat.
p. 37, l. 19 from bottom, under *Do.*, for *Blandford *read* *Cranborne.
p. 45, par. 6, last word, *read* æks)æR.
p. 47, note 6, first line, *read* the (d).
p. 57, line 3 from bottom, No. 904, *read* v̄dylAT.
p. 58, line 3, *read* 923*.
p. 65, par. 0, l. 8, for Potter *read* Trotter.
,, par. 10, l. 3, *read* but (win'ikən).
p. 66, l. 1 and 2, for Potter, *read* Trotter.
p. 80, East Dorset cwl., l. 2, *read* Cranborne, and l. 5 *dele* and.
p. 85, joke on (æt̄) last line, *read* v̄d)jə'd.
p. 94, l. 10, *read* — L (mu'ni).
p. 109, l. 6, *read* Miss M. A. Firth.
p. 111. *Authorities*, *Np.* add †Daventry, †Farthinghoe, †Helmdon, †Long Buckley, †Silverstone, °Slapton, †Syersham, †Towcester, †Watford, †Weedon, †Wood Burcote, †Woodford.
p. 113, paragraph B, line 1, *read* a nonagenarian widow about 94; line M, *read* Malvern Wells.
p. 114, l. 30, *read* CLAVERDON, WA. (5 w. Warwick).
p. 129, l. 15 from bottom, *read* may have possibly.
p. 131, l. 4, *read* Pasingworth.
,, l. 6, *read* °Shadoxhurst.
p. 133, dt. par. 3, *read* v)de R̄q̄.
p. 136, last line but one, *read* Rev. J. W. Rummy.
p. 140, No. 422, *read* 'vomited.'
p. 157, l. 9, *read* Mr. Shelly's
p. 162, No. 646, *read* bæ'y₁⁵.
p. 163, l. 2, *read* mæE'k)n.
p. 175, *Area*, l. 2, after Br., add outlying parts of Wo.
p. 183, l. 2 from bottom, *read* dr̄e'undid.
p. 186, No. 702, *read* uth.
p. 194, line B, *read* Chackmore, and line T, *read* Tyrringham.
p. 199, line S, *read* n-by-w.
p. 201, for 125 oni, *read* 194 oni.
p. 217, l. 23, *read* H. F. Tollemache.
p. 222, l. 31, *read* degradation.
p. 225, l. 6, *read* dæ'un.
p. 235, l. 3, *read* Henley-on-Thames in *Ox.* and l. 4, *read* Penn, *Bu.* (3 e-by-n. High Wycombe).

- p. 248, note, col. 2, lines 1 and 2, *read pléis, meed.*
 p. 249, l. 10, *read 10 s.*
 p. 253, note, col. 2, l. 1, *read of which Li. has (u₁) and Nf. (u_o).*
 p. 255, l. 4, *read — Pt. ; notes, col. 2, l. 1, read was also.*
 p. 278, l. 1, *read s.Nf.*
 p. 279, l. 3, *read Tuddenham.*
 p. 315. *Boundaries*, l. 5, *read Featherbed ; l. 7, read Mam Tor, and Authorities, Ch. l. 2, read Tintwistle ; La. l. 2, read Royton.*
 p. 332, under *Leyland*, for 1887 *read 1877.*
 p. 345, under *Chorley*, *read 10 nw. Bolton.*
 p. 347, No. 222, *add at end, or from old Fr. hure, head of a man or an animal, especially a shaggy boar's head.*
 p. 352, l. 11 from bottom, and *Authorities, La. l. 2, read Goosnargh.*
 p. 354, col. 2, l. 9 from bottom, *read diere.*
 pp. 360, 361, 362, and 363, *read Lezayre.*
 p. 362, notes to *Lezayre dt.*, par. 1, *read or (ɛbʰʷt).*
 p. 363, l. 3 from bottom, *read — P pæriket.*
 p. 375, l. 10 from bottom, 13. vii, *read noon, corrected on p. 405, notes, par. 13.*
 p. 387, l. 12, last word, *read Bradley.*
 p. 409, l. *Authorities, St.*, l. 2, *after Longport insert †Longton.*
 p. 421, *West and South Cheshire cw1.*, l. 1, *dele Churton.*
 p. 425, l. 8 from bottom, *read Db.*
 p. 435, l. 4, *add ,, under t', and in lines 12 and 13 from bottom, that is, in Nos. 4 and 5, transpose A and the ,, above it.*
 p. 436, par. 15, Nos. 1 and 3, *read ta'úd, fa'ul.*
 p. 442, No. 39, *read kja'ím.*
 p. 443, par. I-, l. 1, *read — B gji.*
 p. 445, l. B, for 3 e. *read 6 e.*
 p. 447, last line, *read reen.*
 p. 449, l. 2, for 71, *read 76.*
 p. 472, l. 8, after *Coalbrookdale* for *St.* *read Sh.*
 p. 524, No. 331, *read final (t).*
 p. 529, l. 2, *insert J. after Rev.*
 p. 567, l. 4 from bottom, *read vare.*
 p. 572, l. 4, *read itsxl'.*
 p. 606, l. 7 from bottom to No. 49, *add —.*
 p. 607, in par. xl, l. 7, second No. 0, *add —*
 p. 718, under U: for *snɛb read sneb.*
 p. 738, note 46, last number, *read 153.*
 p. 747, line 1, *read 12 sw.*
 p. 748, in title, and l. 1 of poem, for *GREY read GRAY.*
 p. 755, l. 5 from bottom, *read Kc.*
 p. 824, last line but one of small print, *read of I, Y,*

In the CONSONANTAL INDEX there are a few evident displacements, and the following misprints, *read* under G- 13 gnagan, under SC- 220 scæphirðe, under -T- cetel, under -W 371 streáw. Omit 90 bláwan under -Ð.

There are possibly many other slight errors which have escaped observation. For the comparative correctness of a text of such great complexity as the present, I am much indebted to the vigilance of the printer's reader, Mr. Wood, who also read the four preceding Parts, and, in many districts, the scrupulous care of Mr. T. Hallam.

A. J. E.

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NOTICE.

After fourteen years' delay I am at last able to produce Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, containing the relation of the present to the past pronunciation of our language as exhibited in "The Existing Phonology of the English Dialects." A glance at the Table of Contents, the Alphabetical County List, p. 32*, and the Alphabetical List of Informants, p. 67*, will I trust sufficiently explain the cause of the delay. The work I found myself involved in was far greater than I had contemplated, and the difficulty of obtaining intelligible information on which reliance could be placed far exceeded my anticipations. The list of Informants will shew how large a number of persons came forward to help me. It will also shew that I am more especially indebted to a very few of these, whom I have mentioned on pp. 4 and 5, and far the foremost among them as regards the number of places from which information was obtained (over 500), accuracy of report in the system of notation here adopted, trustworthiness of detail and length of time during which he worked, was Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. Without his unflagging diligence, and his many excursions to gain phonetic knowledge during nearly twenty years, the account I have been able to give of the Midland Division and its adjacent regions would have been very deficient, instead of presenting remarkable fullness of detail. Next in order, and though far inferior in the number of places, in no respect inferior in the importance of his contributions, and in correctness of detail obtained by extraordinary diligence, was Mr. J. G. Goodchild, whose work in D 31, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, and North-west of Yorkshire, leaves scarcely anything to be desired in minute accuracy and repeated careful verification.

I have endeavoured in the lists of 1145 places from which, and 811 persons from whom, I obtained information and assistance, to specify every case, but I cannot hope to have been perfectly successful. To every one, however, named and unnamed, and especially to the natives themselves, from whom the information was ultimately obtained, but whose names are only occasionally mentioned, I tender my grateful thanks. To them is

due the value of the present volume as an authentic document, for future philologists to consult.

Finally I have sincerely to thank the three Societies—the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society—and in connection with them Dr. F. J. Furnivall, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the first and Director of the other two, and of other literary societies, who is so well known by his labours in Early English, for enabling me to print and publish these researches. The extent and the consequent expense of my work have greatly exceeded my anticipations. I have in every instance studied brevity and compression, and I believe the results could not have been legibly printed in smaller space, while it seemed important in the interests of philology generally, and English philology in particular, to secure the information obtained, which is becoming rapidly irreplaceable. It might perhaps have been possible with a few years more work to reduce the bulk of this volume, but considering that I was 75 on 14 June, 1889, I did not think it safe to delay. If however health and strength allow, there will be a brief Part VI. containing a summary of the whole work, a consideration of the observations of other scholars, and an index of such matters as have not been otherwise indexed.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

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| <p>1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being <i>Duncan Gray</i>, p. 748.</p> <p>1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englythe and Welth—wherevnto is prefixed a little treatyse of the englythe pronunciacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on <i>Early English Pronunciation</i> (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology. See III. 743-794.</p> <p>1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.</p> <p>1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the</p> | <p>Pronunciation of English in the xvith century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.</p> <p>1868, Aug. First dialectal information for this book written from dictation at Norwich, pp. 275-7.</p> <p>1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see I. 277 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.</p> <p>1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the Alphabet in my <i>English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes</i>, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.</p> <p>1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a <i>Notice</i> starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of</p> |
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- this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.
- 1872, April and May. Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.), p. 7*, used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation. Of this I have printed below 104 translations.
- 1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1875, March. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.
- 1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sept. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.
- 1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper. Of this I have printed below 112 rearrangements as a cwl. or classified word list.—Nov. and Dec. Obtaining dialectal information at Whitelands Training College.
- 1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test. Of this I have printed below 116 translations.—April and May. Two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.
- 1880, Oct. Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to Working Men's College.
- 1880, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.
- 1881, June. Obtaining supplementary dialectal information from Whitelands Training College.
- 1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Paper on the "Delimitation of English and Welsh" (that is, the present Celtic Border, p. 12) to the Cymrodorion Society.
- 1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Repeat Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Mainland) to the Ph. S.
- 1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.
- 1885, May. A Report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.
- 1886, May. First (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.
- 1887, May. Second (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.—Nov. First proofs of this Part V. received, the first draft having been completed.
- 1888, May. Short report to the Ph. S. on the state of the work.
- 1889, May. Final report to the Ph. S. announcing the practical completion of Part V. at press.—June. Last proof of Part V. received.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881

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NOTICE.

two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works re-

quiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.
15 June, 1889.

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

- I. THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.
- II. KEY TO THE MAPS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.
- III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN (cs.).
- IV. DIALECT TEST (dt.) AND NOTES.
- V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST (cwl). WITH INDEX.
- VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.
- VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST, AND INDEX TO ALL THE NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.
- VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

I. NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, Part V, Chapter XI. continued. § 3. *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects.*

The above gives the true relation of the present investigation, forming Part V. of my 'Early English Pronunciation,' to the four preceding parts.

In 1874, when the portion of Chapter XI. § 2, *Natural English Pronunciation*, contained in Part IV. pp. 1243-1432, was printed, it was intended to include in it the present § 3. But my subsequent labours have resulted in such a development of the whole subject that what was originally meant to be merely a brief illustration, occupying only 30 pages of manuscript in the original draft of my Early English Pronunciation, made in 1867, before any part was printed, has become a substantive and unexpectedly complete treatise, which must therefore bear a separate title.

This again has conditioned many changes. In Part IV. § 2, No. 3, p. 1248, I gave a sketch of the proposed arrangement of § 2, which in 1874 had already much increased in extent and character from the jejune table of contents of Chapter XI. prefixed to Part I. This whole arrangement, and hence also the allusions to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's versions of the Song of Solomon, p. 1246 *c*, and p. 1374 *a*, must be considered as cancelled. The versions of the Song of Solomon published by the Prince, and written by the best authorities he could procure, were admirable when made, as opening out the whole question of English Dialects in a comparative form; but when I endeavoured to utilise them for the present investigation, I found it impossible to determine the pronunciation from the orthography with any approach to the necessary accuracy, and hence I have been reluctantly compelled to pass them by altogether.

The Dialectal Alphabet, § 2, No. 3, Part IV. pp. 1252-1265, was also premature. This section is practically superseded 1) by the new table of Dialectal Palaeotype, that is, the modification of palaeotype which the experience of dialectal work has shewn to be necessary, with little or no reference to foreign languages, which will be given at the end of this preliminary matter, and 2) by the table of Approximative Glossic prefixed to my abridgment of this treatise, made for the English Dialect Society, and called *English Dialects,—their Sounds and Homes*; in which Glossic is used as an approximate representation of dialectal sounds sufficient for readers, who, not having made a study of phonetics, are contented with general conceptions, instead of the scientific accuracy aimed at in palaeotype.

Even the section on Vowel Fractures and Junctures, Part IV., pp. 1307-1317, although mostly sound, requires slight modification after my subsequent far wider experience, as will appear in detail hereafter.

Hence I erect Part V. into an independent treatise, under its own separate title, "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS."

II. KEY TO THE MAPS OF THE ENGLISH AND LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The MAPS themselves are loose, and kept in pockets in the cover, for greater ease of reference.

The BOUNDING LINES OF THE DISTRICTS are drawn in red over Philip & Son's convenient little maps, but on account of the smallness of the scales (that of England being about 57 miles to the inch, and that of Scotland about 42 miles to the inch), the boundaries could be only roughly laid down. They had been, however, all previously traced out on maps of 4 miles to the inch, and will hereafter be indicated in words as accurately as the information hitherto obtained allows.

The COUNTRY CONSIDERED lies east and south of the CELTIC BORDER marked CB, commencing in Ireland, and passing through Wales and Scotland.

The six principal DIVISIONS, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern and Lowland, are bounded by thick lines, and, being sufficiently indicated by these positional names, are, to prevent overloading the maps, not further marked.

The forty-two DISTRICTS, in each of which a sensible similarity of pronunciation prevails, are bounded by continuous lines, numbered with bold figures, in the order in which they will be treated, and are named positionally in the following list.

VARIETIES, or parts of Districts separately considered, are not entered on the map, but are numbered with small Roman numerals, named and roughly located on the next two pages.

The CHARACTERS, principally phonetic, by which Districts and Varieties are distinguished, are fully detailed and illustrated in the following pages.

The TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, passing from sea to sea, and limiting certain dialectal usages, are represented on the map by broken lines, which, when the Transverse Lines coincide during any part of their length with the boundaries of Divisions or Districts, are expressed by small cross-lines. The Transverse Lines are numbered with small figures in (), and when two or more of them are partially coincident with one another, all the corresponding numbers are annexed as (1. 2), (4. 5), (8. 9. 10).

The names of these ten lines are as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) the north <i>sum.</i> | (6) the south <i>hoose.</i> |
| (2) the south <i>sööm.</i> | (7) the north <i>tee.</i> |
| (3) the reverted <i>ur.</i> | (8) the south <i>sum.</i> |
| (4) the south <i>teeth.</i> | (9) the north <i>sööm.</i> |
| (5) the north <i>theeth.</i> | (10) the south Lowland. |

The meaning of these names is fully explained in a special section below.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING LIST.

B, b. Border.	E, e. East-ern.	N, n. North-ern.
C Celtic.	I Insular.	S, s. South-ern.
D District.	L Lowland (Scotch).	V Variety.
Div. Division.	M, m. Mid, Midland.	W, w. West-ern.

TWO-LETTER ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF COUNTIES CONSIDERED.

Ab. Aberdeenshire.	Fi. Fife.	Nt. Nottingham.
Ar. Argyll.	Fl. Flint.	Or. Orkney Isles.
Ay. Ayr.	Fo. Forfar.	Ox. Oxford.
Ba. Banff.	Gl. Gloucester.	Pb. Peebles.
Bd. Bedford.	Gm. Glamorgan.	Pm. Pembroke.
Be. Berks.	Ha. Hampshire.	Pr. Perth.
Br. Brecknock.	Hd. Haddingtonshire.	Rd. Radnor.
Bt. Bute.	He. Hereford.	Rf. Renfrew.
Bu. Bucks.	Ht. Hertford.	Rt. Rutland.
Bw. Berwickshire.	Hu. Huntingdon.	Rx. Roxburghshire.
Cb. Cambridge.	Kb. Kircudbright.	Sc. Scilly Isles.
Cc. Clackmannan.	Ke. Kincardine.	Sd. Shetland Isles.
Cd. Cardigan.	Ke. Kent.	Se. Selkirk.
Ch. Cheshire.	Kr. Kinross.	Sf. Suffolk.
Co. Cornwall.	La. Lancashire.	Sg. Stirling.
Cr. Cromarty.	Le. Leicester.	Sh. Shropshire.
Cs. Caithness.	Li. Lincoln.	Sm. Somerset.
Cu. Cumberland.	Lk. Lanark.	Sr. Surrey.
Db. Derby.	Ll. Linlithgow.	Ss. Sussex.
Df. Dumfries.	Ma. Isle of Man.	St. Stafford.
Dm. Dumbarton.	Mg. Montgomery.	Wa. Warwick.
Dn. Denbigh.	Mi. Middlesex.	We. Westmorland.
Do. Dorset.	Mo. Monmouth.	Wg. Wigtownshire.
Du. Durham.	My. Moray.	Wi. Isle of Wight.
Dv. Devon.	Na. Nairn.	Wl. Wiltshire.
Ed. Edinburghshire.	Nb. Northumberland.	Wo. Worcester.
El. Elgin.	Nf. Norfolk.	Wx. Wexford.
ER. East Riding of Yo.	Np. Northampton.	WR. West Riding of Yo.
Es. Essex.	NR. North Riding of Yo.	Yo. Yorkshire.

LIST OF DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS AND VARIETIES, WITH THEIR NAMES.

I. S. Div.	v. Utchland.	D 8. s.BS.
D 1 to 12.	Merriott, Montacute, and about a dozen villages between the railways w. of Yeovil Sm., where the personal pronoun I is called <i>utch</i> .	Containing s. London and suburbs in Be. Sr. and ne.Ke.
D 1. w.CS.	vi. n. and e. Sm.	D 9. ES.
That is, S on C ground, shewn on the map by the CB pointing to l in margin, representing the position of the se. of Wx. in Ireland, opposite Aberystwith Cd. Dialect in existence a century ago, but now extinct.	D 5. e.MS.	V i. e.Ss.
D 2. m.CS.	V i. Ox.	ii. n.Ke.
In sw. Pm.	ii. Be.	iii. e.Ke.
D 3. e.CS.	iii. Ha. and Wi.	D 10. n.WS.
In sw. Gm.	iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss.	In w.Sm. and ne.Dv.
D 4. w.MS.	D 6. n.BS.	D 11. s.WS.
V i. Wl.	V i. Wo.	V i. n.Dv.
ii. Gl.	ii. s.Wa.	ii. s.Dv.
iii. e.He.	iii. Banbury.	iii. e.Co.
iv. Do.	iv. sw.Np.	D 12. w.WS.
	D 7. m.BS.	In w.Co. and Se., modern, varied, not dialects proper.
	In m. and s. Ox.	II. W. Div.
		D 13 and 14.

D 13. SW.
In Mo. He. Rd. and s.Sh.
D 14. NW.
In m. and se.Sh.

III. E. Div.

D 15 to 19.
D 15. WE.
In m. and n.Bu.
D 16. ME.
V i. Ht.
ii. Bd.
iii. Hu.
iv. m.Np.
v. Es.

D 17. SE.
Containing n. London and
suburbs in Bu. Ml. and Es.

D 18. NE.

V i. Cb.
ii. ne.Np.
iii. Rt.

D 19. EE.

V i. nw.Nf.
ii. ne.Nf.
iii. s.Nf.
iv. e.Sf.
v. w.Sf.

IV. M. Div.

D 20 to 29.

D 20. BM.
The whole co. of Li.

V i. s.Li.
ii. m.Li.
iii. n.Li.

D 21. s.NM.

V i. se.La.
ii. nw. and n. Peak of
Db.

D 22. w.NM.

V i. Ormskirk.
ii. Bolton and Wigan.
iii. Chorley & Leyland.
iv. Blackburn.
v. Burnley.
vi. Old Colne Valley.

D 23. n.NM.

V i. The Fylde in m.La.

ii. Ma.

D 24. e.NM.

Mostly in WR.
V i. Huddersfield.
ii. Halifax.
iii. Keighley.
iv. Bradford.
v. Leeds.

vi. Dewsbury.
vii. Rotherham.
viii. Sheffield.
ix. Doncaster.

D 25. w.MM.

V i. e.Ch.
ii. m.Ch.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. n.St.

D 26. e.MM.

V i. s. Peak of Db.
ii. w.Db.
iii. e.Db.
iv. s.Db.

D 27. EM.

The whole co. of Nt.

D 28. w.SM.

V i. nw.Sh.
ii. detached or Eng-
lish Fl.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. Dn. and se. of
main or Welch Fl.

D 29. e.SM.

V ia. ne.Sh. and nm.St.
b. wm.St.
c. em.St.
iia. me. and s.Sh.
b. s.St.
c. n.Wo.
iiaa. e.Wa.
b. w.Wa.
iv. Le.

V. N. Div.

D 30 to 32.

D 30. EN.

Mostly in NR. and ER.

V ia. m.Yo.
b. York Ainsty.
c. Northallerton.
d. New Malton.
e. Pateley Bridge.
f. Washburn River.
iia. s.Cleveland.

b. ne. Coast and
Whitby.

iiia. Market Weigh-
ton.
b. Holderness.

iv. Goole & Marsh-
land.

D 31. WN.

In WR. Cu. and We.
V i. n. Craven and nw.
Mining Dis-
tricts of Yo.
iia. s.Lonsdale.

iiib. n.Lonsdale.

iii. s.We

iv. Edenside.

t.e. basin of River Eden in
Cu. and We.
v. w.Cu.

vi. s.Du.

D 32. NN.

V i. n.Cu.

ii. n.Du.

iii. Hexham or sw.
Nb.

iv. Coalfields or se.
Nb.

v. m.Nb.

vi. n.Nb.

VI. L. Div.

Chiefly after Dr. Murray,
whose names of districts
are given in Italics.

D 33 to 42.

D 33. S L.

Southern Counties.
With a different s. bound-
ary.

V i. English.

In n.Cu. and nw.Nb.

ii. Scotch.

In e.Df., Se. and Rx.

D 34. e.ML.

Lothian and Fife.
In Bw. Co. Ed. Fl. Hd. Kr.
Ll. and Pb.

D 35. w.ML.

Clydesdale.
In Ar. n.Ay. Bt. e. and s.
Dm. Lk. Rf.

D 36. s.ML.

Galloway and Carrick.
In s.Ay. w.Df. Kb. Wg.

D 37. n.ML.

Highland Border.
In nw.Fi. w.Fo. w.Sg.
e.Pr.

D 38. s.NL.

Angus.
In e.Fo. and m. and s.Kc.

D 39. m.NL.

Moray and Aberdeen.
In Ab. Ba. e.Cr. El. n.Kc.
n.Na.

D 40. n.NL.

Caitness.

In ne.Cs.

The following were not
treated by Dr. Murray.

D 41. s.II.

The Orkneys.

D 42. n.II.

The Shetlands.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS IN FREQUENT USE.

abl.	ablative.	pf. t.	perfect tense.
acc.	accented, accusative.	pl.	plural.
adj.	adjective.	pp.	past or passive participle.
adv.	adverb.	pre.	preposition.
AJE.	A. J. Ellis, the author.	pro.	pronoun.
ans.	answers.	pron.	pronounce-d, pronunciation-s.
aq.	answers to questions.	prp.	present participle.
art.	article.	prt.	present tense.
b.	border, (preceding a date) born.	pt.	past tense.
CCR.	Mr. C. Clough Robinson.	pwl.	partial wl., one in which less than half the words had their pron. assigned.
cs.	comparative specimen-s.	rec.	received.
co.	county.	ro.	received orthography, or that commonly used.
cwl.	classified word list.	rp.	received pronunciation, or that of pronouncing dictionaries and educated people.
d.	(preceding a date) died.	rs.	received speech, with the grammar as well as pron. that educated people speak.
D.	Dutch.	sb.	substantive.
dat.	dativ.	sg.	singular.
def. art.	definite article.	sim.	similarly.
dia.	dialect-s-al.	so.	some kind of systematic orthography.
dict.	dictate-d, dictation.	sp.	speech.
diff.	differ-ent-ence.	spec.	specimen-s
diph.	diphthong-s-al.	TH.	Mr. Thomas Hallam.
dp.	dialectal pronunciation.	unacc.	unaccented.
ds.	dialectal speech, or speaker-s.	v.	version-s, or translation-s of cs. or dt. into dialectal speech or pron.
DSS.	Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Dialects of the South of Scotland.	vb.	verb-s, verbal.
dt.	dialect test-s.	vn.	verbal noun.
E.E.P.	Early English Pronunciation.	vv.	vivâ voce.
ex.	example-s.	wd.	word-s.
freq.	frequent-ly.	wl.	word list, as issued in Oct. 1877.
gen.	generally, genitive.	Ws.	Wessex, and West Saxon, both the country and language, literary Anglo-Saxon of the Southern type.
gl.	glossic, or written in glossic.	wn.	words noted from speakers, chiefly by TH. in his travelling note books.
imp.	imperfect.	y.	(following a number) years, as 10 y. = ten years acquainted with the dialect.
imp. t.	imperfect tense.		
imper.	imperative.		
ind.	indefinite.		
indic.	indicative.		
inf.	infinitive.		
io.	informant's orthography.		
JAHM.	Dr. James A. H. Murray.		
JGG.	Mr. J. G. Goodchild.		
LLB.	H. I. H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.		
lw.	list of words (as distinguished from the wl. and cwl.).		
N.	old Norse.		
nom.	nominative.		
nwl.	numbered word list, that is with sounds expressed by the numbers sent with the wl.		
obs.	observe-d, observation-s.		
occ.	occasional-ly.		
orig.	original.		
orth.	orthography.		
pal.	palaeotype-d.		
par.	paragraph.		
pc.	post card, with an answer to the question it contained.		
pf.	perfect.		

To shew where places not on the Maps of the Dialect District are to be found, they are referred to places on those maps, thus:

4 nw. Lancaster = 4 miles measured in a northwesterly direction from Lancaster, and so in other cases.

III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN.

referred to in the following pages as cs.

This was constructed in Sep. 1873 by JAHM. and AJE., for the purpose of obtaining dia. renderings of familiar words in various connections and some characteristic constructions. A second edition was prepared in June 1875. It has been broken up into 15 short numbered paragraphs, and a title (0.), for convenience of rapid reference. The present copy in ro. will serve as a key to the numerous versions and extracts which follow. The paragraphs cited are always numbered to correspond with this copy.

(0.) WHY JOHN HAS NO DOUBTS.

(1.) Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

(2.) Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

(3.) Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

(4.) *I* am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—

(5.) that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would*.

(6.) And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

(7.) leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

(8.) Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.

(9.) She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

(10.) He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.

(11.) And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes to dry on a washing day,

(12.) while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.

(13.) And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

(14.) And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t'other.

(15.) It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good b'ye.

IV. DIALECT TEST.

referred to in the following pages as dt.

This was constructed in Feb. 1879, in order to have a short specimen which contained an example of almost all the *Ws.* categories in the following cwl. No V., in which all the words occur separately. Here every word is numbered, and to each are added long notes, especially addressed to persons not much acquainted with phonetics, shewing the special points to which attention should be paid, and how to give the information required. These notes are here retained as forming a succinct and unsystematic conspectus of the principal varieties of English dialectal pron. In printing the versions, the numbering of the words has been abandoned, but the whole has been broken up into 7 short paragraphs to facilitate comparison. It is here printed in ro. to serve as an interpretation of all the v. that follow.

- (1.) So¹ I² say,³ mates,⁴ you⁵ see⁶ now⁷ that⁸ I⁽²⁾ am⁹ right¹⁰ about¹¹ that¹² little¹³ girl¹⁴ coming¹⁵ from¹⁶ the¹⁷ school¹⁸ yonder.¹⁹
 (2.) She²⁰ is²¹ going²² down²³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ road²⁴ there²⁵ through²⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ red²⁷ gate²⁸ on²⁹ the⁽¹⁷⁾ left³⁰ hand³¹ side³² of³³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ way.³⁴
 (3.) Sure³⁵ enough,³⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ child³⁷ has³⁸ gone³⁹ straight⁴⁰ up⁴¹ to⁴² the⁽¹⁷⁾ door⁴³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ wrong⁴⁴ house,⁴⁵
 (4.) where⁴⁶ she⁽²⁰⁾ will⁴⁷ chance⁴⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ find⁴⁹ that⁽¹²⁾ drunken⁶⁰ deaf⁶¹ shrivelled⁶² fellow⁶³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ name⁶⁴ of⁽³³⁾ Thomas.⁶⁵
 (5.) We⁶⁶ all⁶⁷ know⁶⁸ him⁶⁹ very⁷⁰ well.⁷¹
 (6.) Won't⁶² the⁽¹⁷⁾ old⁶³ chap⁶⁴ soon⁶⁵ teach⁶⁶ her⁶⁷ not⁶⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ do⁶⁹ it⁷⁰ again,⁷¹ poor⁷² thing!⁷³
 (7.) Look!⁷⁴ Isn't⁷⁵ it⁽⁷⁰⁾ true?⁷⁶

Notes.

. The number of the wd. in the following cwl. is put at the end of each note, preceded by —.

1. **So.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Note whether *o* has a vanishing *ö* after it as in London. Mark the various fracture sounds, frequently used in the north, as *ee*, *ay*, or *oo*, followed by *a* in China.—1, 73.

2. **I.** Attempt in a note to indicate the first element of this diphthong, the second is almost always *ëë*. The first may be the sound of the *italic* letters in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pet*, *nut*, *cur*, *pull*, *call*, *pop*, or some foreign sound. Reference to any named European language will be intelligible. Or this pronoun may not be a diphthong at all, but the simple vowel in *father*, *fall*, *folly*. These distinctions are all characteristic. Also note if *ic*, *itch*, *itchy*, *utch*, *utchy*, 'ch (as 'ch am, 'ch 'ould, 'ch 'ill = *I am*, *I would*, *I will*), *ise*, *es*, *us*, have ever been heard for *I*. They

all occur in older books, but at present only *utch*, *utchy*, have been recorded at Merriott and Montacute, near Crewkerne, S. Somersetshire.—452.

3. **say.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *Zo I do say*, this is general when *s* becomes *z*; and then observe the vowel in *do*, which is generally unemphatic as *a* in China. Note whether *ay* has or has not a vanishing *ëë* after it as in London. Note whether it is pronounced with *a* in *father*, followed by *ëë*, that is, as the English-Greek *ai*, German *ai*, French *ai*, or English *aye* = *yes*. Mark if the *ay* be very broad like *e* in there. Mark if *say* is sounded like *see*, or almost like *seer* without a trill, or almost like the first syllable of *Sar-ah* also without a trill.—261.

4. **mates.** Use *mates*, *makes*, *mar-*

rows, soce, bo's, butties, boys, chums, according to the district, but select the word most familiarly used in a good sense as companion or fellow-worker. In *mates* or *makes* mark the long *a*, which may have all the varieties of *ay* in *say*, noted in No. 3, which see. *Soce* and *bo's* offer no difficulty, but in *butties* or *chums* mark (by an accent, as *ù*, to be explained) whether the sound is between *u* in *but* and *u* in *put*, so that *but* nearly rhymes to *foot*. This is the Lancashire *ù*, see No. 15. In *boys*, the diphthong requires attention, it may have its usual sound, or rhyme to *pies* (in which case it must be treated as *I* in No. 2), or be made up of *oo* and *ëë*.—737.

5. **you.** Note whether *you, ye, or 'e* is used. If *you*, whether it rhymes to *too, toe, or now*. *You* is here plural, note whether it is also commonly used for the singular, or whether *thou* is commoner (and if so, whether *thee* is used as the nominative), or whether *thou* is used to some classes and *you* to others. Usage differs much.—435.

6. **see.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *you do zee*, which is generally the case when *z* is used; see No. 3. Note whether *ee* has quite a uniform sound or whether it seems to begin with *i* in *sit* and then to glide up to *ee*. Note if it is sounded like *say*, with or without a vanishing *ëë*. The form of *eh!* very closely united to *ëë*, is common. Mark whether it is followed by *ü* as in *seer* without a trill.—423.

7. **now.** A word of very numerous forms. The *ow* may be a simple vowel, as in *too, tar, taw*, or may even be as in *near, ne'er*, without the trill. It is commonly a diphthong in which the last sound is *öü* and the first the vowel in *father, pass, pat, pet, pâte, nut, cur, pot, toll*, or some foreign sound. The second element may also be *ëë*, while the first is *a* in *father*. The second element may even be French *u*, and then the first may be *u* in *cur*, or broad French *eü*, German *ö* nearly. The *ow* is also very often a triphthong, a short sound of *ï* or *ë* or *äi* being prefixed, as *niov, neow, naiow*.—643.

8. **that.** Observe that the word is unemphatic and must be pronounced accordingly, the emphatic form No. 12 is reckoned as a different word. The unemphatic vowel is generally like *a* in *China*, or *e* in *pocket*, or *a* in *principal*,

or *i* in *it*. Note whether the *th* is entirely omitted. Also whether it is replaced by *d*.—177.

9. **am.** Use *am, is, are, or be*, according to the habit of the district, always selecting an uneducated person, such as an old native man or woman, because all young people have been *taught* to use *am*. If *am* or *is* is used, it generally reduces to *-m, -z*, being run on in the same word with *I*, which may have all the sounds of No. 2; but in case *-m* is used, *I* is very often pronounced as *a* in *fall* or *o* in *folly*. Note particularly the districts where *I are* occurs, and observe where it is used emphatically, as "I are to wait," or in answers, as "Are you to do it? Yes I are." Note whether the *r* is pronounced, or whether the whole word is not like *a* in *far*. When unemphatic, as *I're*, note whether the whole sound does not rhyme to *fire* without a trill. Especially note the use of *be*, and whether *he be* is also used. Note whether the several forms are all occasionally used in the district, and if so which is the most frequent. Note whether *we am, you am*, are ever used, as *we'm, you'm*, especially when followed by *to* as "you'm to go home." Note the use of the negative forms *I aint, I baint, beeünt, etc., it baint, it aint, 'taint, tent, tyent, chent*, etc. Note whether *we is, you is, they is*, are used. All these forms are highly characteristic.—391.

10. **right.** First mark the *r*, whether it is trilled with the tip of the tongue as in Scotch or Italian, or whether the tip of the tongue is merely raised without being trilled as frequently in London and Spain. Note if the effect is produced by a rattle of the uvula at the back of the mouth as in Paris, or else by the same accompanied by a considerable closure of the lips as in Northumberland. Note also if the effect is produced by turning the tongue up so as almost to point down the throat as in Dorsetshire, or by retracting the tongue very much as in Oxfordshire, both sounds being very harsh and but slightly if at all trilled. Then as to *igh*, note whether *gh* is pronounced as a guttural, as in Scotch, and if so whether the guttural is the German *ch* in *ich* or that in *ach*, or the last with the lips much closed, and if the *i* is then as in *nick* or *neck*. If the *gh* is not pronounced, note if the *i*

has any one of the sounds of *I* No. 2, or of the vowels in *see* No. 6, as any such sound may occur.—459.

11. **about.** Note the *a* unaccented, whether it is like *a* in *China*, *idea*, or whether it is distinctly the short of *a* in *father*; as in Italian. Note that the *ou* may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, and when it sounds like *oo*, note whether the vowel is long or short, or of middle length.—650.

12. **that.** The word is here emphatic. See No. 8. Note whether the *a* is as in London *cat* or *pass*, or *a* in *father*, or the same short or of middle length. Note whether *th* has its usual sound, or is *t* (often the case after the *t* of *about*) or *d*, or is omitted altogether.—177.

13. **little.** Note whether *t* or *d* is used, or the *tt* omitted altogether as *lile*. If *tt* is omitted, note the sound of *i* either as one of the diphthongal forms of No. 2, or as *a* in *father*. Note, when *tt* is sounded as *t* or *d*, whether *i* is as in *skittle*, or as *ee* in *needle*, or as *a* in *father*.—682.

14. **girl.** The word *girl* is common, but in some districts is replaced by *wench*, *lass*, *maid*, *mauther*, or is not so frequently used as any one of these words. Note which word is most common and use it, but give also the pronunciation of the other words, if used. For *girl*, note whether the *r* is trilled or is pronounced as in one of the ways named in *right* No. 10; if not, note whether it rhymes to *sal* or *sell*, or *curl*, *pearl*; and if the *r* is the Dorsetshire *r* (see No. 10), note whether it rhymes to *hurdle*, with inserted *d*. For *wench* note if it rhymes to *drench*, *pinch*, *branch* (with *a* in *cat*). For *lass* note if it rhymes to *gas* or *pass*. For *maid* note especially if it has the sound of *a* in *father* followed by *æ*, very distinctly, or any other sound of *ay* in No. 3. For *mauther*, note if *th* is sounded as in *rather*, or omitted altogether.—758.

15. **coming.** For first syllable, note if it rhymes to *hum*, or *loom* or *loam*, or is the short sound of the two last, or something between these two short sounds, nearly *u* in *pull*, but thicker (Lancashire *ü*). For the second syllable (and all participles in *-ing*) note whether *ng* has its received sound of *ng*, or whether another *g* seems to be added, or whether it sounds as the words *ink* or *in*; if it ends in *n* (as is

usual), note whether the *i* is like *i* in *in*, *e* in *woollen*, *o* in *motion*. In the phrase "They were *dansing* and such *dansing* I never saw," note whether the two *ings* would be pronounced alike; they are sometimes different, and that is very characteristic.—603.

16. **from.** For *f* note if it is ever or generally *v*, or *th* as in *throw*. If *th* is used, note whether *-om* rhymes to a very broad *ā* sound like French *é*, German *ä*, or almost *a* in *cat*. If *f* remains, note whether *-rom* be not pronounced as the last vowel described, or whether the word sounds like *fy* in *stuffy*, or like *fee*, *fay*. If *f* becomes *v*, note if the *r* does not become the Dorset *r* described in No. 10. If *fr*, *vr* remain in any form, note whether *-om* (as the word is unemphatic) rhymes to the last syllable of *bottom*. Note also its emphatic form, and whether in either form *m* is not often omitted as *fro'*.—58.

17. **the.** The definite article is very characteristic. Note whether *th* remains as usual, or becomes *d*, or is omitted altogether. In each case note the sound of *e* like *a* in *China*, or *y* in *pithy*, or *ee* in *prithæe*; and note especially if the latter vowels are used when *th* is omitted. Note particularly whether the vowel is omitted altogether, and then whether *th* keeps its usual sound before a following vowel as in *th-arm* for *the arm*, or becomes *th'* in *th'in* (as it is convenient to write the acute sound), forming a hiss before consonants, as *th'-man*, in one word. In these latter cases note whether the *th* or *th'* is not assimilated to *d* or *t* after a word ending in *d* or *t*, causing a suspension of the *t* or *d*, by the tongue remaining a sensible time against the palate, which may be conveniently written *d'* or *t'*, as at *t' door*. Note also particularly whether *the* does not always become a suspended *t'* when it is possible, as when it follows another word, as *from-t' school*, or, when this is not possible, whether it becomes just perceptible by a dull kind of minute thud, due to trying to speak without moving the tongue from the palate, as *t' man*, *t' ass* (not *tass*) = *the ass*. This is the regular form in Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham and Yorkshire. See examples in the Test after *from* 16, *down* 23, *through* 26, *on* 29, *of* 33, before *child* 37, after *to* 42, before *old*

63. The proper marking of the definite article is important.—231.

18. **school.** Note whether the initial letters are always sounded as *sk*, or sometimes as *sh*. Note whether the vowel is as usual *ōō*, or becomes *yoo*, or French *u*, or *ee* followed by *a* in China, or *ee* or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*. Note whether the usual *oo* is begun with the mouth open, giving the effect of a high *a* in China preceding the *oo*; this sound may be conveniently written *óó* as *skóól*. Note whether *oo* does not receive one of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, like the word *scowl*. Note also whether the *ool* does not become *weel* or *will*, so that the word sounds like *squeal* or *squill*.—560.

19. **yonder.** Note if this word is ever used as *yonder*, *thonder* (with *th* in *then*), or *inder*. If not, use *out there*, and treat *out* as in *about* No. 11, and *there* as No. 25. Also if the *school yonder* is not used, employ *yon school*, and then notice whether *yon* is pronounced with *y* or *th* in *then*, or acute *th'* in *th'in*, as *th'on* (see No. 17). The form *inder* should be especially noted, if ever heard in the district, even occasionally.—394.

20. **She.** The feminine personal pronoun is very important. It usually has *sh* preserved, with *ee* when emphatic, as in *sheet* (with one of the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, or *ay* in *say* No. 3), but when unemphatic becomes *shy* in *slushy*, or *chsia* in *fuchsia*, and the vowel is frequently entirely omitted in rapid speech, so that only the *sh* of *hush!* remains. But the forms *shoo*, *oo*, *ow*, *uh*, generally written *shoo*, *hoo*, *how*, *her*, are also used. For *shoo* note whether it ever sounds like *shoe*, *shoh*, *shuh*. For *hoo* note whether *h* is ever heard unless the word is very emphatic, and whether the *oo* is not the *óó* explained in No. 18. For *how* or *ow* note which of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7 is used. For *her* or better *uh* (the *u* in *cur* without any trill of an *r* after it), note whether it is ever pronounced with an *r* after it, even before a vowel, as *uh iz*, not *uh r'iz*, with emphatic *iz*. Note also if *him iz* or *mee iz* are ever said. Note also when the form *she* is used, whether *sh* ever changes to *zh* or *s* in division (French *j*), when the word is emphatic.—412.

21. **is.** First note the use of the forms *is*, *be*, *are*, see No. 9. Next see

whether in unemphatic forms the *i* or *a* are not omitted, as *she's*, *she're*. Give the emphatic forms also.—482.

22. **going.** First note whether *a* is commonly inserted, as *she's a-going*, where this *a* is pronounced as in *a-bout* No. 11. Note whether the form *go* or *gang* or *gan* is used. For *go* note the *o*, whether it rhymes to *toe* or *too* or *hay*, and for the second syllable *-ing*, not only see No. 15, but observe if the two syllables *go-ing* do not coalesce, sounding like *g* prefixed to *wine* (with any sound in No. 2), or *wain* (with any sound in No. 3), or *win*, very short.—67.

23. **down.** This may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, or *ou* in *about* No. 11. It is a very characteristic word, especially when *ow* has the sound of *a* in *father* or *a* in *cat* lengthened, followed or not by short *ěě* or short *öö*, or *a* in China.—658.

24. **road.** For the *r* consult *right* No. 10. The *oa* may be pronounced with a short *öö* after it, as it is often in London, and then the *oo* may be lengthened and the *oh* shortened till the word sounds like *röh-ōōd* or nearly *rouđ*, and then the *ow* may receive any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7. These are London forms. It is more common to add a short *ü* or *a* in China as *roh-üđ*, and then the *oh* is sometimes broadened to French *o* in *homme* or to *awe* in *awed* as *raw-üđ*. But also very commonly the *oh* falls into *oo* followed by this *ü*, as *rooüđ*. And the sound is still more complicated by inserting a *w* as *rwooüđ*. Note what form is used, and whether simple *rohđ* *raud* *rahđ* or short *röđ* are employed, and sometimes one of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4. The word is very variable and characteristic.—104.

25. **there.** First for *th*, note if it has its usual sound, or if it falls into *d*, and occasionally into *t* after a word ending in *t*. Then as to *r* final, observe whether it is trilled strongly as in Scotland or weakly as mostly in England. Also whether it is not trilled at all, and then whether it is a mere vowel as often in London, or a raised stiff tongue, or a Dorset or Northumberland untrilled *r*, see No. 10. The vowel varies much. It often becomes a very thin *ay*, almost an *ee*, rhyming nearly to *wear* or *seer*. Sometimes it rhymes to *tar*. With the Northumberland *r* it may become *ö*,

and with the Dorset *r* it may become *uh* in *cur*.—223.

26. **through.** First for *thr*, note whether *tr* is used with a trilled *r*, and next whether *dr* is used with a reverted or retracted *r*, as explained in No. 10. Also observe if *fr* is used, generally with *e* in *there*. Next note whether the *gh* is a guttural, or is replaced by *f*. Then note the vowel whether simple as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe* or *u* in *cut*, or Lancashire *û* (No. 15), or diphthongal having one of the sounds of *ow* in No. 7.—634.

27. **red.** Note the *r* as in No. 10. Note the vowel, which may be usual, or as *reed* spoken long or short, or *rid*, or like *raid* or *rud*-dy. Particularly note whether the vowel is transposed and an aspirate prefixed, like *herd* with the Dorsetshire *r*, No. 25. Or if the aspirate is prefixed to the same *r* without transposition as *hred*.—352.

28. **gate.** Note all the changes of vowel as in *mates* No. 4. The word is generally very characteristic. It may also be *yate*, *yat* or *yel*.—346.

29. **on.** This does not vary much, but note the vowel when usual or like French *o* in *homme*, or like the short of *one* in *bone*, or like *an*, with the *a* of father shortened.—543

30. **left.** Observe whether *t* is pronounced. Note whether the vowel is *e* in *pet*, or *a* in *pat*, or *i* in *pit*.—749.

31. **hand.** First note whether the aspirate is used, and make a note as to the habits of the district in using or not using the initial aspirate both at right and wrong times. Next note the *d*, sometimes *t*, and often omitted. Lastly see if the vowel is *a* in *cat*, *a* in father at full length or shortened, *aw* in *awn*, or *o* in *on*.—43.

32. **side.** The long *i* may have any of the sounds of No. 2. Note especially whether it is *a* in father, or a diphthong consisting of *uh* in *cur*, followed by short *ëë*.—492.

33. **of.** Note whether *f* is preserved; it is usually *v*, but is not unfrequently entirely omitted, especially before *the*, so that *of the* becomes *û-thü*, or even simply *üth*, or *üth'* with acute *th'* (No. 17). Often the word is a short *oh*, as *öh thü* or *öh ëë*.—525.

34. **way.** Note whether the *w* ever becomes *v*. Observe the same possible varieties of *ay* as for *say* No. 3. The sound of *ay* in *say* is however often

different from that of *ay* in *way* in the same district.—262.

35. **sure.** Note whether *s* remains or becomes *sh*. Note the *r* as for *there* No. 25. Observe the vowel, whether as *oo* in *poor*, *you* in *your*, *ew* in *ever*, French *u*, or French *eu*, or whether it becomes one of the *ow* diphthongs as in *now* No. 7.—969.

36. **enough.** Note also the form *enow*, and say whether in this district *enough* is used with singular and *enow* with plural nouns, as *bread enough*, *apples enow*, or whether one form is always used, and if so which. For *enow* note the different forms of *now* No. 7, and also the use of *enew*, or the French *u* or French *eu*. For *enough*, first note whether the guttural remains or is changed into *f*. If *gh* is German or Scotch *ch* in *loch*, observe the vowel, whether simple as *u* in *cut*, *o* in *cot*, or the same preceded by *y*; or whether *ew* in *ewer*, or distinct *ee* followed by indistinct *o* in *cot*, or the French *u* or *eu*. For *f* observe whether the vowel is *u* in *snuff*, *ew* in *ewer*, or French *u* or *eu*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*, or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*.—579.

37. **child.** Note whether *child* or *bairn* is ever used when speaking of a girl merely. If not, use in the translation some of the words in No. 14, but if *child* is used in the district in any sense, observe its pronunciation. First note the *ch*, whether as in *cheese*, or *chaise*, that is *sh*, the last is very characteristic. Next observe whether *d* is omitted. Then see if the vowel is diphthongal, having one of the forms of No. 2, or simple, as in *chilled*, or *shield*. In all cases note the form of the plural, *childer*, *childern*, *chööldern*, *children* or *chillern*, with the pronunciation of *ch* and vowel as before. If only *bairn* is used, note the sound of *air* as in *there* No. 25.—466.

38. **has.** This is in the unemphatic form, and hence probably omits *ha*, sounding simply as *-z* hung on to the preceding word. Note however also the emphatic form, and whether *h* is pronounced (see *hand* No. 31), and if *s* is ever *s* or always *z*. Then note the value of the vowel, as *a* in *mazzard*, *u* in *buzzard*, *i* in *lizard*, *e* in *fez*. Also note particularly whether it is customary in the district to say *the child have*, and if so note the *h* and vowel of *have* especially. Please con-

jugate as in the district: I *have, thou hast, he has, we, you, they, have*, and the same negatively.—159.

39. **gone**. Notice especially whether *a-* is inserted, as *the child has a-gone*, as this is very characteristic. If so, note whether this *a* is pronounced as *a* in *China*. For *gone* note the vowel as *o* in *on*, or *aw* in *awn*, or as in *in*, *pen, been* (short), or with *y* prefixed to these vowels, or as very short *i* in *in* followed by very short *a* in *China*. Or again with *a* in *father* or the same very short. Also observe if the habit of the district is to use *has go-ed, has went, has been and gone, or been* simply without either *has* or *gone*.—121.

40. **straight**. First observe whether the guttural *gh* is heard as Scotch or German *ch* in *loch*. Next as to the initial *str*, observe the *r* as in *right* No. 11, but especially whether the *t* is pronounced thickly by bringing the tip of the tongue quite against the teeth as for *th*, forming the dental *t*, which may be written *st'r*, a pronunciation highly characteristic in words beginning with *str*, or *tr*, or ending with *-ter* as *wa't'er, butt'er*, and if this is usual in the district, it should be noted carefully. Note also whether *t'* passes quite into acute *th'* No. 17, as *sth'raight, wath'er, buth'er*, or whether in the last two words it is not altogether omitted as *wäh-er, bü-er*. Then for the vowel in *straight*, note the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *ay* in *say* No. 3, and especially the diphthongal form of *a* in *father* followed by short *ë*.—265.

41. **up** The vowel may be as usual or somewhat thicker, but note the Lancashire *ü* (see No. 15), which is highly characteristic. Note also French *eu*. It is particularly necessary to distinguish *u* in *dull* from *u* in *full*, or from Lancashire *ü* (No. 15). Dialect writers, following the usual orthography, use *u* for all three sounds. Great confusion thus arises. It is believed that *u* in *dull* is never found within the district bounded on the south by a line from the N. of Shropshire to the S. of Lincolnshire, and on the north by a line from Silloth in Cumberland to Hartlepool in Durham, but information is much wanted for the districts adjacent to these boundaries. The distinction has strong dialectal significance.—632.

42. **to**. Note if *at* is ever used for

to before the infinitive, see No. 67. Note the vowel, as *oo* in *too, oe* in *toe, ew* in *tew*, French *u* or *eu*, all especially when emphatic, or in *to and fro, where are you going to*; and the unemphatic form of *a* in *China*. Observe also how it coalesces with the following *the*.—556.

43. **door**. Note the *r* as in *there* No. 25. Note the *oor* as in *oar*, as in *drawer*, or as in *nor*, or as *mower, poor*, or the same shortened, or as *ewer*, or as in *deer, cur*, or French *sür* or *sœur*, or with the Lancashire *óó*, No. 18, or as *ow*.—606.

44. **wrong**. First as to *wr-*, note if the *w* is omitted (as is generally the case) or is pronounced as *wü* with the *a* in *China*, or as a *v* as *wrang*. Next as to *ng*, note if another *g* is added on to the end as *ngg*, or whether the word ends in *nk*. The vowel is very characteristic, note the usual *o* in *wrong*, or the short of *a* in *father*, or *a* in *cat*, or *u* in *rung*, or Lancashire short *ü* (No. 15). This word with the next is sufficient to determine whether the district is to the N. or S. of a line passing from Cocker-mouth in Lancashire to the mouth of the Humber in Yorkshire—64.

45. **house**. First notice the aspirate, whether it is used, No. 31. Particularly notice the vowel in all the forms of *ou* in *about* No. 11, and *ow* in *now* No. 7. This and *home* are the most characteristic words we have. How is *home* pronounced? See sounds of Nos. 22, 39, 58, 62.—663.

46. **where**. Note the *wh* especially, and say whether the *h* is ever pronounced before or after the *w*, as it is very desirable to determine the limits of the pronunciation of *wh* proper. Next notice whether when *h* is not pronounced, *w* ever falls into *v*, as is often asserted to be the case. Lastly note where *wh* becomes *f*. For the *r* see *there* No. 25. For the vowel, determine whether it is in *air, ear, ear, nor, drawer*.—224.

47. **will**. Being unemphatic this will probably be run on to the preceding word as simple *-l*, thus *she'll*. But also note which of the emphatic forms as *wil* or *wü*, and perhaps *wil* or *wöü*, or even *öü*, is used in the district.—469.

48. **chance**. Very possibly this word may not be used in such a phrase in the district. Use the word employed,

as *hap* or *happen* or *mebby* (may be) for *chance to*. The *h* and *a* in the first two words treat as in *hand* No. 31. But the word *chance* is sure to be used in some sense, so please to note its sound, and especially if *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*. The *-ance* may be variously pronounced, as *a* in *father* long or short, *a* in *pass* long or short, *a* in *cat* long or short, all these six sounds being heard from educated people. But *a* may also be as in *all*, or have one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2.—841.

49. **find.** First as to the final *d*, often omitted, see *hand* No. 31. Notice whether the word is like *find*, with one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2, or like *finned*; it may be also like *fand* or *fund*, *fan* or *fun*, with *a* as in *hand* No. 31, or *u* as in *up* No. 41, or with *o* in *fond*.—477.

50. **drunken.** Notice the form *drucken*, much used in Scotland. Notice whether *dr-* is pronounced with the tongue against the teeth as for *th*, thus *d'r*, see *straight* No. 40 for a similar *t'r*. Notice also whether this is common in the termination *-d'er* as *rid'er* *bladd'er*, and whether it passes into *th* as *blather* in the district. These are very characteristic pronunciations. As to the vowel, observe whether it is *u* in *sunk*, or the Lancashire *ü*, Nos. 15 and 41. In some districts, where every one is in the habit of drinking, the word *drunken* is objected to. Then use the common word, but as *I have drunk* must be used, also give the sound of *drunk*.—804, 613.

51. **deaf.** Note the vowel as usual or rhyming to *reef*, *stiff*, or fractured as *ee* or *ay* followed by the *a* in *China*.—355.

52. **shrivelled.** This may not be a common word, and may be unknown to the informant in the dialect, although it is sure to be known in other connections. In this case *wizened*, *weazen*, *withered*, or *dried up* may be used. But if *shrivelled* cannot be given, take any word beginning with *shr-* as *shrammed*, *shred*, *shrewmouse*, *shriek*, *shrike*, *shrill*, *shrimp*, *shrink*, *shroud*, *shrub*, *shrug*, and state whether *shr-* or *sr-* is used in speech. It is particularly desirable to know how far the sound of *sr-* extends. For the *r* see *right* No. 10.—760

53. **fellow.** Note whether *f* or *v*. For the last syllable note whether the

word ends in a distinct *oh* or rhymes to *seller*, with the *r* merely a vowel, see *there* No. 25, or whether it is like the Egyptian *fellah*.—297.

54. **name.** The vowel may have any of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *gate* No. 28. The word is also often like *neeim*, *neeim*, *nyem*, or even *nem*.—21.

55. **Thomas.** Use whatever name is commonest in the district. If *Thomas* is kept, note whether *th-* is ever different from *t*. For the first syllable note whether the vowel is that in *pot*, *hum*, or the Lancashire *ü* Nos. 15 and 41. For the second whether it is ever different from *us* in *omnibus*.—770.

56. **We.** This vowel may have all the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, and the sound like very short London *way* should be especially noted. Note if *we* is ever used for *us* in the district, as *after we* (John Gilpin), *laughed at we*, *give it we*. Note also if *us* is used for *we*, as *us saw she*, *us told he*, for *we saw her*, or *we told him*.—293.

57. **all.** Note if the *ll* is omitted. Note the vowel as in *fall* or *father*, or *ay* followed by *a* in *China*, or whether the word sounds like *yell*.—335.

58. **know.** As this is plural, *we* being the nominative, note whether it has the plural in *-en* as *we known*, or in *-s* as *we knows*, and explain which is used in the district, or if *we know* is commonest. Similarly note *you* and *they know*, *knows*, or *known*. *We known* is sometimes used for *we have known*, or *we knew*. This must not be confused with *we known*, meaning *we know*. But it is best to note whether it is used. For the initial *kn-* note whether *k* is ever sounded as *k*, or ever indicated by using an *h* or *t* or *d*, instead of *k*, or is entirely omitted. Then note the vowel, whether as in *owe*, *awe*, *father*, *fate*, or *o* followed by short *ö*, or the *awe*, *ah*, *ay*, followed by short *a* in *China*. Note whether *do* is inserted between *we* and *know* as *we do know*, and if so, how *do* is pronounced, see end of notes on *say* No. 3, and see No. 6. The use of *we doh know* for *we don't know*, should be noted, but not confused with *we do know*. Note also whether the word *know* is superseded by *ken*, and the sound of the vowel in *ken*. In this case take some other word beginning with *kn-* as *knife*, *knuckle*, and ascertain whether

k is entirely omitted or pronounced, or indicated by *h* or *t* or *d*.—92.

59. **him**. Note particularly whether the form *en* or *un* or simple 'n is used, as *we do know 'n*. If *him* is used, note if *h* is ever heard, 1) when the word is unemphatic, 2) when emphatic. Note the vowel, whether *im*, *em*, *um*. Note if *we know 'im*, or *we knows 'm*, could mean indifferently *we know him*, and *we know them*.—470.

60. **very**. Note particularly whether the *v* changes into *w*. If possible, ascertain whether it is a perfect *w*, or rather a *v* spoken without allowing the underlip to touch the upper teeth. The *r* between the two vowels also requires attention. Note if it is entirely omitted as *ve-y*, *va-y*, or only represented by raising the stiffened point of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth without touching it, or slightly advancing the uvula; both forms occur, and it is desirable to know how far they extend. If the *r* is trilled, note which of the *r*'s in *right* No. 10 is used. The first vowel may be as in *sherry*, or *Harry*, or *father*, and the second may be as in *sherry* or *China*.—885.

61. **well**. Note whether the *w* becomes *v*. Note the vowel whether as in *tell*, or *wheel* rather shorter, or whether a short *a* in *China* or *y* in *sherry* is inserted after either of these.—266, not 244.

62. **won't**. Note if *o* is pronounced as in *don't*, *hunt*, *awe*, *taint*, or *o* in *don't* followed by *a* in *China*, or *oo* followed by *a* in *China*, or *ee* so followed. Note also if the forms *winna*, *winnad* (before a vowel), *wunna*, *wonna*, *winnut*, are employed. Note if *w* is entirely omitted, thus 'on't or 'öön't. Note also the various forms of *don't*, which includes those of *on't* in *won't* and also *divv'nt*, etc.—541.

63. **old**. Note whether both *l* and *d* are pronounced or either *l* or *d* omitted. Vowel as in *owed*, *hole*, *got*, *awe*, *father*, *ee* followed by *a* in *China*. Or whether *o* has not one of the sounds of *now* No. 7.—326.

64. **chap**. This word is pretty sure to be used. but, if not, use *man*. Observe whether *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*, and whether the vowel is as in *cat*, in *father* or the same shortened, or in *get*.—364.

65. **soon**. Observe whether *s* or *z*, or even *sh*. Observe the vowel especially, which may be *ee*, *yoo*, French *u* or *eu*,

or *ee* followed by *öö*, or by *a* in *China*, or *u* in *dull* or French *eu*.—564

66. **teach**. Observe vowel as in *reach*, or *aitch*. If, as is very commonly the case, *learn* would be used in this sense, mark the vowel as in *urn* or *durn* or *ay* followed by short *o*, and note the *r* (No. 26). If *teach* is not used in this sense, *teacher* will certainly be known, and its pronunciation should be given.—183.

67. **her**. Observe whether *h* is pronounced, and what is the nature of the *r*, see *there* No. 25. See also the *her* for *she* No. 20, and note whether *she* is not used in its place as *won't he teach she*. Observe if the usual sound of *her* in *teach her* or *learn her* is the same as *er* in *teacher* or *learner*, and note if it is *a* in *China*, or how it differs from it.—447.

68. **not**. Note vowel as in *pot*, *pat*, *put*, or *nut*, and whether the *t* is sometimes *d*.—110, ii.

69. **do**. Note vowel as in *too*, *toe*, *new* or French *u*, or *ee* followed by French *u*. Observe whether *div* is used before *it*, as *div it*, or whether *do* and *it* are not contracted into one word as *dit* or *did*. Note whether *to* before the infinitive *do* is sometimes *at*, pronounced *üt*, especially in such phrases as *I am the man that was able to* or *at do it*, *something at eat*, *go at see him*, and write the pronunciation of these phrases. This use of *at* is highly characteristic.—586.

70. **it**. Observe whether, when not run on to *do* (No. 69), *it* becomes *et*, *ut*, *hit*, *het*, *hid*. Also state whether *its* is ever used, as in *over its* or *it eyes*, or *over the eyes of 'um*.—489.

71. **again**. Note the last vowel as in *gain*, or *hen*, *in*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*.—144.

72. **poor**. Note *r* as in *there* No. 25, and vowel as usual or as in *oar*, or like French *u* or *eu*.—866.

73. **thing**. Note whether acute *th'* in *th'in*, see No. 17, or flat *th* in *then*, or *t* simply is used. Note the vowel as in *in* or *hen*. Note *ng* as pure, or with an extra *g* added, as *nk* or as *n*. If the simple *n* is not used in *thing* alone, note whether it is not used in *nothing*, *something*, and write pronunciation of these words.—480.

74. **look**. Note the vowel as in *soon*, No. 65, or else as long *oo* in *loose*, or long *oh*, or short *u* in *full* or *u* in

dull. Note also such phrases as *loo'* thee for *look thou*.—558.

75. *ian't*. Note whether any of the forms *beant*, *aint*, *ar'n't*, *izna*, *iznad*, *innut*, etc., is used.—482.

76. *true*. Observe *tr* as in *straight* No. 40. The vowel may be *oo* or *you* or *ee* followed by *ö* or French *u*, or some variety of these sounds.—436.

V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST

referred to in the following pages as cwl.

Finding that the *cs.* did not contain sufficient examples of some categories, and that the few examples of rather important cases were often ingeniously evaded by my informants, I constructed a "List of Words of which the pron. is wanted," and issued large numbers of it to clergymen in different villages where information was wanted. The greater number of these were not returned, but sufficient reached me to be of much service. This old word list is referred to as *wl.* and should be distinguished from the present *cwl.* It was stated to be a selection from the word lists in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*, and was arranged in his order, which, however, was found inconvenient for reference in practice. It was printed widely on 7 quarto pages, leaving space for informants to write in the pron. Half of the 8th page was occupied with questions on idioms and intonation. These are reproduced at the end of the *cwl.* as shewing the chief points beyond pron. on which it was attempted to gather information.

The following *cwl.* then contains all the words in the *wl.*, *cs.* and *dt.* and a very few others. Those marked * did not occur in the original *wl.* Those marked † were in the *cs.*, and those marked ‡ in the *dt.* The words are numbered throughout for ease of reference.

Many other words were given to me by kind informants, most of which will be introduced hereafter. But on making out a complete list for my own use, it became so unwieldy that it appeared better to confine the *cwl.* within the above limits. As much difficulty will undoubtedly be felt by many readers, (judging by the difficulty I have myself experienced,) in assigning any given word to its class, an index is added containing the English words in the usual alphabetical order of dictionaries, with the number of the *wd.* in the *cwl.* annexed.

All the old *wl.* and all the local *lw.* which I have used will be reduced to this order. The pron. is throughout given in *pal.* and, when the words considered occur in this list, their numbers are prefixed as sufficient explanation. When they do not, they are placed in the position they would have occupied, if they had occurred in the *cwl.*, and — is prefixed to shew that they have no number, and then the ordinary spelling is annexed in [], in which also any explanation or observation is inclosed.

The order and classification, which differ considerably from those in the original *wl.*, are arranged on the following principle. The lists are divided into three sections, headed I. WESSEX AND NORSE, II. ENGLISH, III. ROMANCE. The words in each list are grouped in classes dependent on the vowel of the original language in what corresponds to the accented syllable in received English. The words in each class are arranged in order of the letters which *follow* that vowel. Only when all these letters are the same in two or more words are the preceding letters taken into account, and then the order is reckoned from the vowel backwards. Strictly alphabetical order is followed for these letters, for which purpose *p*, *ö* will each be taken as the *two* letters, *t*, *h*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE, Nos. 1 to 712.

This section contains only such words as can be referred with considerable certainty to prototypes existing in Wessex literature, (that is, books in the language of King Alfred, as distinguished from the Northumbrian forms,) or in Norse as represented by Icelandic. To the latter a small capital *N* is subjoined.

When no such prototypes are known, or when there is difference of opinion respecting the etymology, even when the class of words is clear, the words are placed in Section II., ENGLISH.

The Wessex or Norse words are placed first in Roman letters, and the arrangement is by the vowels they contain, which are placed *in capitals* at the head of each class, long vowels being distinguished by a following acute accent. As the change which takes place in the vowel depends frequently upon its occurrence in an open or closed syllable, as presently defined, these are distinguished thus: A- open short A; A: closed short A; A'- open long A; A': closed long A. The vowel, by a mechanical rule which is sufficiently, but not absolutely correct, is said to be in an *open* syllable, 1) when it is final, and 2) when it is followed by a *single* consonant which is itself *followed by a vowel*, and to be in a *closed* syllable, 3) when it has *one* or more consonants after it at the end of a word, and 4) when it has *two* or more consonants between it and a following vowel in the middle of a word. In the Wessex words the orthography of Prof. Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary* is usually followed, but when his differs from Eftmüller's (except in that author's peculiarities) the latter is sometimes preferred. I disclaim all responsibility for the orthography, which I could not verify by documents. Conjectural forms are excluded. Hence I have not, with Dr. Sweet, distinguished two forms of Æ', E, O.

The Wessex and Norse forms, placed first, are printed in Roman letters, followed by a comma; the corresponding English is in italics. But some little words as *a, the, to, I he we, was, had* are occasionally prefixed, and *thou* subjoined, in Roman letters, to shew the part of speech or part of the verb, and only when these are insufficient is the part of speech subjoined in Roman letters. Verbs are generally cited by their infinitive moods, but occasionally other parts are introduced either in their proper order, or placed in [] after the infinitives. Such parts are sufficiently shewn by these prefixes, which of course do not form part of the translation. Sometimes the English word is still so ambiguous that a synonym or explanation has to be prefixed or subjoined, also in Roman type.

A-	26 wanian, to <i>wane</i>	51 mann, a <i>man</i>
	27 cnapa, a <i>knave</i>	52 wann, a <i>wan</i>
1 swa, so thus * †	28 hara, a <i>hare</i>	53 canna, a <i>can</i>
2 gemaca, a <i>make</i> com-	29 aron, we or they <i>are</i> * †	54 wanta n, to <i>want</i> †
panion	30 caru, a <i>care</i> *, see 320	55 ascan, <i>ashes</i> of a fire
3 bacan, to <i>bake</i>	31 i. late, ii. læte, <i>late</i> adv.	56 wascan, to <i>wash</i> †
4 tacan, to <i>take</i>	32 baðian, to <i>bathe</i> *	57 assa, an <i>ass</i>
5 macian, to <i>make</i> †	33 hraðor, <i>rather</i>	
6 gemacod, was <i>made</i>	34 latost, <i>last</i> †	
7 sacu, the <i>sake</i>	35 awel, an <i>awl</i>	
8 hafa, <i>have</i> thou †	36 þawian, to <i>thaw</i>	
9 behafa, <i>behave</i> thou	37 clawu, a <i>claw</i>	
10 haga, a <i>haw</i>		
11 maga, the <i>maw</i>	A:	
12 saga sagu, a <i>saw</i>	38 also, <i>as</i> * †	58 i. fram ii. from, <i>from</i> † †
13 gnagan, to <i>gnaw</i>	39 cwam, he <i>came</i> †	59 i. lamb ii. lomb, <i>lamb</i>
14 dragan, to <i>draw</i>	40 camb, a <i>comb</i>	60 i. lang ii. long, <i>long</i>
15 agi n, <i>awe</i>	41 þancian, to <i>thank</i>	61 on i. gemang ii. ge-
16 dagian, to <i>dawn</i>	42 and, <i>and</i> * †	mong, <i>among</i>
17 lagu, the <i>law</i> †	43 hand, a <i>hand</i> †	62 i. strang ii. strong,
18 kaka n, a <i>cake</i>	44 land, the <i>land</i>	<i>strong</i>
19 talu, a <i>tale</i> told	45 wand, a <i>want</i> mole,	63 i. geþrang ii. geþrong,
20 lama, <i>lame</i>	animal*, see 114,	<i>þrong</i>
21 nama, a <i>name</i> † †	769	64 i. wrang ii. wrong,
22 tama, <i>tame</i>		<i>wrong</i> † †
23 same, <i>same</i> similarly	46 candel, a <i>candle</i>	65 i. sang ii. song, a <i>song</i>
24 scamu, <i>shame</i>	47 wandriar, to <i>wander</i>	66 i. þwang ii. þwong, a
25 manar, of the <i>mane</i> of	48 sang, he <i>sang</i>	<i>þwong</i>
an animal, gen. of	49 hangan, to <i>hang</i> * †	
mön n	50 tange, the <i>tongs</i>	
		A':
		67 ic gâ, <i>I go</i>
		68 má, <i>more</i> in number*

- 69 ná, *no* never, see 122
 70 tá, a *toe*
 71 wá, *was*
 72 hwá, *who* interrogative †
 73 swá, *so* like as † ‡
 74 twá, *two* †
 75 strácian, to *stroke*
 76 táde, a *toad*
 77 hláford, a *lord*
 78 ágan, to *owe* = to own
 79 ágen, his *own* †
 80 hálig dæg, a *holiday*
 81 i. lán*e* ii. lone, a *lane* †
 82 ánes, *once* * †
 83 mánian, to *moan*
 84 mára, *more* in size
 85 sáre, *sore* sorely
 86 áte, *oats*
 87 cláðas, *clothes* †
 88 cláðian, to *clothe*
 89 báðir n, *both* †
 90 bláwan, to *blow* as wind
 91 máwan, to *mow*
 92 cnáwan, to *know* † ‡
 93 snáwan, to *snow*
 94 cráwan, to *crow* †
 95 þráwan, to *throw*
 96 sáwan, to *sow* seed
 97 sáwel, the *soul*
 98 cnáwen, has *known*
 99 þráwen, has *thrown*
 100 sáwen, has *sown* seed
- A':
- 101 ác an *oak*
 102 ácsian, to *ask* †
 103 ácsóde, he *asked* * †
 104 rád, a *road* †
 105 rád, he *rode*
 106 brád, *broad*
 107 hláf, a *loaf*
 108 dág, *dough*
 109 lág, *low*
 110 i. náht náuht, *nought*,
 ii. náht, *not* † ‡
 111 áhte, he *ought* †
 112 hál, *hale*
 113 hál, *whole* †
 114 mál, *mole* a body
 mark, not the
 animal, see 45, 769
 115 háam, a *home* †
 116 hwám, *whom*, interro-
 gative only
 117 án, a † *one* *
 118 bán, *bone*
 119 gán, to *go* * †
- 120 ágán, *ago*, i.e. past
 by * †
 121 gegán, has *gone*
 122 nán, i. *none*, ii. *no* adj.
 123 nán þing, *nothing*
 124 stán, a *stone*
 125 ánlice, *only* †
 126 ár, an *oar*
 127 háas, *hoarse*
 128 þás, *those*
 129 gást, a *ghost*
 130 bát, a *boat*
 131 gát, a *goat*
 132 hát, *hot*
 133 wrát, I *wrote*
 134 áð, an *oath*
 135 cláð, a *cloth*
 136 áwðer = áhwæðer, i.
either, ii. *or*, see
 213 ægðer
 137 nánwðer = náhwæðer,
 i. *neither*, ii. *nor* * †,
 see 214 nægðer
- Æ-
- 138 fæder, a *father* †
 139 dræge (in dræge-net),
 a *dray*
 140 hægel, the *hail*
 141 nægel, a *nail*
 142 snægel, a *snail*
 143 tægel, a *tail*
 144 ongægen, *again* † ‡
 145 slægen, is *slain*
 146 mægen, *main* strength
 147 brægen, the *brain*
 148 fæger, *fair* adj. [not
fair sb., Fr. foire,
 after 921, from
 Lat. feria, after
 887.]
 149 blæse, a *blaze*
 150 læsest, *least* †
 151 lætan, to *let* or hinder
 152 wæter, *water*
 153 sæterdæg, *Saturday*
- Æ:
- 154 bæc, the *back* * †
 155 þæc, the *thatch*
 156 glæd, *glad* *
 157 hræfn, a *raven*
 158 æfter, *after*
 159 hæfð, he *has* * †
 160 æg, an *egg*
 161 dæg, a *day* †
 162 tó dæg, *to-day* * †
 163 læg, he *lay*
- 164 mæg, he *may* †
 165 sægde, he *said*
 166 mægden, a *maid*
 167 dæl, a *dale*
 168 tælg, *tallow*
 169 hwænne, *when* †
 170 hærfest, *harvest*
 171 bærlíc *barley*
 172 gærs, *grass*
 173 wæs, he *was* †
 174 æsc, an *ash* tree
 175 fæst, *fast*, firm
 176 æt, a † * †
 177 þæt, *that* * † ‡
 178 gnæt, *gnat*
 179 hwæt, *what* †
 180 bæð, *bath*
 181 pæð, a *path*
- Æ'-
- 182 sæ', the *sea*
 183 tæ'can, to *teach* †
 184 læ'dan, to *lead*
 185 ræ'dan, to *read*
 186 bræ'do, *breadth*
 187 læ'fan, to *leave*
 188 hnæ'gan, to *neigh*
 189 wæ'gan, to *weigh*
 190 cæ'ge, a *key*
 191 hæ'lan, to *heal*
 192 mæ'nan, to *mean*
 193 clæ'ne, *clean*
 194 æ'nig, *any* * †
 195 mæ'nig, *many*
 196 wæ'ron, we *were*
 197 cæ'se, a *cheese*
 198 læ'tan, to *let* allow,
 see 288.
 199 blæ'tan, to *bleat*
 200 hwæ'te, *wheat*
 201 hæ'ðen, the *heathen*
 202 hæ'ta, *heat*
- Æ':
- 203 spræ'c, *speech*
 204 dæ'd, *dead*
 205 þræ'd, *thread*
 206 ræ'dd, he *read*
 207 næ'dl, a *needle*
 208 æ'fre, *ever* * †
 209 næ'fre, *never* * †
 210 clæ'g, *clay*
 211 græ'g, *grey*
 212 hwæ'g, *why*
 213 ægðer = áhwæder,
either, see 136
 áwðer

- 214 næ'gðer, *neither** †, see 137 nāwðer
 215 tæ'hte, he *taught*
 216 dæ'l, a *deal* portion
 217 æ'lc, *each*
 218 scæ'p, a *sheep*
 219 slæ'p, a *sleep*
 220 scæ'phirðe, a *shep-herd** †
 221 fæ'r *fear* sb.
 222 hæ'r, the *hair*
 223 þæ'r, *there* † †
 224 hwæ'r hwar, *where* † †
 225 flæ'sc, *flesh*
 226 mæ'st *most*
 227 wæ't, *wet* †
 228 swæ't, *sweat*
 229 bræ'ð, *breath*, pro-
 perly = odour
 230 fæ'tt, *fat*, adj.
- E-
- 231 þe, *the** † †
 232 breccan, to *break*
 233 spreccan, to *speak* †
 234 cnedan, to *knead*
 235 wefan, to *weave*
 236 fefer, a *fever*
 237 blegan, a *chil-blain*
 238 hege, a *hedge*
 239 segel, a *sail*
 240 gelegen, has *lain*
 241 regen, *rain*
 242 twegen, *twain*
 243 plegian, to *play*
 244 wela, *well*, argumen-
 tative adv.* †, see
 266.
 245 melu melo, *meal* flour*
 246 cwene cwén, i. *queen*
 ii. *quean*
 247 wenian, to *wean*
 248 mere, a *mare*
 249 werian, to *wear*
 250 swerian, to *swear*
 251 mete, *meat*
 252 cetel, a *kettle* †
 253 netele, a *nettle*
 254 leðer, *leather*
 255 weðer, a *wether* sheep
- E:
- 256 streccan, to *stretch** †
 257 ecg, an *edge*
 258 secg, *sedge*
 259 wecg, *wedge*
 260 leogan, to *lay*
 261 secgan, to *say* † †
- 262 weg, a *way* † †
 263 on weg, *away** †
 264 eglan, to *ail*
 265 streht, *straight* † †
 [see 923, to which
 dia. forms seem to
 be related].
 266 wel, *well*, adv. in a
 good manner* †,
 see 244.
 267 geldan, to *yield*
 268 eldest, *eldest*
 269 self, *self** †
 270 belg, i. *bellows*, ii.
belly
 271 tellan, to *tell** †
 272 elm, an *elm*
 273 men, *men* †
 274 benc, a *bench*
 275 stenc, a *stench*
 276 þencan, to *think* †
 277 drencan, to *drench*
 278 wencle, a *wench*
 279 wended, he *went** †
 280 endlufon, *eleven*
 281 lengð, *length*
 282 strengð, *strength*
 283 merg, *merry*
 284 þerscan, to *thresh*
 corn
 285 cerse, *crass* vegetable
 286 herwe, a *harrow*
 287 besm, a *besom* broom
 for sweeping
 288 lettan læ'tan lætan, to
let permit, see 198.
- E'-
- 289 gē, *ye*
 290 hé, *he* †
 291 þé, *thee*
 292 mé, *me* †
 293 wé, *we* †
 294 fédan, to *feed*
 295 bréded, was *bred*
 296 geléfan, to *believe*
 297 félagi n, a *fellow** †
 298 félan, to *feel*
 299 gréne, *green*
 300 cépan, to *keep*
 301 gehéran, to *hear*
 302 gemétan, to *meet*
 303 swéte, *sweet*
 304 bétel, a *beetle* mallet,
 see 499
- E':
- 305 i. héh ii. heáh, *high*
 306 héhðe, *height*
- 307 i. néh ii. neáh, *nigh*
 308 néd, *need* sb.
 309 spéd, *speed* sb.
 310 hél, a *heel*
 311 tén, *ten*
 312 hér, *here*
 313 hécnian to *hearken*. †
 See 695 hycnian
 314 gehérde, he *heard*
 315 fét, *feet*
 316 néxt, *next*
- EA-
- 317 fleagan, to *flay*
 318 hleahen, has *laughed** †
 319 geapian, to *gape*
 320 cearian, to *care* †, see
 30 caru
- EA:
- 321 geseah, he *saw* †
 322 hleahhan, to *laugh*
 323 feaht, has *fought*
 324 eahta, *eight*
 325 wealcán, to *walk*,
 properly to full
 326 eald, *old* † †
 327 beald, *bold*
 328 ceald, *cold*
 329 fealdan, to *fold*
 330 healdan, to *hold* †
 331 sealde, he *sold*
 332 tealde, he *told* †
 333 cealf, a *calf*
 334 healf, *half*
 335 eall, *all* † †
 336 feallan, to *fall*
 337 weall, a *wall*
 338 ceallian, to *call** †
 339 eam, I *am**
 340 gearde geord, i. a court
yard † ii. a *stick*
 341 mearh, *marrow** †
 342 earm, an *arm*
 343 wearm, *warm*
 344 bearn, *bairn** †
 345 dearr, I *dare*
 346 geat a *gate*, door-way,
 not road = gata n
- EA'-
- 347 heáfod, the *head*
 348 eáge, the *eye* †
 349 feáwa, *few* †
- EA':
- 350 deáð, *dead*
 351 leáð, *lead* metal

352 reád, <i>red</i> †	394 geonder, <i>yonder</i> * †	EY:
353 breád, <i>bread</i>	395 geong, <i>young</i> *	
354 sceáf, <i>sheaf</i>	396 i. weorc ii. werc, 439 treysta N, to <i>trust</i> †	
355 deáf, <i>deaf</i> †	work, sb. See 694	
356 leáf, <i>leaf</i>	wyrcan, vb.	I-
357 þeáh, <i>though</i> †	397 sweord, a <i>sword</i>	
358 neáh, <i>nigh</i> . See 307	398 steofan, to <i>starve</i> =	440 i. wicu wice ii. wuce,
ii. néh	be cold	a <i>week</i> †
359 neáhgebúr, <i>neigh-</i>	399 beorht, <i>bright</i> †	441 sife, <i>sieve</i>
<i>bour</i> †	400 eornest, <i>earnest</i>	442 ifg, <i>ivy</i>
360 teám, a <i>team</i>	401 geornian, to <i>yearn</i>	443 frigadæg, <i>Friday</i>
361 beán, a <i>bean</i>	402 leornian, to <i>learn</i> †	444 stigel, a <i>stile</i>
362 sleán, to <i>slay</i>	403 feorr, <i>far</i>	445 higian, to <i>hie</i>
363 ceáp, <i>cheap</i>	404 steorra, a <i>star</i>	446 nigon, <i>nine</i> †
364 ceápmán, <i>chap</i> * †	405 heorð, the <i>hearth</i>	447 hire, <i>her</i> * †
365 neár, <i>near</i> , compara-	406 eorðe, the <i>earth</i>	448 þise, <i>these</i> †
tive of 358 neáh,	407 feorðling, a <i>farthing</i>	449 gitan, to <i>get</i> obtain
<i>nigh</i>	408 cneow, he <i>knew</i> †	450 tiwesdæg, <i>Tuesday</i>
366 greát, <i>great</i> †		451 siwian, to <i>sew</i>
367 þreát, <i>threat</i>	EO'-	I:
368 deáð, <i>death</i>		
369 sleáw, <i>slow</i>	409 beó, a <i>bee</i>	452 ic, <i>I</i> † †
370 hreáw, <i>raw</i>	410 heó, <i>hoo</i> , she La * † †	453 cwic, <i>quick</i> * †
371 streáw streaw streów	411 preó fem. and neut.,	454 wicce, <i>witch</i>
streou streáw, <i>straw</i>	þri mas., <i>three</i> †	455 licgan, to <i>lie</i> down †
EI-	412 seó, <i>she</i> † †	456 gif, <i>if</i> * †
	413 deófol, the <i>devil</i>	457 miht, the <i>might</i>
372 ei N, <i>aye</i> †	414 fleóga, a <i>fly</i>	458 niht, the <i>night</i> †
373 þei N, <i>they</i> †	415 leógan, to <i>lie</i> , fib	459 riht, <i>right</i> †
374 nei N, <i>noy</i>	416 deóre, <i>dear</i> adj. and	460 wiht, a <i>weight</i>
375 reisa N, to <i>raise</i>	a <i>deer</i>	461 gelihtan, to <i>alight</i>
376 beita N, to <i>bait</i>	417 ceówan, to <i>chew</i>	462 gesiht, the <i>sight</i>
EI:	418 breówan, to <i>brew</i>	463 til N, <i>till</i> * †
	419 eówer, <i>your</i> * †	464 hwilc, <i>which</i>
377 steik N, a <i>steak</i>	420 feówer, <i>four</i>	465 i. swilc, ii. swylc,
378 veikr N, <i>weak</i>	421 feówertig, <i>forty</i>	<i>such</i> †
379 heill N, <i>hail</i>	EO':	466 cild, a <i>child</i> † †
380 þeim N, <i>them</i> * †		467 wilde, <i>wild</i>
381 sveinn N, a <i>swain</i>	422 seóc, <i>sick</i> ill * †	468 cildru, <i>children</i>
382 þeirra N, <i>their</i>	423 þeóh, <i>thigh</i>	469 willan, to <i>will</i> * †
EO-	424 hreóh, <i>rough</i> , see 654 *	470 him, <i>him</i> * †
	425 leóht, <i>light</i>	471 timber, <i>timber</i>
383 seofan, <i>seven</i>	426 feóhtan, to <i>fight</i>	472 scrincan, to <i>shrink</i>
384 heofon, <i>heaven</i>	427 beón, to <i>be</i> †	473 blind, <i>blind</i> , adj.
385 beneoðan, <i>beneath</i>	428 seón, to <i>see</i> †	474 rind, the <i>rind</i>
386 eowe, a <i>ewe</i>	429 feónd, a <i>fiend</i>	475 wind, the <i>wind</i>
387 i. neowe, ii. niwe,	430 freónd, a <i>friend</i>	476 bindan, to <i>bind</i>
<i>new</i> †	431 beór, <i>beer</i>	477 findan, to <i>find</i> †
EO:	432 feórða, <i>fourth</i>	478 grindan, to <i>grind</i>
	433 breóst, <i>breast</i>	479 windan, to <i>wind</i>
388 meolc, <i>milk</i>	434 beót, he <i>beat</i>	480 þing, a <i>thing</i> * † †
389 geolca, <i>yolk</i> of eggs	435 eów, <i>you</i> † †	481 finger, a <i>finger</i>
390 sceolde, <i>should</i> †	436 treów, <i>true</i> †	482 is, <i>is</i> * † †
391 eom, I <i>am</i> * † †	437 treówð, <i>truth</i>	483 his, <i>his</i> * †
392 geond, <i>yon</i> * †		484 þis, <i>this</i> †
393 begeondan, <i>beyond</i>	EY-	485 þistel, a <i>thistle</i>
		486 gist, <i>yeast</i>
	438 deyja N, to <i>die</i> †	487 gistrandæg, <i>yesterday</i>
		488 git, <i>yet</i>
		489 hit, <i>it</i> * †

	I-				
490	bí, <i>by</i> near †	538	wolde, <i>would</i>	589	spón n, a <i>spoon</i>
491	sican, to <i>sigh</i>	539	bolla, a <i>bowl</i> cup	590	flór, the <i>floor</i>
492	side, a <i>side</i> * †	540	hollegen, <i>holly</i>	591	mór, a <i>moor</i>
493	drifan, to <i>drive</i>	541	wol nát, <i>won't</i> * † †	592	swór, he <i>swore</i> †
494	tíma, <i>time</i> †	542	bolt, <i>bolt</i>	593	móste, he <i>must</i>
495	hwínan, to <i>whine</i> * †	543	on, <i>on</i> * † †	594	bót, <i>boot</i>
496	fren, <i>iron</i>	544	þonne, i. <i>than</i> ii. <i>then</i> * †	595	fót, <i>foot</i>
497	arisan, to <i>arise</i>	545	hoppan, to <i>hop</i>	596	rót, <i>root</i>
498	writan, to <i>write</i>	546	for, <i>for</i> * †	597	sót, <i>soot</i>
499	bítel, a <i>beetle</i> insect*, see 304	547	bord, a <i>board</i>	598	sóð, <i>sooth</i>
	I':	548	ford, a <i>ford</i>		U-
500	gelic, <i>like</i> †	549	hord, a <i>hoard</i> treasure	599	ábufan, <i>above</i>
501	wid, <i>wide</i>	550	word, a <i>word</i> †	600	lufu, <i>love</i> sb.
502	fif, <i>five</i>	551	storm, a <i>storm</i>	601	fugol, a <i>fowl</i>
503	líf, <i>life</i>	552	corn, <i>corn</i>	602	sugu, a <i>sow</i> pig
504	cnif, a <i>knife</i>	553	horn, <i>horn</i>	603	cuman, to <i>come</i> † †
505	wif, a <i>wife</i>	554	kross n, a <i>cross</i>	604	sumor, the <i>summer</i> * †
506	wifman, a <i>woman</i> †		O'-	605	sunu, a <i>son</i> †
507	wifmen, <i>women</i>	555	scó, a <i>shoe</i>	606	duru, the <i>door</i> †
508	míl, a <i>mile</i>	556	tó, to †	607	butere, <i>butter</i>
509	hwíl, <i>while</i>	557	tó, <i>too</i> †		U:
510	mín, <i>mine</i> my* †	558	lócian, to <i>look</i> †	608	ugglig n, <i>ugly</i>
511	wín, <i>wine</i>	559	móðor, <i>mother</i>	609	full, <i>full</i> †
512	spír, a <i>spire</i> steeple	560	scóla, a <i>school</i> * †	610	wull, <i>wool</i>
513	wir, a <i>wire</i>	561	blóma, a <i>bloom</i> flower	611	bulluca, a <i>bullock</i>
514	is, <i>ice</i>	562	móna, the <i>moon</i>	612	sum, <i>some</i> †
515	wis, <i>wise</i>	563	mónandæg, <i>Monday</i>	613	druncen has <i>drunk</i> † †, see 804
516	wisdóm, <i>wisdom</i>	564	sóna, <i>soon</i> †	614	hund, a <i>hound</i>
517	iw, a <i>yew</i>	565	nósu, <i>nose</i>	615	pund, a <i>pound</i> weight
	O-	566	óþer, <i>other</i>	616	grund, the <i>ground</i> †
518	bodig, a <i>body</i> * †	567	þæt óþer, <i>t'other</i> * †	617	gesund, <i>sound</i> in health
519	ofer, <i>over</i> * †	568	bróðor, <i>brother</i> *	618	wund, a <i>wound</i>
520	boga, a <i>bow</i> weapon		O':	619	funden, was <i>found</i> †
521	fola, a <i>foal</i> horse	569	bóc, a <i>book</i>	620	grunden, was <i>ground</i>
522	open, <i>open</i>	570	tóc, he <i>took</i>	621	wunden, was <i>wound</i>
523	hopian, to <i>hope</i>	571	góð, <i>good</i> †	622	under, <i>under</i>
524	woruld, the <i>world</i>	572	bléd, the <i>blood</i>	623	fundon, they <i>found</i> * †
	O:	573	fléd, a <i>flood</i>	624	grundon, they <i>ground</i> *
525	of, i. <i>of</i> * † †, ii. <i>off</i> * †	574	bród, <i>brood</i>	625	tunge, the <i>tongue</i>
526	cohettan, to <i>cough</i>	575	stód, he <i>stood</i>	626	hungor, <i>hunger</i>
527	bohte, he <i>bought</i>	576	wóðnesdæg, <i>Wednes-</i> <i>day</i>	627	Sunnandæg, <i>Sun-</i> <i>day</i> * †
528	þohte, he <i>thought</i>	577	bóg, a <i>bough</i>	628	nunne, a <i>nun</i>
529	brohte, he <i>brought</i>	578	plóg n, a <i>plough</i>	629	sunne, the <i>sun</i>
530	wrohte, he <i>wrought</i>	579	genóg, <i>enough</i> † †	630	wunnen, was <i>won</i>
531	dohtor, a <i>daughter</i> †	580	tóh, <i>tough</i>	631	þunnresdæg, <i>Thurs-</i> <i>day</i>
532	col, a <i>coal</i>	581	sóhte, he <i>sought</i>	632	upp, <i>up</i> † †
533	dol, <i>dull</i>	582	cól, <i>cool</i>	633	cuppa, <i>cup</i>
534	hol, a <i>hole</i>	583	tól, <i>tool</i>	634	þurh, <i>through</i> † †
535	folc, <i>folk</i> * †	584	stól, <i>stool</i>	635	wurð weorð, <i>worth</i>
536	gold, <i>gold</i>	585	bróm, <i>broom</i> , the plant, not 287	636	furðor, <i>further</i>
537	molde, <i>mould</i> earth	586	dón, to <i>do</i> †	637	tusc, a <i>tusk</i>
		587	gedón, <i>done</i> †		
		588	nón, <i>noon</i>		

638 busca n, to <i>busk</i> make ready	662 ús, <i>us</i>	690 gecynd, a <i>kind</i>
639 dust, <i>dust</i>	663 hús, <i>house</i> † †	691 mynd, the <i>mind</i>
	664 lús, a <i>louse</i>	692 gyngest, <i>youngest</i> * †
	665 mús, a <i>mouse</i>	693 synn, a <i>sin</i>
U'-	666 húsbónda, <i>husband</i> †	694 wyrcean wyrcean, to work vb. See 396 weorc, sb.
640 cú, a <i>cow</i>	667 út, <i>out</i> †	
641 hú, <i>how</i> †	668 prát, <i>proud</i>	695 hyrcnian, to <i>hearken</i> †. See 313 hércnian, and 710 hy'rcnian
642 þú, <i>thou</i>	669 uncúð, <i>uncouth</i>	
643 nú, <i>now</i> † †	670 búð n, <i>booth</i>	696 gebyrd gebeord, <i>birth</i>
644 súcan, to <i>suck</i>	671 múð, <i>mouth</i>	697 bebyrgan, to <i>bury</i>
645 dúfa, a <i>dove</i>	672 súð, <i>south</i>	698 myrgð, <i>mirth</i>
646 búgan, to <i>bow</i> , bend		699 wyrhta, a <i>wright</i>
647 úle, an <i>owl</i>	Y-	700 wyrsa, <i>woose</i>
648 úre, <i>our</i>	673 mycel, <i>much</i> †	701 fyrsta <i>first</i>
649 þúsand, <i>thousand</i>	674 dyde, he <i>did</i> †	702 wyð, <i>with</i> * †
650 ábútan, <i>about</i> * †	675 drygan, to <i>dry</i> †	703 pytt, a <i>pit</i>
651 wiðútan, <i>without</i> * †	676 lyge, a <i>lie</i> falsehood	704 iyxen, a <i>vixen</i>
652 cúðe, <i>could</i>	677 dryge, <i>dry</i> adj.*	
653 búton, <i>but</i> = be út	678 dyne, a <i>din</i>	Y'-
	679 cyrice, a <i>church</i>	705 sey' n, the <i>sky</i>
U':	680 bysig, <i>busy</i> †	706 hwy', <i>why</i> †
654 scrúd, a <i>shroud</i>	681 bysigu, <i>business</i> * †	707 þreóty'ne, <i>thirteen</i>
654* i. rúh, ii. rúg, iii. ráw, <i>rough</i> , see 424	682 lytel, <i>little</i> † †	708 áhy'rian, to <i>hire</i>
655 fál, <i>foul</i> dirty	Y:	
656 rúm, <i>room</i>	683 mycg, a <i>midge</i> .	Y':
657 brún, <i>brown</i>	684 brycg, a <i>bridge</i>	709 fyr, a <i>fire</i>
658 dún, <i>down</i> † †	685 hrycg, a <i>ridge</i>	710 hyrcnian, to <i>hearken</i> †. See 313 hércnian, and 695 hyrcnian
659 tún, a <i>town</i> any in-closure	686 bycgan, to <i>buy</i>	
660 búr, a <i>bower</i> = room	687 flyht, a <i>flight</i>	711 ly's, <i>lice</i>
661 seúr, a <i>shower</i>	688 byldan, to <i>build</i>	712 my's, <i>mice</i>
	689 yncc, an <i>inch</i>	

II. ENGLISH, Nos. 713 to 808.

This section contains words of which the precise prototype in Wessex or Norse is unknown; words of disputed origin; words derived from foreign sources, except Romance; words formed within the language itself, of which the origin can only be conjecturally, or cannot even be probably, assigned; slang or familiar words, etc. For want of a better plan, these have been arranged according to the vowel (or if several, the first vowel) they contain in the accented syllable, following the received orthography. Then the rest of the arrangement is alphabetical as in Section I. The differences of long and short, open or closed, are of course unnoted, as the original form is unknown. The headings of classes are in Roman capitals as before, but are distinguished from the last by a following period (.), and the absence of the hyphen (-) and colon (:), marking open and close.

A.	720 a <i>fag</i>	730 a <i>canter</i>
713 <i>bad</i>	721 to <i>fag</i>	731 <i>wanton</i>
714 <i>lad</i>	722 a <i>drain</i>	732 <i>happen</i> * †
715 <i>pad</i>	723 a <i>dairy</i>	733 to <i>scare</i>
716 <i>addle</i> , i. adj. and ii. vb.	724 <i>bald</i>	734 to <i>darn</i>
717 a <i>jade</i>	725 a <i>sale</i>	735 <i>smash</i>
718 <i>trade</i>	726 to <i>talk</i> * †	736 a <i>lass</i> * †
719 a <i>tadpole</i>	727 <i>jam</i> preserve	737 a <i>mate</i> †
	728 <i>sham</i>	738 to <i>prate</i> †
	729 a <i>frame</i>	739 <i>mauther</i> girl

740 a <i>wave</i>		O.	786 to <i>douse</i>
741 a <i>maze</i>			787 to <i>souse</i>
742 <i>lazy</i>			788 to <i>flout</i>
			789 a <i>row noise</i>
			790 a <i>gown</i>
			791 a <i>boy</i> *
	E.		
743 to <i>scream</i>		761 a <i>load</i>	
744 the <i>menles</i>		762 <i>oakum</i>	
745 to <i>cheat</i>		763 <i>roam</i>	
746 to <i>breathe</i>		764 to <i>coddle</i>	
747 to <i>endeavour</i>		765 <i>John</i> * †	
748 i. <i>fledged</i> ii. <i>unfledged</i>		766 <i>moidered</i> bewildered	
749 <i>left</i> * †		767 a <i>noise</i> †	
750 to <i>beg</i>		768 <i>coke</i>	
751 <i>pert</i>		769 a <i>mole animal</i> *, same	
752 <i>fret</i> , <i>peevish fit</i> * †		as 45, not 114	
		770 <i>Thomas</i> * †	
		771 <i>fond</i>	
		772 a <i>bonfire</i>	
		773 a <i>donkey</i>	
		774 a <i>pony</i>	
		775 a <i>booby</i>	
		776 <i>goodbye</i> *	
		777 <i>shop</i>	
		778 <i>afford</i>	
		779 <i>orts</i> remnants	
		780 to <i>jostle</i>	
		781 a <i>bother</i> †	
		782 a <i>pothor</i>	
		783 <i>poultry</i>	
		784 to <i>bounce</i>	
		785 to <i>lounge</i>	
			U.
			792 a <i>squabble</i>
			793 a <i>hug</i>
			794 a <i>jug</i>
			795 a <i>shrug</i>
			796 <i>blue</i> *
			797 <i>squeaking</i> * †
			798 <i>queer</i> * †
			799 <i>scull</i> of head
			800 <i>scull</i> of boat
			801 <i>rum liquor</i>
			802 <i>rum queer</i>
			803 to <i>jump</i>
			804 <i>drunken</i> adj. accus-
			tomed to <i>getdrunk</i> *,
			see 613.
			805 <i>curds</i>
			806 <i>fuss</i>
			807 <i>puss</i>
			808 to <i>put</i>

I. and Y.

753 to <i>tickle</i>
754 a <i>pig animal</i>
755 a <i>filbert nut</i>
756 a <i>shrimp</i>
757 <i>tiny</i>
758 a <i>girl</i> † †
759 <i>fit</i> , <i>suitied</i>
760 <i>shrivelled</i> * †

III. ROMANCE, Nos. 809 to 971.

This section comprises words taken from the French, Latin or any language derived from the Latin. Properly speaking the arrangement should have been by the Anglo-Norman forms of words, that is, those used in England by speakers of Norman-French. Failing this, the old French forms should have been adopted. But in both cases insuperable difficulties presented themselves. The late Mr. H. Nicol endeavoured to arrange the words by their English sounds in the xvith century, but this would have had to be conjectured in many words. Hence I have adopted the modern French forms in almost all cases; for the few old French forms which I could not avoid, I am indebted to Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and disclaim the responsibility for them. Latin, and in one case, Spanish, forms have also been given. The arrangement is by the vowels as in the former sections, the Romance word coming first, is followed by (..) if modern, and (...) if old French, (—) if Latin, and (—) Span. if Spanish. The class headings are in capitals followed by (..). No distinction of long and short, open and closed, could be made with any certainty, and hence no such distinction has been attempted.

A ..	818 <i>âge</i> .. <i>age</i>	828 <i>aigu</i> .. <i>ague</i>
809 <i>habile</i> .. <i>able</i>	819 <i>rage</i> .. <i>rage</i>	829 <i>gain</i> .. <i>gain</i>
810 <i>face</i> .. a <i>face</i>	820 <i>gai</i> .. <i>gay</i> *	830 <i>train</i> .. <i>train</i>
811 <i>place</i> .. a <i>place</i>	821 <i>délai</i> .. <i>delay</i>	831 <i>destraindre</i> .. to <i>dis-</i>
812 <i>lacet</i> .. a <i>lace</i>	822 <i>mai</i> .. <i>May</i>	<i>train</i>
813 <i>bacon</i> .. <i>bacon</i>	823 <i>baie</i> .. <i>bay</i> of the sea	832 <i>maire</i> .. a <i>mayor</i>
814 <i>maçon</i> .. a <i>mason</i>	824 <i>chaiere</i> .. a professor's	833 <i>paire</i> .. a <i>pair</i>
815 <i>facta</i> — <i>facts</i> †	and hence any <i>chair</i>	834 <i>chaise</i> .. a <i>chaise</i>
816 <i>fade</i> adj .. to <i>fade</i>	825 <i>gaif</i> .. <i>waif</i>	835 <i>raison</i> .. <i>reason</i> †
817 <i>radis</i> .. <i>radish</i>	826 <i>aigle</i> .. an <i>eagle</i>	836 <i>saison</i> .. <i>season</i>
	827 <i>aigre</i> .. <i>cager</i>	837 <i>laisse</i> .. a <i>leash</i>

- 838 traiter .. to *treat*
 839 balle .. i. a *bale* ii. a *ball*
 840 chambre .. a *chamber*
 841 chance .. a *chance* †
 842 planche .. a *plank*
 843 branche .. a *branch*
 844 tranchée .. a *trench*
 845 ancien .. *ancient*
 846 chandelier .. *chandler*
 847 danger .. *danger*
 848 changer .. to *change*
 849 étranger .. a *stranger*
 850 danse .. a *dance*
 851 tante .. an *aunt*
 852 napperon .. an *apron*
 853 bargaigner .. to *bar-gain*
 854 baril .. a *barrel*
 855 carotte .. a *carrot*
 856 part .. a *part*
 857 cas .. a *case* †
 858 bras .. *brace*
 859 chasser .. to *chase* hunt
 860 pâte .. *paste*
 861 tâter .. to *taste*
 862 sauf .. *safe* †
 863 chauffer .. to *chafe*
 864 à cause .. *because* †
 865 faute .. *fault*
 866 pauvre .. *poor* †
- E ..
- 867 thé .. *tea*
 868 geai .. a *jay*
 869 veau .. *veal*
 870 beauté .. *beauty*
 871 agréer .. *agree*
 872 chef .. *chief*
 873 effrei ... a *fray*
 874 reine ... a *rein* of a horse
 875 feinte .. a *faint*
 876 deintie ... a *dainty*
 877 heir .. *heir*
 878 céleri .. *celery*
 879 femelle .. *female*
 880 exemple .. *example*
 881 sens .. *sense*
 882 pensée .. *pansy*
 883 dent de lion .. *dandelion*
- 884 apprenti .. *apprentice*
 885 vrai .. *very* * † ‡
 886 frère .. *friar*
 887 clergé .. *clergy*
 888 certain .. *certain* †
 889 cesser .. to *cease*
 890 bête .. *beast* †
 891 fête .. *feast*
 892 neveu .. *nephew*
 893 fleur .. *flower* in garden
 894 décevoir .. *deceive*
 895 recevoir .. *receive*
 896 bevre .. *bever* la-bourer's drinking time
- I .. and Y ..
- 897 délice .. *delight*
 898 nice ... *nice*
 899 nièce .. *niece*
 900 prier .. *pray*
 901 fin .. *fine*
 902 mine .. a *mine*
 903 dîner .. i. to *dine*, ii. a *dinner*
 904 violette .. a *violet*
 905 riote ... a *riot*
 906 vipère .. a *viper*
 907 tris .. Spanish *trice*
 908 avis .. *advice*
 909 brise .. *breeze*
 910 gîte .. *joist*
 911 citerne .. *cistern*
 912 riz .. *rice*
- O ..
- 913 coche ... a *coach*
 914 broche .. a *brooch*
 915 étoffe .. *stuff*
 916 oignon .. *onion*
 917 rogue .. *rogue*
 918 foible .. *feeble*, adj.
 919 oignement ... *ointment*
 920 point .. *point* †
 921 accointer .. to *acquaint*
 922 boisseau .. *bushel*
 923 étroit .. *strait*, see 265
 923* moite .. *moist*
 924 choix .. *choice*
 925 voix .. *voice* †
- 926 spolie ... to *spoil*
 927 tronc .. a *trunk*
 928 once .. an *ounce* weight
 929 concombre .. *cucumber*
 930 longe .. a *loin*
 931 jongleur .. a *juggler*
 932 à mont .. *amount*
 933 front .. *front*
 934 bonté .. *bounty*
 935 contrée .. *country*
 936 fonts .. baptismal *font*
 937 coq .. a *cock*
 938 cornière .. *corner* †
 939 clos .. *close* i. adj. ii. adv. † iii. sb.
 940 cotte .. *coat* †
 941 fou .. *fool*
 942 boucher .. *butcher*
 943 toucher .. to *touch*
 944 allouer .. to *allow*
 945 vouer .. to *vow*
 946 mouiller .. to *moil*
 947 bouillir .. to *boil*
 948 boule .. a *ball*
 949 moule .. a *mould* or form, not 537
 950 souper .. *supper* †
 951 couple .. *couple*
 952 course .. i. *course*, ii. *course*
 953 cousin .. *cousin*
 954 coussin .. *cushion*
 955 doute .. *doubt* †
 956 couvrir .. to *cover*
 957 employer .. to *employ*
 958 froyer .. to *fray*
 959 convoyer .. to i. *convey*, ii. *convoy*
- U ..
- 960 quai .. *quay*
 961 gruau .. *gruel*
 962 mue .. *mevs* stables
 963 quietus—*quiet* †
 964 suif .. *suet*
 965 huile .. *oil*
 966 fruit .. *fruit*
 967 suite .. *suit*
 968 huître .. *oyster* † ‡
 969 sûr .. *sure*
 970 juste .. *just* * †
 971 flûte .. *flute*

NOTES ON CONSTRUCTIONS AND INTONATION, APPENDED TO THE
ORIGINAL WL.

[The informant was requested to underline the grammatical form which is common in his district; disregarding pronunciation.]

I am. thou am. he am. we am. you am. they am.—I are. thou art. he are. we are. you are. they are. we ar'n. you ar'n. they ar'n. [The three last were intended for the West Midland verbal plural in *en*, but were generally confused by informants with *arn't*.]—I be. thou bist. he be. we be. you be. they be. we bin. you bin. they bin. [The three last referred to the Sh. plural *bin* for *are*, but were generally confused with *been* used for *have been*.]—I is. thou is. he is. we is. you is. they is.—I was. thou was. he was. we was. you was. they was.—I were. thou wert. he were. we were. you were. they were. we wer'n. you wer'n. they wer'n.—we ha'n. you ha'n. they ha'n. [The six last referred to the West Midland verbal plural in *-en*, but were generally misunderstood.]—him is. him be.—they goes. we goes.—he does. he doth. he do. he walketh. he live there.—thou (underline if used generally, and distinguish by underlining whether it is used to children, husband and wife, servants, friends, lovers).—I do walk. I have a-walked. I be or am a-going.—she was washing on a washing day (underline the two *-ings* if distinguished)—these thick (=this, that, of shaped things). this that (of shapeless things).—dat man dere (=that man there).—t' man. th' man. 'e man.—theirselves. theirsells. theirsens.—I doh (*for* I don't). I will (*for* I shall). he shall (*for* he will). I would (*for* I should). he should (*for* he would).—to can, to could (*as* he won't can do it, he didn't used to could), he didn't ought.—at eat [meaning the Danishism in parts of D 31, for to eat]. to home.

Try to characterise the nature of the singsong of the speech, underlining as may be, rough, smooth, thick, thin, indistinct, clear, hesitating, glib, whining, drawing, jerking, up and down in pitch, rising in pitch at end, sinking at end, monotonous.

Give any singular pronunciations of words not mentioned; and any information respecting your dialect that you will have the kindness to impart.

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CONSONANTAL INDEX TO THE WESSEX AND NORSE DIVISION OF THE
CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

The preceding index will generally, but not always, suffice to refer to the numbers which in any future cwl. point out a dialectal alteration, if any, of the initial consonant or consonantal combinations, but not so for medial or final combinations. Hence the following index has been constructed to shew a few of the initial, and most of the medial and final combinations which may be required for study. Only the most interesting cases are cited.

Only Ws. and Norse consonants are given, and the words are cited only in the original spelling.

The Capital Initials mark the consonants selected, and hyphens are used thus C- initial, -C- medial, -C final, in this order.

C- 190 cæ'ge. 197 cæ'se. 285 cerse. 300 cepan. 466 cild. 468 cildru. 679 cyrice. 690 gecynd. -C- 2 gemaca. 3 bacan. 4 tacan. 5 macian. 6 gemacod. 7 sacu. 183 tæ'can. 232 breccan. 233 sprecan. 440 wicu wice wuce. 491 sican. 558 lócian. 673 mycel. 679 cyrice. -C 101 ác. 154 bæc. 155 þæc. 452 ic. 453 cwic. 500 gelic. 569 bóc. 570 tóc. -CC- 256 streccan. 454 wicce. CE- [meaning C before, and hence affected by a following E] 320 cearian. 328 ceald. 333 cealf. 363 ceáp. 364 ceápmán. -CG- 260 lecgan. 261 secgan. 455 licgan. 686 bycgan. -CG 257 ecg. 258 secg. 259 wecg. 683 mycg. 684 brycg. 685 hrycg. CN- 27 cnapa. 92 cnáwan. 234 cnedan. 408 cneow. 504 cnif. -CS- 102 ácsian. 103 ácsóde. CW- 39 cwam. 246 cwene cwén.

-D- 76 táde. 138 fæder. 385 beneoðan. 518 bodig. 559 módor. -Ð- 32 baðian. 33 hraðor. 87 cláðas. 88 claðian. 90 bláwan. 136 áwðer. 137 náwðer. 201 hæ'ðen. 254 leðer. 255 weðer. 568 bróðor. 652 cúðe. 669 uncúð. 670 buð n. 671 múð. 672 súð. -Ð 134 áð. 135 cláð. 180 bæð. 181 pæð. 229 bræ'ð. 368 deað. 598 sóð. 702 wyð. -DN- 576 wódnedæg. DR- 613 druncen. DW- 533 dol dwol dwal.

F- 297 félagi n. 298 félan. -F- 8 hafa. 9 behafa. 187 læ'fan. 235 wefan. 236 fefer. 296 geléfan. 347 heáfod. 383 seofan. 384 heofon. 413 deófol. 441 sife. 442 ifig. 493 drifan. 519 ofer. 599 ábufan. 600 lufu. 645 dúfa. -F 456 gif. 502 fif. 503 lif. 504 cnif. 505 wif. 506 wifman. 507 wifmen. 525 of. -FR- 208 æ'fre. 209 næ'fre.

G- 267 geldan. 289 gé. 486 gist. 487 gistrandæg. 488 git. -G- 10 haga. 11 maga. 12 saga sagu. 12 gnagan. 14 dragan. 15 agi n. 16 dagian. 17 lagu. 78 ágan. 79 ágen. 139 dræge. 140 hægel. 141 nægel. 142 snægel. 143 tægel. 144 ongægen. 145 slægen. 146 mægen. 147 brægen. 148 fæger. 188 hnæ'gan. 189 wæ'gan. 190 cæ'ge. 237 blegan. 238 hege. 239 segel. 240 gelegan. 241 regen. 242 twegen. 243 plegian. 317 fleagan. 348 éage. 414 fleóga. 415 leógan. 443 frigadæg. 444 stigel. 445 higian. 446 nigon. 520 boga. 540 hollegen. 601 fugol. 602 sugu. 646 búgan. 675 drygan. 676 lyge. 677 dryge. -G 80 hálig dæg. 108 dæg. 109 lág. 160 æg. 161 dæg. 163 læg. 164 mæg. 165 sægde. 166 mægden. 194 æ'nig. 195 mæ'nig. 210 clæ'g. 211 græ'g. 212 hwæ'g. 213 æ'gðer. 214 næ'gðer. 262 weg. 263 on weg. 264 eglan. 577 bóg. 578 plóg n. 579 genóg. GE- [meaning G before and hence affected by a following E] 319 geapian. 340 geard geord. 346 geat. 389 geolca. 392 geond. 393 begeondan. 394 geonder. 395 geong. GN- 13 gnagan. 178 gnæt. GR- 366 græt.

H- 489 hit. -H- 318 hleahen. -H 305 héh heáh. 306 héhðe. 307 néh neáh. 321 geseah. 357 þeáh. 358 neáh. 423 þeóh. 424 hreóh. 580 tóh. -HH- 322 hleahhan. 526 cohettan. -HÐ 462 gesihð. HL- 77 hláford. 107 hláf. 318 hleahen. 322 hleahhan. HN- 188 hnæ'gan. HR- 157 hræfn. 370 hreáw. 424 hreóh. 685 hrycg. -HT- 111 ahte. 215 tæ'hte. 324 eahta. 426 feóhtan. 461 gelihtan. 527 bohte. 528 þohte. 529 brohte. 530 wrohte. 531 dohtor. 581 sóhte. -HT 110 náht nát. 265 streht. 323 feaht. 425 leóht. 457 miht. 458 niht. 459 riht. 460 wiht.

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 -L- 19 talu. -LC- 325 wealcán. 389 geolca. -LC 217 æ'lc. 388 meolc. 464 hwilc. 465 swilc. 535 folc. -LD- 329 fealdan. 330 healdan. 331 sealde. 332 tealde. 467 wilde. 537 molde. 538 wolde. -LD 326 eald. 327 beald. 328 ceald. 524 woruld. 536 gold. -LDR- 468 cildru. -LF 269 self. 333 cealf. 334 healf. -LG 168 tælg. 270 belg. -LM 272 elm. -LN- 541 wol nát. -LT 542 bolt.
 -M- 20 lama. 21 nama. 22 tama. 23 same. 24 scamu. -MB- 471 timber. -MB 59 lamb lomb.
 -N- 25 manar. 26 wanian. -NC- 41 þancian. 276 þencan. 277 drencan. 278 wencle. 472 scrincan. -NC 274 benc. 275 stenc. -ND- 46 candel. 476 bindan. 477 findan. 478 grindan. 479 windan. 619 funden. 620 grunden. 621 wunden. 622 under. 623 fundon. 624 grundon. -ND 42 and. 43 hand. 44 land. 45 wand. 429 feónd. 430 freónd. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 614 hund. 615 pund. 616 grund. 617 gesund. 618 wund. 690 geeynd. 691 mynd. -NDL- 280 endlufon. -NDR- 47 wandrian. -NG- 49 hangan. 50 tange. 481 finger. 625 tunge. 626 hungor. 692 gyngest. -NG 48 and 65 sang. 60 lang. 61 on gemang. 62 strang. 63 geþrang. 64 wrang. 66 þwang. -NGÐ 281 lengð. 282 strengð. -NNR- 631 þunnresdæg. -NT- 54 wanta n.
 -R- 248 mere. 249 werian. 250 swerian. 301 gehéran. 606 duru. -R 312 hér. 365 neár. -RC 396 weorc wec. -RCN- 313 hércnian. -RF- 170 hærfest. 398 steorfan. -RD- 314 gehérde. -RD 547 bord. 548 ford. 549 hord. 550 word. -RÐ- 406 eorðe. 432 feórða. 636 furðor. -RÐ 405 heorð. 407 feorðling. 635 wurð weord. -RG 283 merg. 341 mearh. 697 bebyrgan. -RGÐ 698 myrgð. -RD 696 gebyrd gebeord. -RH 634 þurh. -RHT- 699 wyrhta. -RHT 399 beorht. -RM 342 earm. 343 wearm. 551 storm. -RN- 400 eornest. 401 geornian. 402 leornian. -RN 344 bearn. 552 corn. 553 horn. -RS- 285 cerse. 700 wyrsa. -RS 172 gærs. -RSC- 284 þerscan. -RST- 701 fyrsta. -RW- 286 herwe.
 S- 412 seó. 422 seóc. -S- 149 blæse. 150 læsest. 375 reisa n. 497 arisan. 565 nósu. 617 gesund. 649 þúsand. 680 bysig. 681 bysigu. -S 127 há. 128 þás. 173 wæs. 482 is. 483 his. 484 þis. 514 is. 515 wís. 516 wísdóm. 662 ús. 663 hús. 664 lús. 665 mús. 711 lýs. 712 my's. -SB- 666 húsbónda. SC- 24 scamu. 218 scæ'p. 220 scæ'phirde. 354 sceáf. 390 sceolde. 555 seó. 560 scóla. 661 scúr. 705 scy' n. -SC- 55 ascan. 638 busca n. -SC 174 æsc. 225 flæ'sc. 637 tusc. SCR- 472 scrincan. 654 scrúd. -SM 287 besm. SP- 309 spéd. 512 spir. SPR- 203 spræ'c. 233 spreccan. ST- 377 steik n. -ST- 593 móste. -ST 34 latost. 129 gást. 175 fæst. 226 mæ'st. 433 breóst. 639 dust. -STEL 485 þistel. STR- 75 strácian. 282 strengð. 371 streáw. SV- 381 sveinn. SW- 1 swa. 73 swá. 228 swæ't. 397 sweord. 465 swilc. 592 swór.
 -T- 31 late læte. 34 latost. 151 lætan. 86 áte. 198 læ'tan. 199 blæ'tan. 200 hwæ'te. 202 hæ'ta. 251 mete. 252 cetele. 253 netele. 302 gemétan. 303 swéte. 304 bétel. -TER- 152 wæter. 153 sæterdæg. 607 butere. þ- 36 þawian. 223 þæ'r. 231 þe. 291 þé. 357 þeáh. 373 þei n. 382 þeirra n. 423 þeóh. 480 þing. 484 þis. 485 þistel. 544 þonne. 631 þunnresdæg. 634 þurh. 642 þú. 649 þúsand. -þ- 566 þær. ÞR- 205 þræ'd. 367 þræát. 411 þréo. ÞW- 66 þwang. TW- 74 twá.
 V- 378 veikr n.
 -W- 35 awel. 36 þawian. 37 clawu. 90 bláwan. 91 máwan. 92 cnáwan. 93 snáwan. 94 cráwan. 95 práwan. 96 sáwan. 97 sáwel. 98 cnáwen. 99 práwen. 100 sáwan. 349 feáwa. 386 eowe. 387 neowe niwe. -W- 417 ceówan. 418 breówan. 419 eówer. 420 feówer. 421 feówertig. 450 tiwesdæg. 451 siwian. -W 369 sleáw. 370 hreáw. 370 streáw streaw streów streu streá. 408 cneow. 435 eów. 436 treów. 517 íw. WR- 64 wrang. 133 wrát. 498 writan. WU- [that is, W affected by a following U] 610 wull. 618 wund.
 -XT 316 next.

VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.

The counties of England, Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are taken in this order.

The counties in each country are taken in the alphabetical order of its full name (not of the two letter abbreviation, as on p. 4*), each headed by its number in the countries (supposing that all the counties were enumerated, which is not the case in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, because all do not speak English), together with its two letter abbreviation and full name, and a statement of the number of places from which information was obtained, and of the districts over which it is distributed.

Within each county are ranged all the names of places from which information has been received, in alphabetical order, preceded by the number of the district in which it is contained, and by the initial letter, or letter and number, by which it is referred to in the following Alphabetical Informants List, VII. An asterisk * shews that the information received is given, or at least spoken of in the work itself. It will be seen that a very large number of places named are not further spoken of. It must not, however, be supposed that the information received was therefore valueless. Far from it. It was often incomplete, and often difficult to interpret, but it always helped to bridge over the spaces left between places from which more complete or more easily interpretable information was given, and without this I should have had the greatest difficulty in assigning the boundaries of my districts.

After the name, its local pron. is occ. given, and if, as is most frequently the case, the place is not on the small maps of the dialect districts annexed, the distance and direction from a place actually on the map is added in (). When the place is on the maps, its name suffices, for a whole county on this small scale is easily looked over. The places, or their position (for they are often so insignificant as not to be marked on many maps), can thus readily be found on any county map.

Afterwards follows a description of the nature of the information, employing the abbreviations explained on p. 6*. If several pieces of information have reached me from the same place, they are often numbered as (1), (2), etc., but these numbers are generally omitted if the informant is the same.

At the end of each piece of information, when referred to in the book, is added the number of the page on which the information is given or spoken of, preceded by the letter p. in case another number comes just before, but not otherwise.

When the information is given in the book, the indications of its origin are here abbreviated as much as possible, the page where it is cited furnishing the rest.

In VII. I give a list of informants referring to the county in this list, or to the place by means of the numbered initials. Many of these obliging informants have passed away since they so kindly assisted me. Others have changed their address, and I have no means of discovering them. But to each and all I give my most hearty thanks for the trouble they have taken, often great, and the time they have spent, often very long, in helping me to render this account of English local pronunciation as complete as it now appears, a result perfectly impossible without a great cooperation.

England.

1. Bd. = Bedfordshire, 16 places, all in D 16.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>16. A. <i>Amphill</i> (:æmtil) (7 ssw. Bedford) and 4 or 5 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. J. Brown, Dunstable Road, 21 y. who says "the old-fashioned native dialect is comparatively rare."
*16. B. <i>Bedford</i> and neighbourhood and the county generally, (1) T.</p> | <p>Batchelor's book 204, (2) es. and phrases from Mr. J. Wyatt, 206 to 209, cwl. 209, (3) cwl. from Mr. Rowland Hill 209.
*16. D. <i>Dunstable</i> (5 w. Luton), wn. by TH., 209.
16. E. <i>Edworth</i> (12 se. Bedford), dt.</p> |
|---|---|

io. with notes and wd. from Mrs. Buttenshaw of the rectory.

16. f. *Flitwick* (:flitɪk) (9 s-by-w. Bedford) wl. io. by Rev. T. W. D. Brooks, vic.

16. g. *Girtford* (7 e.Bedford) wn. by TH.

16. h1. *Harrold* (8 nw.Bedford) dt. io. notes and lw. by Rev. J. Steel.

16. h2. *Hatley Cockayne* (:kəkɪn :ætli) (12 e.Bedford) full wl. io. by the Rev. E. Brickwell, rect.

16. m. *Melchbourne* (10 n.Bedford) dt. io. by Mrs. F. H. Bolingbroke, of the vicarage.

*16. r. *Ridgmont* (10 ssw.Bedford),

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Susan Wheck, of Whitelands, 206.

16. s1. *Sandy* (8 e.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. s2. *Sharnbrook* (7 nnw.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. r1. *Thurleigh* (:thɜrlɪ'ɪ) (6 n.Bedford), wl. and dt. io. by Rev. B. Trapp, vic.

16. r2. *Tilbrook* (12 nne.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. r3. *Toddington* (:tɔdɪŋtən) (6 ene.Leighton Buzzard) wl. and dt. io. by Major Cooper Cooper, T. Manor.

16. v. *Upper Dean* (11 n.Bedford) wn. by TH.

2. Be. = Berkshire, 14 places in D 5 and 8.

5. b. *Bucklebury* (6 ne.Newbury) dt. io. by Rev. W. M. Wallis, Rose-lands, for Be. between Thames and Kennet rivers.

*5. c. *Cholsey* (12 e.Wantage) dt. io. with letter from Mr. W. Brewer, national schoolmaster, at Wallingford adjoining, obtained through Mrs. Parker, Oxford, 96.

*5. d. *Denchworth* (:dentɪθ) (3 nnw.Wantage) wl. and lw. io. by Rev. C. H. Tomlinson, vic. 10 y., 96.

5. e. *East Hendred* (4 e.Wantage) letter and wds. io. by Ven. Archd. Pott, Clifton Hampden, Ox. (3 ese. Abingdon, Be.).

*5. h1. *Hampstead Norris* (7 nne. Newbury) cs. io. by Mr. W. B. Banting, LLB. and AJE., 95.

*8. h2. *Hurley* (9 nne.Reading) dt. io. by Mrs. Godfrey, 129.

*8. h3. *Hurst* (5 e.Reading) dt. io. by Rev. A. A. Cameron, for the Loddon river valley, 129.

5. k. *Kimbury* (:kɪmbri) (6 w.Newbury) from Rev. W. Campbell, vic.

5. s1. *Stanford-in-the-Vale* (5 nnw. Wantage) dt. io. from Mr. W. Cleverley, and dt. io. from Miss Collins, both through Mrs. Parker, of Oxford.

*5. s2. *Stevenon* (6 ne.Wantage) and neighbourhood dt. glossic by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from Mr. B. Leonard, 94.

5. s3. *Streatley* (:striitli) (9 nw. Reading) wl. io. by Rev. John Slatter, vic. 15 y.

*5. w1. *Wantage* lw. io. from Mr. E. C. Davey, F.G.S., 96.

*8. w2. *Wargrave* (5 ne.Reading) lw. aq. vv. by Mr. T. F. Maitland, 129.

8. w3. *Windsor* wn. by TH.

3. Bu. = Buckinghamshire, 19 places in D 15 and 17.

*15. a. *Aylesbury* (:ree'jlzɜri) (1) wl. io. but partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Kersely Fowler, 192; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. R. Fowler, 190; (3) wn. by AJE. from labourer, 1881, 192; wn. by TH. 192.

15. b1. *Bu.*, probably the part near b. of Bd., pal. vv. by AJE. from Mr. J. Wyatt (see Bedford, Bd.).

*15. b2. *Buckingham* wn. by TH., 194.

*15. c1. *Chackmore* (1 nnw.Buckingham) dt. noted by TH., 191; wn. by TH. 194 (where it is misprinted *Clackmore*).

17. c2. *Chalvey* (name omitted on p. 189) (1 n.Eton), letter to LLB. from Mr. A. Henry Atkins, 1875.

17. c3. *Cheddington* (7 ene.Aylesbury) notes by LLB.

15. e. *Edlesborough* (:ɛdɪɜrɜ) (10 ene.Aylesbury) wl. io. by Rev. G. Birch, vic. 12 y.

15. g. *Great Kimble* (5 s.Aylesbury) lw. io. picked up on the Chilterns by Rev. E. K. Clay, vic., communicated by Mr. J. K. Fowler (see Aylesbury).

17. h1. *Hambleden* (4 w.Great Marlow) lw. by Rev. W. H. Ridley, rec. 60 y.

*15. h2. *Hanslope* (10 nne.Buckingham) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, of Whitelands, native, 194 (see Wendover).

17. l. *Langley* (3 e.Eton), letter in 1875 to LLB. from Rev. W. D. Scoones.

15. m1. *Marsh Gibbon* (7 ssw. Buckingham), letter on the pron. of the school there by a man of 90, by Mr. G. Parker, Oxford.

15. m2. *Marsworth* (6 e. Aylesbury) letter from Rev. F. W. Ragg, vic. (see Wingham, Ke.).

17. p. *Penn* (3 e. High Wycombe), letter from Rev. J. Grainger, vic., 235.

15. s1. *Stowe* (3 nnw. Buckingham) note by TH.

15. s2. *Swanbourne* (8 se. Buckingham) lw. by Rev. M. D. Malden, vic. 10 y.

*15. t. *Tyrringham with Filgrave* (13 ne. Buckingham) [misprinted Tyrringham, p. 194] wl. io. and letters from Rev. J. Tarver, rect., 194.

*15. w1. *Wendover* (5 sse. Aylesbury) (1) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Beeby, of Whitelands, native of Northampton, but since 8 years old living at Aylesbury and Buckingham, 192; (2) wn. in 1884 by TH. from labourers of 82 and 63 and others, 192.

15. w2. *Winslow* (:wɪnsloo) (6 se. Buckingham) with (s), heard by TH., who was told by a fellow traveller that the dialect was "very broad."

4. Cb. = Cambridgeshire, 15 places, all in D 18.

*18. c1. *Cambridge* wn. by TH.

*18. c2. *Cambridgeshire* generally, (1) dt. pal. 1879 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. J. Perkins, M.A., Downing Coll., 249; (2) notes by Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat.

*18. c3. *Chatteris* (9 nw. Ely) wn. by TH. 253d, and note from Rev. Sidney A. Smith, vic.

18. e. *Ely* wn. by TH.

18. n. *Haddenham* (6 sw. Ely) note by Rev. J. M. Freeman.

*18. m. *March* (12 nw. Ely) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. J. Wastie Green, rect., 251, and wn. by TH.

18. p. *Pampisford* (:paanzə) (6 sse. Cambridge) reported by TH. from Prof. Skeat.

*18. s1. *Sawston* (5 sse. Cambridge) dt. pal. from dict. by TH., 250.

18. s2. *Shelford* (4 s. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. s3. *Soham* (5 se. Ely), note from Rev. J. Cyprian-Rust.

18. w1. *Whittlesford* (6 s-by-e. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. w2. *Willingham* (8 nnw. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

*18. w3. *Wisbech* (:wɪsbɪtʃ) dt. and wl. io. with letters, 252, by Mr. Herbert J. Little, Coldham Hall, 252; and wn. by TH. 253.

*18. w4. *Wood Ditton* (3 sse. Newmarket) dt. and wl. with sentences pal. by A.J.E. in 1879 from dict. of Miss Walker, of the vicarage, 251.

*18. w5. *Wryde* (9 ene. Peterbro' Np.), a farming district 2 e. Thorney village, and in Thorney parish, wn. by TH., 254.

5. Ch. = Cheshire, 32 places in D 21, 25, 28.

25. a1. *Altrincham* (8 wsw. Stockport) (1) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. J. C. Clough, then Principal of the Agricultural College, Aspatria, Carlisle, native; (2) notes from JGG. and TH.

*25. a2. *Alvanly* (:AA.v'nlɪ) (7 ne. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. a3. *Ashton* (7 ene. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. a4. *Audlem* (:Aʌləm) (6 s. Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. b1. *Beeston* (9 se. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. b2. *Bickley* (5 nnw. Whitchurch, Sh.) (1) dt. pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Mr. T. Darlington, native of Burland (6 ne. Bickley), author of *Folk-speech of South Cheshire*, and wl. in gl., 411, 422; (2) version of Ruth, chap. i., 698, No. 4.

25. b3. *Bowdon* (16 ene. Runcorn) wn. by TH.

*25. b4. *Broxton* (9 sse. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. b5. *Buerton* (6 s-by-e. Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*28. c1. *Churton* (6 s. Chester) wn. by TH. 457 (wrongly referred to D 25 on p. 421).

25. c2. *Congleton* (11 ene. Crewe) wn. by TH.

*28. e. *Eccleston* (:ɛklistən) (2 s. Chester) wn. by TH., 457.

*28. f. *Farndon* (:fɑrn) (7 s. Chester) dt. in so. by Mr. E. French, native, and wn. by TH. 452, 457.

*25. g. *Great Neston* (10 nw. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. h1. *Hatton Heath* (4 se. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. n2. *Helsby* (8 ne.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

25. k. *Knutsford* (15 ese.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

25. l. *Lymm* (11 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

26. m1. *Malpas* (13 sse.Chester) lw. by Mr. T. Darlington, and wn. by TH.

25. m2. *Marbury* (7 sw.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. m3. *Middlewich* (7 n.Crewe) cs. pal. by TH. from dict., 413.

25. m4. *Mobberly* (9 wnw.Macclesfield) dt. io. by Mr. Robert Holland, of Norton Hill, Halton (2 ese.Runcorn) to represent m.Ch., but really representing e.Ch.

25. m5. *Mouldsworth* (6 ene.Chester) wn. by TH.

*25. n1. *Nantwich* wn. by TH. 421.

25. n2. *Northenden* (4 w.Stockport) phrases noted by TH.

25. n3. *Northwich* (11n.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*25. p. *Pott Shrigley* (4 nne.Macclesfield) cs. pal. by TH. in 1874 from dict. of a native, 413.

*25. s1. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 411; TH. also noted the forms of negative *canna conner* in *Manchester City News*, 26 March, 1881.

*28. s2. *Shocklach* (14 w-by-s.Nantwich) wn. by TH. 457.

*21. s3. *Stalybridge*, situate half in La. and half in Ch., formerly all or nearly all the town was in La., which see, 317.

21. s4. *Stockport* wn. by TH.

*25. t. *Tarporley* (9 ese.Chester) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich and 7 sse.Tarporley), 413, 421.

*25. w. *Waverton* (4 se.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

6. Co.=Cornwall, 19 places in D 11 and 12.

*11. c1. *Camelford* (14 w.Launceston) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Ada Hill, of Whitelands, 168.

*11. c2. *Cardynham* (4 ene.Bodmin) dt. by T. H. Cross, 169.

12. e. *Gwennap* (3 ese.Redruth) (1) dt. io. by Rev. Saltren Rogers, vic.; (2) wn. by TH.

11. l1. *Landrake* (8 ese.Liskeard), let. from vic. unnamed.

11. l2. *Lanivet* (3 sw.Bodmin) dt. io. by the late Mr. T. Q. Couch, author of the Glossary of Polperro (9 ssw.Liskeard).

11. l3. *Lanreath* (7 sw.Liskeard) wl. io. by Rev. R. Buller, rect.

*12. m1. *Marazion* (3 e.Penzance), specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. J. Rawlings, Downes, Hayle (6 ne.Penzance), 172.

*11. m2. *Millbrook* (22 sse.Launceston) spec. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Rundell, 167.

11. p1. *Padstow* dt. io. by Hon. Mrs. Prideaux Brune, Prideaux Place.

12. p2. *Penzance* cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. Noye and then

from Mr. W. Rawlings (see above m1), but not used, 171.

11. p3. *Poundstock* (12 nww.Launceston) dt. io. by Rev. P. D. Dayman, vic.

11. s1. *St. Blazey* (3 ne.St. Austell), wl. and dt. io. by Miss A. B. Peniston, of the vicarage, 6 y.

*11. s2. *St. Columb Major* (10 wsw.Bodmin) and 10 m. round by Mr. T. Rogers, 169.

11. s3. *St. Goran's* (6 s.St. Austell) also written *Gorran, Goram*, dt. io. by Rev. C. R. Sowell, vic.

11. s4. *St. Ives* (4 ne.Liskeard) dt. io. by Ven. Archd. Hobhouse, rect.

12. s5. *St. Just* (7 w.Penzance) dt. io. by Rev. H. S. Fagan, vic.

11. s6. *St. Stephen's* (1 n.Launceston) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. S. T. Daunt.

12. s7. *St. Stithian's* (4 sse.Redruth) dt. by Mr. W. Martin, Penhalvar East, churchwarden of St. Stithian's.

11. t. *Tintagel* (13 n.Bodmin) dt. io. by the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, vic.

7. Cu.=Cumberland, 15 places in D 31, 32, and 33.

*31. a. *Abbey Holme* or *Holme Cultram* (12 nne.Maryport) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. T. Ellwood, 562, 563, cwl. 634.

*33. b1. *Bewcastle* (16 ne.Carlisle) to *Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle) pal. by JGG. from a native, 682, 684, 693.

31. b2. *Borrowdale* (7 s.Keswick)

wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Percy C. Walker, vic.

*32. b3. *Brampton* (9 ene. Carlisle) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. 669.

*32. c1. *Carlisle* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, 562, 563, 602; (2) aq. from Messrs. Coward, Harkness, Payne, Murray, and Dickinson about the s. b. of D 32.

*31. c2. *Clifton* (2 e. Workington) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Hetherington, 562, 563.

*32. d. *Dalston* (4 ssw. Carlisle) cs. pal. November, 1873, by AJE. from a native maid servant, but not used, 562*d*.

*31. e. *Ellonby* (6 nw. Penrith) cs. pal. by JGG. 562, 563, 600.

31. h. *Hale* (:jal) (14 ssw. Cocker-mouth) wl. from Rev. W. Sidney Pratten, vic.

Holme Cultram, see *Abbey Holme* above.

*31. k. *Keswick* es. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. W. Postlethwaite, 562, 563, 600.

*31. l1. *Langwathby* (:la'qenbi) (4 ne. Penrith) pal. 1876-7 by JGG. from dict. of Miss Powley, 561, 563, 600.

*33. l2. *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle) cs. io. by Rev. R. D. Hope, native, vic. of Old Hutton (4 n. Kendal), We. See under *Bewcastle*, 682, 693.

31. p. *Penrith*, notes on m. Cu. and a translation of A. Craig Gibson *Joe and the Jolly Jist*, pal. January, 1873, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. William Atkinson, an excellent authority, but this early work sadly wants revision, and as I have not been able to recover Mr. A.'s address, I have been obliged to pass it over.

31. r. *Ravenglass* (13 w. Coniston, La.) notes by Rev. H. Bell, vic., which enabled me to complete the s. *hoose* line 6 through s. Ch.

31. s. *South Cumberland*, correspondence with Rev. E. H. Knowles, of St. Bees, Cu., and his friends concerning the use of *at* and *to*.

31. w. *Workington*, cs. io. and wl. io. with many letters from Mr. W. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary. As I was unable to have an interview with Mr. D., I have been obliged to pass over this work.

8. Db. = Derby, 67 places in D 21, 25, 26.

*26. a1. *Alvaston* (:AA'væstæn) (3 ese. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. a2. *Ashbourn* (10 sw. Matlock Bath) two cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 426, 427.

*26. a3. *Ashford* (8 ese. Buxton) with Bakewell (2 se. Ashford) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 427.

*26. a4. *Ashover* (5 ssw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427, 445.

*26. b1. *Bamford* (12 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*26. b2. *Barlborough* (7½ ene. Chesterfield) dt. pal. from dict. by TH. 438.

*26. b3. *Belper* wn. by TH. 445.

*26. b4. *Bolsover* (:bæ'uzv) (5 e. Chesterfield) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 438, 442, 445.

*26. b5. *Bradwell* (:bræd'v) (9 ne. Buxton) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, and wn. 442.

*26. b6. *Brailsford* (7 nw. Derby) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*26. b7. *Brampton* (3 w. Chesterfield) (1) wn. by TH., (2) cs. io. by Rev. J. M. Mello, rect., with observations on the same by TH., and (3) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, No. 7.

26. b8. *Brampton Moor*, near Brampton, wn. by TH.

*26. c1. *Castleton* (10 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*21. c2. *Chapel-en-le-Frith* (5 n. Buxton), (1) the Song of Solomon complete in his own original so. translated by TH., and Chaps. i. and ii. in pal. and gl. compared with Taddington, which see; (2) cs. from personal knowledge by TH. with variants for places in the neighbourhood, and notes on the use of *ihou* and (kh), 317, and dt. 322; (3) Parable of the Prodigal Son; (4) complete cwl. from personal knowledge with the minute distinctions which TH. prefers, 323 to 329.

*26. c3. *Chellaston* (4 sse. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. c4. *Chesterfield* wn. by TH. 427.

*26. c5. *Codnor* (5 ene. Belper) lw. io. by Rev. H. Middleton, vic 445.

*26. c6. *Codnor Park* (5 ene. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*25. c7. *Combs Valley* (3 nw. Buxton) notes by TH., see *Chapel-en-le-Frith*, and dt. from personal knowledge, 411.

26. c8. *Crich* (4 n.Belper) notes by TH.
- *26. c9. *Cromford* (1 s.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH. 444.
26. d1. *Derby*, wn. by TH. and also by A.JE.
- *26. d2. *Doe Hill Station* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. probably belong to Codnor Park, Ilkestone, etc. 445.
- *26. d3. *Dore* (8 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.
- *26. d4. *Dronfield* (5 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. d5. *Dronfield Woodhouse* (6 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.
- *26. e1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.
- *21. e2. *Edale* (7 se.Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322.
- *26. e3. *Eyam* (10 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.
- *25. f1. *Fernilee*, near Combs Valley, wn. by TH. 411.
26. f2. *Foolow* (9 ene.Buxton, 1 e. Eyam) wn. by TH.
- *21. g1. *Glossop* cs. pal. by TH. from a man born 3 miles off, 317.
- *25. g2. *Goyt, Dale of* (3 nw.Buxton) cs. pal. from personal knowledge by TH., whose father resided there from TH.'s childhood, 321, in the notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith, and 414.
26. g3. *Great Hucklow* (8 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.
- *26. h1. *Hartington* (10 nnw.Matlock Bath) joke pal. by TH. 441.
- *26. h2. *Hathersage* (12 ne.Buxton) and 3 or 4 miles round, wn. by TH. 442.
- *26. h3. *Heanor* (5 ese.Belper) wn. by TH., and dt. in gl. by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from dict. 445.
- *26. h4. *Higham* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. h5. *Holmesfield* (6 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.
- *21. h6. *Hope Woodlands* (10 se. Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322, and in note to Chapel-en-le-Frith, 321.
- *26. i1. *Idridgehay* (4 nnw.Belper, and 4 s.Wirksworth, to which region it belongs) wn. by TH. 441, 444.
- *26. i2. *Ilkeston* (8 se.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.
26. l. *Little Hucklow* (7 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.
- *26. m1. *Matlock Bath*, wn. by TH. 444.
- *26. m2. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth* (2 sw.Matlock Bath), a mining village, said to speak more broadly than at Wirksworth, wn. by TH. 441, 444.
26. m3. *Middleton-by-Youlgrave* (7 nw.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH.
- *26. m4. *Milford* (2 s.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. m5. *Morton* (8 nne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. n. *Norton* (7 nnw.Chesterfield) lw. io. by Rev. H. H. Pearson, vic. 445.
- *26. o. *Old Brampton* (3 w.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.
- *21. p. *Peak Forest* (5 ne.Buxton) wn. by TH. 322.
- *26. q. *Quarndon* (3 nnw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.
- *26. r1. *Repton* (6 sw.Derby) (1) lw. io. by the curate, name not mentioned, and TH.'s observations on them; (2) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 427; (3) wn. by TH. 446.
- *26. r2. *Ripley* (3 ne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.
26. s1. *Sandiacre* (:sæn-ˈdʒɪkə) (8 e. Derby) wn. by TH.
- *26. s2. *South Wingfield* (5 nne. Belper) dt. 438, and wn. both by TH.
- *26. s3. *Stenson* (4 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.
- *26. s4. *Stretton* (6 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. s5. *Sutton* (3 ese.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. t1. *Taddington* (5 ese.Buxton) (1) Song of Solomon, chaps. i. and ii. in gl. and pal. by TH.; (2) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by a native, 426, 427.
- *26. t2. *Tideswell* (:tidzɐ) (6 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.
26. t3. *Twyford* (5 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH.
- *26. u. *Unstone* (4 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. w1. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby) dt. by TH. from dict. 438, 439.
- *26. w2. *Whittington* (2 n.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.
- *26. w3. *Winstler* (3 nw.Matlock Bath) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by natives, 427, also wn. by TH.
- *26. w4. *Wirksworth* (:wɪksə) (3 ssw.Matlock Bath) lw. io. with notes by Dr. Spencer T. Hall, and wn. by TH. 441, 444.

9. Dv. = Devonshire, 21 places in D 4, 10, 11.

4. A. *Azminster* (8 se.Honiton) cs. io. by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, not used because I had no vv.

11. B1. *Barnstaple*, cs. io. by Mr. W. F. Rock, native, pal. in 1873 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. D. H. Harris, native.

11. B2. *Bigbury* (12 sw.Totness) phr. noted, 1876, in gl. by Mr. J. B. Rundell.

11 B3. *Burrington* (10sse Barnstaple) characteristic wds. and phr. io. by Mrs. Davis, of the vicarage, native.

*11. C1. *Challacombe* (9 ne.Barnstaple) wds. and phr. obtained from Anne Ridge, native, cook to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, see notes to Iddesleigh, 158.

11. C2. *Colyton* (7 se.Honiton) dt. io. by Mr. W. H. H. Rogers.

Dartmoor, see *Plymouth*.

*11. D. *Devonport* dt. pal. from Messrs. J. Tenney and J. B. Rundell, 166.

11. E. *Exeter* (1) wl. gl. by Mr. N. W. Wyer, collected 1873-7; (2) dt. io. with aq. by Mr. R. Dymond, F.S.A.

11. H. *Harberton* (2 sw.Totness) wn. by AJE. 1 and 2 Sept. 1869, written in the glosstotype of the period and pal. 23 July, 1878. This was my first attempt to write English peasant speech from hearing. I stayed with Mr. J. Paige, Little Inglebourne, Harberton, and listened while he conversed with his labourers, and then wrote down the sounds on my return to the house. I was not very successful, and the notes made have therefore not been used.

*11. I1. *Iddesleigh* (:idplɪ) (15s.Barnstaple) (1) wl. io. written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands

Training Coll. from the dict. of his housemaid; (2) cs. pal. by AJE. from the dictation of the same housemaid, Mary Anstey, native, who had not been many months from Dv. 157.

11. I2. *Instow* (5 w-by-s.Barnstaple), from Rev. W. F. Dashwood Lang, rector.

11. M1. *Modbury* and 6 m. round (10 sw.Totness) dt. io. by Miss Green, of the Vicarage.

10. M2. *Morebath* (8 n.Tiverton) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. S. H. Berkeley.

*11. N1. *North Molton* (12 e-by-s. Barnstaple), (1) wl. io. by Mr. R. H. S. Spicer, B.Sc., of that place, (2) by Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, pal. by AJE. in 1877, dt. 160, cwl. 161.

11. N2. *North Petherwin* (14 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. T. B. Taunton.

11. P1. *Parracomb* (11 nne.Barnstaple) nwl. taken from n.Dv. servants by Miss Wakefield, of the Rectory.

*11. P2. *Plymouth* (1) cs. gl. for Dartmoor, (2) lw. gl., (3) wl. gl. (4) dt. gl., (5) numerous printed papers and much correspondence from 1868 onwards, all five from Mr. John Shelley, native of Norfolk, but long resident in Plymouth, 163 to 166.

11. S1. *St. Marychurch* (2 n. Torquay) dt. by Rev. G. H. White, with words and phrases by Miss Miles.

11. S2. *Stoke* (1 nw.Plymouth) nwl. by Rev. H. G. Wilcocks, Stoke Cottage.

11. W1. *Warkleigh* (8 sse. Barnstaple) wl. io. by Mrs. W. Thorold, of the Rectory, 30 y.

11. W2. *Werrington* (12 nw.Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. R. W. Margesson, vicar.

10. Do. = Dorsetshire, 14 places, all in D 4.

4. B1. *Bingham's Melcombe* (7 sw. Blandford, near Melcombe Horsey) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Bingham.

4. B2. *Blackmore, Vale of* (11 sw. Shaftesbury) wl. io. with notes and letters by Rev. John Smith, Kington Magna, rect.

4. B3. *Bradpole* (:bræfpool, :bræf'l) (1 ne. Bridport) wl. io. and notes by Rev. Canon Broadley, vic.

4. B4. *Bridport*, wl. by Mr. T. A. Colfox, native, Westmead, Bridport.

*4. C. *Cranborne* (12 ene. Blandford, and wrongly referred to Blandford on p. 37) cs. by Mr. Clarke, Gen. Michel, and Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, 75-84.

*4. E1. *East Lulworth* (:lulwɜrth) (12 ese.Dorchester, on Purbeck hills) wl. io. by Rev. Walter Kendall, vic. 80.

4. E2. *East Morden* (7 sse.Blandford) wl. io. by Rev. T. Pearce, vic.

*4. H. *Hanfords* (4 nw.Blandford) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, see 75, dt. 76, cwl. 80.

4. S1. *Sherborne* (16 wnw.Blandford)

dt. io. with notes and letters by Rev. O. W. Tancock, school.

4. s2. *Sturminster Marshall* (6 se. Blandford) phrases by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, formerly curate there.

4. s3. *Swanage* (7 s. Poole) note by Mr. Paige, artist.

4. w1. *Walditch* (1 e. Bridport) notes by Mr. W. G. Stone, 10 y.

*4. w2. *Whitchurch Canonicoorum* (5 wnw. Bridport) (1) transcripts of letters and articles in Pulman's *Weekly News*, Crewkerne, written in glossic

with great care by Mr. N. W. Wyer, from dictation of John Taylor, a small freeholder, but doubts having arisen of the trustworthiness of Taylor's Dorset pronunciation, they have been reluctantly cancelled; (2) wn. by the same, 83.

*4. w3. *Winterbourne Came* (2 sse. Dorchester), by Rev. W. Barnes, the Dorset poet (see p. 75), cs. in so. with numerous letters of explanation, from which it was pal. by AJE. 76; list of Do. words with initial (f) or (v), 38.

11. Du. = Durham, 31 places in D 31 and 32.

*32. a1. *Annfield Plain* (8 nw. Durham), dt. from Rev. Dr. Blythe Hurst, vic. See *Collierley*, 653.

31. a2. *Aycliffe* (5 n. Darlington) pc. from anonymous vicar.

*31. b1. *Bishop Auckland* (20 wsw. Hartlepool) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. R. Long; (2) dt. by Mr. J. Wyld, master of the workhouse, 617.

*31. b2. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse. Du.) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. C. A. Cartledge, vicar, who introduced me to dialect speakers, 653.

*31. b3. *Bishopston* (5 nw. Stockton) pc. by Rev. C. H. Ford, vic. 644.

*32. c1. *Clickeminn* (spelling unknown) (10 w. Durham, in Lanchester par.) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Robson, bailiff, introduced by Canon Greenwell, 653, No. 2.

*32. c2. *Collierley* (11 nw. Durham, containing Dipton and Pontop) dt. io. by Mr. Hugh Leslie, see a1, 653.

32. d. *Dalton-le-Dale* (6 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. T. T. Allen, vic.

*31. e1. *Easington* (9 e. Durham) dt. io. by Miss E. P. Harrison, of the rectory, 617.

*32. e2. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw. Durham) dt. io. with notes by Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-ha'f), rect. 653.

31. g. *Greatham* (:griitem) (6 ne. Stockton), pc. from Rev. J. MacCartie, vic.

Hart, see *Easington*.

31. h1. *Hartlepool*, pc. from Rev. E. R. Ormsley, rect.

*31. h2. *Heathery Cleugh* (:kliuf) (27 w. Durham) dt. io. by Mr. Dalton, schoolmaster, 617.

*32. k. *Kelloe* (6 se. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. W. S. Kay, vic., (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from R. Heightley, 653.

*32. l1. *Lanchester* (7 nw. Durham)

w1. io. by Rev. J. Dingle, vic., and see c1, 653.

*31. l2. *Lower Teesdale*, near Stockton, cs. pal. by AJE. in 1876 from Mrs. Alfred Hunt, 617.

*31. m1. *Middleton-in-Teesdale* (30 wnw. Stockton) on the Tees (1) wl. io. by Rev. J. Milner, vic., 634, and notes by JGG.

31. m2. *Monk Hesledon* (5 nw. Hartlepool) pc. from Rev. R. Taylor, vic.

31. n. *Ryhope* (3 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. Wilson, vic.

31. s1. *St. Andrew Auckland* (1 s. Bishop Auckland, see b1) pc. from Rev. R. Long, vic.

*31. s2. *St. John's Weardale* (24 wsw. Durham) wl. pal. by JGG. 634

31. s3. *Seaham* (4 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. A. Scott, vic.

31. s4. *Sedgefield* (10 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. J. P. Eden, rect.

32. s5. *Shincliffe* (2 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. G. P. Bulman, rect.

*32. s6. *South Shields* from Rev. C. Y. Potts, wl. in gl. 672, and cs. in gl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Pyke, native, 645.

*31. s7. *Stanhope* (18 wsw. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. C. Clayton, vic., and letter from Rev. C. Cosbey, curate; (2) dt. io. with notes by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, 617 to 619.

*32. s8. *Sunderland* (1) dt. io. by Mr. E. Capper Robson, Esplanade; (2) full wl. by late Mr. Tom Taylor, native; (3) letter from Mr. W. Brookie with local song of "Spottee" and notes; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth, 653.

31. t1. *Trimdon* (8 se. Durham) pc. from Rev. R. Simpson, curate-in-charge.

32. r2. *Tyneside*, 6 or 8 miles each way, dt. io. and MS. glossary of Tyneside words by Rev. Blythe Hurst, vic. of Collierly, see a1 and c2.

31. w1. *Witton-le-Wear* (10 sw.

Durham) pc. from Rev. J. F. Hodgson, vic.

31. w2. *Wolsingham* (12 sw. Durham) aq. from Rev. R. H. Gray, rect.

12. Es. = Essex, 25 places, all in D 16.

16. b1. *Black Notley* (9 nne. Chelmsford) aq. from Rev. T. Owen, rect.

*16. b2. *Bradfield* (9 ene. Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. L. G. Hayne, rect. 221.

*16. b3. *Braintree* (:bráintri) (10 nne. Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. b4. *Brentwood* (:berntʷud) (7 ne. Romford) and 4 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. Arthur H. Brown.

*16. b5. *Brightlingsea* (8 se. Colchester) dt. and notes by Rev. Arthur Pertwee, vic., to illustrate Tending hundred, 221.

16. c. *Chelmsford* (:tʃɛmzʃəd) pron. of name obs. from a native by TH.

16. e1. *Elsenham* (15 nw. Chelmsford) wl. by Rev. J. Whateley, vic. 15 y.

*16. e2. *Essex*, various places, wn. by TH. 224.

16. g1. *Great Chesterford* (3 nw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. g2. *Great Chishall* (7 w. Saffron Walden) wl. io. by Mrs. Saraita Kent, wife of a principal farmer, obtained through Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

16. g3. *Great Clacton* (13 se. Colchester) dt. io. by Mr. G. Woodfall, certificated teacher.

*16. g4. *Great Dunmow* (9 nnw. Chelmsford) cs. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, 222, and phr. pal. from dict. of Mr. Roderick (see Ware, Ht.), together with wn. by TH. 221.

13. Gl. = Gloucester, 26 places in D 4 and 6.

6. A1. *Ashchurch* (3 ne. Tewkesbury) wl. by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, rect. 10 y., and wn. by TH.

*4. A2. *Aylburton* (4 nnw. Berkeley) phr. from Miss Trotter, and cwl., 66; see Coleford Gl. (name misprinted Potter on 66).

4. B1. *Berkeley, Vale of*, cs. io. from Mr. J. H. Cooke, of that place, 25 y., obtained by Mr. Bellows for LLB.

4. B2. *Birdlip* (:bɜːrlɪp) (7 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. B3. *Bishop's Cleeve* (3 n. Cheltenham) wn. by TH.

*16. g5. *Great Easton* (8 sse. Saffron Walden) wn. TH. 221.

16. g6. *Great Saling* (14 nw. Maldon) aq. from Rev. T. W. Elvington, vic.

*16. g7. *Great Shalford* (15 nnw. Maldon) aq. from Rev. H. B. Philip, vic., and wn. by TH. 221.

16. h. *Henham* (6 s. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. i. *Ingatstone* (10 ne. Romford) lw. from Mr. N. W. Wyer.

*16. m. *Maldon*, dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Wing, of Whitelands, formerly pupil teacher there, 223.

16. n. *Newport* (4 ssw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

*16. p1. *Paglesham* (5 ne. Southend) dt. io. by Mr. J. F. T. Wiseman, the Chase, 221.

*16. p2. *Panfield* (13 nnw. Maldon) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. J. Hill, rect., with wn. by TH. 221.

*16. r. *Rayne* (12 nw. Maldon) aq. from (anonymous) rect., 221.

*16. s1. *Southend*, lw. by LLB. and Mr. Ph. Benton, Waking Hall, 221-2.

*16. s2. *Stanway* (3 w. Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. E. H. Crate, Rose Cottage, 221.

*16. s3. *Stebbing* (Bran End), (11 n. Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. t. *Thaxted* (16 nnw. Chelmsford) lw. compiled by Rev. Prof. Skeat, Cambridge, from the pron. of his cook, native, and pal. by AJE. from Prof. S.'s reading.

4. B4. *Bisley* (3 e. Stroud) wl. io. from Rev. T. Keble, vic.

4. B5. *Bristol* wn. by TH.

4. B6. *Brockworth* (4 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*6. B7. *Buckland* (11 ene. Tewkesbury) wn. by TH. from native railway porter, who resided there till 25, p. 113.

4. C1. *Cheltenham* (:tʃɛltɛnəm) wn. by TH.

*4. C2. *Cirencester* (:sɪsɪtɛr) wl. by Miss Martin, of Whitelands, pal. vv. by AJE. 66, and wn. by TH.

*4. C3. *Coleford* (9 nw. Berkeley), representing the Forest of Dean, from

Mr. R. D. Trotter (misprinted as Potter on 66), cs. 60, phr. 66, cwl. 66.

4. c4. *Compton Abdale* (8 se. Cheltenham) dt. io. by Rev. H. Morgan, vic., assisted by Rev. W. H. Stanton, rect. of Hazleton (9 ese. Cheltenham) and Rural Dean, representing the Cotswold hills Gl.

4. *Dean, Forest of.* See *Coleford*.

*6. e. *Ebrington* (18 ne. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 113.

4. f. *Fairford* (23 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*4. g. *Gloucester Vale and Town*, vv. from Mr. J. Jones, cs. 60, cwl. 66. *Town*, wn. by TH.

4. h1. *Higham* (2 wnw. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. h2. *Hucclecote* (3 e. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

6. k1. *Kemerton* (5 ene. Tewkesbury),

on spike of Gl. projecting into Wo., words noted by Rev. J. I. Mercier, 3 months.

4. k2. *King's Wood* (4 ene. Bristol), representing the colliery region of King's Chase or King's Wood, cs. io. by Samuel Griffith.

6. l. *Long Marston or Marston Sicca* (21 ne. Cheltenham) note by TH.

4. m. *Maisey Hampton* (6 ese, Cirencester) wn. by TH.

*6. s. *Shenington* (5 wnw. Banbury), locally in Ox., (1) lw. from dict. by TH. 118, (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Harris, of Whitelands, 117, 118.

*4. r1. *Tetbury* (8 sse. Stroud), from Miss Frampton, cs. 60, cwl. 66, wn. by TH.

6. r2. *Tewkesbury*, wn. by TH.

*4. w. *Whitecomb or Witeomb* (5 ssw. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 66.

14. Ha. = Hampshire, with Wi. = Isle of Wight, 13 places in D 4 and 5.

*5. a. *Andover* (1) lw. io. by E. S. Bewly, see Stowmarket, Sf.; (2) specimens taken down by Prof. Schröder, 98 to 107.

4. b. *Broughton* (10 wnw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. S. Lee, rect.

*4. c1. *Christchurch* notes in letter from Lady Wolf to LLB., see also Iford below, 75.

5. c2. *Corhampton* (10 se. Winchester) lw. from Rev. H. R. Fleming, vic.

*5. e. *East Stratton* (8 nne. Winchester) dt. io. by Rev. S. E. Lyon, vic. 96.

*4. i. *Iford* (1 w. Christchurch) wl. io. by Mr. W. W. Farr, representing the part. of Ha. w. of the Avon, 75.

5. n1. *Northwood* (:narthud) (2 s. Cowes, Wi.) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. C. E. Seaman.

4. n2. *Nursling* (:naslin) (12 sw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. H. C. Hawtrey.

4. r. *Ringwood* (7 n. Christchurch)

by AJE. from dict. of a carter in service of Messrs. Moore and Moore, native, 15 y. away.

*5. s1. *Shorwell* (:shar'l, :shor'l) (5 ssw. Newport, Wi.) wl. io. from Mr. James Titmouse, schoolmaster, 14 y. continuously, through Rev. R. Broughton, vic. 107.

*5. s2. *Southampton to Winchester*, so called on p. 97, see below Winchester to Southampton, so called on p. 91, cs. from dict. of Mr. Percival Leigh, 97.

*5. w1. *West Stratton* (7. ne. Winchester) dt. io. from the late Dr. A. C. Burnell, native, 96.

5. w2. *Wight, Isle of*, generally, (1) wds. by Rev. R. N. Durrant, Arreton Vic. (2 se. Newport, Wi.); (2) wds. and letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., of Stroud, author of the *Isle of Wight Glossary*.

*5. w3. *Winchester to Southampton*, see above s2.

15. He. = Herefordshire, 17 places in D 4 and 13.

13. a. *Almeley* (:a'meli) (8 s-by-e. Presteign, Rd. and He.) from the (unnamed) vic. who said Eardisley (2 sw. Almeley) is called (arslii).

13. d1. *Dinmore* (7 n-by-w. Hereford) wn. by TH.

*13. d2. *Docklow* (5 ese. Leominster) cs. and other specimens in so. by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, 30 y. obtained by LLB. 177.

*4. e. *Eggleton* (8 ne. Hereford) cs. and spec. both in a peculiarly keyed orthography by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, obtained in 1875 by LLB. 69 to 75.

*13. h. *Hereford* and its neighbourhood, (1) cs. in so. by Mr. James Davies, solicitor, of that town, obtained by LLB.; (2) cs. in the 1847 phonotypy of Ellis and Pitman [see Part IV.]

pp. 1183-1186] by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, transliterated into pal. by AJE., obtained in 1875 by LLB. I was not able to use either version; (3) wn. TH. 180.

*4. l1. *Leadbury* (12 e. Hereford) cs. by Rev. C. Y. Potts and Mr. J. C. Gregg, 69-73.

13. l2. *Leintwardine* (11 nnw. Leominster) wn. by TH.

*13. l3. *Leominster* wn. b. TH. 180.

*13. l4. *Lower Bache Farm* (3 ene. Leominster) (1) lw. in io. and aq. by Mr. G. Burgiss, native, farmer, obtained through LLB.; (2) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Messrs. T. and J. Burgiss, brothers of Mr. G. Burgiss, 176, 180.

13. l5. *Lucton* (:lak'n) (5 nw. Leominster) note by Rev. A. C. Auchmaty, Lucton House, 4 y.

*4. m. *Much Cowarne* (9 ne. Hereford) cs. in 1847 phonotypy written in 1847

by Mr. J. Jones (see Hereford above) from dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, 10 y., pal. by AJE., obtained by LLB., see also Eggleton, given at p. 69; (2) wn. by TH. from Mrs. S. Griffiths, native, b. 1816, given on p. 73, notes to C.

*4. n. *Ross* (1) letter from W. H. Green to LLB. 68; (2) wn. by TH. 68.

13. s1. *Stockton* (2 ne. Leominster) wn. by TH.

4. s2. *Stoke Edith* (6 e-by-n. Hereford) wn. by TH.

4. v. *Upton Bishop* (4 ne. Ross) dt. by Mr. Havergal.

13. w1. *Wacton* (7 e. Leominster) wn. by TH.

13. w2. *Weobley* (7 sw. Leominster) cs. io. written by a farmer, communicated to LLB. by Rev. C. J. Robinson, of Norton Canon (10 nw. Hereford), and by him referred to Weobley.

16. Ht. = Hertfordshire, 32 places in D 15, 16, and 17.

16. a1. *Anstey* (14 ene. Hitchin) from Rev. T. T. Sale, rect.

*16. a2. *Ardeley* or *Yardley* (8 e-by-s. Hitchin) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and wn. from several old natives by TH. 200, 201.

16. b1. *Berkhampstead* (10 w. St. Albans) notes obtained by LLB.

16. b2. *Bishop's Stortford* (:sta'fed) (11 ne. Hertford) pron. of name obtained by TH.

16. b3. *Boxmoor* (7 wsw. St. Albans) note from Rev. A. C. Richings sent to LLB.

16. b4. *Braughing* (:brafin) pron. of name obtained by TH.

*16. b5. *Buntingford* (:bæni'fæt) (10 nne. Hertford) wn. by TH. 201.

*17. b6. *Bushey* (2 se. Watford) from Rev. W. Falconer, rect., 235.

16. f. *Furneaux Pelham* (11 nne. Hertford) phr. by Rev. W. Wigram, vic., with notes by Mr. Roderick, rect.

16. g1. *Gilston* (5 e. Ware) notes from Rev. J. L. Hallward, rect.

16. g2. *Great Gaddesden* (7 nnw. St. Albans) notes by LLB.

16. g3. *Great Horstead* (13 e. Hitchin) dt. io. from Rev. J. S. F. Chamberlain, vic., representing the "Wilds of Herts."

16. h1. *Hadham* (7 ne. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h2. *Harpenden* (4 n-by-w. St.

Albans) dt. io. from Mr. T. Wilson, Rivers Lodge, 203.

*16. h3. *Hatfield* (6 wsw. Hertford) wn. by TH. 203.

16. h4. *Hemel Hempstead* (5 w. St. Albans) note by LLB.

*16. h5. *Hertford* wn. by TH. 199.

*16. h6. *Hertford Heath* (2 se. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h7. *Hitchin* dt. by Mr. C. W. Wilshere, the Frythe, Welwyn, pal. from indications by AJE. 203.

17. k. *King's Langley* (6 sw. St. Albans) note by LLB.

15. l1. *Little Gaddesden* (10 nw. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

15. l2. *Long Marston* (16 nnw. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

*17. r. *Rickmansworth* (3 sw. Watford) note sent to LLB. by Mr. W. H. Brown, national school master, and note by LLB. 235.

*16. s1. *St. Albans*, wds. from Mr. R. R. Lloyd, 8 y., 235.

16. s2. *Sandridge* (3 ne. St. Albans) dt. notes, and lw. all in io. by Rev. J. Griffith, of that place.

16. s3. *Sawbridgeworth*, called (:sæp'surd) by old people (10 e-by-n. Hertford) (1) wl. and dt. io., and notes by Mrs. John Barnard, Spring Hall, 12 y., and (2) note by TH. from Prof. Skeat, who give (:saapsu).

*16. s4. *Stapleford* (3 nnw. Hertford)

(1) dt. io. by Rev. D. Barclay, rect., and (2) wn. by TH. 199.

15. r. *Tring* (14 nww.St. Albans), note obtained by LLB.

*16. w1. *Ware* cs. and lw. pal. in 1876 from dict. of Mr. J. W. Roderick, 197 to 200, wn. by TH. 199.

16. w2. *Watford*, note by LLB.

*16. w3. *Welwyn* (1) wl. pal. by

AJE. from dict. of Miss Foxlee, of Whitelands, not usable, 197; (2) dt. io. with notes and phr. by Mr. C. W. Wilshire, of the Frythe, 202.

16. w4. *Weston* (5 e.Hitchin) wl. io. by Rev. A. C. Roberts, vic., assisted by Mr. M. R. Pryor, Manor House, native.

17. Hu.=Huntingdonshire, 21 places, all in D 16.

16. a. *Alconbury* (4 nww.Huntingdon) lw. io. by Rev. R. Conway, vic., assisted by Mr. G. Johnston, of Broughton (5 ne.Huntingdon).

16. g1. *Godmanchester* (1 se.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. g2. *Great Catworth* (9 w.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. C. Purley, vic.

16. g3. *Great Gidding* (10 nw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. g4. *Great Faxton* (4 ssw.Huntingdon), from Rev. H. I. Nicholson, of that place.

*16. g5. *Great Stukeley* (2 nww.Huntingdon), (1) wl. and dt. io. by Miss Mary E. Ebden, then of the vicarage, with numerous notes pal. by AJE. 211; (2) wn. in 1881 by TH. from W. Johnson, b. about 1803, farm labourer, and James Valentine, b. 1806, to whom TH. was introduced by Miss Ebden, 211.

16. h1. *Hamerton* (8 nw.Huntingdon), from Rev. D. G. Thomas, rect.

16. h2. *Hilton* (4 se.Huntingdon), from Rev. T. Carrol, vic.

*16. h3. *Holme* (10 nww.Huntingdon), (1) wl. io. from Rev. W. A. Campbell, rect., representing the drained fen about Whittelsea Mere; (2) wn. by TH. 212.

16. h4. *Houghton* (:hóut'n, :hoot'n)

(3 e.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. A. Peck, rect. over 50 y.

16. h5. *Huntingdon*, wn. in 1881 by TH.

16. k1. *Keyston* (12 nww.Huntingdon), from Rev. J. P. Goodman, rect.

16. k2. *Kimbolton* (9 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. l. *Little Stukeley* (3 nww.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. o. *Old Fletton* (1 s.Peterborough, Np.) wn. by TH.

16. p. *Pidley* (7 ne.Huntingdon) wl. io. by Rev. R. W. Close, 2 y., assisted by Mr. W. Mason, Somersham, (which see) representing e.Hu.

16. s1. *St. Ives* (5 e.Huntingdon) wn. 1873 and 1882 by TH.

*16. s2. *Sawtry* (9 nww.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. by Miss Ebden, of Great Stukeley, (which see) from dict. of a maid servant, 212; (2) wn. by TH. in 1881 from J. Harlock, b. 1800, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden, 212.

16. s3. *Somersham* (8 ene.Huntingdon) dt. io. by Mr. W. Mason (see *Pidley*, which it adjoins).

16. s4. *Staneley* (8 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. s5. *Stilton* (12 nww.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. from Rev. Thomas Hatton, rect., (2) wn. by TH.

18. Ke.=Kent, 16 places, all in D 9.

*9. c1. *Charing* (6 nw.Ashford) dt. from Miss Croucher, of Whitelands, 136.

9. c2. *Chatham*, a wd. from Mr. S. Price, see *Montacute*, Sm.

9. d. *Denton* (7 nw.Dover) from Rev. C. J. Hussey, rect.

*9. f1. *Faversham* (8 nww.Canterbury) cs. written by Rev. H. Berin, pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, with phrases and lw. 137 to 141.

*9. f2. *Folkestone Fishermen*, dt. glossic by Mr. R. Stead, master of the Grammar School, Folkestone, 143.

9. k. *Kent* county generally, wn. by TH.

*9. m1. *Maidstone* note by AJE. from Mr. Streatfield, native, Bankhouse, 131, l. 13.

*9. m2. *Margate* lw. by Mr. Basil Hodges, 20 y., 141.

*9. n. *Rolvenden* (12 sw.Ashford) lw. and dt. io. from Rev. J. W. Rumny, vic. misprinted Ramsay on p. 136.

*9. s1. *Shadoxhurst*, misspelled *Shadshurst*, on p. 131, l. 6 (3 ssw. Ashford) dt. io. by Rev. C. T. Rolfe, 136.

9. s2. *St. Nicholas* (5 wsw. Margate) wl. and notes pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Peckham, of Whitelands, 141, 144.

*9. s3. *Sheerness*, nw. point of Isle of Sheppy, note by Miss Lowman, native of Ha., who had been all over it, 137.

9. s4. *Strood* (1 w. Rochester) note by Miss Calland, of Whitelands.

*9. s5. *Stoke* (6 nne. Chatham, between Thames and Medway) lw. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. A. E. Harris, 136.

*9. s6. *Stourmouth* (5 nw. Sandwich) notes by Rev. R. Drake, rect., 141.

*9. w. *Wingham* (6 e. Canterbury) dt. io. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, for the Highlands of Kent, 142.

19. La. = Lancashire, 61 places in D 21, 22, 23, and 31.

23. a1. *Abbeystead* (7 se. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

Ashton-under-Lyne, see *Stalybridge*.

*22. b1. *Blackburn* (1) wn. and dt. pal. by TH., cwl. 346, dt. 339; (2) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding in cwl. 346, this list comprised also words from several other places mentioned below, very valuable at first, but superseded by TH.'s work afterwards.

23. b2. *Blackpool* (15 wn. Preston) from H. Fisher, Mus.D.

*22. b3. *Bolton* (1) wl. by Mr. Ch. Rothwell, M.R.C.S., 40 y. to 50 y. 343; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*31. b4. *Broughton-in-Furness* (:bra'ut'n i :fa'rnes) (8 ssw. Coniston) wn. and dt. pal. from dict. by TH., dt. and phr. 553, cwl. 627.

*22. b5. *Burnley* (1) cs. pal. 1875-6 from a native by TH. 332; (2) cwl. by Mr. T. Healey, of the Science and Art Department, with wn. by TH., forming a cwl. 350.

21. b6. *Bury*, Miss Farrington's cs. (see Leyland) read to me in 1873 by Rev. Mr. Langston, sometime curate of Bury, but I was unable to make use of it.

*31. c1. *Cark-in-Cartmel* (5 e-by-s. Ulverston), wn. in 1881 by TH. especially from Betty Butler, b. 1797, near Grasmere, but her speech was too mixed to be trustworthy, cwl. 627.

*31. c2. *Caton* (4 ene. Lancaster) wn. by TH. given in wl. 626.

*22. c3. *Chorley* (10 nw. Bolton) wn. by TH. 345.

22. c4. *Clitheroe* lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*22. c5. *Cliviger Valley* (2 sse. Burnley) wn. TH. 350.

*31. c6. *Cockerham* (6 s-by-w. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*22. c7. *Colne Valley* (6 nne. Burnley)

from Mr. Hartley Stuttard, through Mr. John Shelly, 340, 341.

*31. c8. *Coniston* (1) cs. originally written io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, b. 1804, with aq. and explanations from Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver (2 ssw. Coniston), afterwards pal. from Miss Bell, native, 558, 563, 597; (2) wl. io. by Rev. T. Ellwood, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Bell; (3) wn. by TH., the last two, 627.

31. d. *Dalton* (5 sw. Ulverston) wl. io. by Rev. John Atkinson, Rydal, Ambleside, occasioning, on account of some anomalies, a long correspondence, and Rev. T. Ellwood's obtaining a partial wl. from Mr. T. Butler, solicitor, native, who had known the place intimately for 45 years, and who decided against the anomalies.

22. e. *Earlestown* (8 sw. Wigan) wn. by TH.

21. f1. *Failsworth* (4 ne. Manchester), phrs. noted from 'Ben Brierley' in his public readings, by TH.

*22. f2. *Farrington* (3 s. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*23. f3. *Fylde district*, see 352 for full account; note from Mr. T. Cumberland, Harburn, St. (3 sw. Birmingham, Wa.), not used.

23. g1. *Garstang* (:gjaa'stin) (10 nnw. Preston), note by TH. attached to next.

*23. g2. *Goosnargh* (:g'uuzner) (5 nne. Preston), (1) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. E. Kirk, native, 354; (2) wn. by TH. 359.

22. h1. *Hallinwell* (2 wn. Bolton) wn. by TH.

*22. h2. *Hastingden* (7 ssw. Burnley) wn. by TH. 346.

*31. h3. *Heysham* (:iisum) (4 w-by-s. Lancaster) wl. by Rev. C. Twenlow Royds, rect. 12 y., cwl. 626.

22. h4. *Higham* (3 nw. Burnley) lw. io. from Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*31. n5. *High Nibthwaite* (7 n. Ulverston) wn. by TH. 627.
Higher Walton, see *Walton-le-dale*, w1, below.

*22. n6. *Hoddlesden* (4 sse. Blackburn) dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from dict. of native, 339, and wn. 346.

*31. n7. *Hornby* (8 ne. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*23. k. *Kirkham* (8 w-by-n. Preston) wn. by TH. 359.

*31. l1. *Lancaster*, wn. by TH. 626.

22. l2. *Leigh* (9 ene. St. Helens). Rev. J. H. Stanning, curate in charge in 1873 said the *gh* was pron. as a guttural; places of the same name were in 1875 called (:lɛ'ith) in Ch., and (:láɪ) also written Lye in Ke.

*22. l3. *Leyland* (5 s. Preston) cs. pal. 1877 from Miss Farrington, with remarks by three other natives, 332, 337, and wn. by TH. 345.

*31. l4. *Lower Holker in Cartmel* (5 e. Ulverston) cs. pal. 1877 by TH. from dict. 558, 563, 596d.

21. m1. *Manchester* (1) wl. io. by Mrs. Linnaeus Banks, acquainted with the dialect from childhood; (2) note by JGG.; (3) nwl. io. by Rev. J. C. Casartelli, M.A., St. Bede's, Manchester College, for the environs.

22. m2. *Mellor* (2 nw. Blackburn) cs. pal. 1876 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mrs. Coulter, native, but long absent, and I felt that my appreciation was inaccurate, hence I have not used it.

21. m3. *Moston* (4 ne. Manchester) nwl. by Mr. G. Milner.

*31. n1. *Newton-in-Cartmel* (7 ene. Ulverston) note by Mr. J. Stockdale, writer of the translation of SS. chap. ii. for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, reproduced on p. 550.

*31. n2. *Newton-le-Willows* or *Newton-in-Makerfield* (4 e. St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. o1. *Oldham* (1) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see b1; (2) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. o2. *Ormskirk* (7 se. Southport) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. p1. *Patricroft* (4 w. Manchester) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. p2. *Penwortham* (:pen'wɔrdəm) (1 sw. Preston) wn. 1877 by TH. from Mr. Kirk, see Goosnargh, of which he was a native, though he had resided 60 years in Penwortham.

*23. p3. *Poulton-le-Fylde* (13 nw. Preston) cs. first by Mr. Bellows sent to LLB., not used, and second pal. 1876 by TH. with phrases, 354, 357.

*22. p4. *Prescot* (3 wsw. St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

23. p5. *Preston*, wn. by TH.

31. q. *Quernmoor* (3 ne. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

21. r1. *Royton* (2 nnw. Oldham) wn. by TH.

*21. r2. *Rochdale* and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. 322.

22. s1. *Sabden* (5 nw. Burnley) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*22. s2. *Samlesbury* (:sam'zɔbɪ) (4 ene. Preston) wl. io. by Mr. W. Harrison, F.S.A., Samlesbury Hall, representing the parishes of Blackburn, Preston, and Whalley, 346.

*22. s3. *Skelmersdale* (:skjɛm'ɛrzdɪl) (7 nnw. St. Helens) cs. pal. 1878 by TH. from natives, 332; wn. by TH. 342.

31. s4. *Skerton* (1 nw. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

*21. s5. *Stalybridge* (1 e. Ashton), half in La. and half in Ch. (which see s3) cs. pal. 1876 by TH. from Mr. J. Marsland, 317.

*31. t. *Ulverston* (:ɪs'n) (1) cs. io. by Mr. Pearson, native, obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood, but I was not able to interpret it satisfactorily; (2) wn. by TH. 627.

*22. w1. *Walton-le-dale*, or *Higher Walton* (2 se. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*22. w2. *Warrington* wn. by TH. 342.

*22. w3. *Westhoughton* (:x'ut'n) (5 wsw. Bolton), this represents the Bolton neighbourhood, cs. pal. 1876 with wn. by TH. 332, 343.

*22. w4. *Whalley* (3 s-by-w. Clitheroe) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see b1, and Mr. W. Harrison, 346.

*22. w5. *Wigan* (:wɪgɪn) and neighbourhood, (1) wn. by TH. 343; (2) wl. io. from Wigan to Ashton in Makerfield (4 s. Wigan), by Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Sandy Knowe, Wavertree (3 ese. Liverpool) 50 y., during which the dialect has much changed.

*22. w6. *Worsthorn* (2 e. Burnley) wn. by TH. 350.

*23. w7. *Wyersdale* (6 sse. Lancaster) dt. and wn. by TH. 358, 359.

20. Le.=Leicester, 19 places in D 29.

29. A. *Ansty* (3 nw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B1. *Barlestone* (10 w-by-n. Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Barwell* (:barel) (2 ne. Hinckley) wds. by Rev. R. Tittley, rect.

*29. B3. *Belgrave* (1 n.Leicester) nwl. and dt. by Miss Charlotte Ellis, who has lived near Leicester all her life, 472, 489.

*29. B4. *Birstall* (3 n.Leicester) wds. from Miss Allen, 489.

29. B5. *Blaby* (5 s-by-w.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. C. *Cottesbach* (:kotesbat) (10 se.Hinckley) wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rect. 489.

*29. E. *Enderby* (4 sw.Leicester) variants by Miss E. Hirst, of Whitelands, from the Waltham cs. 464, and wn by TH.

*29. G. *Glenfield* (3 nww.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. H. *Harby* (14 ne. Loughborough) wds. by Rev. M. O. Norman, rect.

29. I. *Ilston-on-the-Hill* (8 ese. Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. L1. *Leicester* (1) cs. in gl. with aq. by the late Mr. Geo. Findley, not used, see 464; (2) wn. by TH. from

Mr. Findley, 489; (3) letter from Mr. W. Napier Reeve, F.S.A., 35 y., saying he could not see in my wl. any word "of which the pron. in Leicester is different from rec. pron., I am," he added, "an Essex man. I have been in this town 35 years. I have been often struck with the few provincialisms among the people of this county compared with those of Essex"; (4) for town and neighbourhood a few notes from J. H. Chamberlain, Small Heath, Birmingham, having been 20 years there and 40 in Leicester.

*29. L2. *Loughborough* wn. in 1878-9 by TH. 489.

*29. M1. *Market Harborough* (14 se.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. M2. *Mount Sorrel* (6 n.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. N. *Normanton* (3 sse.Ashby-de-la-Zouche) from Miss Green of the rectory.

*29. S. *Syston* (5 nne.Leicester) full wl. pal. by AJE. from Miss M. A. Adcock, teacher at Whitelands, 489.

29. T. *Thurcaston* (4 nww.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. W. *Waltham* (16 ene.Loughborough, in the horn of Le.) cs. pal. by AJE. from Miss H. Bell, of Whitelands, see also E above, 464.

21. Li.=Lincolnshire, 55 places in D 18 and 20.

20. A1. *Aisthorpe* (6 nww.Lincoln), aq. by Rev. T. W. Bury, rect.

20. A2. *Alford* (10 se.Louth), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2 below.

20. A3. *Axholme, Isle of* (4 to 18 n.Gainsborough) lw. io. by Mr. Standing, of Working Men's College.

20. B1. *Barnoldby-le-Beck* (:baansbi) omitting *le Beck* (4 sw.Great Grimsby), full wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Morgan G. Watkins, M.A.

*20. B2. *Barrowby* (2 w.Grantham) wn. by TH. from a native then living at Newark, Nt. 299.

20. B3. *Beckingham* (11 nww.Grantham) aq. from the (anonymous) vicar.

*20. B4. *Billingborough* (13 e.Grantham, and 6 m. round), full wl. corrected vv. by AJE. from Mr. T. Blasson, surgeon, b. 1833, native and constant resident, 299.

20. B5. *Blyton* (3 nne.Gainsborough), aq. from Rev. J. S. Cockshall, vic.

20. B6. *Bracebridge* (2 s.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. C. Ellison, vic.

*20. B7. *Brigg or Glanford Brigg* (17 w.Great Grimsby) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. E. Peacock, F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, author of the *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, b. 1833, with a dt. pal. by AJE. from the wl. 312, 313; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby.

20. B8. *Brocklesby* (8 nww.Great Grimsby), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C1. *Caistor* (11 wsw.Gt. Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C2. *Coningsby* (:ku, nin'sbi) (10 nww.Boston) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Wright, rect.

20. C3. *Crowle* (14 n-by-w.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. F. W. White.

*20. E. *Eppworth* (8 nww.Gainsborough) cs. pal. by AJE., described, and why rejected, on p. 312, see w2.

20. F1. *Faldingworth* (10 ne.Lincoln) aq. by Rev. W. S. Mackean, pro. rect.

20. r2. *Fillingham* (9 se.Gainsborough) note from Rev. J. Jenkins, rect.

*20. r3. *Friskney* (3 sw-by-s.Wainfleet) nwl. with rules and ex. io. by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vic. 298.

20. r4. *Fulstow* (7 n.Louth) lw. by Rev. Alex. Johnson, vic.

20. g1. *Gainsborough*, aq. by Rev. W. J. Williams, vic.

20. g2. *Glanford Brigg*, see Brigg.

20. g3. *Grantham* (:gra'ntham) es. io. by Mr. Cockman, national schoolmaster, read to A.J.E. by Miss Cockman, of Whitelands, but as both were Londoners and she was uncertain on some points I was obliged to pass it by.

20. g4. *Great Coates* (2 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. g5. *Great Grimsby* note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. n1. *Halton Holegate* (6 nw.Wainfleet) dt. and many specimens and notes pal. in April, 1881, from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, 306 to 309.

20. n2. *Haxey* (6 nnw.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. J. Johnston, vic.

20. n3. *Healing* (3 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. n4. *Horbling* (13 e.Grantham) wl. by Mr. H. Smith, representing "the parts of Kesteven" in sw.Li. 299.

20. n5. *Horncastle* (17 e.Lincoln) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k1. *Keelby* (6 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k2. *Killingholme* (8nw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k3. *Kingerby* (15 e.Gainsborough) phr. from Rev. W. A. Cottee, vic.

20. l1. *Laceby* (3 sw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see Scartho.

*20. l2. *Lincoln*, see Spilsby for wn. by TH. 309.

*20. l3. *Louth* (1) Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style rendered in gl. by Mr. T. Wemyss Bogg, surgeon, then of that place, see Somerby below, and p. 297; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby, 309; (3) wl. by Mr. W. R. Emeris; (4) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. n1. *North Hykeham* (:áíkum) (4 ssw.Lincoln) wl. by Rev. F. T. Cusins (:kiúzinz), 9 y.

20. n2. *North Kelsey* (14 wsw.Great Grimsby) note from Rev. W. J. Chambers, vic.

20. s1. *Saxby* (10 nne.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. W. Markham, rect.

20. s2. *Scartho* (2 s.Great Grimsby) wl. and dt. io. by Mrs. Williams, of the rectory. In relation to the s. *hoose* line 5, Mrs. Williams informed me that (uus) was said at Killingholme, Uleebby, Thornton, but (a'us) at Brocklesby, Keelby, Great Coates, Stallingborough, Healing, Louth, Alford, Spilsby, Horncastle, Caistor, Great Grimsby, Laceby, Scartho, Waltham, which see in this list, thus completing line 5.

*20. s3. *Scotter* (8 ne.Gainsborough) wl. corrected vv. by A.J.E., written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, native and resident till 15, Principal of Whitelands Training College, to whom I am indebted for the great assistance rendered by its teachers and students, 313.

20. s4. *Scunthorpe* (15 nne.Gainsborough, in parish of Frodingham) full wl. by Mr. Bernard Dawson, C.E. Mr. Peacock (see Brigg), who lives 3 s.Frodingham, says it is full of miners, and that he should not trust any one's pron. unless he knew his birth. Hence I have thought Mr. Peacock's wl. p. 313, safer.

20. s5. *Skellingthorpe* (4 w.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. E. P. Armstrong, vic.

*20. s6. *Sleaford* (16 w.Boston) wn. by TH. 309.

20. s7. *Snitterby* (11 ene.Gainsborough) note from Rev. R. E. Warner, rect.

*20. s8. *Somerby* (22 e-by-n.Lincoln) representing the dialect from Horncastle (17 e.Lincoln) to Spilsby (27 e.Lincoln), here I received great assistance on 23 March, 1881, from Lord (then Mr.) Tennyson, detailed 302 to 306, who introduced me to Mrs. Douglas Arden, see n1.

*20. s9. *Spilsby* (8 ne.Wainfleet) (1) wn. by TH. from Rev. W. Jackson, 309; (2) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. s10. *Springthorpe* (4 e.Gainsborough) note from Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, rect.

20. s11. *Stallingborough* (4 nw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*18. s12. *Stamford* wn. by TH. from a man of 60, and again from a Rutland man who may not be trustworthy, 254.

20. t1. *Thoresway* (10 sw.Great

Grimsby) aq. from Rev. G. Maule, rect.

20. r2. *Thornton* (12 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. v1. *Uleeby* (10 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. v2. *Usselby* (18 e-by-n. Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. A. Bower, vic.

20. w1. *Waltham* (4 s-by-w. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. w2. *Winterton* (22 wnw. Great Grimsby) cs. pal. 1874 from dict. of Rev. J. J. Fowler, of Hatfield Hall, Durham, curate of Winterton in 1870; and this version was also read to me by a maid servant from Epworth, which see, 312.

22. Mi. = Middlesex, 7 places in D 17.

*17. a. *Ashford* (7 sw. Brentford) note by Rev. F. B. Dickinson, 235.

*17. b. *Bromley* (5 e. Charing Cross, London), representing e. London, wl. by JGG. 233.

*17. e. *Enfield* (5 e. Barnet), (1) note by Mr. Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A., White Lodge, 15 y., (2) note by Mr. J. H. Meyers, editor of *Enfield Observer*, (3) wn. io. from the chief mason, by LLB., 235.

*17. n1. *Hanwell* (2 nnw. Brentford) note from Miss E. Coleridge, of the rectory, 235.

*17. n2. *Harmondsworth* (7 w. Brentford) lw. from Mr. Lake, schoolmaster.

*17. l. *London* wn. in various parts of the metropolitan area at very various times, by TH. 231.

*17. s. *South Mymms* (3 nnw. Barnet) notes from Rev. P. F. Hamond, vic. 236.

*17. w. *Willesden* (5 nne. Brentford) letter from Rev. J. Crane Wharton, vic. to LLB., and note from LLB. in Meyer's *Enfield Observer*, 28 Sep. 1875, p. 235.

23. Mo. = Monmouthshire, 3 places in D 13.

13. c1. *Caerleon* or *Llangattock* (2 ne. Newport) aq. by Rev. H. Powell Edwards, vic.

*13. c2. *Chepstow* lw. io. with long note, through Dr. J. Yeats, 179.

*13. l. *Llanover* (12 w-by-s. Monmouth) cs. read to me by Lady Llanover

in the presence of LLB., and variants suggested by LLB. from his own observations and communications by Mr. Meredith, 179.

13. f. *Pontypool* (8 nnw. Newport) aq. by Rev. J. C. Llewellyn, vic.

24. Nf. = Norfolk, 51 places in D 19.

County, see *Norwich*.

*19. a. *Ashill* (:ashul) (12 n. Thetford) notes by TH. 262.

19. b1. *Bingham* (4 se. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. b2. *Brancaſter* (7 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. b3. *Burnham* (:baanim) *Westgate* (4 sw. Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. C. H. Everard, Eton Coll., 28 y., p. 264.

*19. b4. *Buxton* (9 n. Norwich) wn. by TH., who here had the misfortune to lose his note book containing the details of the pron. of numerous places visited in 1883, p. 278.

19. c. *Congham* (:koqgm) (6 ene. King's Lynn) nwl. by Rev. Canon Kersley, LL.D., rect.

19. d1. *Diss* (15 e-by-s. Thetford)

wn. by TH. in 1881, with example, 278, from a farm-labourer, native.

19. d2. *Ditchingham* (12 sse. Norwich) wl. and phr. from Rev. W. Skudamore, rect., assisted by Rev. H. Frere, native of s.Nf.

*19. d3. *Downham Market* (10 s. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. e. *East Dereham* (15 w-by-n. Norwich) (1) cs. io. with aq. by Mr. G. A. Carthew, of Millfield in 1873; (2) wn. by TH. 273.

19. f. *Fakenham* (8 s. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. g1. *Gaywood* (2 e. King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. g2. *Great Dunham* (14 ese. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. g3. *Great Yarmouth* (:jaameth) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. J. Raven,

D.D., then of the school house, with notes made vv. from him by A.JE. in 1879, this represents s.Nf. and nw.Sf. gen. 278.

19. n1. *Hardingham* (13 w-by-s. Norwich) wn. by TH.

*19. n2. *Heacham* (:itrem) (12 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. n3. *Hempton* (9 s.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. n4. *Hemsby* (6 n.Great Yarmouth) wl. io. by Rev. H. W. Harden, vic.

*19. n5. *Holme-next-Sea* (13 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. n6. *Hunstanton St. Edmunds*, close to Old Hunstanton (12 nne.King's Lynn), wn. by TH. 262.

19. r. *Ingham* (14 se.Cromer) wl. by Rev. G. Sharley.

*19. k1. *Kimberley* (10 wsw.Norwich) cs. pal. in 1873 from dict. of G. Ashby, native, but absent 33 years, and then gardener to LLB. 273.

*19. k2. *King's Lynn*, wn. by TH. 262.

*19. k3. *Kirby Bedon* (3 se.Norwich) lw. pal. in 1868 by A.JE. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, of the Vicarage, his first attempt at writing dialect from dict. with additions from her sister, Mrs. Luscombe, and Mr. Keith, 275; cs. io. with aq. by the same.

*19. m1. *Marham* (8 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. from J. W. Little, gardener, 45, then at Wisbech, Cb. 262.

*19. m2. *Mattishall* (:mæts'l) (11 wnw. Norwich) cs. pal. by A.JE. from Miss Buckle, of Whitelands, 273.

*19. m3. *Middleton* (3 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 261, 262.

*19. n1. *Narborough* (9 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262, and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a labourer, aged 70, p. 263.

19. n2. *North Elmham* (13 sse. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. n3. *North Tuddenham* (11 nw. Norwich) wn. by TH. 279.

*19. n4. *North Walsham* (:walsam) (13 nne.Norwich) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. Baker, J.P. 272.

*19. n5. *Norwich* (1) wn. by TH. from a native living in Db., also 279; (2) street cries pal. by A.JE. in 1867, p. 277; (3) wl. io. by Rev. G. P. Buck;

(4) various ex. pal. from dict. by A.JE. from Dr. Lomb, 276, Mrs. Luscombe, 277, Anonymous passenger, 277, and from letter of Rev. T. Burningham, 277.

*19. o1. *Old Hunstanton* (13 nne. Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. o2. *Ovington* (:øviqtøn) (12 nne. Thetford) wl. io. representing 3 n. and 3 ne. of Watton (11 ne.Thetford) by Rev. C. J. Evans, rect. 12 y., native of Norwich.

19. r. *Ringstead* (13 w-by-s.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. Everard Kitton.

*19. s1. *Snettisham* (:snetsum) (10 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. s2. *Stanhoe* (:sta'ne) (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea) full wl. pal. in 1877 by A.JE., dt. pal. by A.JE. 1879, both from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, 50 y., in 1877, but then rect. of Farnham (10 wsw.Guildford, Sr.), with many notes and illustrations given me in two long visits, with an examination of Forby, 264 to 272; (2) wn. by TH. 272.

19. s3. *Stoke Ferry* (13 sse.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

19. s4. *Stow* (9 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. s5. *Swaffham* (13 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. r1. *Terrington St. Clements* (4 w.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. r2. *Thetford* wn. by TH. 279.

19. r3. *Tivetshall* (:titsel) (17 ene. Thetford) name noted by TH.

19. r4. *Tuttington* (12 n.Norwich) wl. io. by Rev. J. Gostle.

19. w1. *Walsingham* (:wa'lziqgjam) (3 s.Wells-next-Sea) name noted by TH.

*19. w2. *Warham* (2 se.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Rev. C. T. Digby, 264.

19. w3. *Watton* (11 nne.Thetford) wn. by TH.

19. w4. *Wells-next-Sea*, wn. by TH.

*19. w5. *Wiggenhall St. German's* (4 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. w6. *Wilton* (9 se.Cromer) notes by Rev. F. Procter, vic.

*19. w7. *Wolferton* (6 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. w8. *Wymondham* (:windam) (9 sw.Norwich) wn. by TH. 278.

25. Np.=Northamptonshire, 52 places in D 6, 16, 18.

- *18. a1. *Ailesworth* (5 w. Peterborough) in Castor parish, wn. by TH. from a labourer b. 1808, p. 254.
- *6. a2. *Ashby St. Legers* (3 n. Daventry) wn. by TH. from a native shepherd b. 1845, and another b. 1805, p. 120.
- *6. b1. *Badby* (2½ ssw. Daventry) wn. by TH. from persons b. 1807, and about 1831, p. 120.
16. b2. *Blisworth* (4 ssw. Northampton) note by TH.
- *16. b3. *Brixworth* (6 n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.
- *6. b4. *Byfield* (8 nne. Banbury) (1) from Rev. F. H. Curgenvven, rect. 4 or 5 y.; (2) wn. by TH. especially from a native farm waggoner, b. 1803, p. 120.
- *18. c1. *Castor* (4½ w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.
- *16. c2. *Clay Coton* (6 w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.
- *6. d1. *Daventry* (12 w-by-n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.
16. d2. *Denton* (6 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH.
16. d3. *Duston* (2 w. Northampton) from Rev. Peake Banton.
- *16. e1. *East Haddon* (7 nw. Northampton) cs. wds. and phr. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, railway porter, 213 to 216.
- *18. e2. *Eye* (3 ne. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a carpenter, b. 1822, and a widow, a cottager, b. 1829, p. 254.
6. f. *Farthinghoe* (:fãrdhĩn)oo) (5 e-by-s. Banbury) wn. by TH.
- *16. g. *Great Houghton* (:ã'ut'n) (3 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.
16. h1. *Hackleton* (5 se. Northampton) wn. by TH.
- *16. h2. *Hannington* (5 nw. Wellingborough) wl. dt. io. with lw. and aq. by Miss Downes, of the rectory, 216.
- *16. h3. *Hardingstone* (2 sse. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.
16. h4. *Hargrave* (9 ene. Wellingborough) dt. and notes from Rev. R. S. Baker, rect.
- *16. h5. *Harrington* (:ãrinten) (5 w. Kettering) wl. and dt. io. by Hon. and Rev. H. F. Tollemache, rect., and Miss Tollemache, 217.
- *6. h6. *Helmdon* (9 e-by-n. Banbury) wn. by TH., who says the dialect is similar to that of Towcester (which see), 120.
16. i1. *Irechester*, formerly (:ãã'tjĩstã), now (:ãã'tjĩstã) (2 se. Wellingborough) wn. by TH.
- *16. i2. *Islip* (:ã'ĩslĩp) (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.
6. l1. *Long Buckley* (5 ne. Daventry) wn. by TH.
- *16. l2. *Lower Benefield* (:bẽnĩfĩld) (14 nnw. Wellingborough) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. E. M. Moore, rect., and Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster, and the dt. afterwards pal. by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Wykes and various wn. from the same, 218, 219.
- *16. l3. *Lowick* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.
- *16. n1. *Nether Heyford* (6 w-by-s. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.
- *16. n2. *Northampton* (1) wn. by TH., and (2) notes from Miss Eva Chapman, of Whitelands, who knew the town speech only, 219.
- *16. o. *Oundle* (12 ne. Kettering) (1) notes from Mr. J. Cunningham, Tansor Lodge, and Mr. H. St. John Reade, school house, (2) wn. by TH. 219.
- *18. r1. *Peakirk* (5 n. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.
- *18. r2. *Peterborough* notes of town pron. from Miss E. Furness, of Whitelands, and wn. by TH. 254.
- *18. r. *Rockingham* (8 n. Kettering) wn. by TH. from a native, b. 1814, and others, 254.
- *16. s1. *Sibbertoft* (3 n-by-w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.
6. s2. *Silverstone* (12 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH.
6. s3. *Slapton* (11 sw. Northampton) dt. io. by Rev. Philip Lockton, rect.
- *16. s4. *Stanion* (6 nne. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.
- *16. s5. *Sudborough* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.
- *6. s6. *Syersham* (11 e. Banbury) wn. by TH. 120.
18. r1. *Thornhaugh* (8 w-by-n. Peterborough) dt. io. from Rev. J. Jenkyns, rect.
- *16. r2. *Thrapston* (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.
- *6. r3. *Towcester* (8 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.
18. v. *Ufford* (7 nw. Peterborough) note by Rev. T. Paley, rect.
- *18. w1. *Wakerley* (14 w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a farm labourer, b. 1806, p. 254.
- *6. w2. *Watford* (5 nne. Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

- *6. w3. *Weedon* (4 se.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.
 *16. w4. *Welford* (12 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. 219.
 *16. w5. *Wellingborough* wn. by TH. 219.
 *18. w6. *Werrington* (3 nnw.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.
 16. w7. *West Haddon* (7 ne. Daventry) from Rev. G. L. W. Fauquier, vic.
 6. w8. *Wood Burcote* (10 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH.
 *6. w9. *Woodford* (7 ssw.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.
 *16. x. *Yelvertoft* (:jæ'letət) (8 nne. Daventry) wn. by TH. in 1886 from a farm waggoner, b. 1812, p. 219.

26. Nb. = Northumberland, 25 places in D 32.

32. a1. *Acklington* (:ee'klintən) (7 sse.Alnwick) notes from Mr. Middleton H. David, Hauxley Cottage.
 *32. a2. *Alnwick* (1) dt. io. from Rev. James Blythe; (2) dt. io. from Mr. R. Middlemas, solr., 654, 656, 668; (3) Alnwick vowels, by Mr. G. Thompson, 668.
 32. a3. *Ancroft* (a'nkra'ft) (4 s. Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. io. and aq. from Rev. J. Henderson, 30 y.
 *32. b1. *Backworth* (5 ne.Newcastle) wl. by Mr. G. B. Foster, see Pitmen's speech, 674.
 *32. b2. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, cs. pal. by A.JE., from Mr. G. M. Gunn, 645, 652.
 *32. b3. *Birtley* (9 nnw.Hexham, spelled Birkley in the parish registers) wl. io. with notes by Rev. G. Rome Hall, 674.
 32. d. *Doddington* (13 s.Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. and aq. from Mr. J. F. Rea, 17 y.
 *32. e. *Embleton* (6 ne.Alnwick) (1) dt. io. for the agricultural population by Rev. M. Creighton, vic.; (2) dt. io. for the fishing population up to Bamborough (14 n.Alnwick) by Rev. C. R. Green, both on 655, 656, 668.
 *32. f. *Falstone* (19 nw.Hexham), note in 1878 by JGG. 644.
 *32. h1. *Haltwhistle* (14 w.Hexham) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. W. Howchin, 654, 656, 664, No. 9.
 *32. h2. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick) dt. io. and notes by Dr. F. T. Richardson, 654, 656, 664, No. 16.
 *32. h3. *Hexham* dt. pal. in 1879 by A.JE. from Messrs. J. Wright and Dobson, 654, 656, 663, Nos. 7 and 8.
 *32. k. *Knaresdale* (17 sw.Hexham) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, 563, 602, No. 22.
 32. m. *Morpeth* wn. by A.JE.
 *32. n1. *Newcastle-on-Tyne* cs. pal. 1879 by A.JE. from writing of Mr. W. H. Dawson, and reading of Mr. T. Mitcheson, and Mr. T. Barkas, and conversations with J. Bryson and R. Young, miners, and Mrs. Ferschl, 645, 650, and dt. pal. 1879 by A.JE. from Mr. W. Lyall, 654, 656, No. 12.
 *32. n2. *North Shields* dt. pal. 1879, by A.JE. from Mr. J. S. Edington, Symes Walk, 654, 656, No. 13.
 *32. r. *Rothbury* (11 sw.Alnwick) (1) cs. io. with aq. from Rev. Dr. Ainger, rect., written in 1873 from old men of 86 and 72, but it could not be properly interpreted even vv.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. C. H. Cadogan, Brenchburn Priory, Morpeth; (3) wn. February, 1879, by A.JE. from J. Ramsey, procured by Dr. Ainger, 678; (4) dt. pal. by A.JE. from Mr. A. Scott, 654, No. 14.
 *32. s1. *Snitter* (12 wsw.Alnwick) pal. by A.JE. from Mr. T. Allen, of Whittingham, 654, No. 15, serving also for w3.
 *32. s2. *Stamfordham* (:sta'nortən) (12 nw.Newcastle) dt. io. by Rev. J. F. Bigge, vic. 654, No. 10.
 *32. t. *Tyne to Wansbeck Rivers*, that is, the coal-fields, for the Pitmen's speech by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (:həmz'ha'f), 40 y., revised by Rev. J. Taylor and Mr. W. B. Forster, see b1, p. 674.
 *32. w1. *Warkworth* (6 se.Alnwick) dt. and wl. both pal. by A.JE. from Mr. T. D. Ridley, 654, No. 17; *Ned White, a yarn*, pal. by A.JE. from the same, 666; cwl. 678.
 *32. w2. *Whalton* (5 sw.Morpeth) dt. io. by Rev. J. Walker, rect., from notes by Mr. R. Bewick, 654, No. 11.
 *32. w3. *Whittingham* (7 w.Alnwick) (1) note by Rev. R. W. Goodenough, vic.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. W. Dixon, 655, No. 19, see also s1.
 32. w4. *Woodhorn* (6 ene.Morpeth) notes by Rev. E. N. Mangin, vic.
 *32. w5. *Wooler* (1) dt. io. by Mr. M. T. Culley, 655, No. 22; (2) dt. pal. by A.JE. from Mr. T. Kirkup, 655, No. 22, and 669, No. 22.

27. Nt. = Nottinghamshire, 25 places, all in D 27.

27. b1. *Beckingham* (2 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. D. Hooke, vic.

*27. b2. *Bingham* (7 e. Nottingham) (1) lw. by Mrs. Miles of the Rectory; (2) part of a cs. pal. in 1873 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. Francis Miles, son of the rect. 449; (3) part of a cs. pal. in 1879 by TH. from a native, 449; (4) wn. by TH. 450.

27. b3. *Blyth* (6 nne. Worksop) aq. from Rev. Ch. Gray, vic.

*27. b4. *Bulwell* (4 nnw. Nottingham) dt. pal. from a retired labourer by TH. 448.

*27. e1. *East Retford* (7 ene. Worksop) (1) dt. pal. by TH. from the lock-keeper at the Chesterfield Canal, 76, who had been there 44 years, and his father 56, p. 449; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) a note from Rev. A. J. Ebsworth, vic.

27. e2. *Eastwood* (8 nw. Nottingham) wn. by TH.

27. f. *Finningley* (7 ese. Doncaster, Yo.) wl. and aq. from Rev. G. H. Woodhouse, rect.

27. g. *Gringley* (5 wnw. Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. G. H. Scott, vic.

27. k. *Kirkby-in-Ashfield* (4 sw. Mansfield) wn. by TH.

27. l. *Laxton* (10 nnw. Newark) wl. by Rev. H. A. Martin, 19 y.

*27. m1. *Mansfield* dt. and wn. pal. 1879 by TH. 448.

*27. m2. *Mansfield Woodhouse* (2 n.

Mansfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 448.

27. m3. *Mattersey* (9 ne. Worksop) wds. by Rev. J. M. Lewes.

27. m4. *Misson* (9 nw. Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. I. N. Baldwin, vic.

27. m5. *Misterton* (5 nnw. Gainsborough, L.) aq. from Rev. G. Swift, vic.

*27. n1. *Newark* dt. pal. by TH. from a butcher, native of Caunton (5 nw. Newark), 449, and wn. by TH.

27. n2. *North Carlton* (4 n. Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Foxley, rect.

27. n3. *North Wheatley* (12 nne. Worksop) from Rev. T. C. B. Chamberlain, vic.

*27. n4. *Nottingham* dt. pal. by TH. from a native of Widmerspool (7 sse. Nottingham), and wn. by TH. 450.

27. r1. *Ratcliffe* (4 e. Nottingham) full wl. io. by Rev. J. Cullen, vic. 4 y.

27. r2. *Rempstone* (9 s. Nottingham) wl. by Rev. G. Pope.

*27. s1. *Southwell* (5 w. Newark) wn. by TH. 450.

27. s2. *Sutton* (7 ne. Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Farmer, vic.

27. w1. *Walesby* (8 se. Worksop) lw. by Rev. R. Pocklington, vic.

*27. w2. *Worksop* dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from the porter at the canal wharf, 56, a native of Blyth, see n3, which he left at 9, and wn. from the same, 449.

28. Ox. = Oxfordshire, 22 places in D 5, 6, and 7.

5. a. *Alvescot* (:ælshwt) (6 sw. Witney) wl. by Rev. F. C. Marshall, rect. 2 y., assisted by an unnamed lady who had been there all her life.

*6. b1. *Banbury* (1) cs. by Mr. T. Beesley, 116; (2) lw. by his uncle, 118; (3) wn. by TH. 118; (4) dt. io. by Mrs. P. Bradshaw, jun., Wykham Mills. All (1, 2, 4) refer to about 6 m. round Banbury, encroaching on Ox., Bu., Wa., which belong to D 7.

*7. b2. *Blackthorn* (11 ne. Oxford) wd. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. Angelina Parker, 122, 127.

5. c1. *Charlbury* (:tʃɑːlberi) (12 nw. Oxford) from Rev. C. F. West, vic.

5. c2. *Chastleton* (14 sw. Banbury) dt. io. from Miss Whitmore Jones, Chastleton House.

*5. d. *Ducklington* (:dak'lt'n) (1 s. Witney) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. W. D. Macray, rect. pal. vv. by TH., who noted other words from J. Brain, then 81, since deceased, 93.

7. e. *Ensham* or *Eynsham* (:eɪnsem) (5 nw. Oxford) specimens from dict. in glossic from Rev. W. W. Skeat, sent me in MS. but afterwards printed in Mrs. Parker's Oxford Glossary, and wn. by TH.

*7. f1. *Freeland* (4 ene. Witney) wn. by TH. 127.

*7. f2. *Fringford* (:friŋkfɔːrd) (15 nne. Oxford) wl. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Coker, 123.

*7. g. *Greys* (2 nw. Henley-on-Thames) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev.

N. Pinder, rect. 17 y., representing 10 m. round, 122.

*7. n1. *Handborough* (7 nw.Oxford) cs. and dt. glossic with many letters and explanations by Mrs. Angelina Parker, author of the Oxford Glossary, with wn. by TH. from Mrs. Parker, 123-128.

*7. n2. *Henley-on-Thames* (22 se. Oxford) from vicar, 235, where it is wrongly attributed to *Bu*.

*7. n3. *Holton* (5 e.Oxford) lw. glossic by Mrs. A. Parker, 127.

*7. i. *Islip* (5 n-by-e.Oxford) dt. io. by Mr. J. W. F. Walker, obtained by Mrs. Parker and wn. by TH. 127.

*5. l1. *Leafeld* (4 nw.Witney) wn. from old natives by TH. 93.

5. l2. *Lew* (3 sw.Witney) wds. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. A. Parker.

5. m. *Milton* (8 nw.Witney) wn. from a working man by TH.

7. o. *Oxford City*, dt. io. by Mr. W. H. Allnutt, procured by Mrs. A. Parker, with notes by TH.

*7. s1. *Sonning* (4 ssw.Henley-on-Thames) dt. io. by Miss Slade, school-mistress, obtained by Mrs. A. Parker, 122.

7. s2. *Stonesfield* (5 nne.Witney) note by TH.

7. t. *Tiddington* (8 e.Oxford) note by TH.

*5. w. *Witney*, dt. by Mrs. A. Parker and TH. with wn. from natives by TH. 92, 93.

29. Ru. = Rutland, 5 places in D 18.

*18. c. *Cottesmore* (4 nne.Oakham) wl. and dt. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, to whom I was introduced by Miss Kemm (see Oakham), 255, 256.

18. e. *Empingham* (6 e.Oakham) from Rev. Lovick Cooper, rect.

*18. o. *Oakham* (:uu:kem) town, full wl. io. partly pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Kemm, native, a teacher

at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, 256.

*18. s. *Stretton* (7 ne.Oakham) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. Edward Bradley ("Cuthbert Bede") rect. 256.

18. v. *Uppingham* dt. and notes from Mr. H. Chandler, West Bank.

18. w. *Whitwell* (4 e.Oakham) wl. io. from Rev. J. Breechen, rect.

30. Sh. = Shropshire, 39 places in D 13, 14, 25, 28, 29.

14. n1. *Baschurch* (7 nw.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

29. n2. *Bolas Magna* (6 n.Wellington) wn. by TH.

14. n3. *Bridgenorth*, notes by TH.

*14. c1. *Church Pulverbach* (7 sw. Shrewsbury) (1) cs. in gl. by Miss G. Jackson, author of the *Shropshire Wordbook*; (2) specimen pal. by A.J.E. from her dict.; (3) lw. with pron. pal. from her dict.; (4) wds. taken from TH.'s account of the pron. prefixed to her *Wordbook*, and revised by her, with examples, 183 to 187.

14. c2. *Clee Hills* (7 ne.Ludlow) wn. by TH. with note on the verbal plural in *-en*.

13. c3. *Clun* (22 ssw.Shrewsbury) notes by TH.

*29. c4. *Coalbrookdale* (4 s.Wellington) dt. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, native, 472.

14. c5. *Corve Dale*, from Wenlock Edge to Ludlow, wn. by TH.

14. c6. *Craven Arms* (7 nw.Ludlow) wn. by TH.

29. c7. *Cruddington* (4 n-by-w. Wellington) wn. TH.

*29. n1. *Edgmond* (6 ne.Wellington, 1½ w.Newport) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, and wn. 471, 476, 478.

*28. n2. *Ellesmere* (7 ne.Oswestry) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a native b. 1809, p. 452, 455.

14. f. *Ford* (5 w.Shrewsbury) nwl. from Miss Hawkins, Dinthill.

28. n1. *Hadnall* (4 n-by-e.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

*29. n2. *Hodnet* (:odnit) (10 nnw. Wellington) wn. by TH. 478.

*28. n3. *Hordley* (13 nnw.Shrewsbury) wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, rect. 455.

*29. i. *Ironbridge*, wn. by TH. 483.

14. l1. *Llanymynech* (15 wnw.S.) aq. on CB. by Rev. N. E. Price, rect.

14. l2. *Longville* (11 w.Bridgenorth) wn. by TH.

*28. l3. *Loppington* (:lopitan) (10 n. Shrewsbury) wl. by Rev. J. W. Davis, M.A., 25 y. p. 455.

- *13. l4. *Ludlow* wn. by TH. 180.
 *29. m1. *Madeley* (5 sse. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.
 *29. m2. *Market Drayton* (:drit'n) (17 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 476, 478.
 14. m3. *Much Wenlock* (10 se. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. in 1880.
 *29. n1. *Newport* (8 ne. Wellington) (1) full wl. io. by Mrs. Burne, Loyn-ton Hall, Edgmond, whose daughter assisted Miss Jackson in her Sh. Word-book, and (2) wn. by TH. 478.
 25. n2. *Norton-in-Hales* (20 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.
 14. o. *Oswestry* (:hodjestri) according to Rev. W. Walsham How, of Whit-tington, Sh.; wn. by TH.
 25. p1. *Pipegate* (6 ne. Market Drayton, see m2, just on ne. horn of Sh.) wn. by TH.
 28. p2. *Prees* (13 n-by-e. Shrewsbury) wl. by Ven. Archdeacon Allen, vic., 14 y.
 *29. s1. *Shifnal* (7 ese. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.
 14. s2. *Shrewsbury* wn. by TH.
 *28 u. *Upton Magna* (4 e. Shrews-bury) wn. by TH. 455.
 *29. w1. *Wellington* (:wel'itən) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a working man, 472, and wn. 483.
 *28. w2. *Welsh Frankton* (3 sw. Ellesmere) wn. by TH. 455.
 *28. w3. *Wem* (10 n-by-e. Shrews-bury) wn. by TH. 455.
 28. w4. *Whitchurch* (18 nne. Shrews-bury) wn. by TH.
 14. w5. *Whittington* (2 ne. Oswestry) full wl. by Rev. W. Walsham How, 26 y.
 *28. w6. *Whixall* (13 n. Shrewsbury) dt. io. with explanations from Rev. J. Evans, vic., a very old resident, but a Welshman, not a native, 452.
 *28. y. *Yorton* (7 n. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

31. Sm. = Somersetshire, 26 places in D 4 and 10.

- *3. a. *Axe-Yarty* district by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, s.Sm. 87-89.
 4. b1. *Bath*, cs. gl. by Mr. C. Galbraith, written on the spot by a long resident, but when I, who had resided in Bath two years, attempted to pal. it, I was so often brought to a standstill, that I was only able to use it as a lw.
 10. b2. *Bishop's Hull* (1 w-by-s. Taunton) cs. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Rev. Wadham Williams, author of a glossary, but as he was a native of e.Sm. I have preferred Mr. Elworthy's version, see Wellington.
 3. b3. *Burtle Turf Moor* (8 ne. Bridgewater to centre of Burtle Heath on the river Brue) wds. and phr. by Miss Westmacott, sent through Mr. F. H. Dickinson, of King's Weston, Somerton (4 ene. Langport).
 *4. c1. *Castle Cary* (:kæri) (10 se. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. Ross, resident above 80 y. 89.
 4. c2. *Chard* (12 sse. Taunton) wl. by the late Rev. Henry Thompson, vic.
 4. c3. *Chedzoy* (:tjædʒi) (2 e. Bridge-water) from Mr. G. Winter, resident 50 y.
 *4. c4. *Combe Down* (:kuum) (2 s. Bath) wl. by Mr. C. Daubeny, The Brow, 89.
 4. c5. *Compton Dando* (6 w. Bath) note by Rev. C. M. Christie, 4 months' resident.
 4. c6. *Creekerne* (11 s-by-e. Lang-port) dt. io. with notes by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman (d. 1880), author of "Rustic Sketches."
 4. c7. *Crocombe* (3 e. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. James Rossiter.
 4. e. *East Harptree* (12 sw. Bath), from Rev. C. H. Nutt, 25 y.
 4. h. *High Ham* (3 n. Langport) from Rev. C. D. Crossman, 2½ y.
 *4. l. *Langport* (:la'npɔ:t) words collected in 1877 from a native servant by Mrs. Dawes, then of Newton House, Surbiton, 89.
 *4. m1. *Merriot* (9 s-by-e. Langport) cs. and wl. by Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, 87, 88.
 10. m2. *Milverton* (6 w. Taunton) cs. io. by Mr. H. Randolph, surgeon, resident 42 y., procured for me by Dr. Prior (see Corsham, Wl.). I have found it quite impossible to determine the pron. from this writing.
 *4. m3. *Montacute* (:mɔ:n'akju:t) (8 sse. Langport) pal. in 1880 by A.J.E. from Messrs. G. Mitchell and S. Price, 84-86.
 4. n1. *Nailsea* (:na'izi) (16 w-by-n. Bath) from Rev. J. Johnson, rect. 3½ y.
 4. n2. *North Wootton* (2 se. Wells) from Rev. Owen B. Tyler, vic. 30 y.
 4. s1. *Sutton Mallet* (4 e. Bridge-water) wds. by Rev. A. Yarranton, representing 7 e. Bridgewater, obtained by Miss Westmacott, and sent through

Mr. F. H. Dickinson, see Burtle Turf Moor.

4. s2. *Swanswick* (:swanzwɪk), the spelling Swainswick is a literary revival (2 ne.Bath), note by Rev. John Earle, rect. 20 y.

10. r. *Taunton* cs. io. by Mr. Cecil Smith. I have found it impossible to determine the pron. from the spelling.

*4. w1. *Wedmore* (7 wnw.Wells) phr. procured from a friend by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, 89.

*10. w2. *Wellington* (6 wsw.Taunton) (1) pal. by A.J.E. in 1874, 1875, and 1885, from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, cs. 148; (2) specimens 151 to 153,

cwl. 153; (3) from Mr. E.'s West Somerset Grammar, version of Ruth, chap. i. 698, No. 5.

West Somerset, see *Wellington*.

4. w3. *Wincanton* (15 se.Wells) pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Roberts, native, who had known the dialect 30 y., but was then living at Newbiggin, Cu. On account of Mr. R.'s long residence in the North, this carefully pal. wl. was found untrustworthy, and could not be used.

*1. w4. *Warle* (2 ne.Weston-super-Mare) nwl. with long explanatory letter from Rev. W. F. Rose, vic., referring to the whole of nw.Sm. 90.

32. St.=Staffordshire, 51 places in D 25, 26, 29.

*26. a1. *Alstonefield* (:a'rsfild) (9 e.Leek) including Narrowdale (2 n. Alstonefield) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

25. a2. *Alton* (:ɔwt'n) (10 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

25. a3. *Audley* (:e'idli) (6 nw. Stoke-upon-Trent) wl. io. and aq. from Mr. G. Till, 11 y., but notwithstanding explanations I was too uncertain of the meaning of his symbols to use it.

*29. b1. *Barton-under-Needwood* (5 sw.Burton-on-Trent) lw. by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst, 482, and pron. of a carol, 477.

25. b2. *Betley* (6 wnw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wl. and dt. io. from Miss E. Tollet, from observation made, 1820-50.

25. b3. *Biddulph* (:bid'l) (9 n.Stoke) wds. from Rev. F. Elmes.

25. b4. *Blythe Marsh* (7 se.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. b5. *Bradley* (4 ssw.Stafford) wl. and phrases io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vic.

*25. b6. *Burslem* (3 n.Stoke) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of one native, and corrections by another, and wn. 414, 422.

*29. b7. *Burton-on-Trent* dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 471, and wn. and exs. 477, cwl. 482.

*29. c1. *Cannock Chase* (e. of Cannock Town c2, and w. of Lichfield) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 463, and wn. 480.

*29. c2. *Cannock Town* (9 sse.Stafford) wn. on a market day by TH. 480.

25. c3. *Cheadle* (:tɪd'l) (9 ese. Stoke) wl. by Rev. R. Watt, rect., and wn. by TH.

*29. c4. *Codsall* (5 nw. Wolverhampton) just on b. of Sh., wl. by Mr. E. Viles, of Codsall Wood, 484, and dt. pal. by TH. from a man of 69.

*29. d1. *Darlaston* (3 wsw.Walsall) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 472, and also the anecdote of the Wake Beef pal. by TH. 478, and wn. 461, 484.

25. d 2. *Denston* (12 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

*29. e1. *Eccleshall* (7 nw.Stafford) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. 471, 476, 478.

29. e2. *Enville* (10 ssw.Wolverhampton) wl. by Mr. E. Bennett, of the Schoolhouse, which is close by the b. of Sh. Wa. and St.

*26. f1. *Flash* (7 nne.Leek) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438, additional ex. 441, and wn. 444.

*25. f2. *Froghall* (9 e.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. h1. *Hanbury* (6 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. and part of a dt. pal. by TH. 482.

*29. h2. *Haughton* (4 sw.Stafford) wn. by TH. in 1882 from Powell, b. 1798, and his wife, the latter a native, and says there is no difference between the speech of Bradley and that of Haughton, 477, 480.

*29. h3. *Hopwas* (:ɒp'wɜ) (2 wnw. Tamworth) wn. by TH. 482.

*25. l1. *Leek*, dt. and wn. by TH. 411, 422.

*25. l2. *Leek Frith* (4 n.Leek) wn. by TH. 422.

29. l3. *Leigh* (11 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

*29. l4. *Lichfield*, wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 472, 482.

*25. l5. *Longport* (2 n.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH. 422.

25. l6. *Longton* (3 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.
25. m. *Madeley* (4 sww.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.
29. n. *Newborough* (7 w-by-n. Burton-on-Trent) nwl. by Rev. J. P. Wright, vic. 8 months.
25. o. *Oakmoor* (12 e.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.
- *26. r. *Rocester* (15 ese.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422, 444.
25. s1. *Shelton* (1 n.Stoke) full wl. by Dr. J. B. Davis, F.R.S., F.S.A., materially assisted by Mr. Levi Stanway, Registry St., Stoke, and wn. by TH.
29. s2. *Stafford*, wn. by TH.
25. s3. *Stoke-upon-Trent* and neighbouring villages, wn. by TH.
26. s4. *Stoke Gutter Farm*, about 5 ne.Leek, on the way from Leek to Flash and past the Roaches, wn. by TH. shewing the division between D 25 and D 26.
29. s5. *Stone* (:stuun) (7 s.Stoke) wn. by TH.
29. s6. *Stretton* (8 ssw.Stafford) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vic.
- *29. t1. *Tamworth*, wn. by TH. 482.
- *25. r2. *Tunstall* (4 nnw.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.
- *29. r3. *Tutbury* (4 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. by TH. 482.
29. u1. *Upper (or Over) Arley* (13 sw.Dudley, Wo.) note by Rev. C. J. Wilding, vic., who said there was only one St. man resident there.
29. u2. *Uttoxeter* (12 ne.Stafford) wn. by TH.
- *29. w1. *Walsall* wn. by TH. 461, 478, 484.
- *29. w2. *Wednesbury* (3 sw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.
- *29. w3. *West Bromwich* (5 ssw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.
- *29. w4. *Willenhall* (3 e.Wolverhampton) wn. by TH. 461, 484.
25. w5. *Wolstanton* (:unsiten) (1 nne.Newcastle-under-Lyne) nwl. by Mr. W. Field, Brighton Road School, Croydon.
- *29. w6. *Wolverhampton*, wn. by TH. 461, 484.
- *29. w7. *Wootton* (1½ ssw.Eccleshall) wn. by TH. 478.
- *29. x. *Yoxall* (6 nne.Lichfield) wn. by TH. from a native, 482.

33. Sf. = Suffolk, 12 places in D 19.

19. b1. *Boyton* (13 e-by-n.Ipswich) note from Rev. G. C. Hoste, rect.
19. b2. *Bradwell* (:bræd'l) (7 nnw.Lowestoft) note by Rev. J. Walker, rect., "13 years resident, but does not profess acquaintance with the dialect."
- *19. f. *Framlingham* (13 nne.Ipswich) es. pal. in 1880 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough, 279.
- *19. g1. *Great Bealings* (4 ne.Ipswich) wn. by TH. 281.
19. g2. *Great Finborough* (:finbrə) (10 se.Bury St. Edmunds) full wl. io. by Rev. W. V. Kitching, 16 y.
19. h. *Hemingstone* (6 n.Ipswich) lw. by Rev. T. Brown, rect. 54 y., who says: "what between railroads and education the Sf. dialect is fast dying out."
- *19. o. *Orford* (:ʌɹfəd) (4 sw.Aldborough) including Sudbourne (1 n.Orford) and neighbourhood, dt. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, 285.
- *19. p. *Pakenham* (5 ene.Bury St. Edmunds), pal. in 1873 and 1886 by A.J.E. from dict. of Rev. C. W. Jones, vic. native, 287.
- *19. s1. *Southwold* (11 ssw.Lowestoft), full wl. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallett, teacher at Whitelands, native, 281.
19. s2. *Stowmarket* (13 ese.Bury St. Edmunds) lw. partly in gl. by Mr. E. S. Bewley, 15 y.
19. u. *Ufford* (10 ne.Ipswich) wl. io. by Mr. F. C. Brooke, 60 y.
19. x. *Yaxley* (20 ene.Bury St. Edmunds) notes in 1873 from Rev. H. Sewell, vic.

34. Sr. = Surrey, 13 places in D 5, 8.

- *5. c1. *Charlwood*, called (:tjələd) by old people, (6 ssw.Reigate) wl. and ex. io. by Rev. T. Burningham, then rect., more than 50 y., 109.
- *8. c2. *Chertsey* (18 w.Croydon) from Rev. R. Marshall Martin, 3 y., 130.
- *8. c3. *Chobham* (8 nnw.Guildford) note by Rev. J. J. Jewan, vic., more than 50 y., 130.
- *8. c4. *Croydon* wl. by Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, Duppas Hill, 11 y., 130.
5. e1. *Elstead* (:ælstəd) (7 sw.

Guildford) from Rev. I. R. Charlesworth, rect.

5. n2. *Ewhurst* (8 se. Guildford) notes by Rev. J. Mount Barlow, rect.

5. g1. *Godalming* (4 sw. Guildford) note from Mr. J. W. Sharpe, Charterhouse.

5. g2. *Godstone* (9 sse. Croydon) wl. by Rev. G. T. Hoare.

5. n. *Haslemere* (12 sw. Guildford) note by Mr. T. J. Ellis.

*8. l. *Leatherhead* (7 nw. Reigate) note in a letter from Mr. Alfred W. T. Martel to LLB. 130.

*5. o. *Ockley* (8 sw. Reigate) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, of Whitelands, and of Miss M. A. Firth, 109 (where the name is misprinted 'Forth'), and lw. and notes from Rev. T. P. du Sautoy, Oxford, rect., 12 y.

*5. s. *Stoke* (1 n. Guildford) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Jane Slyfield, of Whitelands, 109.

*5. w. *Weald of Surrey* s. of Reigate; the Weald extends into Kent and Sussex, nwl. and dt. io. by Dr. Clair Jas. Grece, Redhill, Reigate, 109.

35. Ss. = Sussex, 19 places in D 5, 8.

9. a. *Ashburnham* (:eshbʊrəm) (10 nne. Eastbourne) note from Rev. J. R. Munn, vic. 50 y.

9. b1. *Battle* (6 nnw. Hastings), wn. by TH.

5. b2. *Bolney* (:booni) (12 n-by-w. Brighton) lw. and notes by Mr. Alfred Huth.

9. b3. *Brighton*, wn. by TH.

5. c1. *Compton* (8 nw. Chichester) note from Rev. Harry Peckham, 25 y.

*8. c2. *Cuckfield* (9 se. Horsham) (1) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss A. Sayers, of Whitelands, 134; (2) wd. by Archd. Fearon, native.

5. e1. *Eartham* (:ærthəm) (5 ne. Chichester) note by Rev. E. Kelly, vic.

*9. e2. *Eastbourne*, wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Francis, of Whitelands, 134.

9. e3. *Etchingham* (18 ne. Eastbourne) note by Rev. W. H. Eley, rect.

5. k. *Kirdford* (:kaafu'd), a nearly extinct pron. (10 w-by-s. Horsham), wl. by Miss Cole, of the rectory.

9. l1. *Leasam* or *Leesham* (8 ne. Hastings) wl. from Miss Bessie Curteis.

9. l2. *Lewes*, name noted by TH.

*9. m. *Markly* (8 wnw. Battle) dt. with aq. and notes by Miss Anne M. Darby, 133.

9. p. *Pasingworth* (:pæs'nweth), wrongly spelled on p. 131, l. 4, but rightly l. 14 (14 nnw. Eastbourne and 4 e. Uckfield), notes from Mr. Louis Huth, Pasingworth Hawkhurst.

*9. s. *Selveston* (8 nw. Eastbourne) dt. io. by Rev. W. D. Parish, author of the Sussex Glossary, 133.

5. t. *Twineham* (10 nnw. Brighton) from Rev. W. Molyneux, rect.

9. w1. *Weald of Sussex* (n. Brighton) lw. from Mr. Somers Clarke, jun., Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W., 30 y.

5. w2. *West Wittering* (6 sw. Chichester) from Rev. W. D. Underwood, vic.

*5. w3. *Wisborough Green* (8 wsw. Horsham) lw. from Rev. W. A. Bartlett, vic. 109.

36. Wa. = Warwickshire, 23 places in D 6, 29.

*29. a1. *Allesley Gate* (4 w. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. a2. *Atherstone* (12 n. Coventry) cs. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. R. S. Knight, 14 y., 464, and wn. by TH. 487.

6. b1. *Bearley* (4 nnw. Stratford-on-Avon) wn. by TH. shewing southern speech.

*29. b2. *Bedworth* (5 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. b3. *Birmingham*, often (:brom-ɛdʒəm, brʊ- brɔ-) full wl. by Mr. Samuel Timmins, 488.

*29. b4. *Brandon* (5 ese. Coventry)

wn. by TH. from a native then at Leamington, 487.

*29. b5. *Bulkington* (6 ne. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native and his mother, in whose lifetime the pron. had changed, 487.

*6. b6. *Butler's Marston* (:maas'n) and 6 miles round (10 s-by-e. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. E. Miller, 115.

*6. c1. *Claverdon* (5 w. Warwick) wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 114.

*29. c2. *Coventry* refined town speech, wn. by TH. 487.

*29. c3. *Curdworth* (:kardwɜθ) (7 ne. Birmingham) wl. and dt. io. by

Mr. J. Montague Dormer, Dunton Hall, Minworth (:mineth), 28 y. 488.

*29. v. *Elmdon* (7 ese. Birmingham) wl. by Mr. F. J. Mylins, of the rectory, 488.

*6. κ1. *Kineton* (:kjintən) by working men, (:kaint'n) by the middle class (9 s-by-e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 115.

6. κ2. *Knowle* (10 nw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. J. Howe, vic. 40 y.

*29. λ. *Leamington* (2 e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 488.

*29. n. *Nuneaton* (9 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*6. p1. *Pillerton Priors* (7½ se. Stratford-on-Avon), now united with Pillerton Hersee to form one parish, wn. by TH. from a native labourer, b. 1819, 115.

*29. p2. *Polesworth* (14 n-by-w. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1879 from

elderly resident natives and habitual dialect speakers, 487.

29. s1. *Saltley* (2 ene. Birmingham), a mere suburb, wn. by TH. from people in the street.

29. s2. *Sherborne* (3 ssw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. W. Grice, shewing practically rec. pron.

*6. s3. *Stratford-on-Avon* (1) cs in so. by Mr. G. H. Tomline, schoolmaster, made for LLB. who passed it on to AJE., who did not succeed in palaeotyping it; (2) wn. by TH. in 1880, 115.

*6. τ. *Tysoe* (11 se. Stratford-on-Avon) (1) wl. by Mrs. Francis, of the vicarage, completed from dict. by TH.; (2) wn. by TH. in 1886 principally from a man b. 1802, and his wife b. 1809, p. 115.

*29. w. *Warwick* wn. by TH., the general effect on the ear being quite Midland, 488.

37. We. = Westmoreland, 10 places, all in D 31.

31. a. *Appleby* cs. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Holme, native of Orton (9 ssw. Appleby), several years in Mr. Richardson's school at Appleby, representing m. We. This careful work, over which Mr. Holme and I spent much time in 1873, has been entirely superseded by JGG.'s work.

*31. c1. *Casterton* (10 se. Kendal, and 2 ne. Kirkby Lonsdale) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from a native, 558, 563, 597*d*, No. 6.

*31. c2. *Crosby Ravensworth* (6 sw. Appleby) pal. 1875 by JGG. from dictation of Mr. J. Dover, 560, 563, 599*d*, No. 13, 633.

*31. κ1. *Kendal* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Brown, 559, 563, No. 9; (2) wl. in glossic by Mr. J. Brown himself.

*31. κ2. *Kirkby Stephen* (9 sse. Appleby) pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict.

of Mr. Joseph Steel, 560, 563, 599, 633, No. 12.

*31. λ. *Long Sleddale* (6 n. Kendal) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from dict. of Rev. T. Clarke, 559, 563.

*31. μ. *Milburn* (5 nnw. Appleby) cs. and wl. pal. by JGG. while residing there two years with the assistance of natives, 561, 563, 599, 633.

*31. o. *Orton* (11 ne. Kendal) (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of J. Dover, 560, 563; (2) wl. io. by Rev. C. Holme, superseded like a. by the work of JGG.

31. s. *Shap* (9 wsw. Appleby) note by JGG. that Mr. Hindson, of Kirkby Lonsdale, b. 1800, remembered hearing (kh, kw) in use near this place in 1818.

*31. τ. *Temple Sowerby* (6 nnw. Appleby) cs. pal. by JGG., and finally revised 1877 from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, 561, 563, 599, 633.

38. Wl. = Wiltshire, 18 places, all in D 4.

4. a. *Aldbourne* (:aabURN) (8 se. Swindon) wl. io. from Mr. T. H. Chandler, jun., who spent the greater part of his youth there.

4. c1. *Calne* (6 n. Devizes) (1) nwl. Rev. G. H. Wayte, Bonehill, Tamworth, 30 y.; (2) nwl. Rev. W. Wayte, 30 y., his brother.

*4. c2. *Chippenham* (8 nnw. Devizes)

from JGG., *Hornet and Beetle*, 51, cwl. 54.

*4. c3. *Christian Malford* (10 nnw. Devizes) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Arthur Law, cs. 44; phrases, 48; cwl. 49.

4. c4. *Corsham* (7 n. Trowbridge) from Dr. R. C. A. Prior, Halse House, Taunton, cs. pal. from dict. by

AJE. Dr. Prior introduced AJE. to Rev. A. Law, whose cs., p. 44, superseded this one.

4. c5. *Corsley* (8 ssw.Trowbridge) from Mrs. G. M. E. Campbell, Corsley House, 50 y., wl. io. and notes.

4. d. *Damerham* (:dæm·væsm) (9 s. Wilton) wl. io. by Rev. W. Owen, vic., assisted by his schoolmaster, a native.

4. e. *East Knoyle* (13 w.Wilton) wl. from Rev. R. N. Milford, rect., 12 y.

4. k. *Kemble* (4 sw.Cirencester, Gl.) wn. by TH.

4. m. *Maddington* (:mæd'nton mæænt'n) (7 n.Wilton) wl. io. from Rev. Canon Bennett, vic. of Shrewton (1 n.Maddington).

4. o. *Orcheston* (:os'n) *St. George* (10 sse.Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. Gorges Paulin Lowther, rect., from 70 y. to 80 y., then 85.

4. p. *Purton* (5 nw.Swindon) (1) wl. io. for 4 m. round by Major Purton, Purton House; (2) wn. by TH.

4. s1. *Salisbury* (3 w-by-s.Wilton) to *Warminster* (16 nw.Wilton) (1) wl. io. 1877 by Mr. T. H. Chandler, Rowde; (2) dt. 1879 written from his dict. by his son.

4. s2. *Seend* (4 w.Devizes) wl. io. by Rev. A. B. Thynne, vic.

4. s3. *Sopworth* (:zæp'vth) (18 n. Trowbridge) wl. io. for 4 m. west and 10 m. east of Swindon, by Rev. Joseph Buckley, rect.

*4. t. *Tilshead* (8 sse.Devizes) from Miss L. H. Johnson, *Hocktying* and dt. 58, cwl. 59.

4. w. *Wilton* wl. and dt. by Mr. Edward Slow, coachbuilder, and constant resident.

4. y. *Yatesbury* (:jætsburi) (7 nne. Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. A. C. Smith, rect., 50 y.

39. Wo. = Worcestershire, 25 places in D 6, 13, 29.

*6. a. *Abberley* (8 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. n1. *Bengeworth* (a suburb of Evesham on the opposite side of the Avon) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. n2. *Bewdley* (:biæ'udli) 3 sw.Kidderminster) wn. in 1880-1-2 by TH. especially from a nonagenarian, about 94, full of vivacity, reading and sewing without spectacles, when young a maker and seller of ling brooms, 113.

6. n3. *Birt's Morton* (6 s.Great Malvern) wn. from a native by TH.

*29. c. *Cradley* (:kreedli) (9 ne. Kidderminster) wn. from native hop-pickers by TH. 485.

*6. n1. *Droitwich* (6 ne-by-n. Worcester) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. n2. *Dudley* (on an island of Wo. locally in St.) cs. by Mr. R. Woof, procured by LLB. 463, 464.

6. n3. *Dunley* (5 ssw.Kidderminster, between Abberley and Stourport) wn. by TH.

13. n1. *Eastham* (10 sw.Kidderminster) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. H. Browne, rect., see Tenbury.

*6. n2. *Eldersfield* (9 s. Great Malvern) wn. in 1880 by TH. from a native b. 1801, left at 13 and resided since in m.Wo. 113.

6. n3. *Evesham*, dt. and wn. by TH. from a market gardener.

*6. c1. *Great Malvern*, wn. by TH. 113.

*6. c2. *Great Witley* (9 sw. Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. n1. *Hagley* (6 ene.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 485.

*6. n2. *Hanbury* (6 wsw.Redditch) dt. and wn. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, of Whitelands, native, 112, 113.

6. n3. *Hartlebury* (3 sse.Kidderminster) dt. with aq. from the Misses Haviland, of the rectory, and wn. by TH.

6. k. *Kidderminster*, wn. by TH. from natives.

*6. m. *Malvern Wells and Link*, wn. by TH. see Gt. Malvern, 113.

*6. s1. *Saleway* (8 sw.Redditch) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native, 113.

*29. s2. *Selly Oak* (14 ene.Kidderminster) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, of Whitelands, a native, and wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, 485.

*29. s3. *Stourbridge* (6 ne.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who found the speech quite Mid. 485.

6. s4. *Stourport* (4 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who said the speech had "the southern ring."

13. t. *Tenbury* (:tæmburi) (16 wsw. Kidderminster) dt. io. by Miss Sweet (now Mrs. Chamberlain), author of "A Glossary of West Worcestershire Words with Glossic Notes by TH.,"

and wn. by TH. in 1880 from Miss Sweet and others. [This was accidentally omitted in giving the account of D 13.]

6. v. *Upton Snodbury* (6 e. Worcester) note per Rev. J. Wright, vic.

*6. w. *Worcester* (1) dt. pal. by TH. 112; (2) wn. by TH. 113.

40. Yo. = Yorkshire, 93 places in D 24, 30, 31.

24. a. *Armitage Bridge* (:éumtidj) (2 s. Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. Thomas Brooke, 45 y.

24. b1. *Barnborough* (6 w. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Wilmot W. Ware, rect.

*24. b2. *Barnsley* dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 403.

24. b3. *Birkenshaw* (7 sw. Leeds) wn. by TH.

*31. b4. *Black Burton* or *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, Yo. (32 nw. Keighley) on b. of La., on the Greta, Seward's Dialogue translated by Mr. J. Powley, and pal. by JGG. 608 to 616, also cwl. 619.

*24. b5. *Bradford* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, notes 390; (2) words from Preston's Poems, 391; (3) wn. by TH.

24. b6. *Brotherton* (3 nne. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Haslam, vic.

*30. b7. *Burton Constable* (7 ssw. Hornsea) wn. by TH. incidentally mentioned on the middle of p. 501.

Burton-in-Lonsdale, see *Black Burton*.

*24. c1. *Calverley* (6 wnw. Leeds) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 390.

24. c2. *Campsall* (6 nww. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Edwin Castle, vic.

*31. c3. *Cautley*, a hamlet in the township of Sedberg (41 nw. Keighley), on b. of We., (1) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG., used as variants to the cs. for Sedberg, notes No. 8, p. 559, 598; (2) portion of a wl. pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Law, then 60, a regular old dalesman, in whose house JGG. lived some weeks, left incomplete.

*31. c4. *Chapel-le-dale* (29 nw. Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. 619.

31. c5. *Clapham* (16 n. Clitheroe, La.), extracts from a cs. pal. 1887 by TH. from W. Metcalfe, native.

Dacre, see *Lower Niddersdale*, p. 500.

*30. d1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (15 se. Middlesborough) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527.

*31. d2. *Dent town* (27 n-by-w. Clitheroe, La., 12 ese. Kendal, We.) cs. and wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, cs. 558, 563, 598, cwl. 630.

*24. d3. *Dewsbury* (6 w. Wakefield) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367, 404; (2) cs. io. by Mr. M. Ridgway, 37 y., sent to LLB., who communicated it to AJE., with CCR.'s notes on his orthography.

*24. d4. *Doncaster*, wl. pal. by AJE. 1877 and 1882 from Dr. John Sykes, who kindly came to town twice for the purpose, 406.

30. d5. *Drax* (5 nw. Goole) 2 pc. from Rev. S. H. Hooper, vic.

30. e1. *East Haddlesey* (11 wnw. Goole) pc. and letter from Rev. J. N. Worfold, rect.

*24. e2. *East Hardwick* (2 s. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Eel, vic.; alluded to, 405d.

*30. e3. *East Holderness*, se. Yo. dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Stead, 522.

*24. e4. *Elland* (3 sse. Halifax) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 384.

*31. e1. *Giggleswick* ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle, 19 n. Burnley, La.) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

*24. e2. *Golcar* (2 w. Huddersfield), see 377d.

*30. e3. *Goole* and *Marshland* dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, 522.

30. h1. *Hackness* (5 w. Scarborough) wl. io. from Rev. Thomas Cheese.

*24. h2. *Halifax* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 384; (2) Parable of the Prodigal Son translated by CCR. in Part. IV. pp. 1400 to 1405; (3) wn. by TH.; (4) cwl. from J. Crabtree, 383.

30. h3. *Hatfield* (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ne. Doncaster) pc. and letter from Rev. G. Haydon, vic.

Hawes, see *Upper Wensleydale*, v6, below.

24. h4. *Haworth* (3 sw. Keighley) wn. by TH.

*30. h5. *Holderness* district, forming se. Yo. from Hull to Spurnhead, and n. to Bridlington: (1) cs. pal. by AJE. from Rev. Henry Ward, 501, 502, 518, who also gave me a version of *Launce and Speed*, not used. The assistance of Rev. H. Ward was obtained by the late Rev. J. R. Green, the historian;

(2) dt. for East Holderness, see above 53; (3) cwl. made from wl. furnished by Messrs. R. Stead, F. Ross, and T. Holderness, the three authors of the Holderness Glossary, 532; (4) TH.'s visits to examine (thr- dhr-) and absence of article, 501.

*24. n6. *Holmfirth* (6 s.Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. A. Beardsell, 40 y., 380.

*30. n7. *Hornsea*, TH.'s examination of (thr- dhr-), 501*b, c*.

*31. n8. *Horton-in-Ribblesdale* (19 n-by-e.Clitheroe, La., 21 ene.Lancaster, between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills) wl. pal. by JGG. from a native, 619.

*31. n9. *Howgill* (8 ene.Kendal, We.) wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from Mr. Best, a native, who called on A.J.E. also, 630.

*24. n10. *Huddersfield* (:u dezfil, :udhezfil) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 378; (2) wl. by Messrs. Dowse & Tomlinson, and Miss Mercy Hibbard, 380.

*30. n11. *Hull* (1) wn. by TH. 501*b, c*; (2) wl. io. by Rev. Canon Simmons, Dalton Holme (:dAAf'n :oom, :ul).

*31. n12. *Hurst* (8 w.Richmond) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

31. r. *Ilkley* (5 nne.Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. from dictation of Mrs. Best, not used.

*24. k. *Keighley* (:kiikjhl, :kiithli) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 386; (2) fragments of a cs. pal. in 1887 from a native by TH. 385; (3) wl. pal. by JGG. from Mrs. Foster, 387; (4) wl. io. by Mr. Septimus Brigg, for town of Keighley and up the valley of the Aire as far as Bradley (6 nnw.Keighley), misprinted Bradford, 387.

*31. l1. *Laithkirk* (20 nw.Richmond) cs. and wl. io. by Rev. W. Robinson Bell, vic., interpreted by a cwl. by JGG. pal. from dict., this applies to the nw. horn of Yo. 624.

*24. l2. *Leeds* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367; notes, 396; (2) refined town form, 396; (3) full wl. written in glossic, 397.

*30. l3. *Leven* (6 wsw.Hornsea) wn. by TH. described p. 501 *b, c*.

*30. l4. *Lofthouses*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 500.

*30. l5. *Lower Nidderdale*, containing Lofthouses (16 nw.Harrogate), Ramsgill (14 nw.H.), Pateley Bridge (11 nw.H.), Greenhow Hill (10 nw.H.),

Dacre (8 nw.H.), cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516.

*24. m1. *Manningham*, suburb of Bradford, wn. by TH. shewing use of (*u*) 365, which Dr. Wright thinks to be a mistake, 389.

*30. m2. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n) (9 w.Beverley) (1) cs. io. by Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, who also gave specimens; (2) another cs. by Mr. H. Dove; (3) glossic transcription by CCR.; (4) cs. and wl. pal. 1877 by A.J.E. from reading of Rev. J. Jackson Wray, cs. 501, 502, 517; spec. 497, 498; cwl. 529.

*24. m3. *Marsden* (7 sw.Huddersfield) (1) nwl. by the curate (unnamed), assisted by Mr. R. Bamford, School Terrace; (2) printed specimen sent by Mr. Adshead, then of Pendleton, La.; (3) dt. and wn. by TH. 379, 380.

Marshland, see *Goole* at g3.

*31. m4. *Middlesmoor* (14 w-by-n. Ripon) cs. written in gl. by CCR., a portion given under Upper Nidderdale, 544.

*30. m5. *Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 513 (repeated 557, 563), and full wl. also written in gl. by CCR. 523.

*30. m6. *Moors, The*, meaning Whitby, Malton, Pickering (7 n-by-e. Malton), or the east part of North Riding, dt. io. by Rev. J. Thornton, vic. of Aston Abbot, Aylesbury, 519.

Muker, see *Upper Swaledale*, v5, below.

*30. n1. *New Malton* cs. written in gl. by CCR. considered a subdistrict of his Mid Yo., see above m5, 499 last line, 500, 502, 516.

North Craven, see above, *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, n4; *Chapel-le-dale*, c4; *Horton-in-Ribblesdale*, n8.

*30. n2. *North East Coast*, district defined, p. 500, No. 8, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 517.

*30. n3. *North Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, No. 3, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, notes 515; this is for the ordinary rural speech; CCR. gave also a cs. in refined rural form.

31. n4. *North of Richmond*, refined phase, cs. written in gl. by CCR., apparently as a reminiscence of the pron. of an individual mentioned in CCR.'s Leeds Glossary, p. xiii; being a refined form, it is omitted here, as was the refined form in n3 above. The peasant speech of which this was a refinement was probably the same as that of Laithkirk above, l1. It is

made remarkable by the frequent use of (ə) as (æt net tə bi rəq əv sə'ikən ə pənt əz dhis) ought not to be wrong of=on such a point as this, (ləə'in s'trɪt ət wɛl lɪgθ etəp' ə)t' grəə'und floos bɪv)t' uus dɔər ɪz gəə'ud səəndə kəst dæ'ʌn ət kɔ:nər ə vɔ:n ləən) lying stretched at whole length atop of the ground close by the house door in his good Sunday coat at corner of yon lane.

*24. o. *Oset* (4 w. Wakefield) wn. by TH 365.

Pateley Bridge, see *Lower Nidderdale*.

30. p. *Pocklington* (12 e-by-s. York) (1) wl. io. by Miss Lucy Singleton, Great Givendale House; (2) full wl. io. by Dr. T. Wilson, more than 60 y.

Rams Gill, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 15 above.

*31. r1. *Richmond* wl. io. by Mr. George Bell, noticed p. 544a.

30. r2. *Ripon to Thirsk* (taking parts of CCR.'s Mid and North Mid Yo., above m5 and n3), wl. io. by Mrs. Lloyd, Hazelcroft, Ripley (7 s. Ripon).

24. r3. *Ripponden* (5 sw. Halifax) wn. by TH. from two shepherds.

24. r4. *Rossington* (4 se. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. J. W. Scarlett, rect.

*24. r5. *Rotherham*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 404.

24. r6. *Roundhay* (3 ne. Leeds) nwl. by Mr. F. M. Lupton, 27 y. from birth.

*24. s1. *Saddleworth* wl. io. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 380.

*31. s2. *Sedberg* (31 w. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. 559, 563, 598.

30. s3. *Selby* (10 nw. Goole) pc. from Rev. F. W. Harper, vic.

*24. s4. *Sheffield* (1) cs. so. by Prof. Parkes, procured through JAHM. and friends, 367, 405; (2) notes on vowels, 405.

30. s5. *Skeffing* (4 se. Patrington, near Spurn Head) wl. io. from Rev. H. Maister, vic., all his life.

*30. s6. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (16 wnw. Whitby) dt. io. with long notes by Mr. I. Wilkinson, read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (3 sse. Skelton), 519, 521.

*31. s7. *Skipton* (8 nw. Keighley) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts, 544; (2) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. 548.

*24. s8. *Slaitwaite* (4 sw. Huddersfield), see 377, var. i.

*30. s9. *Snaitth* (6 w-by-s. Goole) (1)

wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Norman, 533; (2) pc. from Rev. C. E. Stores, vic.

*30. s10. *South Ainsty*, defined 499 No. 2, cs. written in gl. by Mr. R. Stead and pal. by AJE. 499, 502, 514 No. 2.

*30. s11. *South Cleveland* district defined 500, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516 No. 7, the n. Cleveland has been spoiled dialectally by the iron works.

24. s12. *South Owsram* (1½ se. Halifax) wn. by TH. has only (u) as noted, 365.

*30. s13. *Sutton* (3 nne. Hull) dt. io. by Mr. E. French, then of the lead works, 167 Church St., Hull, see Ch. r. 522.

*30. s14. *Swine* (5 nne. Hull) wn. by TH. from a native of Hull, who had resided 20 or 30 years at Swine, alluded to, 501 b, c.

24. r1. *Thornton* (5 n. Halifax) wn. by TH.

24. r2. *Tickhill* (7 s. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Charles Bury, vic.

*31. v1. *Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*24. v2. *Upper Cumberworth* (6 sse. Huddersfield) dt. and wn. pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. 380.

*31. v3. *Upper Mining Dales*, i.e. Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. v4. *Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. v5. *Upper Swaledale* or *Muker* (16 w-by-s. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from many natives 557 (where it is called *Upper Swaledale*), 563, 595 (where it is called *Muker*), extracts 544, and cwl. also by JGG. 619; JGG. likewise gave a translation of *Launce and Speed*, which was transcribed into his own gl. by CCR. and re-rendered by JGG. 1878, but as the example is a bad one it is not given.

*31. v6. *Upper Wensleydale* or *Hawes* (20 wsw. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, 557, 563, 596, all No. 3 under *Hawes*.

30. w1. *Waghen* or *Wawne* (4 se. Beverley) wl. io. by Rev. G. Wilkinson, 35 y.

*24. w2. *Wakefield* wn. by TH. incorporated with a cwl. deduced from Mr. W. S. Banks's printed *List of Words*, 401.

*30. w3. *Washburn River* region, lying between the Wharfe and the

Nidd, remarkable for use of (th) for def. art., cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516, all No. 6.

*30. w4. *Whitby* (1) dt. and wl. both io. by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, druggist, author of the *Whitby Glossary*, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527; (2) dt. io. for this included in the Moors, by Rev. J. Thornton, 519, 521*d*.

*24. w5. *Windhill* (3 n. Bradford)

dt. pal. by AJE. from Dr. J. Wright, native, 389.

York Ainsty, see *South Ainsty* above s10.

30. x. *York City* refined speech, used by tradespeople and best class of inhabitants of rural market towns; cs. gl. by CCR. and Mr. Stead, but omitted as not being genuine dialect, see remarks on Leeds refined form, 396.

41. Ma. = Isle of Man, 3 places, all in D 23, Var. ii.

*23. κ1. *Kirk Christ Lezayre* (2 w. Ramsey) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, and wn. 361, 363.

*23. κ2. *Kirk Christ Rushen* (4 w. Castletown) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 361, 363.

23. κ3. *Kirk Patrick* (2 s. Peel) wn. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. E. Corphey, b. 1855, native, wife of informant for Kirk Christ Lezayre.

*23. ρ. *Peel* dt. and wn. in 1881 by TH. from natives, 361, 363.

Wales.

36 places in D 2, 3, 13, 14, 28, or in no district.

Observe "aqCB." means "Answers to Questions respecting the Celtic Border." 0 means, not considered in this book, because the peasants do not habitually converse in English.

43. BR. = BRECONSHIRE.

4 places in D 13.

13. β1. *Brecon*, aqCB. from Rev. D. Griffith, vic.

*13. β2. *Breconshire*, eastern or English-speaking part, with w. He. wl. by Mr. R. Stead, see Folkestone, Ke. 178.

13. β3. *Builth* (13 n. Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. A. J. Coore, vic.

13. c. *Crickhowel* (12 ese. Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. B. Somerset, rect.

45. CM. = CARMARTHEN.

1 place in no district.

0. c. *Carmarthen* cs. and wl. of Welsh-English of 1830 by the late Mr. W. Spurrell, author of a Welsh-English Grammar and Dictionary.

47. DN. = DENBIGHSHIRE.

4 places, 3 in D 28, 1 in no district.

28. c. *Chirk* (9 ssw. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. T. H. Simpson, vic.

*28. h. *Holt* (5 ne. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. H. Wray, vic., note from Mr. E. French (see Sutton, Yo.), and wn. by TH. 458.

0. r. *Ruabon* (5 sw. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. M. Edwards, vic.

*28. w. *Wrexham* aqCB. by Rev. D. Howell, vic., and wn. by TH. 458.

48. FL. = FLINT.

8 places, 5 in D 28, 3 in no district.

28. β1. *Bettisfield* (6 sw. Bangor, detached) wn. by TH. from a native, 456.

*28. β2. *Bretton* (3 sw. Chester, main) wn. by TH. 458.

0. f. *Flint*, aqCB. from Rev. E. Jenkins, vic.

*28. η1. *Hammer* (5 wsw. Bangor, detached) wn. 456, and dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 452, and dt. io. by Mr. T. Bateman, of Arowry, a hamlet in Hammer, and letter from Rev. M. H. Lee.

*28. η2. *Hawarden* (6 ese. Flint, main), aqCB. from Rev. S. Gladstone, rect., dt. io. from Mr. Spencer, schoolmaster, and wn. by TH. 458.

28. η3. *Hope* (5 se. Mold, main) aqCB. by Rev. J. Rowlands, vic.

0. m. *Mold* (6 s. Flint) aqCB. by Rev. Rowland Ellis, vic.

0. n. *Northop* (3 s. Flint, main) aqCB. by Rev. T. Williams, vic.

49. GM. = GLAMORGANSHIRE.

3 places, 1 in D 3, 2 in no district.

*3. g. *Goverland*, dt. io. and note from Rev. J. D. Davies, 13*b*, 35.

0. l. *Llantrissant* (10 nw. Cardiff) aqCB. from Rev. J. Powell Jones, vic.

0. m. *Merthyr Tydwi*, aqCB. from Rev. John Griffith, rect.

51. MG. = MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

9 places, all in D 14.

14. B1. *Berriew* (3 nw. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. Joseph Baines, vic.

14. B2. *Buttington* (2 ne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. J. Lewis, vic., and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis.

14. F. *Forden* (3 n. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. J. E. Vise, vic.

14. G. *Gwilsfield* (2 n. Welshpool) aqCB. and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis, vic.

14. K. *Kerry* (2 ese. Newtown) aqCB. from Rev. W. Morgan, vic.

14. L. *Llandrinio* (8 nne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. E. B. Smith, rect.

*14. M. *Montgomery*, aqCB. and letter containing much information on the CB. from Rev. F. W. Parker, rect. 14b, 183c.

14. S. *Snead* (5 se. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. G. O. Pardoe, rect.

14. W. *Welshpool*, aqCB. from Rev. J. S. Hill, vic.

52. PM. = PEMBROKESHIRE.

4 places all in D 2.

*2. R. *Rhôs and Daugleddy Hundreds*, the two sw. peninsulas of Pm. (1) Rev. J. Tombs, rect. of Burton (3 n. Pembroke) sent me a dt. 32, printed lecture and notes; (2) Mr. F. T. Elworthy sent notes, 34; (3) notes from Mr. E. L. Jones, master of Brooklands School, Sale, Manchester, native of Tenby, 34; (4) dt. from dict. by Mr. W. Spurrell, 32, with specimens of Narberth Speech, 34; (5) notes from Ven. Archdeacon Edmondson, of Warren, 34.

53. RD. = RADNORSHIRE.

3 places in D 13.

*13. B. *Boughrood* (18 sw. Presteign, at the extreme s. of the county) aqCB. from Ven. H. de Winton, Arch. of Brecon and vic. 179.

13. L. *Llanddewi Ystradenny* (11 wsw. Knighton) aqCB. from Rev. L. A. Smith, vic.

13. N. *New Radnor* (7 sw. Presteign) aqCB. from Rev. J. Gillam, rect.

Scotland.

39 places in D 33 to D 42.

54. AB. = ABERDEENSHIRE.

3 places in D 39.

*39. A. *Ab.* generally (1) numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726; (2) sentences from the same, 777.

*39. B. *Buchan* district, (1) Ruth, chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from dict. 698, No. 3; (2) nwl. by Dr. Findlater, 779; (3) words selected from J. Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*, 779.

*39. C. *Cromár* district, MS. phonetic account by the late Mr. Samuel Innes, died about 1866, given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge in 1872, partly read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, native of Tarland, in Cromár, servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, and fresh from Tarland, who knew Mr. Innes by name; (1) his account of the pron. 766 to 768; (2) his examples, *The Meeting*, 769; *Yule-tide*, 770; *The Fight*, 773; Notes, 775.

56. AY. = AYRSHIRE.

6 places in D 35 and 36.

*35. A. *Ayr*, Ruth, chap. i. pal. by

Dr. Murray in his DSS. p. 240, with cwl. from it, 698 No. 2, 742.

*36. C. *Coylton* (6 ese. Ayr) (1) cwl. io. representing the district of Kyle, 742; (2) dt. io. with notes pal. by AJE. 731, both by Rev. Neil Livingstone, Free Church, Manse. This might be put to K2.

*35. K1. *Kilmarnock*, phonetic transcription of Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* by Messrs. Thomas Lang (then of Kilmarnock), Carstairs Douglas, R. Giffen, and others, pal. with notes by AJE. 731-741. This might be put to K2.

*35 and 36. K2. *Kyle*, (1) W. Simson's words (printed) 742; (2) a word from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

*36. N. *New Cumnock* (15 ese. Ayr.), Burns's song of *Duncan Gray*, written 1847 by me in my extended phonotypic alphabet of that year, from the dict. of John Lowe, and pal. from the original, 748.

*35. O. *Ochiltree* (:oo'kh'ltri) (11 e. Ayr) nwl. by Mr. D. Patrick, 1877, then in Edinburgh, but knowing the dialect "all his life," 28 y., 742.

57. BA. = BANFFSHIRE.

1 place in D 39.

*39. k. *Keith*, by Rev. Walter Gregor, native, see 683, No. 6, (1) cs. written io. and pal. by Dr. Murray, 684, 695; (2) cwl. pal. from Mr. Gregor's dictation by A.J.E. 779 to 785; (3) notes and phrases dictated at the same time as (2), 777 to 779.

58. BW. = BERWICKSHIRE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. c. *Chirnside* (9 wnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed) by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce (15 w. Wigton, dt. and nwl. in io. pal. by A.J.E. from indications, both 726.

60. CS. = CAITHNESS.

1 place in D 40.

*40. w. *Wick* (1) cs. pal. 1874 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. A. Meiklejohn and Revs. J. Sinclair and R. Macbeth, 683, No. 7, 684, 696; (2) wd. from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

64. DF. = DUMFRIESSHIRE.

1 place in D 36.

*36. t. *Tynron* (14 nw. Dumfries) notes and lw. in 1868 by Mr. James Shaw, 749.

65. ED. = EDINBURGHSHIRE OR MID
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. e. *Edinburgh* (1) cs. pal. by JAHM. from dict. of Mrs. Ch. Murray, native, 683, No. 3, 684, 695, 726*d*; (2) Lothian sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 724; (3) numerals from the same, 726; (4) Central Scottish from Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 144 to 149, may belong to D 34, 35, 36, or any part of Mid Lowland, as the words are not distinguished, 727.

67. FI. = FIFESHIRE.

2 places in D 34 and D 37.

*34. f. *Fifeshire* generally, (1) sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 725; (2) numerals from the same, 726.

*37. n. *Newburgh-on-Tay* (8 wnw. Cupar) dt. io. with notes by Rev. Dr. Alex. Laing, 752.

E. E. Fron. Part V.

68. FO. = FORFARSHIRE.

3 places in D 38.

*38. a. *Arbroath* cs. written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson, pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 683, No. 5, 684, 695.

*38. b. *Brechin* nwl. by Mr. J. Guthrie, Royal Bank of Scotland, 25 y., 760.

*38. d. *Dundee* (1) dt. pal. 1881 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Begge, then of Whitelands, 758, with notes and phrases from the same, 759; (2) notes by Mr. G. Clarke of the West End Academy, 760.

69. HD. = HADDINGTONSHIRE OR EAST
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. l. *Linton* (5 ne. Haddington) cs. io. by Mr. J. Teenan, really gen. D 34, almost identical with 684, No. 3, Edinburgh.

71. KC. = KINCARDINESHIRE.

1 place in D 38.

*38. g. *Glenfarguhar* (11 w-by-s. Stonehaven) from Mr. J. Ross, M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native, (1) notes, 756; (2) dt. so. 758; (3) nwl. with aq. and long explanations, 760.

73. KB. = KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE
(:kirkuu'br̄i).

1 place in D 36.

*36. k. *Kirkpatrick-Durham* (:kil-pee'trik) (5 n. Castle Douglas) nwl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, 6 y., 749.

74. LK. = LANARKSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. g. *Glasgow and Clydesdale* generally, (1) Clydesdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 730, 742; (2) wl. io. by Mr. John Alexander, then of Glasgow (:gleskw̄), 50 y., 742.

77a. OR. = ORKNEY.

forming one county with Shetland, here separated as 77*b*, and placed after Se. = Selkirk, because they have been placed in separate districts; 1 place in D 41.

*41. s. *Sanda*, northern isles, the residence of Mr. W. Traill Dennison, who in 1880 published his *Orkadian Sketch Book*, out of which has been

taken *Paety Toral's Travellie*, with the pron. corrected by himself vv. in Aug. 1884, p. 791 to 802, and he also wrote and dictated to me vv. his translation of *John Gilpin* into older Orkney speech, June, 1888, p. 802 to 811.

78. PB. = PEEBLESHIRE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. P. *Peebles* co. generally, numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726.

79. PR. = PERTHSHIRE.

1 place in D 37.

*37. P. *Perth*, or neighbourhood, (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Misses Miles, Pollar and Kidd of Whitelands in 1881; (2) words from *Enga* pron. by the same, both 753.

80. RF. = RENFREWSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. L. *Lochwinnoch* (:lokh'enñakh) (12 sw. Renfrew, misprinted 6 sw. on p. 747) words and phrases contrasted with Ochiltree, Ay. by Mr. David Patrick, 747.

82. RX. = ROXBURGHSHIRE.

5 places in D 33.

*33. H. *Hawick* (1) pron. abstracted from Dr. Murray's DSS. 710 to 713; (2) cs. written in pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, native, 682 No. 2, 684, 694; (3) Ruth, Chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from his DSS. p. 241, Teviotdale 698, No. 1; (4) Teviotdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 714; (5) numerals from the same, 726; (6) Scotch Hundredth Psalm, from Dr. JAHM.'s DSS. 715; (7) South Lowland cwl. from DSS. increased by communications from Dr. JAHM. 716 to 721; as all of these are based on Dr. Murray's authority, they are all classed under his native place.

*33. L. *Liddesdale Head*, near Thorlishop (12 s-by-e. Hawick), cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Jackson, 75 y., 721.

33. R. *Roxburgh Town* (17 nnw. Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. D. Ross, then of Milburn, but 25 y. from birth; not intended for publication and not printed.

33. T. *Teviotdale Head* (8 se. Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Linton, Lewisburn, Plashetts (24 nw. Hexham, Nb.), 20 y., not intended for publication and not printed.

33. Y. *Yetholm* (:jaath'm) (8 se. Kelso, 1 m. from the Nb. b. on the road to Wooler, a great gypsy settlement) from dict. of Mr. T. Kirkup, M.A., native of Wooler, 15 y., for 4 of which he was a pupil teacher in Yetholm, (1) a wl. partly corrected in pal. by AJE. from his dictation; (2) dt. pal. by the same from the same; neither used, see p. 655 d.

83. SE. = SELKIRKSHIRE.

*33. *Selkirk* (:sælkrik, :sælkrit) wl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. J. Mitchell, of Howgill Castle, Milburn, We., native, but 25 y. absent from Scotland; not printed.

77b. SD. = SHETLAND.

4 places in D 42; this forms one county with 77a Orkney, which see after 74 Lk.

*42. D. *Dunrossness*, southernmost point of mainland Sd. (1) cs. written in io. by Mr. David Cogle, fisherman, native of Cuningborough, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 683 No. 8, 684, 696; (2) in print "Shetland Fireside Tales by G.S.E." (Mr. G. Stewart, of Edinburgh, native of Dunrossness), given me by Mr. Cogle, 818.

42. L. *Lerwick*, (1) Parable of the Prodigal Son in Sd. speech, written in io. by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Lerwick, and pal. by me from dict. of Miss Anna B. Malcolmson, 816; (2) nwl. by Mr. A. L. of which the principal words were pal. by me from the dict. of Miss A. B. M. 818.

42. S. *Shetland* generally, (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Mr. A. Grant, and sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) "A Shetland Letter" communicated to me in MS. by Prince LLB., and translated by Mr. A. Laurenson, but as it has not been read to me, I have not used it; part of it is printed in the 'Zetland Directory and Guide,' 1860.

*42. U. *Unst* (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Dr. L. Edmondstone with the pronunciation of several marked by Walker's symbols, belonging to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) in print 'The Parable of the Sower,' Matth. xiii. 3-9, translated in 1858 by Dr. LE. for Prince

LLB., and communicated by him with Annotations to the Philological Society of London, 20 June, 1878, p. 817.

86. Wg. = WIGTOWNSHIRE.
2 places in D 36.

*36. G. *Glenluce* (glɛnlyy,s) (15 w. Wigton) nwl. by Rev. George Wilson,

Free Church, Glenluce, who went over every word with his deacon, James McCulloch, 68, native, whose father kept up the dialect well, 749.

*36. s. *Stranraer* (25 w-by-n. Wigton) cs. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Messrs. W. Boyd, M. Armstrong, and R. Caddow, 683, No. 4, 684, 695, 749.

Ireland.

117. Wx. = WEXFORD. CO.
1 place in D 1.

*1. F. *Forth and Bargy* baronies,

letter from E. Hore, and from printed matter by Rev. William Barnes, pp. 25-30.

VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST AND INDEX OF ALL THE NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.

This consists of two distinct parts given for convenience in one alphabetical arrangement. The first is a reverse index to the Alphabetical County List VI., enabling the reader to refer back from the informant's name to his contribution. The name in roman letters is followed by the usual two-letter abbreviation of the name of the county in italics with *M*, *W*, *S*, *I* prefixed if it belongs to the Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. This refers at once to the Alphabetical Counties List, VI., which is arranged first in countries, and then in counties. Then follows the initial, numbered if necessary, which refers to that given under the name of the county in VI., and immediately points out the place, whence the information was derived, and whence all the necessary particulars can be found. When more than one county is referred to, a — is interposed.

The second part contains those names which are not introduced in VI. because they could not be conveniently referred to a specified place in a county. These for distinction are printed in italics with generally an indication of the matter for which any name is cited, and the page where it will be found. When the name also belongs to the first part, only the indication is printed in italics.

The names of all persons or books mentioned in my treatise from which I have directly derived information are thus given—errors excepted. The names of those from whom my informants derived their knowledge, though occasionally given in the text, are generally not inserted in this list, although there are a few exceptions, as no rule could be conveniently observed in inserting or omitting them.

The names of some of the books used are also given, and it may be assumed that I have consulted every important book on dialects that has appeared (p. 5*b*), although not specially named. These I did not consider it necessary to specify. See the Bibliography published by the English Dialect Society and its own publications. The peculiar character of this treatise consists in unprinted and hitherto uncollected sources of information on which it is founded, and it is to those from whom I procured it that this Alphabetical List mainly relates.

A		
Adcock, Miss M. A. <i>Le.</i> *s.	<i>of Agriculture in the Co. of Ayr, 729a.</i>	<i>Allen, Grant, 'Are we Englishmen?' 9 note.</i>
Adthead, G. H. <i>Yo.</i> m3. s1.	<i>Akerman's 'Hornet and Beetle,'</i> pal. 51 to 54.	<i>Allen, Miss. Le.</i> *B4.
<i>Agricola's wall, 22.</i>	Alexander, J. <i>SLk.</i> G.— <i>and see Gibb, SAb.</i> s.	<i>Allen, T. Nb.</i> *s1.
Ainger, Rev. Dr. <i>Nb.</i> r.	<i>Alfred King, 2.</i>	<i>Allen, Rev. T. T. Du.</i> D.
<i>Aiton, W. General View</i>	<i>Allen, Ven. Archd. Sh.</i> p2.	<i>Allnutt, W. H. Ox.</i> o.
		<i>Auchmaty, Rev. A. C. He.</i> l5.
		<i>Anderson, W. J. Sfo.</i> A.

- Anonymous, vic. *Co.* l1.
 — vic. *Du.* A2. —
 rector. **Es.* R. — vic.
He. A. — vic. *Li.* B3.
 — servant. *Li.* *E.
 — passenger. *Nf.* *N5.
 — vic. *Ox.* H2. —
 curate. *Yo.* M3.
 Anstey, Mary. *Dv.* *I1.
 Arden, Mrs. Douglas. *Li.*
 H1. S8.
 Arnold, M., his pron. of
 'fate,' 33b.
 Armstrong, Rev. E. P.
Li. S5.
 Armstrong, M. *SWg.* S.
 Ashby, G. *Nf.* K1.
 Atkinson, Mrs. *Cu.* C1.—
We. T.—her assistance
 for *Edenside names*,
 555d, 603c.
 Atkins, A. H. *Bu.* C2.
 Atkinson, W. *Cu.* P.—
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side names, 603c.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. *La.* D.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. C. *Yo.*
 D1.
- B
- Bainbridge, J. *Cu.* E.—
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side Names, 603c.
 Baines, Rev. J. *WMg.* B1.
 Baird, H.—*Nathan Hogg*,
 156d, 158c, 159d.
 Baker, R. S. *Nf.* N4.
 Baker, Rev. R. S. *Np.* H4.
 Ballard, H. *He.* *M.
 Baldwin, Rev. I. N. *Nt.*
 M4.
 Bamford, R. m *Yo.* M3.
 Banks, Mrs. L. *La.* M1.
 Banks, W. S. *Yo.* *W2.
 Banting, W. B. *Be.* *H1.
 Banton, Rev. P. *Np.* D3.
 Barclay, Rev. D. *Ht.* S4.
 Barkas, T. P. *Nb.* *N1.
 Barlow, Rev. J. M. *Sr.* E2.
 Barnard, Mrs. J. *Ht.* S3.
 Barnes, Rev. W. *Do.*
 *W3.—*IWx.* F. printed
 25, 26, 30—on *f, v, and*
s, z in *S.* 38 to 41.
 Bartlett, Rev. W. A. *Ss.*
 W3.
 Batchelor, T. *Bd.* *B.
 and his 'Orthoepical
 Analysis,' 204-209 (all
 in print).
- Bateman, T. *WFl.* H1.
 Baumann, H. his *London-*
isms, 230.
 Beardsell, A. *Yo.* *H6.
 Beeby, Miss. *Bu.* *W1.
 Beesley, T. jun. *Ox.* *B1.
 Beesley, sen. *Ox.* *B1.
 Begge, Miss. *SFo.* D.
 Beke, Dr. on 'v, w,' 132.
 Bell, A. M. *SAb.* A.—
SEd. E.—*SFi.* F.—
SLk. G.—*SPb.* P.—
SRx. H.—his 'Visible
 Speech' sentences, 714,
 724, 725, 730, 777, and
Numerals, 726.—revises
Buchan version of Ruth,
 698b.
 Bell, G. *Yo.* *R1.
 Bell, Miss H. *Le.* W.
 Bell, Rev. H. *Cu.* R.
 Bell, Jacob, *Nb.* K.
 Bell, Miss M. A. *La.* *C8.
 Bell, Rev. W. R. *Yo.* *L1.
 Bellows, J. *Gl.* B1.—
La. P3.
 Bennett, Rev. Canon, *Wl.*
 M.
 Bennett, E. *St.* E2.
 Benton, Mr. Ph. *Es.* *S1.
 Berin, Rev. H. *Ke.* F1.
 Berkeley, Rev. S. H. *Dv.*
 M2.
 Bewick, R. *Nb.* *W2.
 Best, — *Yo.* H9.
 Best, Mrs. *Yo.* I.
 Bewly, E. S. *Ha.* A.—
Sf. S2.
 Bigge, Rev. J. F. *Nb.* *S2.
 Bingham, Rev. Canon,
Do. B1.
 Birch, Rev. G. *Bu.* E.
 Birket, W. his help for
Edenside names, 603d.
 Blasson, T. *Li.* *B4.
 Blenkinsopp, Rev. E. L.
Li. S10.
 Blythe, Rev. J. *Nb.* A2.
 Bogg, T. W. *Li.* *L3.
 Bolingbroke, Mrs. F. H.
Bd. M.
 Bonaparte, Prince L.-L.,
 his help, 5.—*Gl.* ā =
 (ii), 64.—on *Nb. burr*,
 643a, 644a.—*Be.* *H1.
Bu. C2, C3, L.—*Es.*
 *S1.—*Gl.* B1.—*Ha.*
 *C1.—*He.* *D2 *E H
 *L4 M R W2.—*Ht.* B1
 B3 G2 H4 K L1 L2 *R
 T W2.—*La.* P3.—*Mi.*
- *E W.—*Mo.* *L.—*Nf.*
 K1.—*Sr.* L.—*Wa.* S3.
 —*Wo.* *D2.—*Yo.* D3.
 —*SSd.* S U.
 Bower, Rev. A. *Li.* U2.
 Bowness, R. *La.* C8.
 Boyd, W. *SWg.* S.
 Bradley, Rev. E. *Ru.* S.
 Bradshaw, Mrs. jun. *Ox.*
 B1.
 Brain, J. *Ox.* *D.
 Brandreth, E. L. obtains
Jane Morrison's help,
 764c.
 Brigg, S. *Yo.* K.
 Breechen, Rev. J. *Ru.* W.
 Brewer, W. *Be.* *C.
 Brickwell, Rev. E. *Bd.* H2.
 Broadley, Rev. Canon, *Do.*
 B3.
 Brockie, W. *Du.* S8.
 Brooke, F. C. *Sf.* U.
 Brooke, T. *Yo.* A.
 Brooks, Rev. T. W. D.
Bd. F.
 Broughton, Rev. R. *Ha.*
 S1.
 Brown, Rev. A. H. *Es.*
 B4.
 Brown, J. *Bd.* A.
 Brown, Jo. *We.* K1.
 Brown, Rev. T. *Sf.* H.
 Brown, W. H. *Ht.* R.
 Browne, Rev. H. *Wo.* E1.
 Brune, Mrs. Prideaux.
Co. P1.
 'Brut y Tywysogion,' on
 the *Flemings in Pm.* 24.
 Buck, Rev. G. P. *Nf.* N5.
 Buckle, Miss. *Nf.* *M2.
 Buckley, Rev. Jo. *Wl.* S3.
 Buller, Rev. R. *Co.* L3.
 Bulman, Rev. G. P. *Du.*
 S5.
 Burgiss, G., with T. and
 J. *He.* *L4.
 Burne, Mrs. *Sh.* N1.
 Burnell, Dr. A. C. *Ha.*
 W1.
 Burningham, Rev. T. *Nf.*
 N5.—*Sr.* C1.—*Ha.*
 example about 1828, p.
 96d.—on *Sr. and Ss.*,
 108c.
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Gray, pal. 748.
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 Bury, Rev. Ch. *Yo.* *R2.

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 Butler, T. *La.* d.
*Butler, Tobias, recites
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 Buttenshaw, Mrs. *Bd.* v.
- C
- Caddow, R. *SWg.* s.
 Cadogan, C. H. *Nb.* r.
 Calland, Miss. *Ke.* s4.
 Cameron, Rev. A. A. *Be.*
 *h3.
 Campbell, Mrs. G. M. E.
Wl. c5.
 Campbell, Rev. W. *Be.* k.
 Campbell, Rev. W. A.
Hu. h3.
*Campbell, Ld. his 'Life
 of Judge Hale,'* 64.
*Carr, W., on the Nb. burr,
 father of Mrs. Ferschl,*
 651a.
 Carrol, Rev. T. *Hu.* h2.
 Carthew, G. A. *Nf.* *v.
 Cartlege, Rev. C. A. *Du.*
 *b2.
 Casartelli, Rev. J. C. *La.*
 m1.
 Castle, Rev. E. *Yo.* c2.
 Cattell, T. E. *Ru.* c.
 Chamberlain, J. H. *Le.*
 l1.
 Chamberlain, Rev. J. S. F.
Ht. g3.
 Chamberlain, Mrs. (form-
 erly Miss Sweet) *Wo.* t.
 Chamberlain, Rev. T. B.
Nt. n3.
 Chambers, Rev. W. I.
Li. n2.
 Chandler, H. *Ru.* v.
 Chandler, T. H., jun.
Wl. a.
 Chandler, T. H., sen.
Wl. s1.
 Chapman, Miss E. *Np.*
 n2.
 Charlesworth, Rev. J. R.
Sr. e1.
Chaucer, his 'Strothir,'
 547.
 Cheales, Rev. H. J. *Li.*
 *f3.
 Cheese, Rev. F. *Yo.* h1.
 Christie, Rev. C. M. *Sm.*
 c5.
 Clarke, A. Y. O. *Do.* *c.
 Clarke, G. *Sfo.* d.
 Clarke, S. *Ss.* w1.
 Clarke, Rev. T. *We.* l.
Clarke, Mrs., her (e'ipren)
*as compared with her
 grandmother's (e'ipren),
 genesis of Eastern (e'i),*
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 Clay, Rev. E. K. *Bu.* g.
 Clay-Ker-Seymour, Mrs.
Do. *c *h.
 Clayton, Rev. C. *Du.* s7.
 Cleverley, W. *Be.* s1.
 Close, Rev. R. W. *Hu.* p.
 Clough, J. C. *Ch.* a1.
 Cockman, Mr. and Miss.
Li. g3.
 Cockshall, Rev. J. S. *Li.*
 b5.
 Cogle, D. *SSd.* d.
 Coker, Rev. C. *Ox.* *f2.
 Cole, Miss. *Ss.* k.
 Coleridge, Miss E. *Mi.*
 h1.
Collins, Rev. J. 35.
 Collins, Miss. *Be.* s1.
 Colfox, T. A. *Do.* b4.
 Conway, Rev. R. *Hu.* a.
 Cooke, J. H. *Gl.* b1.
 Cooper, Major C. *Bd.* t3.
 Cooper, Rev. L. *Ru.* e.
 Coore, Rev. A. J. *WBr.*
 b3.
*Cope, Sir W. H., his 'Ha.
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 Corphey, Mrs. E. *Ma.*
 k3.
 Cosbey, Rev. C. *Du.* s7.
 Cottee, Rev. W. A. *Li.*
 k3.
 Couch, T. Q. *Co.* l2.
 Coulter, Mrs. *La.* m2.
 Coward, Messrs. *Cu.* c1.
 Cox, Miss. *Bu.* h2.
 Crabtree, J. *Yo.* h2.
 Crate, Rev. E. H. *Es.*
 *s2.
 Creighton, Rev. M. *Nb.*
 *e.
 Cross, T. H. *Co.* *c2.
 Crossman, Rev. C. D.
Sm. h.
 Croucher, Miss. *Ke.* *c1.
 Cullen, Rev. J. *Nt.* r1.
 Culley, N. T. *Nb.* *w5.
 Cullingford, J. N. *Es.*
 *g4.
 Cumberland, T. *La.* f3.
 Cunnington, J. *Np.* o.
 Curgenvin, Rev. T. H.
Np. b4.
 Curteis, Miss Bessie. *Ss.*
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*dialect at Hatley
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- D
- Dalton. *Du.* *h2.
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 Darlington, T. *Ch.* *b2
 m1.—*his Folkspeech of*
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 Daubeny, C. *Sm.* *c4.
 Daunt, Rev. E. S. T.
Co. s6.
 Davey, E. C. *Be.* *w1.
 David, M. H. *Nb.* a1.
 Davies, J. *He.* h.
 Davies, Rev. J. D. *WGM.*
 *g.
 Davis, C. *Sf.* *o.
 Davis, Rev. J. B. *St.* s1.
 Davis, J. W. *Sh.* *l3.
 Davis, Mrs. *Dv.* b3.
 Dawes, Mrs. *Sm.* l.
 Dawson, Bernard. *Li.* s4.
 Dawson, W. H. *Nb.* *n1.
 Day, Miss C. M. *Nf.* k3.
 Dayman, Rev. P. D. *Co.*
 f3.
 Dennison, W. T. *SOr.* s.
 DeWinton, Arch. *WRd.* b.
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 *w2.
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 228.
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 b3. s1.
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*Dickson J. R., on the Nb.
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 Dingle, Rev. J. *Du.* *l1.
 Dixon, W. *Nb.* *w3.
 Dobson, —. *Nb.* *h3.
 Dormer, J. M. *Wa.* *c3.
*D'Orsey on London errors
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 Dove, H. *Yo.* m2.
 Dover, J. *We.* c2, o.—
*his assistance for Eden-
 side names,* 603.
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| Dymond, R. <i>Dv.</i> E. | Falconer, Rev. W. <i>Ht.</i> *B6. | <i>Geraldus Cambrensis</i> on <i>Flemings</i> in <i>Pm.</i> 24. |
| E | Farmer, Rev. J. <i>Nt.</i> s2. | Gibb, Johnny, J. Alexander, author of, <i>SAb.</i> B. |
| Earle, Rev. J. <i>Sm.</i> s2. | Farr, W. W. <i>Ha.</i> *T. | <i>Gibson, A. C. Cu.</i> P. |
| Ebden, Miss M. E. <i>Hu.</i> G5, *s2. | ffarington. <i>La.</i> B6 *L3. | Giffen, R. <i>SAY.</i> K1.— <i>revised Dr. Murray's Ay. Ruth,</i> 698, and <i>AJE's "Tam o' Shanter,"</i> 732. |
| Ebsworth, Rev. J. <i>Nt.</i> E1. | Fauquier, Rev. G. L. W. <i>Np.</i> w7. | <i>Gill, Alex. old Li. Speech,</i> 310c. |
| Eden, Rev. J. P. <i>Du.</i> s4. | Faunthorpe, Rev. J. P., <i>Principal of Whitelands Training College, who, with the students, greatly helps me,</i> 4.— <i>Dv.</i> I1.— <i>Li.</i> s3. | Gillam, Rev. J. <i>WRd.</i> N. |
| Edmondson, Ven. Archd. <i>WPM.</i> R. | Fearon, Ven. Archd. <i>Ss.</i> c2. | Gladstone, Rev. S. <i>WFL.</i> H2. |
| Edmondstone, Dr. L. <i>SSd.</i> U. | Featherstonehaugh, Rev. W. <i>Du.</i> *E2. | Godfrey, Mrs. <i>Be.</i> *H2. |
| Edwards, Rev. H. P. <i>Mo.</i> c1. | Ferschl, Mrs. <i>Nb.</i> *N1, <i>see Carr.</i> | Goodchild, J. G. <i>a chief helper,</i> 4.— <i>Line</i> 7, p. 20d.— <i>Line</i> 8, p. 21b.— <i>Line</i> 10, p. 22a.—on (<i>u,</i> <i>r</i>) 291d, 294b.— <i>his paper on 'Traditional names of Places in Edenside,'</i> 539, 602.— <i>observes 'stone dyke' n. and s. of Kirk Oswald,</i> 555.— <i>on the Nb. burr,</i> 643.— <i>Ch.</i> A1.— <i>Cu.</i> *B1, *B3, *C1, *E, *K, *L1.— <i>Du.</i> *S2.— <i>Mi.</i> *B.— <i>Nb.</i> *F, *K.— <i>Sm.</i> W3.— <i>We.</i> *C1, *C2, *K1, *K2, *L, *M, *O, S, *T.— <i>Wl.</i> *C2.— <i>Yo.</i> *B4, *C3, *C4, *D2, *H8, *H9, I, *K, *L1, *S2, *U5, *U6.— <i>SRz.</i> L, R, T.— <i>SSE.</i> S. |
| Edwards, Rev. M. <i>Wdn.</i> R. | Field, W. <i>St.</i> w5. | <i>Goodchild, L. on the Nb. burr,</i> 643a. |
| Eel, Rev. G. <i>Yo.</i> E2. | Fielding, T. <i>La.</i> *B1 B3 C4 H4 O1 S1 W4. | Goodman, Rev. J. P. <i>Hu.</i> K1. |
| Egglestone, W. M. <i>Du.</i> *S7.— <i>'his Bessy Podkins' for Weardale, Du.</i> 617. | Findlater, Dr. <i>SAb.</i> B. | Goodenough, Rev. R. W. <i>Nb.</i> W3. |
| Eley, Rev. W. H. <i>Ss.</i> E3. | Findley. <i>Le.</i> L1. | Gostle, Rev. J. <i>Nf.</i> T4. |
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- Roberts, Rev. A. C. *Ht.* w4.
- Roberts, *Sm.* w3.
- Robinson, C. Clough, a chief helper, 4b.—on (th) for 'the,' 19.—on (u) in sYo. 365b.—on *Yo. dialectal orthography*, 403.—*Yo.* *b5 *d3 *h2 h10 *k *l2 *l5 m2 *m4 *m5 *n1 *n2 *n3 n4 *r5 *s7 *s11 *u1 *u3 *u4 u5 *w3 y.
- Robinson, Rev. C. J. *He.* w2.
- Robinson, F. K. *Yo.* *w4.
- Robinson, J., *his assistance for Edenside names*, 603c.
- Robson, *Du.* *c1.
- Robson, J. Ph. on the Nb. burr*, 642a.
- Robson, E. C. *Du.* s8.
- Rock, W. F. *Dv.* b1.
- Roderick, J. W. *Ht.* f *w1.
- Rogers, Rev. S. *Co.* g.
- Rogers, T. *Co.* *s2.
- Rogers, W. H. H. *Dv.* c2.
- Rolf, Rev. C. T. *Ke.* *s1.
- Roscoe, Mrs., for Manx*, 361b.
- Rose, Rev. W. F. *Sm.* *w4.
- Ross, —. *Sm.* *c1.
- Ross, D. *SRx.* b.
- Ross, F. *Yo.* *h5.
- Ross, J. *SKe.* g.
- Rossiter, J. *Sm.* c7.
- Rothwell, Ch. *La.* *b3.
- Rowlands, Rev. J. *WFl.* h3.
- Royds, Rev. C. T. *La.* h3.
- Rumny, Rev. J. W. *Ke.* r2.
- Rundell, J. B. *Co.* *m2.—*Dv.* b2, d.
- Rust, Rev. J. C. *Cb.* s3.
- Russell, very Rev. C. W., on Flemings in Pm.* 24.
- S
- Sadler, Miss. *Wo.* *s2.
- Sala, G. A., on Australian Speech*, 237.
- Sale, Rev. T. T. *Ht.* a1.
- Sayers, Miss A. *Ss.* *c2.
- Sayers, Miss J. *Sr.* o.
- Scarlett, Rev. W. *Yo.* r4.
- Scoones, Rev. W. D. *Bu.* l.
- Scott, A. *Nb.* *r.
- Scott, Rev. G. H. *Nt.* g.
- Scott, Rev. W. A. *Du.* s3.
- Seaman, Rev. C. E. *Ha.* n1.
- Seward, Wm., his dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo., pal. by JGG.* 608.
- Sewell, Rev. H. *Sf.* y.
- Septimius Severus's wall*, 22.
- Sharley, Rev. G. *Nf.* i.
- Sharpe, J. W. *Sr.* g1.
- Shaw, James. *Sdf.* t.
- Shelly, J. *Dv.* *p2.—*La.* c7.
- Shröer, Prof. *Ha.* *A.
- Simmons, Rev. Canon. *Yo.* h11.
- Simpson, Rev. R. *Du.* t1.
- Simpson, Rev. T. H. *Wdn.* c.
- Simon, W., *pron. of Kyle, Ay.* 729, 742.—*SAY.* k2.
- Sinclair, Rev. J. *SCs.* w.
- Singleton, Miss L. *Yo. p.*
- Skeat, Rev. W. W. *Cb.* c2 p.—*Es. t.—Ht.* s3.—*Ox.* b.
- Skudamore, Rev. W. *Nf.* d2.
- Slade, Miss. *Ox.* *s1.
- Slatter, Rev. J. *Be.* s3.
- Slow, E. *Wl.* w.
- Slyfield, Miss J. *Sr.* s.
- Smart on London errors of speech*, 227.
- Smith, Rev. A. C. *Wl.* y.
- Smith, Cecil. *Sm.* t.
- Smith, C. R. *Ha.* w2.
- Smith, Rev. E. B. *WMG.* l.
- Smith, H. *Li.* h4.
- Smith, Rev. J. *Do.* b2.
- Smith, Rev. L. A. *WRd.* l.
- Smith, Rev. S. A. *Cb.* c3.
- Smith, Sir T. on Li. speech*, 310.
- Smith, W. C. obtains Dunrossness cs*, 683.
- Smith, W. H. and Son's maps*, 7.
- Somerset, Rev. B. *WBr.* c.
- Sowell, Rev. C. R. *Co.* s3.—*his b. of wCo.* 156.
- Spencer. *WFl.* h2.
- Spicer, R. H. S. *Dv.* n1.
- Spurrell, W. *Wcm.* c.—*W.Pm.* b.
- Standring, —. *Li.* a3.
- Stanford's maps*, 7.
- Stanning, Rev. J. H. *La.* l2.
- Stanway, L. *St.* s1.
- Stark, Rev. W. A. *SKb.* k.
- Stead, R. *Ke.* f2.—*Yo.* *h3 *h5 *s10 y.—*WBr.* *b2.—on (u) in *Yo.* 365.

- Steel, Rev. J. *Bd.* n1.
 Steel, Jo. *We.* κ2.
 Stewart, G., 'Shetland Fireside Tales,' 814.
 Stockdale, J. *La.* n1.
 Stockdale, J., *Song of Solomon chap. ii. in Lonsdale n. of the Sands*, 550.
 Stone, W. G. *Do.* w1.
 Stores, Rev. C. E. *Yo.* s9.
 Streetfield, —. *Kc.* *m1.
 Stuttard, H. *La.* *c7.
 Sweet, Dr. H. 2. — his 'Romio,' 99b.
 Sweet, Miss (now Mrs. Chamberlain). *Wo.* r.
 Swift, Rev. G. *Nt.* m5.
 Swinburne, A., on the *Nb. burr*, 642c.
 Sykes, Dr. J. *Yo.* *d4.
- T
- Tancock, Rev. O. W. *Do.* s1.
 Tarver, Rev. J. *Bu.* *r.
 Taunton, Rev. T. B. *Dv.* n2.
 Taylor, Rev. Hugh. *Nb.* *t.
 Taylor, J. *Dv.* w2.
 Taylor, Rev. R. *Du.* m2.
 Taylor, Tom. *Du.* s8.
 Teenan, J. *SHd.* b.
 Tenney. *Dv.* *d.
 Tennyson, Lord. *Li.* s8.
 Thackeray's, *W.M. London Footman's Speech*, 229.
 Thomas, Rev. D. G. *Hu.* n1.
 Thompson, G. *Nb.* *A2.
 — *Abwick Vowels*, 668.
 Thompson, Rev. H. *Sm.* c2.
 Thompson, Rev. Dr. W. H. *Yo.* g3.
 Thornton, Rev. J. *Yo.* m6.
 Thorold, Mrs. W. *Dv.* w1.
 Thynne, Rev. A. B. *Wl.* s2.
 Till, G. *St.* A3.
 Timmins, S. *Wa.* b3.
 Tittley, Rev. R. *Le.* b2.
 Titmouse, J. *Ha.* s1.
 Tollemache, Hon. and Rev. H. F. and Miss. *Np.* h5.
 Tollet, Miss E. *St.* b2.
 Tombs, Rev. J. *Wpm.* r.
- Tomline G. H. *Wa.* s3.
 Tomlinson, Rev. C. H. *Be.* *d.
 Tomlinson, G. W. *Yo.* *h10.
 Trapp, Rev. B. *Bd.* r1.
 Tregellas on Cornish intonation, 171.
 Trotter, Miss (misprinted Potter on p. 66). *Gl.* *A2.
 Trotter, R. D. (misprinted Potter on p. 66). *Gl.* *c3.
 Tuer's 'Cockney Almanac,' 229.
 Turner, Miss. *Wo.* n2.
 Tyler, Rev. O. B. *Sm.* n2.
- U
- Underwood, Rev. W. D. *Ss.* w2.
- V
- Vallancey, Dr., 25 to 27.
 Viles, E. *St.* *c4.
 Vise, Rev. J. E. *Wmg.* r.
- W
- Wakefield, Miss. *Dv.* p1.
 Walker on London errors of Speech, 227.
 Walker, Rev. J. *Nb.* *w2.
 Walker, Rev. J. *Sf.* b2.
 Walker, J. W. F. *Ox.* i.
 Walker, Miss. *Cb.* *w4.
 Walker, Rev. Percy C. *Cu.* b2.
 Wallis, Rev. W. M. *Be.* b.
 Walsh. 25d.
 Ward, Rev. H. *Yo.* *h5.
 Ware, Rev. W. W. *Yo.* b1.
 Warleigh, Rev. H. S. *Gl.* A1.
 Warner, Rev. R. E. *Li.* s7.
 Watkins, Rev. M. G. *Li.* b1.
 Watson, Rev. J. S. *Le.* c.
 Watt, Rev. R. *St.* c3.
 Wayte, Rev. G. H. *Wl.* c1.
 Wayte, Rev. W. *Wl.* c1.
 Weller, Sam, his 'we,' 132.
- West, Rev. C. F. *Ox.* c1.
 Westmacott, Miss. *Sm.* b3 s1.
 Wharton, Rev. J. C. *Mi.* w.
 Whateley, Rev. J. *Es.* r.
 Wheck, Miss S. *Bd.* *r.
 Whitelands Training College, great assistance from the Principal, Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, 4 Teachers, Misses Adcock, Kemm, Mallett and Martin, and 28 Students, Misses Beeby, Begge, H. Bell, Buckle, Calland, Chapman, Cockman, Cox, Croucher, Firth, Foxlee, Francis, Furness, Harris, Hill, Hirst, Kidd, Lowman, Miles, Peckham, Pollar, Sadler, A. Sayers, J. Sayers, Slyfield, Turner, Wheck, and Wing, see these names.
 Whitaker, Jo. *Mi.* r.
 White, Rev. F. W. *Li.* c3.
 White, Rev. G. H. *Dv.* s1.
 White, Ned, a yarn, 666.
 Wigram, Rev. W. *Ht.* r.
 Wilcocks, Rev. H. S. *Dv.* s2.
 Wilding, Rev. J. *St.* u1.
 William of Malmesbury on Flemings in Pm. 24.
 Williams, Rev. T. *WFl.* n.
 Williams, Mrs. *Li.* A2
 b8 c1 g4 g5 h3 h5 k1
 k2 l1 l3 s2 s9 s11 r2
 u1 w1.
 Williams, Rev. Wadham. *Sm.* b2.
 Williams, Rev. W. J. *Li.* g1.
 Wilkinson, Rev. G. *Yo.* w1.
 Wilkinson, I. *Yo.* s6.
 Wilshire, C. W. *Ht.* n7
 w3.
 Wilson, Rev. G. *SBw.* c.—*SWg.* g.
 Wilson, T. *Ht.* *h2.
 Wilson, T. D. *Yo.* r.
 Wilson, Rev. W. *Du.* r.
 Wing, Miss. *Es.* *m.
 Winter, G. *Sm.* c3.
 Wiseman, J. F. T. *Es.* *p1.

Wolf, Lady. <i>Ha.</i> *c1.	Wray, Rev. J. Jackson. <i>Yo.</i> m2.	Wyatt, J. <i>Bd.</i> *B— <i>Bu.</i> n1.
Wood, Mrs. Willoughby, <i>St.</i> *n1.	Wright, Rev. Canon. <i>Li.</i> c2.	Wyer, N. W. <i>Do.</i> *w2. — <i>Dv.</i> E.— <i>Es.</i> I.
Woodfall, G. <i>Es.</i> G3.	Wright, J. <i>Nb.</i> *n3.	Wykes, C. H. <i>Np.</i> l2.
Woodhouse, Rev. G. H. <i>Nt.</i> F.	Wright, Rev. J. <i>Wo.</i> u.	Wyld, J. <i>Du.</i> *b1.
Woodhouse, R. <i>He.</i> *D2.	Wright, Dr. J. <i>Yo.</i> m1	Y
Woof, R. <i>Wo.</i> *D2.	*w5.— <i>on</i> (<i>u</i>) in <i>South Yo.</i> 365c.	Yarranton, Rev. A. <i>Sm.</i> s1.
Worfold, Rev. J. N. <i>Yo.</i> n1.	Wright, Rev. J. P. <i>St.</i> n.	Yeats, Dr. J. <i>Mo.</i> *c2.
Wray, Rev. H. <i>WDn.</i> *H.		

VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

The palaeotype laid down in Part I. pp. 1 to 12, even when extended as in Part IV. pp. xii to xiv, proved insufficient for the differentiation of the minute shades of sound heard in dialectal speech. Hence it became necessary to construct an entirely new table.

All sounds are represented by "old letters," whence the name palaeotype *παλαιὸι τύποι*, but in order to obtain signs enough these ancient types embrace 1) direct small or "lower case" roman as (e), 2) the same "turned" as (ə), 3) the direct italic and small capital (e ε), and 4) their inversions (ə ε), and sometimes even black letter as (ε ε). A few "digraphs" are also admitted, especially with (h), as (th sh), a hyphen preceding the (h) when it is not initial, but has to have its usual sense. 'Modifiers' are extensively employed as in (e¹, e₁, u⁴, u₄, a, k_j, t_j t_j), etc. These alter the value of the preceding letter in a definite direction, and are explained hereafter separately, and also in conjunction with the modified letters. All these letters, digraphs, and modified forms are then arranged in alphabetical order by the ordinary large capital letters which are not otherwise phonetically employed. The letter A, for example, refers to all modifications of the type a and its diphthongal combinations as (a, a¹, a₁, a₁, a_R—ah, aa, a¹, a^u, a^y,—a, ah,—A, A¹,—ε, εū).

No attempt is here made to give any phonetic theory, for which see much of Part IV., and also my article on SPEECH SOUNDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1888, vol. 22, pp. 381–390, which uses palaeotype, and my *Speech in Song* (Novello), or *Pronunciation for Singers* (Curwen), both of which use glossic. But as a matter of convenience I prefix the table of Mr. Melville Bell's vowel system reduced to pal. and numbered.

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S *Visible Speech* Vowel Table.

n narrow, w wide, nr narrow round, wr wide round.

TONGUE HEIGHT.	TONGUE BACK.				MIXED.				TONGUE FRONT.			
	n	w	nr	wr	n	w	nr	wr	n	w	nr	wr
HIGH	1 œ	2 ε	3 u	4 u	13 x	14 y	15 u	16 uh	25 i	26 i	27 i	28 y
MID	5 π	6 a	7 o	8 o	17 ə	18 ah	19 oh	20 oh	29 e	30 e	31 ε	32 ε
LOW	9 œ	10 a	11 A	12 o	21 əh	22 ə	23 ah	24 əh	33 ε	34 ε	35 əh	36 əh

These will be spoken of as Bell's No. 1, 2, 3, etc., though the numbers are mine, and merely annexed for convenience of reference, and to shew in the briefest manner the position of the tongue and lips assigned by Mr. Bell.

Quantity.—(1) *Vowels.* Six grades of length are recognised. Very short as (ǎ ǝ), ordinarily short as (a ə), medial length, lying between short and long, as (â ə̄), long as (aa əə), drawled as (aâ ə̄̄), extremely long as (aaa əəə). Ordinarily only two lengths are written, short and long, as (a aa). To indicate a succession of two shorts of the same kind introduce the break as (aja). TH. has always recognised the medial length as (â), and in all his numerous contributions to this book medial vowels abound, greatly to the exclusion of long (p. 316). Hence to him, and those who agree with him, the long vowel (aa) represents a much longer sound than it does to me. In s.Lowland the vowels are generally medial, and when lengthened are very long, thus *thief thieves* are (thif thiiivz), which might be written (thiif thiiivz), but for convenience are usually written (thif, thiiivz). Similarly in Italian and Spanish, the vowels are ordinarily of medial length, and may be emphatically shortened or lengthened according to the feeling of the moment, without disturbing signification.

(2) *Consonants.*—Some consonants, as (s, f, z, v), can be continued indefinitely, and in point of fact are generally lengthened in the pause. As a rule this is not noticed in writing. But TH. constantly marks it, see p. 316, and all the examples in D 21, D 26, (pp. 317–329, 426–447). See also Dr. Sweet's observations, IV. 1145. In this case, if the final consonant is voiced, as (hiz), the buzz is often not continued very long, but is followed by an indefinitely long hiss, thus (hizs') as (hiz') would be uncomfortable to the speaker. If the final consonant be a mute, it cannot be lengthened, but is only suspended, that is, the organs of speech are retained in their positions, and a silence ensues until the position is ordinarily released on flatus, or another vowel, thus (stop') properly means a silence after (p), but would ordinarily imply the release on flatus as (stop'p'). Sometimes, however, even when final the mute is neither suspended nor audibly released, and would then be marked thus (stop'). Between two vowels the mute is thus usually split up, thus *stopping* is pron. as (stop'iq), with no pause between the end of the first or beginning of the second syllable, really (stop'piq), or a suspension may be inserted as (stop'piq), which is not usual in English except in compound words as *hoppole* (hap'pool), but not (hap'p'pool). When a different consonant follows, only the first glide on to the (p) is heard, as *upshot* (əp:shot). In all these cases, except in special phonetic discussions, I avoid the use of the mark of suspension. But the suspended (t') for *the* is always marked, p. 317b.

In the following list only the short vowels and the short consonants are given as headings, but examples to both short and long vowels are often annexed.

Diphthongs.—Two or more different vowels written in juxtaposition are to be pronounced in separate syllables, as (keəos) chaos, but they are usually separated in some way, as (kee'os, kee'os). When however they glide on to one another, one of them bears an acute accent, as (âi), and the two form a 'diphthong,' and similarly three vowels form a triphthong, as (éâu). The combination in each case consists of a single syllable. The vowel bearing the acute accent has then the principal stress. Occasionally each element may have equal stress, and then two acute accents are used, as (îâ), distinct from (ija, ia, iâ), but even in this case there is felt to be only one syllable. When the vowel with the stress is long, the acute is placed on the first of the two representative letters, as (âai), and when it is medial, the medial grave accent fuses with the diphthongal acute accent into a circumflex, thus (â'î) becomes (âî), which type will be constantly found in TH.'s contributions below. As English printers have usually only (á é í ó ú á é í ó ú) with acute accents, the acute accent for other vowels is placed after the vowel, as (ə'î, əə'î), and the grave is printed after it separately, as (A'î, A''î). It is sometimes convenient to indicate the class of a diphthong without completely analysing it. Thus we may not know whether (a'î, âi, âî) were the diphthong really uttered, but may be sure that it was something like one of them, then (a'î) is used, the acute accent being separated, and the second element indefinite. Similarly (a'u, o'î, i'u, a'y, a'v, e'v, i'u, i'v, o'v, u'v) are employed for unanalysed diphthongs, the (') being separate from (a, e, i, o, u); but this meaning of the separate acute accent is confined to the case when it follows (a, e, i, o, u). Hence (âi, a'î) must be strictly distinguished, the first diphthong being thoroughly analysed and definite, the second entirely unanalysed

and indefinite, but forming a class; (ə'i) however is also an analysed form, the accent being separate through a typographical necessity. As a rule only unanalysed diphthongs are given in the following list, though the principal analysed forms will be found in their proper places.

The length of the first element of a diphthong is generally very material. It is usually short, as (ái), but occasionally lengthened, as (ái, áai), generally with an appreciable difference in pron. or meaning. But the length of the second element does not alter the character of the diphthong, any more than the length of the final consonant alters the value of the syllable. T.H., however, generally marked the quantity of the second element as medial when he observed it to be lengthened, as (ái). I have usually not retained this lengthening, considering it quite inessential, and arbitrary, being in fact constantly admissible in the pause, without any intention to alter the sound, see p. 316.

Elocutionary alterations and intonation are mostly left unmarked, but an inverted period before a word indicates *emphasis* corresponding to the usual *italics*; thus, he told *me*, *he* told me, became (hi toold 'mii, 'hii toold mi). In monosyllables emphasis generally conditions some alteration of sound.

* * The long phonetic discussion on received pron. in Part IV. pp. 1090 to 1167 will be regularly cited, and pp. 1265 to 1357 should also be consulted.

When the numbers of pages referred to are above 1000 they are in Part IV., when under 1000 they are in this volume,—unless the number of the part is specially added. The italic letters *a, b, c, d* annexed here and elsewhere indicate that the passage referred to is in the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the page; and if the page is in double columns, unaccented letters refer to the first, and accented to the second column. The reader will find it convenient to mark the quarters of pages on a separate piece of paper cut the length of the printed matter, excluding the head-line, and after folding in half, and then again in half, and lettering it, apply it to the book; it will be found to save much time in finding a passage in pages so crowded with matter as those of this book.

The mode I have adopted, and found to work well in writing is as follows: The small roman letters are written as usual. The small italic letters are once underlined as usual. The small capitals, instead of being doubly underlined as usual, are written as ordinary letters with an acute accent below, as $\acute{p} = \alpha$, except when they have tails, and then a stroke is written above as $\bar{j} \bar{y} = \gamma \chi$. Black letters are doubly dotted below. The turned letters are thus represented

Turned	a	c	e	æ	ɛ	f	ɝ	r	l	l	m	v	œ
Printed	ø	o	ø	æ	ɛ	f	ɝ	r	l	l	m	v	œ
Written	ε	ρ	ø	ɛ	ɛ	f	ɝ	ɝ	l	l	μ	η	ω

A. (a a¹ a₁ a₂ a_R—ah a_Δ aⁱ a^u a^y—a ah—A A¹—v v^u).

(a) Bell's No. 6 short (a) in German *männ*, and perhaps in English *chaff*, *lass*, *ask*, *bath*, *dance*, 1148; medial (a) common in Midland *that*; long (aa) in *ah*, *father*, *mamma*, *part* (the *r* not sounded), 539c.

(a¹) a higher form of (a) approaching (æ). This is generally used in place of (ah) as more suggestive, but it has not the certain position of the latter, 695a.

(a₁) between (a, a), used especially by JGG., see 539c, generally confused with (a), but JGG. considers that it differs in quality from the short of *a* in *father*.

(a) or (a) with an advanced tongue, 1147c, between (a, æ), and not

materially different in effect from (ah, a¹), 601b.

(a₂) semi-nasal form of (a), mild nasality, often heard in American long *i*, as *I find* (á, i fá, ind).

(a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (æ), 42b.

(ah) Bell's No. 18, not materially different in sound from (a¹, a), used principally for an affected thinness, 1148c. Sweet makes it the sound in *eye*, *better*, but the last is not usual in educated speech.

(a_Δ) a conventional form for French *chant*, but (a) is altered in quality by the altered position of the uvula in nasalisation, see (A) p. 86* below, and 1123d.

(aⁱ) unanalysed diphthong used where the first element has not been determined; when analysed it may take

the forms in (ái, áí, á'í, é'í, æ'í, é'í, á'í, ó'í, áí), and the first element is sometimes lengthened, 1100, col. 2. It may even be nasalised as (á.í). Five forms are heard in D 38, 757c, d, see also D 25, var. iv. p. 410.

- (a'u) unanalysed diphthong, used where the second element approaches (u) and the first element has not been determined; it may take the forms in (áu, áu, á'u, é'u, æ'u, é'u, á'u, ó'u, óu, áu, á'u, ó'u), 1153, col. 2.
- (a'y) unanalysed diphthong where the second element approaches (y) or French *u*. The first element may vary, as in (a'í, a'u). We find (áy), 53b'.
- (a) Bell's No. 10 between (a, A), 1116c, 1152d'.
- (ah) Bell's No. 23, is to him the Irish *sir*, and first element of the Irish *I*, and the oral element of French *en*; Sweet gives no example.
- (A) Bell's No. 11, *all*, *bawl*, an (a) approaching to (o), 1116 col. 1, 1122 col. 1, and 539d.
- (A¹) or (A) with a raised tongue, not unlike (o), 353a, b.
- (æ) Bell's No. 2, as *a* in *parental*, *China*, the commonest form of unaccented indistinct vowel, frequently serving as the second element of a diphthong, 1122b', 540d. Bell's examples are *dungeon*, *motion*, *conscious*, *abandon*, *cupboard*, *avoir-dupoise*, *honour*, *bellows*, sb. Sweet gives no example, but uses Bell's No. 17, my (æ), in this sense finally.
- (æu) a form of (uu) heard perhaps in the north, 636d, No. 640.

Æ. (æ æh).

- (æ) Bell's No. 34, the rec. English short vowel in *bat*, which approaches closely to (æ); and is generally replaced by (a', a, a) in dialects; long in the local pron. of Bath (: bææth).
- (æh) Bell's No. 36, which he hears in the first element of Cockney *out* and L. I'll; and Sweet in open German *Götter*. I can give no example.

B. (b b, bh).

- (b) *bee bay bow, gleeb, babe baby*, a voiced (p), 1113.
- (b,) a kind of defective (m) said to exist in We. 1113d, 560, No. 13.
- (bh) German *w*, Hungarian *v*, modern

Greek β, (v) uttered without touching the upper teeth with the lower lip, 1101 to 1103.

C. (o, oh, o'í).

- (o) Bell's No. 12, common English short *o* in a closed syllable, *hop hob hot hod hock hog*, unused in most of Europe, where it is replaced by (o); very like (A), which is also peculiarly English, but verging towards (o), 1116, 540c. The symbol (o) is used because the small cap. (o), which would naturally have been used, is too like the lower case (o).
- (oh) Bell's No. 24, which Bell conceives as Cockney *ask* and Irish *not*. Sweet gives no example. A.J.E. does not know the sound.
- (o'í) educated form of *boy toy joy*, occasionally (A'í, AA'í), 1117b.

D. (d d d,—dʒ dh dh, dw—D dʒ dh).

- (d) in *do rod plodding pleading*, the tip of the tongue at a sensible distance behind the gums, English 'coronal' (d), voiced form of (t), 1095, 1113.
- (d) French and general continental *d* with the tip of the tongue advanced to the gums, alveolar *d*, 1095, heard in some English dialects, but almost only before (r, r'), which then become (r, r'), 542b.
- (d,) retracted (d), the tip of the tongue brought as far back as possible without reversion, so that its *edge* (not underside) touches the palate, and the tongue forms a spoon-shaped hollow at the back part, a mild form of reversion, 41d.
- (dʒ) contraction for (dzh, dzh) or (dʒzhj), heard in *judge*, 1154b', 542, usually analysed as (dzh), as it was in the three first Parts of E.E.P.
- (dh) the tongue brought fully against the teeth in English, the *th* in *they breathe, tything*, 1098a, 1122a'.
- (dh,) the (dh) with the tongue somewhat retracted, Spanish *d* in *Madrid*.
- (dw) labialised (d), an attempt to utter (d) and (w) simultaneously, 1115, col. 2, frequent English *dw*ell, generally confused with (dw).
- (d) reverted (d), that is, (d) spoken with the underside of the tongue against the palate, 1095, 1096, 42, see (d,).
- (dʒ) = (dzh) or reverted (dʒ), 41.

- (dh) the under part of the tip of the tongue brought against the teeth, theoretically assumed to exist in D 4, see 41.
- E. (e e¹ e₁ e^o—éè ééè éii éi eΔ
 éuu éu—e e¹ e₁—ee^u éei ee^j
 é¹a₁ é¹i¹—E E₁—E^e E^u—ə ə¹
 əh—ə ə¹ əh—æ æ¹ æ_R—æ¹i
 æ^o æ^u).
- (e) Bell's No. 30, as I hear it from educated southern Englishmen in *bet*, *bed*, *pen*, 1106, col. 1, 539*d*, generally replaced by (æ) provincially. Bell considers that it is used only in unaccented syllables, and that (æ) is the sound in accented syllables. Sweet agrees with me. The long form (ee) as in *fair*, *care*, *pear*, but only before *r* in received English, sounding (féè, kéè, péè).
- (e¹) the tongue of (e) being raised, hence approaching closely to (é), 1107, col. 2
- (e₁) the tongue of (e) being lowered, approaching closely to (æ), hardly distinguishable from (æ¹), 1107, col. 2.
- (e^o) an indistinct form of (e) approaching (ə), but reminding the hearer of (e), 721*b*, *c*.
- (éè) common provincial fracture, differing only in length from the next.
- (ééè) real sound of *air* without the trill, (éè) is also common provincially, see (e).
- (éii) the (e) very short and the (ii) long, 538*c*, 595*b'*, considered by the natives as (ii) parallel to (i,i).
- (éi) common diphthongising form of (e).
- (eΔ) French *vin*, see (A), p. 86*.
- (éuu) the (e) very short and the (uu) long, 538, l. 3 from bottom, a substitute for (uu), see also 556*c*, parallel to (éii).
- (éu) a mincing form of (a'u) common in D 9, p. 137*d*, and London.
- (e) Bell's No. 29, when lengthened, is the sound in *name* without any vanish, Fr. *fee* long, *été* short, 1107. Murray considers it opener than Fr. *fee*, 710, No. 4. The long sound must be distinguished from (ee^j) with the vanish.
- (e¹) the tongue of (e) raised, and hence approaching closely to (i), 1107, 683*b*, 756*c*, and scarcely distinguishable from (i₁), 595*b*.
- (e₁) the tongue of (e) lowered, approaching closely to (e), 1107, 683*b*, 697*c*.
- (ee^è) a low form of (ee) or (ee) tending towards (æ), usually written (ee₁), 682, last line.
- (éei) more distinctly ending with (i) than London (ee^j), 1108*d*, 1109.
- (ee^j) the London (educated) long (ee) with the 'vanish,' the diphthong ending in an indefinite approach to (i), which is not of constant value, 1111, col. 1.
- (e¹a₁) this diphthong is here usually written (i,a₁), 542*a*.
- (é¹i¹) a diphthong scarcely distinguishable from (i,i), which is here generally written, 541*c*.
- (æ) Bell's No. 33, the Fr. *bête* short, Italian open *e*, common short English *e* in closed accented syllables in provincial, and as some hold in rec. sp., see (e) above, and 1106*c*.
- (E₁) a still deeper form than (æ), but not yet quite (æ), 1108*c*, 711, No. 6.
- (æ^e) a variation of (æ) in the direction of (e) for which (e₁), or lowered (e), is used, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.
- (æ^u) a very common form of (a'u) heard in D 10 and D 19, pp. 146*a*, 277*b*, 278*c*, 279*d*, 287*d*.
- (ə) Bell's No. 17, the fine *u* of an educated Londoner in closed accented syllables as *cut up*, replaced provincially by (æ), 1094, col. 2. Bell conceives it to be French *que*, which I take as (ə). Sweet has German *Gabe*, which I conceive as (v). Murray cannot distinguish open unstressed (e, ə), 683*a*. I do not really distinguish unstressed (v, ə).
- (ə¹) an (ə) raised towards (i), 146*b*.
- (əh) Bell's No. 21, he puts down as "provincial *sir*," and Sweet simply as *sir*; I do not know it as different from (æ).
- (ə) Bell's No. 31, Fr. *eu* in *peu* as distinct from *eu* in *peuple*, which is (æ); it does not seem to occur precisely in English, but only in some variant written (ə₁), 146*c*, 541*a*. Bell conceives (ə) as Fr. *une*, which I take as (y) and Sweet as (i).
- (ə¹) a higher form of (ə), 711, No. 12, 721*b*, *c*.
- (ə₁) a deeper variant of (ə), but not quite (æ), 146*c*, 541 under (ə₂), 595*a*'.
- (əh) Bell's No. 35, which he gives to French *beurre* (but this seems rather (œ) to me), and Sweet to Swedish *för*.

short (i) in closed accented syllables is not recognised as English, and is replaced by (i); even in open short syllables (i) is rare, 1098*c*, 540. It occurs however in L. 710*c*.

- (i) very short sound of (i), the vocal form of (j), 53*b*, par. 3, diphthongising with the following vowel, regular Welsh form.
- (i^a) unanalysed form of a common dialectal diphthong, varying as (i^a, ia, i^a, i^a), the last being the rec. sound of *ear* when the *r* is, as usual, not trilled, 1099*c*.
- (i) Bell's No. 26, in: *it*, *bib*, *pin*, *silly*, the regular sound of English short *i*, 540, but TH. uses (i) when it occurs in open unaccented syllables, considering the tongue to be somewhat retracted, 316*c*; Bell makes no such distinction; Sweet considers *pity* to have (i).
- (i) a sign used by TH. explained 316*c* not distinguished by me from unstressed open (i), which see.
- (i¹) a high form of (i), which I cannot distinguish from (i).
- (i²) SL. close form of (i^a), 710, No. 3.
- (iⁱ) inchoant diphthong, (i) commenced too deep as (i) and gradually raised to (i) during speech, 293; this is the Midland form and seems to be what Sweet writes *ij*, which he analyses as (iⁱ) for received English.
- (i^y) a diphthong arising from beginning (y) with the mouth too open, heard in D 19, p. 261*a*.
- (i₁) a lowered form of (i) lying between (i, e), which Sweet hears in *pity* and is common dialectally.
- (i¹) L. close (i^a) as written on 682*d*, No. 3, usually written (i²).
- (i^a, i₁) a peculiar northern fracture, in which both elements are distinct, 542*a*.
- (i^a, e^o) JGG.'s form of (i²), 721*b*, *c*.
- (i₁) here the first element is deeper than (i) and approaches (e), so that JGG. often wrote (e¹i¹), which see, 541*c*; it differs from (iⁱ) in being nearer (eⁱ).
- (i₁₁) doubly lowered (i), representing the sounds generally written *i* in Ab. which sound to me among (i, e, o, a, v), fully discussed in 767, see also 695*d* and 756*d*.
- (i) Bell's No. 27, which he assigns to German *über* and Sweet to French *lune*, both of which I take to be (y).

J. (j 'j—j jh—r).

- (j) a modifier, indicating that the preceding consonant is palatalised, or that an attempt is made to pronounce (i) simultaneously with it, as in (kj, gj, lj, nj), 1115. Sweet calls this palatalisation "front modification," because he terms (i) a "front vowel."
- (j) indefinite palatalised voice, heard in the 'vanish' of (ee'j) for long *a* in the pause, 1111, Sweet writes *ei* and analyses (ei₁).
- (j) the true consonantal sound in *ye* *yield* *yet* *yacht*, German *j*, the true consonantal form of (j), 1149*d*, 542*c*.
- (jh) the palatal hiss of (j) heard, at least occ., in *hew hue Hughes huge Hume*, but often replaced by simple (j), not unlike (gjh, kjh), 1149, col. 2.
- (r) the Midland gentle *r* described in 293*d* and 294, not materially different from (r_o, r^o) and other imperfect, because unflapped or untrilled, forms of (r), see under R.

K. (k k_j kh kj kjh kw kw_h k).

- (k) common guttural mute in *cake*, *sack*, *pick*; there is a habit sometimes of jerking out the following vowel as (k_hem) *come*, heard in Ireland and Germany, 1140*d*, and some insist on slight flatus intervening as (k_hem), which regularly occurs in the pause as (sæk_h) = (sæk¹) *sack*, neither practice is generally heard from educated speakers.
- (k_j) explodent form of (tj) as conceived by Mr. Godwin and found in India, 1119*c*.
- (kh) the German *ch* in *ach*, still heard in Lowland Scotch and occ. in Northern English.
- (kj) palatalised (k), or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (i) simultaneously, 1115.
- (kjh) palatalised hiss, an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (i) simultaneously; German *ich*, *recht*, heard in Lowland, 542*c*, 711*d*, not to be confounded with (jh) or with (sh, shj).
- (kw) labialised (k) or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (u) simultaneously, usual *qu* in *quality*, *quantity*, *equalise*, *question*, 1103, col. 2, 1115.
- (kw_h) an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (u) simultaneously, final in German

- auch*, *buch*, and initial in Lowland Scotch, written as initial *quh*, 1115*b'*, 711*d*.
- (x) retracted (k), see (g), p. 81*.
- L. (l 'l l—lh, lhh, lj—l lh—
[—L—r]).
- (l) common English *low*, *lie*, *owl*, *aisle*, *dwelling*, 1146*c*, 542*c*, the tip of the tongue resting on the hard palate some way from the gums, coronal (l), and the sides of the tongue slightly flapping.
- (^ll) syllabic (l), the voice being sustained during position, this notation is adopted as clearer than Bell's (ll) or my equivalent (l'). Compare (*lit*'l, *lit*ll, *lit*l').
- (.l) alveolar (l), the tip of the tongue resting on the gums, common continental *l*, 542*c*.
- (lh) flated (l), that is, with flatus substituted for voice, generated in some dialects, and supposed by Bell to occur regularly before (p t k), as (*hellp*) or (*hellhp*, *mellht*, *mállhk*) *help*, *melt*, *milk*, 542*d*.
- (lhh) unilateral (lh), the breath being ejected from the right side of the tongue only, as in Welsh *llall*.
- (lj) palatalised *l*, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (i) at the same time. Italian *gl* may be generated in English *million* as (mál-lj-jæn), 1115.
- (^l) the Polish gutturalised barred *l*.
- (^h) the flated (*l*).
- (l) the gradual glottid, the edges of the glottis being open when beginning to speak and gradually closing, 1129*c'*.
- (L) reverted *l*, the under part of the tongue being turned to the palate generated by action of preceding (R), 42*d*, and sometimes used independently, 143*e*.
- (r) glottal *r* peculiar to Danish, but held to have been heard in the Cockney speech by Donders, 1099*e'*.
- M. (m 'm mh x).
- (m) an orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (p), 1148, col. 2; the tongue should obstruct the cavity of the mouth as little as possible, or (n, q) may be generated, for which the opening of the lips is not necessary.
- (^m) syllabic (m) in schism *chasm* (*siz*'m *kæz*'m); this symbol preferred as more distinct than Bell's (mm) or my (m'), 1148*d'* and 1108*d*.
- (mh) flatus passed through the nose while the mouth is in the position for (p), thought by Bell to occur before mutes, but not heard by me, 1141*a*, 1148*c'*.
- (x) turned small capital *m*, a lip trill with compressed lips, a defective utterance of (r) usually taken for (w), 665, line 1, formerly written (u) or turned *m*.
- N. (n 'n n—nh nj—N).
- (n) orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (t), as in *no*, *own*, *manner*, 1095, the mouth is generally open, but it is not necessary that it should be so, see (m).
- (ⁿ) syllabic (n) so written in preference to Bell's (nn) and my (n') for lengthened (n), in *open*, *sunken* (*oöp*'n, *səqk*'n), 1108*d*.
- (n) the alveolar continental *n* with the tip of the tongue quite on the gums, 1095*e'*.
- (nh) flatus through the nose and in the mouth in the position for (t); this was once used initially for *kn*-throughout England, and is still so used occ. in Cu. 542*d*.
- (nj) palatalised (n), an attempt to pronounce (n) and (i) at the same time, Italian and French *gn*, Spanish *ñ*, Portuguese *nh*; may be generated in English (*ən-nj-jæn*) *onion*, 1151, col. 2, see (qj).
- (N) reverted (n), the mouth being in the position for (r) during the orinasal resonance, generated by a preceding (x) in D 4 and D 11, see 42.
- O. (o o_u—oh óov oA ow—o o_u
o^l—oh oo'w).
- (o) Bell's No. 8 Italian open (o), different from, but often confused with (o), and common in our dialects, 540*c*.
- (o_u) may indicate an endeavour to pronounce (o) with the lip aperture of a (u), see 1116*b'*, and may occur in dialects; it might also be written (ow) on Sweet's principle of 'over-rounding.'
- (oh) Bell's No. 20, conceived by Sweet as French *homme*, which I hear as (o), conceived by Bell as American

- stone, which I hear as (o), and Lowland note, which I also hear as (o). Bell considers it to be unaccented o in *history*, *victory*, which seems to me pedantic.
- (ooə) a compound dialectal fracture, the rec. pron. of *oar*, with vocalised r, now usually called (AA'v), and formerly quite (ooə), 1099*a*.
- (oA) conventional sign for Fr. *on*, see (A).
- (ow) see (o_v) above, and (w), p. 86*.
- (o) Bell's No. 7, as long in *owe*, *no*, *go* without the 'vanish,' see (oo'w), it is not found short in accented closed syllables in English, it resembles the Italian close o, and may certainly be used for it, 1152, 540.
- (ou) the tongue as for (o) with the lip rounding as for u, 682*d*, No. 2, generally written (u₁).
- (o^l) an (o) with a raised tongue and rather more closed lips, and hence closely resembling (u), so that (u₁) is generally written in diphthongs, 541*d*, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.
- (oh) Bell's No. 19, conceived by him as Fr. *homme*, see (oh) and when nasalised as (ohA), French *on*. Sweet gives no example.
- (oo'w) or (oo) with the vanish, that is, with a tendency as it is lengthened towards (u, u), 1152, col. 1, conceived as (oou) and often written (ou) which to me altogether perverts the sound. Sweet writes *ou* and analyses (oou) = (oou).

Œ. (œ œ₁—œA—œ œ'u—œ œ—œ).

- (œ) Bell's No. 32, intermediate to (o, e), Fr. *eu* in *veuf peuple*, German short *ö* in *böcke*, distinct from (e) or *eu* in *peu*, and German long *ö* in *Goethe*; thought to occur in English, 541*b*, but this is doubtful.
- (œ₁) a variant of (œ) greatly resembling (u₁), and similarly used as a transition from (u) to (æ) in Nb. 638*c*, see also 721*c*.
- (œA) the Fr. orinatal *un*, but the analysis cannot be properly made on account of the modification of the oral cavity by releasing the uvula; to an Englishman it sounds rather as (æA), that is, (æ) with Fr. nasality.
- (œ) Bell's No. 1, the sound heard on opening the mouth wide while pronouncing (u), 292*c*.
- (œ'u) results from commencing (u) with

- too wide an opening of the lips, see 292*c*. TH. writes (œ'u) for this sound.
- (œ) Bell's No. 22, in *first erst third*; when r is entirely lost, not materially different from (œ), but with a somewhat more provincial effect, 1156, most noticeable in diphthongs. (œ'i, œ'u) the forms of (a'i, a'u) in D 4, p. 65*a*, (œ'y₁) the form of (a'u) in D 11, p. 156*d*, 158*c*.
- (œ) Bell's No. 9, which he hears in L. *up*, and Sweet in Cockney park; I once imagined it was the D 4 sound in *first*, which I afterwards wrote (f_rst) and now write (f_rst), 42*c*. I do not know the sound. I take the L. *up* to be (æp), see the words on 718 under U.
- (œ) a form of (æ) with the sound of (AA) running through it, continually spelled *aw* by dialect writers, 43*c*, under O'.

P. (p—ph).

- (p) as in *pope*, *stopping*; it may be initially (p_h, p_l, p_h) and finally in the pause (p') with, or (p:) without, a recoil, see 1111, col. 2.
- (ph) the flated form of (bh), the breath as it is usually emitted for cooling hot liquids, used for (f) in Hungarian, and possibly = mod. Gr. φ.

Q. (q—qj qj).

- (q) nasal resonance of voice in the position of the tongue for (k) which excludes oral resonance, 1123*c*; the lips are usually open, but this is not necessary, as oral resonance is entirely prevented.
- (qj) the probable Sanscrit form which is confused generally with (nj), 1124*d*, corresponding to (k_j, q_j).
- (qj) palatalised (q) is by some conceived as the proper French pron. of *gn*, which I take to be (nj) as it certainly is in Italian.

R. (r .r r r, r^o r^o r_o r_o—rh
rh rh₁—r r_o—rw—R R_o
R_o—rh—r—r).

- (r) a sharp beat produced by allowing emitted voice to flap the tip of the tongue, and this is the true 'trill' as heard in Italy, in Scotland, in Wales, and in Sh.; the strength and length of the beat vary much, but when there is no beat, there is

- some substitute, as (r_c), now common. Enumerated kinds, 294. Simple (r) is constantly written for any kind, and the particular kind is often specified in a note, but is not always known; but real (r) is the exception in English.
- (r) strongly flapped L.-Scotch (r).
- (r) the tip of the tongue advanced quite to the gums, during the flap, used after (t) in dialects.
- (r) with retracted instead of reverted tip of the tongue, which approaches the hard palate; the tongue however retains the spoon-shaped hollowness of (r) towards the throat, 41*d*; (r) has usually been printed instead of (r).
- (r^n) the Northern buzzed r , described 542, last line but one.
- (r^m) the same as (r^n), but with the tip of the tongue advanced towards the gums, used after (t) in Northern dialects.
- (r_e) the buzzed r of the East of England, the tip of the tongue almost in the (d) position, but not touching the palate, a mere imperfect (d); a degradation of (r , r_c), at times very difficult to distinguish from (v), 1098*b*, 189*c*, 222*a*.
- (r_c) advanced alveolar (r_c) used after (t) in dialects.
- (rh) flated (r), flatus instead of voice being used to produce the trill; it probably does not occur in English.
- (rh) flated (r).
- (rh) flated (r) a milder form of (rh), which is usually written, 42.
- (r) uvular r , the beat or interruption of sound being produced by the flapping of the uvula, which is brought to lie over the top surface of the tongue; it is possible to make this trill very hard, and even metallic as in Paris, 642*b*; its usual effect is like (gh).
- (r_c) the uvular rise, a stiffened uvula which does not flap as in (r), 642*c*.
- (rw) the (r) labialised, by bringing the lips nearly into the position for (o), the full Nb. *burr*, of which there may be several kinds, 641*d*.
- (r) reverted (r), the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate, and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for (r); some deny that it is ever trilled, 23*b*, 41, apparently combined with vowels (α , a , Λ), etc. 42*b*.
- (r_c) untrilled (r), this form is chiefly recognised by natives who consider that (r) is never trilled, because the effect of the trill is so different from that in (r), 23*b*, 53*a*.
- (r_c) the syllabic (r_c) for which (αr) is usually written, 42.
- (rh) flated (r), the common initial r in D 4, p. 42*a*.
- (r) Irish r written (r) on 1232*c*.
- (r) permissive (r), that is, where r is written, either (v) or (vr) may be pron., but the first is more usual, 1099*c*, 1153*a*, 189*c*.
- S. (s s sh shj sh srh sh).
- (s) common s in *see*, *cease*, *missing*, 1104*c'*, a pure hiss, with no voice.
- (s) the tongue for (s) is advanced close to the gum in making the hiss in *cats*, 1105*a*, line 3; LLB. hears this, and not (t_s) in the Italian *z*.
- (sh) 'concave swish,' hiss with the tongue retracted and hollowed, in *she*, *leash*, *wishing*, 1117 to 1121.
- (shj) 'convex swish,' the upper surface of the tongue is convex to the palate; this seems to be the High German s in *st*, *sp* initial, where 'concave' (sh) with a hollow upper surface of the tongue is not admissible; (tj) may be taken as ($tjshj$) as well as (tsh).
- (sh) an advanced (sh), which may be heard in *catch* ($kæ'tsh$), written ($kæ'tj$), where LLB. hears only (sh), 1117 to 1121.
- (srh) voiceless Polish *rz*, tongue in the position for (sh) and the tip slightly trilled, 295*a*, line 4.
- (sh) 'reverted swish,' made with reverted tongue, that is, (sh) as affected by a preceding (α), 41*c*.
- T. (t t' t t — tj th th tj tw — t — tj rh).
- (t) as in *taught*, *tatting*, with the tendency in some speakers to (th , tj , tjh) when initial, 1095, and (t') final in the pause, 1111, col. 2.
- (t) suspended (t) used for the definite article in the North, 18*b*, 20*b*, especially considered, 317*b*.
- (t) alveolar t , with the tip of the tongue against the gums, used before r , then pron. (r), in many English dialects, 542*b*, see (d).
- (t) retracted (t), see (d), 41*d*.
- (tj) as in *cheese*, *catch*, *hatching*, a contraction for (tsh , tsh) or ($tjshj$), see (dj), 1154*b'*, 542*b*.

- (th) dental hiss, as in *thin breath pith nothing*, the tongue fully against (not between) the teeth, 1097*d*.
 (th) alveolar hiss, the tongue on the gum, Spanish *z*, scarcely distinguishable from (th).
 (tj) palatalised (t), an attempt to utter (t, i) at the same time, 1115.
 (tw) labialised (t) as in *twine*, an attempt to utter (t, u) at the same time, 1115.
 (r) reverted *t*, with the under surface of the tongue against the palate, 42*c*.
 (rj) reverted (tj) formed of (rsh), 41*d*.
 (rh) an attempt to say (th) with the under surface of the tongue against the teeth, 41*c*.

U. (u ü—*u u' u'*— u_o , u_o , u_o —
uh úu—u₁ u₁' ú₁á₁ úu₁o
ú₁u—v).

- (u) Bell's No. 3; when long as (uu) in *too food pool*; it does not occur short in an accented closed syllable in English, but often occurs short in an open unaccented syllable as influence *to-day to-night*, 1097*d*, 540*d*; found medial in L. (bkk) *book*, see (úu).
 (ü) very short diphthongising initial (u) used where (w) is now employed, 1103, 543*b* under (w).
 (u) Bell's No. 4, the common short *oo* in an accented syllable, *full good*, distinctly different from (u), 1114*c'*, where read (*u₁*) for (*u_o*).
 (*u'*) the form in which (*u₁'*) is usually written, 711, No. 10.
 (*u'*) a higher form of (*u*) almost (u), 53, par. 8, 554*c*.
 (*u_o*) peculiar Midland transition sound from (o) to (u), described, 291*c*, and compare, 292*a*, 365, 554.
 (*u_o*) the sound of (*u_o*) with the tongue more advanced.
 (ú_ou) T.H.'s sign for my (*u'*u), 292*c*, used on 327, under O'.
 (uh) Bell's No. 16, which he assigns to unaccented *-ure* and American *do*, but Sweet to *value*.
 (úu) Midland inchoant diphthong commencing with (*u*) and passing on to (u), probably Sweet's *uw*, which he analyses as (úuv), that is (*u*) passing into an 'overrounded' (*u*), see (ú₁u).
 (*u₁*) a low form of (*u*), scarcely distinct from (o¹) the high form of (o), which see, 291*c*, 389*b*, 540*d*. For a long time I confounded this with (*u_o*) under one sign and hence some errors in

- Part IV., thus (*u_o*) on p. 1107*d*, 1114*c'*, should be (*u₁*).
 (*u₁'*) a peculiar fracture heard in D 33, so written on 682*d*, but written (*u'*) on 711, No. 10.
 (ú á₁) a Northern fracture similar to (ú₁á₁), 542*a*.
 (úu₁o) JGG.'s form of (*u'*), 721*c*.
 (ú₁u) Northern inchoant diphthong commencing with (*u₁*), almost (o¹), and ending with (u), 494*c*, 541*d*, 595*b*.
 (v) Bell's No. 15, Bell and Sweet both consider it to be Swedish *u*; it may be conceived as (y) with more flavour of (u) in it.

V. (v Δ).

- (v) the voiced form of (f), a buzz, with the lower lip firmly placed against the teeth, the despair of Germans who use (bh), 1101, col. 2.
 (Δ) written like Greek η, the sign of French nasality; the four French nasals in *an vin un on* are conventionally represented by (ΔΔ ΔΔ ΔΔ ΔΔ), but the relaxation of the uvula necessary for nasalisation prevents any exact reference of oral to nasal vowels, 1123, col. 2.

W. (w wh wr^o w 'w wj).

- (w) a peculiarly English buzzed consonant with nearly closed lips, which are compressed in the middle but inflated on each side by the emitted voice, the back of the tongue raised as for (u); the side inflations distinguish (w) from (bh), and the buzz from (ü), 1091 to 1094; used for (v) in some dialects, 132*b*, 143*a*.
 (wh) flated (w), that is, with unvoiced breath through the same position, which makes next to no hiss, only a blow, see the long discussion, 1125 to 1145, 543*c*.
 (wr^o) initial *wr* still heard among old people in the North, 543*c*, the oldest form was perhaps (rw) or labialised(r).
 (w) mark of labialisation, that is, of closing the lips more or less during the sound, or holding the position of the previous letter, as in (kw, gw, tw, dw), that is, an attempt to pronounce (w) at the same time with (k g, t d) respectively; it may also be used with vowels to indicate greater labialisation, or more than the normal closure of the lips, thus (ow)=(o_u), which see.

THE
EXISTING PHONOLOGY
OF
ENGLISH DIALECTS

COMPARED WITH THAT OF WEST SAXON SPEECH.

FORMING PART V. OF "EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION."

THE EXISTING
PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this treatise is to determine with considerable accuracy the different forms *now*, or *within the last hundred years*, assumed by the descendants of the same original word in passing through the mouths of uneducated people, speaking an inherited language, in all parts of Great Britain where English is the ordinary medium of communication between peasant and peasant. This limitation excludes those parts of Wales and Scotland where Celtic is habitually spoken by the natives. Ireland has also been excluded, except in the south-east of Co. Wexford—an old English colony—because it has otherwise a comparatively recently imported speech. The exact limits are marked on the Map by the CB or Celtic border, and traced in words below. Of course the oldest form of English existent within these limits was itself imported from North Germany, modified by Old Norse and subsequently Old Norman, which was a form of Old French modified by Old Norse. And equally of course the immigrants aboriginally spoke differently, so that there was not really one original form for any word within the whole limits thus described.

To solve this problem perfectly every word used by native peasants in every part of the country should have its pron.¹ observed and written phonetically. But this was obviously impossible. Hence a selection of typical words had to be made. Before investigating it was naturally impossible to make a proper selection, but without some sort of selection no investigation could have been commenced. At first I tried any collections of words I could obtain. Then finding how vague, defective and redundant these were, with the help of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, author of DSS. and editor of the new English Dictionary, I constructed in 1873 a *Comparative Specimen* (referred to as cs. and given in the Preliminary Matter No. III.), containing at least many typical words and constructions, run into sentences. This then I endeavoured to get “translated” into the idiom and pronunciation of the place.

¹ See list of abbreviations in frequent use, pp. 4* and 6*.

Constantly complaints came to me from correspondents in different parts of the country that "our people don't speak so." Of course they did not. That was inevitable, and indeed intentional. But the intention was also to have the idiom corrected, at the same time that the pron. was assigned, and this was seldom attempted. Notice of my attempt was given in the *Athenæum* and *Academy*, and numerous ladies and gentlemen who were familiar with dialectal speech gave me their assistance. But there was great difficulty in expressing their meaning through lack of phonetic knowledge. Fortunately many were able to give *vivâ voce* readings, and most kindly laboured hard to make me understand the sounds, while I wrote them in palaeotype. Their names and work are recorded in the Alphabetical County List in the Preliminary Matter No. VI. In other cases I endeavoured by written questions to obtain a clue to the sounds. But this was heavy and laborious, and the result was not satisfactory on the whole, although the versions of my cs. thus obtained were the nucleus of my work.

Finding that the words I wanted particularly were often ingeniously avoided in the translations given, and that the idiom presented great difficulties, in Sep. 1877 I got out *Word Lists* (referred to as wl.), following the order and etymology in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*. This step indicated a further advance in the conception of the problem. The Wessex, or literary Saxon form of King Alfred's time, was now, where possible, adopted as the language of comparison, even for those Midland and Northern regions, where different forms of Low German were originally spoken. In some instances of course this comparison could not be made, and the word had to be referred to a Norse or French form, or classed as of unknown origin. We had now a standard of comparison. The problem then assumed this form, *given the Wessex vowels* (or consonants, but the vowels were most important) *of certain words, to find their dialectal equivalents in different parts of the country*, and this is the form under which its solution is attempted in this treatise. The order and classification used by Dr. Sweet, proving inconvenient for rapid reference, I subsequently modified this list, and it finally assumed the form of the Classified Word List (referred to as cwl. as distinct from the preceding wl.) given in the Preliminary Matter No. V.

With this wl. I gave a list of the principal sounds to be observed, with their glossic representation and a number attached. I regret to say that these proved useless and confusing. I could seldom rely upon the figures given. Some unfortunate misprints, arising from extending the list of sounds, increased the perplexity of many correspondents, and the result was that where I was unable to obtain *vivâ voce* or palaeotypic information, I had the same difficulty as before in interpreting the informants' orthography (here referred to as io.), and occasionally the still greater difficulty arising from the wrong use of numbers. Still I managed to obtain a very considerable amount of local information from all parts of the country by means of these wl., over which many of my

informants gave themselves an immense amount of trouble, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. About 1700 of these lists were sent out, chiefly to the clergy in those parts of the country from which information was most needed, and of these about 500 were returned with some though often very little information.

In 1879 I tried the use of a much shorter specimen called the Dialect Test (referred to henceforth as dt.), containing only 76 independent words, which exemplified all the principal classes, or rather would have done so if my informants had not constantly avoided or changed some of the important words. This dt. with the words numbered and the original notes designed to draw my informants' attention to the points of the investigation and to record the pron. to a considerable extent without having to acquire the use of a systematic orthography, is given in the Preliminary Matter No. IV., and has been of much service.

These three modes of obtaining information were necessarily addressed to educated people who did not speak dialect naturally, and hence had only more or less observed what was said, and imitated it as well as they could. They all spoke "received speech" (abbreviated to rs.) in "received pronunciation" (abbreviated to rp.), and endeavoured more or less successfully to impart their impressions of dialectal pron. (abbreviated to dp.) by means of "received orthography" (abbreviated to ro.). Here were many possible sources of error. 1) The sounds may have been wrongly appreciated. 2) The sounds may have been wrongly imitated. 3) The rp. adopted by my informants may have been different from my own, for there is no such thing as a uniform educated pron. of English, and rp. or rs. is a variable quantity differing from individual to individual, although all its varieties are "received," understood and mainly unnoticed. 4) There are many dialectal sounds which are not recognised at all in rs. and which hence required more than ro. to represent, so that my informants frequently used combinations of letters which are not in ro., and these they generally did not attempt to explain or frankly declared to be inexplicable. 5) There was my own conjectural interpretation of my informants' orthography, which was at first very venturesome and unsatisfactory to myself. The hours, days, and sometimes months and years which I have spent over endeavouring to avoid these sources of error would be in themselves sufficient to account for the delay in completing this treatise.

But why not go to the peasantry at once? Why not learn from word of mouth, so that the errors would be limited to the writer's own appreciation? Where possible, this mode of obtaining information has been followed. But I have myself been able to do so in very few cases. There are many difficulties in the way. First the peasantry throughout the country have usually two different pron., one which they use to one another, and this is that which is required; the other which they use to the educated, and this which is their own conception of rp., though often remarkably different from it, is absolutely worthless for the present purpose.

If I, having no kind of dialectal speech, were to go among the peasantry, they would of course use their "refined" speech to me. I have therefore not attempted it. But I have occasionally been able successfully to obtain information from domestic servants, from railway porters, and principally, through the kind cooperation of the Principal, from the students at Whitelands Training College in Chelsea. These last were young women generally about twenty years old, fresh from the country, who, though they now spoke very well, had been from earliest childhood accustomed to the speech of their own districts, or had learned that of other districts by long teaching of natural dialect speakers in national schools. To the interest taken by the Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, the Principal, in my work, the help from the teachers themselves, and the willing assistance of the students, I am indebted for information which has cleared up many difficulties and helped me to fill up many gaps.

But my chief aid in this way has come from three important sources. 1) Mr. C. Clough Robinson (henceforth referred to as CCR.), author of a Leeds Glossary, and subsequently of the Mid Yorkshire Glossary (the latter published by the English Dialect Society), a natural dialect speaker, acquired my glossic in personal interviews with me, and was of the utmost assistance in phonetically rendering the pron. of South and Mid Yo.

2) Mr. J. G. Goodchild (henceforth referred to as JGG.) a Londoner, who had been many years employed on the Government Geological Survey, and had thus been constantly in the society of dialect speakers, having acquired a knowledge of my palaeotype (verified by many personal interviews between us), was able to furnish me with wonderful phonographs, so to speak, of the pron. in Cu. We. and nw. Yo., which he had again and again verified by the speakers themselves.

3) Mr. Thomas Hallam (henceforth referred to as TH.), a native of n. Db., a natural dialect speaker, for many years a book-keeper in the Canal Department of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Offices at Manchester, having acquired the use of my palaeotype in great perfection, as verified by many personal interviews between us, has rendered me the most important services in the Midland Counties, La. Ch. Db. St. in especial, and in various other counties of England, as will be seen in the lists Nos. VI. and VII. given in the Preliminary Matter. His position in connection with the Railway Offices gave him facilities for travelling over these regions, and as he has been helping me for fully twenty years, there has been time for collecting and imparting great stores of information. His method of proceeding was this. On arriving at a station he would inquire where he could find old and if possible illiterate peasants, whom he would "interview," gaining their confidence, and then noting their peculiarities of pron. in his note books (now more than lxx. in number, a goodly Septuagint), using palaeotype, which he wrote most accurately. In the same books he entered all passing pron. which he heard, forming the "words noted" (abbreviated to wn.), which are so frequently referred to hereafter,

reduced to the form of my cwl. Also, making acquaintance with native dialect speakers, he obtained numerous cs. and dt., most of which are given below, and thus enabled me to illustrate dialectal pron. in a most unexpectedly accurate manner over about 22 counties; for the exact enumeration see the Alphabetical County List, and Informants' List in the Preliminary Matter, Nos. VI. and VII.

A large number of the names there recorded recall to me long correspondence or lengthy personal interviews, and I beg to return to all my informants grateful thanks for their help, which has made my work possible.

Finally I wish to record my obligations to H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (henceforth referred to as LLB.), who, though he was able only on one occasion to take down a portion of a cs. in pal. himself, yet procured me many versions of the cs. from others, and a large amount of incidental dialectal information. To him I owe especially my first conceptions of a classification of the English Dialects, and he has been throughout a warm sympathiser and a ready helper. Possessing a large collection of English dialect books, consisting of various specimens, besides those versions of the Song of Solomon made for himself, and all the best glossaries, with many of his own notes in travelling, he allowed me to examine them all, and abstract what was needed, so that I was made thoroughly acquainted with all that had been done before, and saw how necessary it was to treat of the pron. separately.

To clothe all these sources of information in a proper garment, which would admit of accurate comparison, a sufficiently copious phonetic alphabet was necessary. The palaeotype used in Parts I. to IV. of EEP. was of course adopted. But the direct investigation of living speech has rendered numerous additions or modifications necessary. Hence I have considered it advisable to prefix to this treatise a new table of Dialectal Palaeotype (in the Preliminary Matter No. VIII.), containing all the signs employed in this treatise in an order which can be readily referred to, so that no reader can have any difficulty in ascertaining the value of any symbol he meets with. Great peculiarities will generally be specially explained where they occur, and in the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype (which for that purpose has been printed last) references will be given to these explanations. The use of pal. of course requires much careful study to understand it thoroughly and read it easily, but I must assume that this work will be used by readers who are prepared to study. There is no help for it. If the sounds were merely uttered to them without being fixed by signs, they would forget or confuse them immediately. I do not add a general treatise on phonetics. Much can be gathered from the discussions in Part IV. of EEP., and a condensed account of the theory of phonetics, with a long list of my palaeotype symbols, drawn up by myself, will be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 22, or part 86, pp. 381-390, published 1887.

There is so much difficulty in limiting the conception of a

dialect, so as to distinguish it from a language, that I have thought it best not to attempt distributing the English language into precisely defined dialects, but to take the range of country where English is acknowledged to be spoken by peasants to one another in some one or other of its forms, and then to divide it into districts where the form of speech can be tolerably well defined. Hence the first thing is to lay down the limits assumed for English as against Celtic. This is a division of entirely unrelated languages, differing in sound, vocabulary, grammar and history. But this is the only case in which all these four points will have to be considered. This is a treatise on the existing phonology of the English dialects, meaning simply peasant speech. Hence, when the area of English is once determined, the geographical divisions must depend mainly, if not always, entirely on pron., with the least possible admixture of considerations founded on vocabulary and grammar (indicated in the note appended to the cwl. in Preliminary Matter No. V. p. 25*), and none at all on history.

The first broad points in the phonology of English which struck me were the treatment of Wessex U and U' (capital letters will always be used, as in the headings of the cwl. in the Preliminary Matter No. V.), of the letter R, and of the definite article. To my surprise I found that the lines separating these different treatments could be traced completely across the country from sea to sea, and hence I obtained TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, which form the first broad phonetic distribution of English speech. I had hoped indeed that they would form the basis of the ultimate districts. But I gradually found that this was not the case, so far as the treatment of U, U' was concerned, for reasons which will be best explained hereafter; but in other respects the transverse lines do really limit divisions and districts.

Then by tabulating and comparing, especially by means of the cwl., I obtained SIX DIVISIONS, with sufficiently distinct differences and characters, to which I give the geographical names of Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland, the last being almost entirely in Scotland. The characters by which these are distinguished will be given in detail hereafter.

Then commenced the more difficult task of separating these Divisions into such DISTRICTS as had a considerable claim to be considered uniform in the pron. they used, and were sufficiently distinct from their neighbours. The difficulty was to make these districts wide enough, by resolutely refusing to be led away by small differences. Properly speaking there is no uniformity. Not only will a practised ear tell the village in a district from which a speaker hails, but a more accurate examination will shew that families in the same village do not speak exactly alike, nay, that the individual members of the same family will have generally some differentiating peculiarity. My information, however, seldom went into such fine details, although that obtained from Messrs. Goodchild and Hallam often reaches the stage of individualism. My first attempts almost always erred in making the districts too

small, but finally I left very few small districts, because, among other reasons, of the difficulty in determining their boundaries with the information at my command, and contented myself with mostly large districts, in which I recognised VARIETIES only roughly located, and not always accurately or completely characterised.

The result of this has been to divide the whole country into 42 numbered districts, of which 21 contain 89 varieties. In eight of these varieties I have even distinguished 19 subvarieties. Thus stated, the distribution appears rather complex, but the complexity will disappear on examination. The whole of these 10 Transverse Lines, 6 Divisions, and 42 districts, with the Celtic Border, are clearly shewn in the little maps of England and Scotland, drawn from my instructions by Messrs. George Philip and Son, and given with this treatise, and the Key to these maps in the Preliminary Matter No. II. indicates the position of the varieties and subvarieties. In the subsequent pages each District and Variety will be considered in the order of their numbers, and their numbers will be placed at the head of the pages. Hence the reader, after having consulted the map which gives him the number of the district, and the key which shews the number of the Variety, can immediately turn to the page containing the information.

In the course of tracing the boundaries, or of giving the information, I shall have frequently to refer to places whose names are not on the maps here given, and indeed are often difficult to find on any but the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. But it is necessary that the reader should have a good conception of their situation on the little maps which have the districts marked on them. This is effected thus. Take the village of Harrold referred to as "Harrold, Bd. (8 nw. Bedford)," that is, Harrold (not on the map) is in Bedfordshire, 8 miles to the north-west of the town of Bedford (which is on the map). Any series of county maps will then enable the reader either to find the name or the exact locality. I have found G. Philip and Son's penny county maps of England and Scotland very useful, but they are not on a uniform scale. W. H. Smith and Co.'s maps (on the uniform scale of 4 miles to the inch) will enable the reader to follow all the boundaries of districts here given. Stanford's Railway map of three miles to the inch, and the Ordnance maps, may be further referred to if necessary, but Philip's and Smith's are the most convenient, as I have found by extensive use.

This geographical distribution, which was not possible until information had been obtained from all parts of the country, and the limitation of the investigation to phonology now existing either in absolute use of living people or in their memories, form the two distinctive characters of this treatise. It was necessary for this purpose to localise information, and hence to reject almost all printed books, which generally refer to very vaguely defined or, more accurately speaking, undefined areas. This localisation, except when I could secure the assistance of my three chief informants, was very difficult to procure. No doubt many local

readers will object to some of my lines of demarcation, or to the sounds themselves attributed to certain classes of words. This is really inevitable. I have not swept the country, and most of my brooms so far as I went were not of perfect construction. I can only say that I have done my best, and at my advanced age, after twenty years' work on the subject, the main point was to secure what had been gained, and leave corrections to future workers.

The present plan of this enlarged treatise, as distinguished from that in Chap. XI. § 2, No. 3, which has been cancelled, is as follows.

At the commencement is placed a quantity of Preliminary Matter, paged with a star, as 1*, 2*, etc., to which the reader will have constantly to refer.

The contents already sufficiently indicated consist chiefly of the means for procuring information, the geographical representation of the dialectal districts by maps, with their key, the lists of my informants, and the table of Dialectal Palaeotype.

In the work itself, after this Introduction, I proceed direct to the CELTIC BORDER, which I give in two forms: first, as the late Mr. Green conceived it to be in A.D. 580, after the Low Germans had been in England about 130 years, with his supposed distribution of the different tribes; second, as results from inquiries made by myself in Wales, and Dr. J. A. H. Murray in Scotland. Ireland I consider for present purposes as entirely Celtic, with the exception of the little peninsula containing the baronies of Forth and Bargo in Co. Wexford. This Celtic Border, which is boldly drawn on the maps, will be immediately very carefully described in words, so that it can be readily followed on any maps of Great Britain. It limits to the west and north the country considered in these pages.

After this follows an account of the TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, with a verbal description of the route taken by each, shewing the belts of different pronunciation into which they divide the country.

Then I consider the S. div., giving its boundaries and general character, followed by the districts or D. 1 to 12 which it contains.

Each district is treated thus.

It is first numbered and then named. The exact BOUNDARY, as well as it can be ascertained, is next given, followed by the AREA it occupies, expressed in terms of counties or parts of counties. Then come the AUTHORITIES or list of places from which information has been received, with a rough indication of its nature. These names refer to the Alphabetical County Lists in the Preliminary Matter No. VI., which contain detailed information. Then is given the general character of the whole district and an account of each variety. Finally come the ILLUSTRATIONS, consisting generally of cs., dt. and cwl., but occasionally others, where fortune favoured me. The main scientific interest, however, centres in the cs., dt. and cwl., because the different pron. of the same words are thus so easily compared. Occasionally I give many cs. or dt. belonging to one district, and even to different districts, in an interlinear form, which furnishes a remarkably easy method of comparison.

The other divisions and districts are treated in the same way precisely.

Although this has a very complete and systematic appearance, I do not disguise from myself the real incompleteness of the whole exposition and the great desirability of using it merely as a nucleus round which the results of other investigations may be grouped.

Finally there will be a Section on RESULTS, shewing how modern dialectal phonology is related to the ancient Wessex form in particular. This section especially shews the bearing of the present investigation on my complete work. It will necessarily involve the philological question of the alteration of pronunciation in the descent of various languages from one source, for the divisions of English pronunciation are in fact only the illustrations on a small scale which can be observed in actual process of growth, of the changes which in a large scale have been going on within different families of languages throughout the world.

THE CELTIC BORDER.

This is considered under two aspects, ancient and modern. The Ancient is that which divided the immigrant Low Germans from the resident Celts after the first period of conquest had subsided and settlement proper began. The Modern is that now existent.

Ancient.—About A. D. 408 the last Roman forces were withdrawn from Great Britain, and probably in the same year the Low German invaders, who will here be collectively termed Saxons, though they consisted of many different tribes, began to appear. They are however generally credited with having first landed in A. D. 449. These different tribes were constantly fighting with the Celts, but after the battle of *Deorham* (a village near Bath, Sm., overlooking the valley of the R. Severn, A. D. 577), when half the country had been conquered, there was more settlement than conquest, and the different invading tribes rather contended with each other for supremacy, than fought against the “Brut” or Celts. At this time Mr. J. R. Green (*Making of England*, p. 203) apportions the country roughly between Saxons and Celts as follows, by a line running nearly n. to s. from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel. The details of this line are mainly conjectural, and in default of precise information, Mr. Green follows *co. b.* in a great measure. But as the division corresponds to an existing contrast of dialects—on the e. side older Saxon with subsequent Danish influence, on the w. side later Saxon with Celtic influence—it is convenient to describe it, in such a way that it can easily be followed on the maps. This opportunity is also used for localising the various invading tribes to the e. according to Mr. Green,¹ and of giving two groupings of a much later date.

¹ Mr. Green considers that the British were entirely exterminated or driven to the w., so that the population to the e. was purely Saxon. Mr. Grant Allen, in an article headed “Are we Englishmen?” (*Fortnightly Review*, 1880, vol. 28, new series, pp. 472-487), says (p. 485), “A small body of Teutonic

This ancient Celtic border which, to prevent confusion, is not laid down in the maps, begins on the Firth of Forth on the w. b. of Ed., and passes w. of Pb. and Rx. to w. of Nb. and Du. Along s. of Du. Mr. Green places the s. b. of the *Berenicians* that extended on the e. side n. to the Firth of Forth. On the w. side were Strathclyde in Scotland and the Cumbrians in England.

The old Celtic border then continues first w. of n.Yo., and then through Yo. to the e. of the great forest of Elmete, which extended down to Sherwood in Nt. and Db. It then turns w. and n., and afterwards s. again, in order to run on the n. and w. side of Db., and then to the w. of St., till it had to go suddenly e. in order to skirt the great forest of Arden in Wa.¹ Having done so, it resumes its n. to s. direction, passing through Wo. until it strikes the R.

immigrants descended some time about 7th century and onward, to the Eastern shore of South Britain. They occupied the whole coast from the Forth to the Isle of Wight, and spread over the country westward, as far as the central dividing ridge. Though not quite free from admixture with the aborigines, even in this limited tract, they still remained relatively pure in their strongholds, and they afterwards received a fresh Teutonic reinforcement by the Danish invasion. Westward of the central line they conquered and assimilated the aborigines upon whom they imposed their language and laws, but whom they did not exterminate. In the extreme west and in Ireland, the Celts long retained their language and nationality undisturbed. During the middle ages the English people formed by far the most powerful body in the island, and even now they have imposed upon all of it their name and language. But since the rise of the industrial system the Celts have peacefully recovered their numerical superiority. They have crowded into the towns and seaports, so that at the present day only the rural districts of Eastern England can claim to be thoroughly Teutonic. The urban population consists for the most part of a mixed race. Moreover, since intermarriage is now so very frequent, it seems probable that almost all English families, except those of the stationary agricultural class in the East, have some small proportion of Celtic blood. In the upper classes, where numerous intermarriages are universal, this proportion is doubtless everywhere very great. Out of Britain the Celts have it all their own way." And again (p. 487): "We may sum up the result here indicated, in a single sentence:

though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic *in form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Celtic *in matter*." It seemed proper to give these results; but they do not affect this investigation. On the e. people do not speak a language shewing Celtic influence in either grammar or pron. On the w. pron., but not grammar, betrays Celtic influence. This is not an ethnologic treatise. Difference or similarity of language are no guarantees of difference or similarity of race.

¹ *Rosalind*. Well, this is the forest of Arden. *Touchstone*. Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I: when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content.—*As you like it*, Act 2, Sc. 4, speeches 6 and 7. Lord Byron, speaking of the soldiers at Waterloo, says: "And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves, Dewy with nature's tear drops, as they pass," *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. st. 27, and the commentator in Moore's ed. 1833, vol. 8, p. 144, says: "The wood of Soignies is supposed to be a remnant of the forest of Ardennes, famous in Boiardo's Orlando, and immortal in Shakspeare's *As you like it*." Probably many schoolboys have thought the same, as I did fifty years ago also. But Arden, joined as a parish with Temple Grafton, is only 5 w. Stratford-on-Avon, Wa., and Henley-in-Arden only 7 nnw. Stratford, and I certainly agree with Sharpe's *Gazetteer* that this Arden "probably is the true original of Shakspeare's Forest of Arden." It was a forest he was thoroughly well acquainted with, and geography was a trifle to him. Besides, where did "the Duke" of *As you like it* abide?

Severn near Gloucester. It reappears on s. of Gl. opposite the end of the Forest of Dean, and going e. to avoid the great Forest of Selwood, passed on southwards through w.Wl. and e.Do. to the sea near Portland.

The Saxon settlements on the e. of this b. were according to Mr. Green as follows :

Berenicians in Scotland, Nb. and Du. with capital Bamborough (12 ne. Wooler), Nb.
Deirians in Yo. with capital York. The large marsh at the junction of the Ouse with the Humber, and the great forest of Elmete to the w., were uninhabited.

Lindiswaran in Li., except the great marshes near the Wash. The n. of Li. is still known as "the parts of Lindsey."

Snotingas, a tribe of Angles settled on the edge of Sherwood, Nt., and extended to the valley of the R. Soar (say to Loughborough, Le.)

Pecsattan or Peak-settlers, a tribe of West Angles, inhabited Db. and were separated both from Yo. and Nt. by Sherwood and Elmete forests.

West Angles, excepting those last mentioned, settled in St.

Gyrwas, or marsh-dwellers, settled w. of the Wash.

South Angles were in s.Np.

East Angles were in Nf. and Sf.

Middle Angles were in Le.

Hwiccas, a West Saxon tribe, settled in Gl. along the R. Severn.

Wilsætan, also a West Saxon tribe, were in Wl.

Gewissas, another West Saxon tribe, settled in the Isle of Wi. and Ha.

Middle Saxons occupied Mi.

East Saxons were in Es. and Ht.

South Saxons in Ss.

Jutes, who are recognised by Mr. Green, although their existence is doubtful, are placed in Ke. The Weald of Ke. and Sa. co. was occupied by the great forest of Andreda, which separated the Kentmen from the South Saxons.

At a later period the Berenicians and Deirians were united as Northymbrians, and one of their kings, Ethelfrith, wrested Ch. and s. La. from the Celts, by the victory of Chester A.D. 613. For lack of information Mr. Green leaves these countries under Northymbria, for 62 years (from 613 to 675), till the revolt of Wulfhere king of the Mercians (that is, dwellers on the Marc, or border, of Wales answering to our Midlanders) brought them under Midland influence, which their language still shews most strongly, having nothing Northymbrian in it.

In Mr. Green's posthumous work, *The Conquest of England*, 1883, p. 112, there is a rough sketch, entirely unrevised, of the state of England at the treaty of Wedmore (7 w. Wells, Sm.) between King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, after the battle of Edington (7 sw. Wells) in 878. The Danes then withdrew from Sm. and the sketch-map gives the following divisions :

1. *Bernicia* extends on the e. from the Forth to s. of Du.
2. *Danish Northumbria* covers Lonsdale s. of the Sands m. La. and all Yo.
3. *Danish Mercia* takes in Db. Nt. Li. Ru. Np. forming the districts of the Five Boroughs, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford in s.w. Li. and Nottingham.
4. *Kingdom of Guthrum* comprises Nf., Sf., Es., Mi., Ht., Bu., Bd., Cb., Hu., in fact all my E. div.
5. *English Mercia* takes all the co. w. of the Danish Mercia and e. of Wales, as far s. as the Avon and Thames, and hence includes Gl.
6. *Kingdom of Kent* occupies all my D 9 = ES.
7. *Wessex* occupies all my D 4 and 5, with the exception of Gl.
8. *West Welsh* is my D 10 and 11.

The second, third, and fourth of these divisions constitute the Danelaw or portion of England then ruled by the Danes.

Finally Mr. Green left another unfinished sketch of a map of the

“great ealdormanries” or lord-lieutenancies (*Conquest of England*, p. 316) which were created from 955 to 988. This map, then, forms a later grouping which must necessarily have had an effect on the dialects and which is therefore reproduced.

1. *Northumbrian Ealdorm* comprising the former Bernicia and Danish Northumbria.
2. *Cumbria* containing Cu.
3. *West-Moringa Land* containing We.
4. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* from the Ribble La. e. of the Severn through Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl. to the Thames.
5. *The Five Boroughs* (as above explained) replace Danish Mercia.
6. *The Ealdormanry of East Anglia* comprises Nf., Sf., Cb., Hu., Bd., Ht.
7. *The Ealdormanry of Essex* comprises Es., Mi., Ox.
8. *The Ealdormanry of the Eastern Provinces* comprises Ke., Sr., Ss.
9. *The Ealdormanry of the Central Provinces* contains Wl., Ha., and Isle of Wi.
10. *The Ealdormanry of the Western Provinces* contains Sm., Dv., Co.
11. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* contains s.La., Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl.

These original settlements of the tribes and the various settlements that followed, to which have to be added those resulting from the Danish and Norman conquests, sufficiently account for the existence of great diversities of local speech, and at the same time point to the gradual formation of the divisions S, W, E, M, N here adopted from an actual examination of existing local habits of speech. But it is no part of the work of this book to check the above statements in any way. Whatever their errors may be, they were made conscientiously to illustrate the best general conception that Mr. Green could form, with the aid of the imperfect materials he possessed.

Modern.—The modern Celtic Border in Great Britain, drawn on the map and marked CB., divides those who speak English from those who speak Celtic. But it has here been extended to Ireland so as to include the old colony of Forth and Bargy, which, like sw. Pm. and Gowerland in Wales, was an English settlement from which the Celts were excluded.

The modern CB. therefore begins in Co. Wx., Ireland, and then on the map passes by sea to Pm., Wales, and then by sea to Gm., Wales, then again by sea to Mo., whence through Wales to Fl. Afterwards it passes by sea w. of Ma., but east of the Isle of Arran, to Bute in Scotland, which country it traverses in a ne. direction to Cr., whence it passes again by sea to ne. of Cs., and by sea to the w. of the Or. and Sd. This gives the general run of the line which will now be particularised. The Welsh line was determined by AJE., the Scotch by JAHM.

An English-speaking place is one in which the uneducated, or only elementarily educated people speak with each other habitually in English. The line through Wales, with the exception of the outlying districts in Pm. and Gm., about which there is no trouble, was drawn from the answers of clergymen of the parishes along or near the supposed route in answer to the following questions :

“ 1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry about [the place addressed] to one another? 2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English-speaking

place to the east? 3. If English, does it resemble in pronunciation the English of [the neighbouring English co.]? Or is it simply book-English?" To which for s. Wales I added, "4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh services or sermons?"

The complete answers which I received are given in my paper "On the Delimitation of the English and Welsh Languages," originally published in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. pp. 173-208, and reprinted in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1882-3-4, Part II. App. II. The names of the clergymen who so kindly assisted me will be found in the Alphabetic County List under the Welsh counties considered. Other particulars will be given when treating of D 13 and 14. Here I simply give the line as accurately as I was able to draw it, beginning with the detached districts, including the Irish portion.

Ireland.—The line which separated English from Irish in the xii th and subsequent centuries, till, in the xviii th, it was merged into the Cromwellian English spoken in the surrounding district where Irish had become disused, begins on the s. coast of Wx., Ireland, at the head of Bannow Bay (13 sw. Wexford), and passes nearly in a straight line to Wexford, following the borders of the baronies (or co. divisions, corresponding to English hundreds) of Bargy in the w. and Forth in the e. This line cuts off a peninsula at the se. angle of Ireland. It then passes by sea across St. George's Channel.

2. *South Wales, Pm.*—The CB. cuts off the two sw. peninsulas of Pm., containing the hundreds of Rhôs and Daugleddy (rhoos, dáygledh·r), Pm. I take the line assigned by my informant, Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n. Pembroke), as the probable boundary of the original or very early Saxon colony. It begins at Newgate Bridge (6 ese. St. Davids), the ne. corner of St. Bride's Bay, and proceeds in ne. direction to Ambleston (7 nne. Haverford West, and 1½ ne. Trefgarn), and then turns se. to pass by Lawhaden and Narberth (9 e. Haverford West) going in nearly a straight line just e. of Ludchurch (10 ese. Haverford West), to fall into Carmarthen Bay near Amroth (am·roth), 5 ne. Tenby, at the se. extremity of the co. Mr. Tombs says that he thinks no line can now be drawn between Anglicised Welsh and the border of the early colonists, though it was perhaps possible 100 years ago. It will be observed that this line cuts off two peninsulas separated by Milford Haven and the R. Cleddau (kledh·ár). The CB. then proceeds by sea to

3. *The Peninsula of Gowerland*, in sw. Gm. My informant, Rev. J. D. Davies, of Llanmadoc Rectory (14 w. Swansea), says that the following 17 parishes have spoken English for centuries (I merely give the distances from Swansea, direction from w. to sw.): 1, Cheriton 13; 2, Llanmadoc 14; 3, Llanguydydd 15; 4, Rhos-sili 16½; 5, Llandewi 14; 6, Knelston 13; 7, Reynoldston 12; 8, Port Eynon 13; 9, Penrice 11; 10, Oxwich 11; 11, Nicholaston 10; 12, Penmaen 9; 13, Lower Llanrhidiau 11 (Upper Llanrhidiau 8 does not speak English); 14, Ilston 7; 15, Penard 7; 16, Bishopston 6; and 17, Oystermouth 4. These parishes all lie on the peninsula and their inland boundary is therefore part of the modern CB. It starts from the mouth of a streamlet which runs into the Burry River estuary in Carmarthen Bay, 2 s. Penclawdd (penkláu·dh) railway-station, which is 3 wnw. Swansea. The boundary runs up this streamlet over Welsh Moor and Pengwern Moor nearly in a straight ese. direction to Myer's Green, 1 s. Mumbles Station (3 sw. Swansea) on Swansea Bay. The CB. again passes by sea through the Bristol Channel to the estuary of the Usk, Mo.

4. Here the Welsh and English part of the CB. begins.

Mo. Start from the confluence of the Ebbw (əb·u) and Usk, about 2 s. Newport on the Bristol Channel. Keep on the e. bank of the Ebbw, w. of Newport, e. of Risca (6 nw. Newport), and w. of Pontypool, (10 sw. Tredegar), to the junction of the greater and lesser Ebbw, or Ebbwy-fawr, and Ebbwy-fach (əb·ux váur,

eb·uy vakh), and take the e. bank of the lesser Ebbw, leaving Mo. near Brynmawr (brannáur) Br., meaning a 'big hill.'

Br. Proceed nearly n. to just w. of Llangattock and Crickhowell = Welsh Crughywel (kryg·hã'u·el). Then go e. of Tretower, on the high ground to the e. of the River Bryn, turning slightly to nw. up to Talgarth (12 sw. Builth), and then probably still on the high ground on the w. of the Wye pass e. of Gwendwr (gwendu·r) and Llangynog (lhangã nog), but w. of Builth (bý·alht) to the Wye about 3 ne. of Builth.

Rd. Cross the Wye and proceed nearly directly n. through Rd., which is almost entirely English, just e. of the railway, leaving Rhayader-Gwy and St. Harmon's (both about 18 w. Knighton) on the w.

Mg. Continue to go nearly n., leaving Llanidloes (lhanid·lões) (11 sw. Newtown), on w., but Mochtre and Penstrowel (3 and 5 w. and sw. Newtown) on e. Then go slightly ne. by Manafon (8 nw. Montgomery), and Castell Caer Einion (4 wsw. Welshpool), w. of Guilsfield, 2 n. Welshpool, and e. of Llansantffraid (lhan·santfrã·d) (8 n. Welshpool), but w. of Llandysilio (lhandasi·lio) (7 n. Welshpool), turning n. to enter Sh.

Sh. The line seems to pass directly n. to Llanymynech (lhanamãnek) (5 s. Oswestry), and thence to Oswestry, and on to just w. of Chirk (5 n. Oswestry).

Dn. The line then makes a gentle sweep to the e. and passes e. of Ruabon (rhuab·on) to Wrexham, through which it passes and deflects to the ne., but turns more n. as it enters Fl.

Fl. The line passes nearly n. through Fl., leaving Hope (8 se. Flint), on the e., and both Mold (6 s. Flint), and Northop (3 s. Flint), on the w., reaching the R. Dee, at 2 se. Flint, halfway between Flint and Connah's Quay.

The line again passes through the sea w. of I. of Man and e. of the I. of Arran to Bt., and the Gaelic and English b. commences.

Scotland.—The line now traverses Scotland, dividing the existing Gaelic speakers and existing Lowland speakers, that is, speakers of English in Scotland. This was determined by Dr. Murray for his work on "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland" (pp. 231-6), with the assistance of the gentlemen named below.¹ This line gives "the outside limits of the Gaelic, that is, every district is included in which Gaelic is still spoken by any natives, regardless of the fact that English may be spoken by the majority of the people." The following account of this Scotch portion of the CB. was revised by Dr. Murray. The line is traced from s. to n.

Bt. After passing through the sea from Fl., w. of I. of Man, and e. of Arran and Cantire, the CB. commences on land in Bt. and traverses the middle of the I. of Bt. and the adjacent channel.

¹ Rev. Wm. Ross, of Chapelhill Manse, Rothesay, Bt., but a native of Cs., for Cs., and co. n. of Moray Firth and islands and coast of the Clyde.

Rev. Colin Mackenzie, of Ardcloch (8 se. Nairn, Na.), and Rev. John Whyte, Moyness (12 se. Inverness, In.), for Na. and El.

Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitslii·go), 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab., and James Skinner, Esq., factor to the Duke of Richmond, for El. and Ba.

Rev. Robt. Neil, of Glengairn, 11 ne. Braemar, Ab. (through Rev. Dr.

Taylor, of Crathie, 9 ene. Braemar, Ab.), for Ab.

Rev. Neil McBride, of Glenisla, 17 nw. Forfar, Fo., for nw. Fo. and adjacent parts of Ab. and Pr.

Rev. Samuel Cameron, of Logierait (6 n. Dunkeld), Pr., Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Comrie (20 w. Perth), Rev. Hugh McDiarmid, of Callander, Pr., for the adjoining part of Pr.

Rev. W. Mackintosh, of Buchanan (23 wsw. Stirling, for w. Sg.).

Rev. Duncan Campbell, of Luss (12 nnw. Dumbarton, Dm.), on w. coast of Loch Lomond, for the dist. between Loch Lomond and Loch Long.

Ar. The CB. then continues in a ne. direction by the se. coast of Ar., just w. of Dunoon (9 sse Inverary), skirting the Firth of Clyde to Loch Long, through the middle of which it passes.

Dm. The CB. turns e. and enters Dm. just n. of Gorton (17 nw.Dumbarton), and passes e. through Glen Douglas to the w. shore of Loch Lomond at a point 9 nnw.Dumbarton, where it crosses Loch Lomond.

Sg. The CB. enters Sg. just n. of the Rowardennan Inn (19 n.Dumbarton and 22 w.Stirling), and crosses Sg. in an ene. direction.

Pr. The CB. passes se. of the Trossachs to Aberfoyl (7 sw.Callander), and thence to Callander, whence it passes through Glen Artney to Comrie (14 ne. Callander), and crossing Glen Almond, goes just s. of Amulrie (9 nne.Crieff), after which it follows Strath Braan through Birnam Wood to Dunkeld. The line then passes in a nne. direction over Mt. Blair, where the b. of Ab. intersects the b. of Fo.

Ab. Entering Ab. by Mt. Blair the CB. goes in a n. direction to meet the Dee about 4 e.Braemar, and follows the Dee to 2 e.Crathie and Balmoral, and then suddenly turns nnw. to go to Strathdon, also called Invernochtié (7n.Crathie), when it turns a little nw.

Ba. The CB. enters Ba. about 6 ne.Tomantoul and skirts the R. Livet on the w. to b. of El.

El. The CB. crosses the Spey nearly at right angles (2 s.Inveraven), Ba., which is 12 nne.Tomantoul, and passes through El. in a wnw. direction crossing the Knock of Brae Moray (15 sw.Rothes, El.), and proceeding nw. to Na.

Na. The CB., continuing its nw. dir., crosses the Findhorn R. at right angles, and goes on to Ardlach (8 sse.Nairn), and reaches the Moray Firth about 3 w.Nairn.

Cr. The CB. crossing the Moray Firth cuts off the extreme ne. of Cr. containing the town of Cromarty, and then the line again takes the sea past the e. coast of Ross and Sutherland and part of Cs.

Cs. The CB. reappears on land at Clyth Ness, Cs., 10 ssw.Wick. It proceeds in an undulating line to the n. of Harpsdale (15 wnw.Wick), and through Hallkirk (16 nw.Wick) to the River Forss, which it follows to the sea 5 w.Thurso.

The line then takes to the sea again, leaving the Or. and Sl. groups to the e., and after passing them, ceases to exist.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

These are marked by broken lines on the map, except when they coincide with any border marked by a continuous line on the map, and then the broken parts are drawn through this line and at right angles to it in order to shew the coincidence of the two lines. Most of the Transverse Lines during part or all of their course so coincide with other boundaries. They are numbered on the map by numbers in (), corresponding to those used in this description.

LINE 1.—The n. *sum* line or northern limit of the pron. of the word *some*, Ws. *sum*, as (səm) or (sæm) in s. England. The pron. (sæm) reappears n. of line 8.

Proceed from n., follow the CB. to Chirk on b. of *Sh.*, which enter between Ellesmere *sööm*, that is, which says (*sum*) (7 ne.Oswestry), and Oswestry *sum*, that is, which says (səm) or (sæm). Thence it passes se. running w. of Hordley *sööm* (6 ene. Oswestry) and e. of Whittington *sum* (2 ne. Oswestry), s. of Wem *sööm* (13 e.Oswestry) and Yorton *sööm* (2 sw.Wem) and just w. of Hadnall *sööm* (4 nne.Shrewsbury), going s. between Shrewsbury *sum* and Upton Magna *sööm* (4 e.Shrewsbury) to the Severn at Aitcham. Then it follows the Severn to the b. of the co.

Wo. On entering Wo. pass just e. of Bewdley (3 wsw.Kidderminster), *mixed* *sööm* and *sum* but chiefly *sööm*, and Dunley (5 ssw.Kidderminster) *mixed*, and proceed in a se. direction to

Wa. Stratford-on-Avon. Continuing se. to pass just n. of Kineton (8 ese.Stratford) *mixed*, much, *sööm*, through Fenny Compton (probably) to the b. of the co.

Np. Enter *Np.* just n. of Byfield (16 wsw. Northampton) *mixed*, and turn n. to coincide with Line 3 for a little way passing e. of Weedon (8 w. Northampton) *sööm*, and e. of Daventry *sööm* and going through Long Buckley to Watford (18 w. Wellingborough) *sööm* to w. of East Haddon (14 w. Wellingborough) *sum*. Then quitting Line 3, turn ene. passing by Brixworth (6 n. Northampton) and Hanington (5 nw. Wellingborough) both *mixed*, when turn ne. and go between Islip (8 e. Kettering) *mixed* and Thrapston (9 e. Kettering) *mixed* to the b. of the co. about 2 s. Hemington (11 sw. Peterborough) probably *sum*.

Hu. Enter *Hu.* just n. of Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and go just s. of Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) *sööm*. Then, crossing the Great Northern Railway, probably turn ne., passing just n. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon) and enter

Cb. Pass just n. of Chatteris (10 nw. Ely) *mixed* and turning ne. go e. of March and w. of Wisbech *mixed* to the edge of the co., and then proceed by nw. b. of *Nf.* to the sea.

For the line as far as Sawtry I am almost entirely indebted to TH., who with great pains took a phonetic survey of this part of the country. The rest of the route to March and Wisbech and nw. *Nf.* I owe to other informants, checked, however, by TH., as shewn in the next Line 2.

The use of (ø, æ) for U is of course a modernism and an encroachment, hence we may expect to find that it is not a sufficient mark of a difference of district, because all other characters may remain and the modern (æ) may have only partially prevailed. Also intermediate forms may prevail arising from the encroachment being still incomplete. It will be found that both anticipations are fulfilled.

LINE 2.—The s. *sööm* line or southern limit of the pronunciation of the word *some* as *sööm* (*sum*) in England; for the n. limit see Line 9.

Sh. As far as the se. b. of *Sh.* lines 1 and 2 coincide.

Wo. Directly that the n. *sum* line enters *Wo.* there is a mixed district s. of it, where *sööm* is more or less frequently heard, and the intermediate *som* (*som*) is also found. It occupies the whole of s. *Wo.*, *Gl.*, and even n. *Wl.* Proceed direct s. from Bewdley, w. of Stourport, to the Malvern Hills, and continue by Redhill or Redmarley d'Abotot to the s. b. of *Wo.*

Gl. Enter about 8 wsw. Tewkesbury, pass more or less to the w. in order to leave Newent (8 nw. Gloucester) to the e., and go s. to Dursley (14 ssw. Gloucester).

Wl. Take a sweep s. of Tetbury (16 s.-by-e. Gloucester) and proceed e. and ne., going s. of Malmesbury (14 w. Swindon) and Purton (4 nw. Swindon).

Ox. Thence go ne. through a corner of *Be.* to Witney (10 wnw. Oxford) and Bicester (11 nne. Oxford).

Bu. Thence pass through Buckingham and w. of Stony Stratford (7 ne. Buckingham) to b. of *Np.*

Np. Going mostly just w. of the border, sweep just s. of Thrapston, and join the n. *sum* line again at the b. of *Hu.*

Hu. and *Cb.* Through *Hu.* to past Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) the s. *sööm* coincides again with the n. *sum* line, and both pass between Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and Sawtry *sööm*. But then the s. *sööm* line runs eastwards, s. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon).

Cb. It enters s. of Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and runs ne. to b. of co.

Nf. The line enters *Nf.* just s. of the new Bedford Rivers, at the s. of the Bedford Level, about 24 s. King's Lynn, and pursues rather a winding course through w. *Nf.*, s. of Downham (10 s. King's Lynn) and Swaffham (13 se. King's Lynn), and e. of East Dereham (23 ese. King's Lynn), where it turns n. for about 6 m., and then, after running s. of Fakenham (8 s. Wells-on-Sea), turns nw., and falls into the sea between Hunstanton (13 nne. King's Lynn) and Brancaster.

For this line I am wholly indebted to the "phonetic survey" of the adjacent parts made by TH., who has visited expressly numerous villages along the route here laid down (30 places in Norfolk only), and has himself heard the not unfrequent use of *sōm* and similar words between the n. *sum* and s. *sōm* lines, and, especially in Nf., has observed the use of the intermediate *som*. It would be probably quite impossible to determine the line more accurately.

Here we have examples of the incomplete assertion of (ə, ɛ). It will be observed that Line 2 runs in general much further south than line 1. It is only to the n. of line 1 that the old state of things remains, and to the s. of line 2 that the new state has fully asserted itself. The intermediate country between Lines 1 and 2 is *mixed*, with one or the other form of U fully asserted, or *transitional*, a new form, as (som), which indicates the influence of (ə, ɛ) upon (u) being heard. What it is particularly necessary to guard against is the supposition that (ə, ɛ) is the "correct" form because "received"; it is only a modern form. Even in rp. the (ə) has not fully asserted itself, *full* (ful) is itself an example; and we find in the (u) regions an apparently perverse habit to say (fæl). The pron. of *full*, and of similar words, is merely a mark of the conflict, which has been left standing.

LINE 3.—The Reverted *ur* (ɹ) line or n. limit of the pron. of *r* as (ɹ) or (r) in England. Sporadically and through natural defects of pron., reverted *ur* (ɹ) may be heard still more northerly, and even to the w. in D 13. But it ceases to be the regular pron. at this limit, and even in D 9 the *ur* (ɹ_o) frequently sinks into the common received vocal *er* (r_o); while in D 6, 7, the tongue is often merely retracted (r) or even Midland (ɾ), instead of reverted (ɹ). It is probable that originally the line really commenced at the mouth of Bannow Bay in Ireland, proceeding along CB. to Wexford, and then to Pm. and Gm. But in none of these places can reverted *ur* (ɹ) now be traced with certainty. Hence the line must be taken to begin in England. The map however by the serrated line shews that the reverted *ur* line is supposed to have begun in Wexford.

Gl. Start in England from the mouth of the Wye on the Severn R. and proceed n. by the w. b. of Gl. till you meet the b. of He. just e. of Monmouth.

He. Then run in a nne. direction so as to leave Ross, Ledbury (13 e. Hereford), and Much Cowarne (8 ne. Hereford), on the e. At Much Cowarne turn more to ne., leaving on the w. Stoke Lacy (9 ne. Hereford), Pencombe (10 nne. Heref.) and Bromyard (13 ne. Heref.), which are in D 13, and then turning still more to the e. pass near Whitbourne (7 w.-by-n. Worcester) to the b. of the co.

Wo. Afterwards proceed more n. to Bewdley, then turn e. and pass n. of Kidderminster and s. of Stourbridge, Hagley, Cradley and Selly Oak (3 s. Birmingham), and probably n. of King's Norton to the border of

Wa. Where turn se. and pass n. of Packwood, going e. of Henley-in-Arden and Claverdon, but s. of Warwick and s. of Southam to the b. of

Np. opposite Braunston (13 wnw. Northampton), and pursue that b. to the n. as far as Watling St. by Crick. Then go se. joining the n. *sum* line 1 between Watford and East Haddon, but leaving it at the angle se. of Weedon and passing

just s. of Blisworth to the b. of the co. by Hartwell. Pursue this b. to the s. and w. till just e. of Brackley (17 sw. Northampton) it reaches the b. of

Ox. The line is now so ill known or indistinct that I have been obliged to assume the b. of Ox. as its limit to the Thames at Henley, whence it follows the w. and s. banks of the Thames to the sea. Of course through the metropolitan area this line is a mere fiction and shews only what it once *may* have been. In the part adjoining the Thames the reverted *ur* (r) sinks to the vocal *r* (r_o).

The great difficulty of obtaining information renders much of the course of this line rather doubtful. Through Wa. and Np. it has been taken as coinciding with the b. of D 6, which at any rate cannot be far wrong.

LINE 4.—The s. *teeth* line, or s. limit of the use for the definite article of a suspended (t'), commonly written *t'* in dialect books, or of the hiss (th) as heard at the end of *teeth*. It is possible that cases of *tee* (t') occur sporadically just s. of this line by assimilation, as they more frequently occur between lines 4 and 5, but in D 24=e.NM. *tee* (t') is the rule. The word *teeth* is chosen because it contains both (t) and (th).

Ch. Line 4 begins on the Dee, about 2 sw. Chester, and passes just within the s. b. of Ch., e. of Farndon (7 s. Chester) and w. of Malpas (12 ese. Chester), reaching the co. b. at Wirswall (2 n. Whitchurch, Sh.); it pursues the b. for a few miles, but at Burley Dam, 1 s. Combermere Abbey, it passes e. round to the n. of Audlem, then goes s., traversing the ne. horn of

Sh. just w. of Norton in Hales, and turning se. at 12 ene. Stone, enters

St., through which it passes to the e. to Stone, and then sweeps round to Rocester (14 ene. Stoke), on the w. b. of Db., along which it runs to the se.

Db. Just s. of Repton (8 sse. Derby) the line cuts across the tail of Db., which projects between St. and Le., and then runs again along the s. b. of Db. to Nt.

Nt. and *Yo.* The line seems to pursue the w., s., and then the e. b. of Nt. to its n. extremity, after which it pursues the b. of Yo. and Li to the Humber, and then runs along the s. b. of Yo. to the sea. In Nt. (dh_u) is the rule, yet not only do (t', th) occur, though not frequently, but there is a frequent assimilation, probably of (th) to (s) before (s). See D 27.

LINE 5.—The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or n. limit of the use of *the* (dh_u, dhi) and the hiss (th) in conjunction with suspended *te* (t') as the def. article, till *the* returns to the north of line 7.

Ma. The line begins at n. of the Isle of Man and proceeds by sea to

La. which it enters at Cockerham 6 s. Lancaster, and passes in an ese. dir. just n. of Over Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) and then follows the b. of La. to about 9 nne. Burnley.

Yo. It then enters Yo. and runs e. apparently to about Burley (8 n. Bradford), where it joins the s. *hoose* line 6 (to be described presently), and follows that line to the w. b. of Li. Then it runs along the w. b. of Li. to the Humber, following line 4 already described.

The whole line from the b. of La. and across to Burley is necessarily very uncertain. But it seems to pass between Skipton on the n. and Keighley on the s., a distance of 8 m., which this line bisects, and hence it is probably not far wrong.

This line is here assumed to be the n. limit proper of the use of

the hiss (th) for the definite article. But n. of this line CCR. says that in former years he has traced this form (th) through the whole of Craven in rare occasional use, which has not influenced any printed account of the dialect. He has also heard of the (th) as being in use east of Skipton, Yo., straggling nearly to Harrogate, although s. of this line it is quite unknown, and he thinks that it exists also a little w. of Ripon. This (th) is by far the most heard about Washbourn River (D 30, 10 cs., No. 6, intro.) between Skipton and Harrogate. In all these places except the last, the usage is so slight that it has not crept into print, but in the last it has been printed in a newspaper contribution by Mr. Granige, of Harrogate, a local historian.

LINE 6.—The s. *hoose* line, or s. limit of the pron. of the word *house* as *hoose* (huus), which is also the n. limit of the pron. of *house* as any variety of (ha'us), of which those in the M. div. are numerous and singular.

Ma. The line begins on the west at sea at the n. of I. of Man, in which the English uses *house*.

Cu. On the mainland, the line begins at the mouth of the Esk R. by Ravenglass (17 sse. Whitehaven), and proceeds s. of that river on the watershed up to the Wry Nose Fell, on the b. of Cu. and We. So close is the division here, that, as I am informed, at Gosforth (5 nnw. Ravenglass) they say *coo* (kuu) and at Bootle (5 sse. Ravenglass) they say *cow* (kóu). But the real Gosforth pron., as we find mostly to the n. of it, may be (ú,u).

La. The line then follows the Brathay R. on the n. b. of La. to the head of Windermere, and descends down its w. shore to Newby Bridge (7 ne. Ulverston), at its extreme s. It then sweeps round, in a way which has not been accurately traced, but is certainly some distance n. of Cartmell (5 e. Ulverston) *house* and crosses the Winstar R., which forms the e. b. of La., probably opposite Witherslack (7 ssw. Kendal).

We. The line probably passes just s. of Witherslack, n. of Milnthorpe (6 s. Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Kirkby Lonsdale (10 se. Kendal) *house*, going in a ne. direction and crossing the Lune R. about Middleton (8 ese. Kendal).

Yo. The line enters Yo. just s. of Sedberg (8 e. Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Dent, (13 ese. Kendal and 4 sse. Sedberg) *house*, which is a very close and sharp div. The line then runs through Garsdale along the Clough R. to the w. b. of the North Riding of Yo., which it probably pursues to the Wharfe R. The line probably pursues the Wharfe R. to Burley (7 ne. Keighley), and then passes just s. of that river, s. of Otley (9 nw. Leeds) *hoose*, and n. of Leeds and Harewood (6 n. Leeds) *house* (háus), and then bending se., passes e. of Aberford (9 ene. Leeds) *house* (haas), and passes w. of Selby *hoose*. Then taking a more s. direction it passes w. of Snaithe (6 s. Selby) *hoose*. After this it seems to go nearly s., and passes e. of Doncaster and Rossington (5 se. Doncaster), both *house*, and turning at once to the e. passes probably along the b. of Nt. to the b. of Li. at the s. of the I. of Axholme in the nw. of Li. between the Old Don and the Trent Rivers, in which both *hoose* and *house* (huus hóus) are heard.

Li. The line probably enters Li. about 3 n. Gainsborough, where the b. of Li. turns suddenly to the s. The passage from about Selby, Yo., up to this point has been difficult to trace, but the information is very precise through Li. The line going e. passes n. of Blyton (4 ne. Gainsborough) *house*, and s. of Scotter (7 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, and then passes s. of Redbourne (11 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, and n. of Waddingham (11 ene. Gainsborough) *house*, the last two being adjoining parishes. Then it turns suddenly ne. and passes to the n. of North Kelsey (15 ene. Gainsborough) *house*, and to the s. of Howsham (16 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, the last two being also adjoining parishes. Moreover, the North

Kelsey folk look down on the Howsham folk for saying a *coo* (kuu) for a *cow* (kóu), and probably conversely. After this the line proceeds in a ne. direction s. of Ulceby (10 nw. Great Grimsby), and s. of Killingholme (9 nw. Great Grimsby), both *hoose*; but n. of Brocklesby (8 wnw. Great Grimsby) and of Stallingborough, (5 wnw. Great Grimsby), both *house*, to the sea, 6 nw. Great Grimsby.

I am indebted for the Li. information to a large number of persons, especially clergymen, whose livings were in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable how little aware those who live only a very few miles off this line are of this great difference of pronunciation. Most Li. people hardly believe that in any part of Li. *hoose* is now said, while Mr. Peacock of Brigg, author of the Manley and Corringham Glossary, did not seem to know that any other pron. but *hoose* was current in Li. And in the neighbourhood of the n. of Nt. I have several times been altogether perplexed by being told that *hoose* was said, when subsequent visits to the place by TH. shewed that this was not the case.

Of course (huus) is the older form, and all the forms of (ha'us) are very modern. Hence the treatment of U' is not sufficient to mark dialects. The transitional form between (uu, a'u) is (ú,u), which will be discussed in D 31.

LINE 7.—The n. *tee* line, or northern limit of the use of suspended (t') or t', which may be conveniently called *tee*, for the def. art.

Cu. The line commences on the w. in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith, at 13 w. Carlisle, passes just s. of Kirk Bampton (7 w. Carlisle), then turns in a s. dir. as far as about 2 s. of Sebergham (9 ssw. Carlisle), after which it turns ne. and passes e. of Southwaite (7 sse. Carlisle) and Coathill (5 sw. Carlisle) to just s. of Fort, where it reaches the Eden R. by Hornsby, up which it proceeds in a se. direction to Kirk Oswald, 14 se. Carlisle, and immediately turns nne., forming an acute angle with its former course, passes over Croglin Fell, when it again bends through sw. Nb., and passing s. of Alston (20 ese. Carlisle), it re-enters Cu., where, after going s. for a little way, it turns e. at Rother Fell (4 s. Alston) to the b. of Nb.

Du. The line enters Du by the heights on the n. side of Weardale, and passing n. of Stanhope (18 wsw. Durham) and Walsingham (over Skaylock Hill), runs probably to the se. yet n. of Witton le Wear and Bishop Auckland to Merrington (6 s. Durham), and then sweeps to the e. and afterwards ne. past Bishop Middleham (7 sse. Durham) and Trimdon (8 se. Durham), but n. of Sedgfield (10 sse. Durham), passing along the Skern R. to the railway, when it turns suddenly n. and passes w. of Hart and Easington (9 nnw. Hartlepool), and w. of Seaham (5 sse. Sunderland), to fall into the sea about Ryhope (3 sse. Sunderland).

For the commencement of this line through Cu. to Sebergham I am indebted to the Rev. T. Ellwood, for the part from Sebergham to s. of Alston I am indebted to the observations made by JGG., and for the part which passes through Du. to the answers kindly given by many clergymen along the route, and a visit made by myself to one of them at Bishop Middleham. Dr. Murray had first drawn attention to the importance of this line as the separation of the Danified from the non-Danified N. (DSS. p. 86 note); but he commenced it at Allonby, avoiding the sinuosities by Kirk Oswald, and lost it at Stanhope (18 w-by-s. Durham). It was to try and recover the lost line that I sent out a series of questions to the clergymen of the neighbourhood. But it should be observed that the custom of speech is very mixed at Wigton and Silloth (10 sw. and 18 wsw. Carlisle, Cu.) and that neighbourhood, although prevailingly (t'). So it is also about Dalston and Wreay (:rɪə) s. of Carlisle, but

there (dhv) prevails. But from Fort and Kirk Oswald onwards the line is sharper.

LINE 8.—The s. *sum* line in n. England or the s. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (səm, sām), on travelling from Scotland into England.

Cu. The line begins on the w. by the Solway Firth, probably at the mouth of the Esk (6 nw. Carlisle), and proceeds in a ne. direction over Beacon Hill (14 ne. Carlisle) and s. of Bewcastle (16 nne. Carlisle) to the w. b. of Nb.

Nb. The line then turns suddenly s. and passes w. of Haltwhistle (14 w. Hexham), and e. of Knaresdale, Nb. (17 sw. Hexham).

Cu. The line re-enters Cu. just w. of Alstone (20 ese. Carlisle), and then striking the n. *tee* line 7, coincides with it throughout the rest of Cu. and throughout Du.

For the Cu. part of this line I am indebted to JGG., the remainder results from many communications, together with some personal observations.

LINE 9.—The n. *sōm* line, or the n. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (sum) or even mixed with varieties of (səm) on proceeding from the M. co. to Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. this line coincides with Line 8.

Nb. But on reaching Nb. it sweeps in a direction at first e. and at last n. round the base of the slopes of the Cheviot Hills, passing 4 w. of Bellingham (:bel·indrəm) (13 nnw. Hexham), 4 w. of Otterbarn on the Rede R. (18 nnw. Hexham), and 2 w. of Harbottle (which is 17 wsw. Alnwick), and goes n. to the Cheviot Hill itself (8 sw. Wooler) on the w. b. of Nb., at the source of the rivers Coquet and Till. Then it proceeds in a ne. direction 2 s. of Wooler to fall into the sea about Bamborough (12 n. Alnwick), the ancient Bebbanburg, the former capital of the Saxon Kingdom of Bernicia.

LINE 10.—The L. line is the limit between L. Scotch and N. English speech, and is not precisely coincident with the political boundary of England and Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. the line coincides with the two previous lines 8 and 9.

Nb. As far as the Cheviot Hill the line coincides with line 9. But after quitting the Cheviot it proceeds in a nw. direction along the w. border of Nb. to the Tweed, down which it runs in a ne. dir. till it reaches Wateadder Water, the w. b. of the Liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and 2 n. Berwick.

Bw. Locally in the Scotch co. of Bw., but politically an independent territory, Berwick-on-Tweed and its Liberties, extending 2 to 4 miles into Bw., are linguistically part of England, and the L. line passes round the w. and n. of them to the sea about Marshal Meadows, 3 nnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed.

It will be observed that this line of the separation of L. and N. En. does not coincide with the line given by Dr. Murray (D. of S. S. p. 25 note, and map). His L. line proceeds n. from Gretna, Df., to the w. of Langholme, Df., crossing the Esk R. to meet the Scotch range of the Cheviots, along which it continues to the ene. into Rx. as far as Peel Fell, Nb., and then runs in an ese. direction to the Rede R., just west of Otterburn (18 nnw. Hexham), where it intersects my line 10, which it then pursues for the rest of the way. This throws a portion of Df. and Rx. known as Canobie and Liddesdale linguistically into England. He says that the dialect spoken in this region "is still quite distinct from that of the rest of

Df. and Rx., and is rather that of Cu. than L. Scotch." This will be considered hereafter. At any rate it does not agree with the information I have received from other quarters. Taking the Nb. slopes of the Cheviots, which would thus be included in England, I am told that it is chiefly traversed by Scotch, that is L., shepherds. Indeed, JGG.—who was for a long time quartered in this very region, with a companion, both on Geological Survey duty, and for lack of houses had to sleep in a caravan, where his rest was often disturbed at night by the cattle creeping under and using the floor as a back scraper—says that it was difficult to meet any but a Scotchman there. The whole parish of Falstone, on the North Tyne (20 nw.Hexham), which lies in the middle of this district, with its 57,000 acres of moorland, had in 1841 only 560 inhabitants spread all over it. And Plashetts, 4 miles further to the nw., on the North Tyne, together with Felstone, mustered only 222 inhabitants in that year. Dr. Frank Richardson, a physician, living in 1879 at Harbottle (17 wsw.Alnwick), at the foot of the Cheviots (certainly of that part which Dr. Murray also admits to be L.), writes: "I think you will not be wrong in considering that the Scotch occupy the entire hill country in these parts. The Cheviots are entirely inhabited by Scotch families, who rarely descend into the low countries." The Cu. portion which I include in L. has many more inhabitants than the Nb. portion. Bewcastle, 6 nne.Carlisle, may have 2000, and Longtown, 8 n.Carlisle, may have 1200 inhabitants. But, as we shall see, their speech has all the characters of L., and does not even resemble that of Carlisle, much less any district s. of the n. *tee* line 7.

THE ROMAN WALL.—In connection with these lines 8, 9, 10, the position of Hadrian's or the Picts' Wall is noteworthy as pointing to a separation of races before the advent of the Saxons. This wall was built by Agricola A.D. 79 to 85, and repaired by Hadrian A.D. 121, and Septimius Severus A.D. 208. The following are the places through which it runs from w. to e., with their distances and directions from C.=Carlisle, H.=Hexham, and N.=Newcastle.

Cu. It commences w. at Bowness, 12 wnw.C., and goes through Drumburgh, 9 wnw. C., and Beaumont, 4 nw.C. It then turns se. by Grinsdale, 2 nw.C., bending on the s. of the Eden R., sweeping just n. of C. and going in a ne. direction by Stanwix (1 n.C.), crossing the Esk, to Wallby (4 ne.C.), Wallhead (5 nne.C.), Old Wall (6 ne.C.), Newtown (8 ne.C.), Walton (9 ne.C.), Banks (11½ ne.C.), and Upper Denton (14 ne.C.), when it enters Nb.

Nb. It enters near Thirlwall (17 w.Hexham), passes by Wall Town (15 w.H.), Burnhead (12½ w.H.), where it turns slightly ne., by Carrow (7 nw.H.), whence it passes near Carrowbrough and deflects slightly to se., crossing the North Tyne at Citurnum, between Walwick (5 nw H.) and Brunton (4 n-by-w.H.), and goes by Halton Shields (5 ene.H.) and Harlowhill (8 ene.H.), after which it runs nearly ese. towards Newcastle, by Heddon on the Wall (7 wnw.N.) into N. itself, through which it passes and runs to Wallsend, 4 ene.N., where, as the name implies, it terminates.

The course through Cu. is only slightly to the s. of lines 8, 9, 10. But in Nb. it does not correspond to any dialectal division.

I.

SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT
DISTRICTS.*Boundaries.*

Ireland. The n. b. commences at sea in Bannow Bay, and coincides with the Celtic Border, p. 13, and thence to the sea by Wexford, and then by the sea to Wales.

Wales. The n. b. coincides with the CB. through Pm., and Gm., and thence passing by sea again enters England.

England. The line passes by the reverted *ur* line 3, from the Bristol Channel across England to the south bank of the Thames, and n. of Ke. and Sheppy to the sea.

Area. All of England and its islands s. of this boundary, except the Channel Islands, where Norman French is still spoken.

Character. The one ancient character which runs more or less persistently through the modern S. div. is the reverted (r) or retracted (r_i), the parent of the point-rise or untrilled (r_o) or vocal (v), which still permeates received speech. In north Germany it is replaced by the laryngal (r) and the uvular (r). But I believe that the reverted (r) is the true ancient form. The peculiar hollowness and roughness of effect, which once heard is easily recognised, is due to the hollow formed by turning the tip of the tongue up and back so as to point down the throat, and oppose the under (instead of the upper) surface of the tip to the hard palate. This (r) may or may not be trilled. The trilled form has not been generally recognised, but is quite possible. But the untrilled form (r_o), for which here for convenience (r) alone will be generally written, is most characteristic, and seems to blend in a singular manner with the preceding vowel, altering its quality and rendering it difficult to be recognised, almost to the same extent as in nasalisation. The long rough untrilled voice form here written (r) for greater intelligibility is probably nothing but the prolonged voiced consonant itself (r_o). Naturally when (t , d , l , n) follow (r), they are also reverted, as (r t r d , r nd , g r l) hurt, heard, earned, girl, for the alteration of the position of the tongue would otherwise be extremely inconvenient. I feel that reverted (t , d , r , l , n) are the regular old Ws. forms whence have descended our peculiar English "coronal" (t , d , r , l , n) as distinguished from the continental "dental" or rather "alveolar" (t , d , r , l , n). The Indians always represent our sounds by their "cerebrals" (*supra* Part IV. p. 1096, col. 1). It is evident that the English sounds are merely imperfect utterances of the reverted. This reversion of (r) prevails still over the whole S. div. but the older main characters, as shewn in D. 4, all of which were probably characteristic of the whole division, fade out gradually to the e. of D. 4, and become complicated with other characters to the w. The reader is referred then to D. 4 for an account of the full characteristics of S. div.

D 1, 2, 3 = CS. or Celtic Southern,

That is, the Southern forms of English on Celtic territory, constituting a group by themselves. They occupy the portions of Ireland and Wales to the s. of the CB.

During the XIIth century parties of Englishmen migrated evidently from Ws. regions, but under Norman guidance, and took possession of three peninsulas previously occupied by Celts, 1) the extreme se. of Wx. in Ireland, 2) the extreme sw. of Pm., 3) Gowerland in Gm. Tradition says that, at least in Pm., they were accompanied or reinforced by Flemings who had been driven out of the Low Countries by floods.¹ The people of Wx. believe that of the little band of 140 knights and 300 infantry, who came there with Strongbow in 1164, the infantry were recruited from the Flemings in Pm. and Gm.² But in the XIIth century the distinction between Flemish and Ws. must have been slight, and the Ws. element must have predominated, for Higden in the XIVth century finds the people speaking "good enough Saxon." At the present day Wx. presents no peculiarity, although a century ago, it was truly S. English. But Pm. and Gm. still possess remnants of the old forms. It is notorious that emigrants preserve the traditions of the old speech longer than the old country. In this case each settlement was surrounded by speakers of an unintelligible language. Hence the settlers scattered over a small extent of country were necessarily in constant communication, undiverted by other habits of speech. Consequently they preserved the old language with only natural changes. I regard these districts then as presenting remnants of a very old dialectal form, and hence place them first. But, as will be presently seen, they are now so worn away that their relation to S. cannot be properly felt unless D 4 be studied first.

¹ 1. William of Malmesbury, 1095-1143, "Gesta regum anglorum," ed. T. Duffus Hardy, Hist. Soc. ed. 1840. Lib. iv. § 311, p. 493, A.D. 1091, "Flandritis in patria illorum [i.e. of the Welsh] collocatis." Lib. v. § 401, p. 628, "Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit."

2. Ranulph Higden (d. 1367), "De rebus Britannicis et Hibernicis," ed. Th. Gale, Oxford, 1691, p. 210, l. "Flandrenses . . . ad occidentalem Walliæ partem apud Hauerford sunt translati — Flandrenses, . . . dimissa jam barbaria, Saxonice satis proloquuntur," or as Trevisa translates, "speketh Saxonlych ynow."

For the three next citations I am

indebted to Herbert Jenner, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum.

3. Geraldus Cambrensis, b. 1147, in Pm., 'Itinerarium Cambriæ,' lib. i. ch. xi. de Haverfordia et Ros: "gens hæc originem a Flandria ducens."

4. 'Brut y Tywysogion' (under year 1105, translation sent by Mr. Jenner), "that nation seized the whole cantred [? *cantref* = hundred] of Rhos . . . and was derived from Fflandrys."

5. 'Annales Cambriæ' [under date 1107, Florence of Worcester makes it 1111], "Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt."

² The Very Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., paper read at the Dublin meeting of the British Association, 1857. Dr. R. does not give his authorities.

D 1 = w.CS = western Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Ireland and the sea on the se. Wx.

Area. The baronies of Bargo on the w. and Forth on the e. in the se. corner of Wx., Ireland.

Sources of Information. All that is known of the dial. as it once existed is contained in "A Glossary with some Pieces of Verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the baronies of Forth and Bargo, County of Wexford, Ireland, formerly collected by *Jacob Poole*, of Growtown, Taghmon [9 w. Wexford in the adjoining barony], County of Wexford, and now edited, with some Introductory Observations, Additions from various sources, and Notes by *William Barnes, B.D.*, author of a Grammar of the Dorsetshire Dialect," London, J. Russell Smith, 1867, pp. 139. With which compare the older paper of *Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.*, "Baronies of Forth and Bargo, County of Wexford, Ireland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Philological Relations of the Antique Dialect formerly spoken in this district; read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1866." This gives much additional information, but the subject is not looked at phonetically. Though the dialect is ancient, we meet with it in a modern form, affected by Celtic influences. The orthography is modern, and the words were written from dictation evidently by persons unaccustomed to a systematic representation of sound, and like all such, not thinking it necessary, or not being able to explain the orthography they used. Hence many inconsistencies and probably double uses. Dr. Vallancey published his paper, reprinted by Mr. Barnes, in Mem. Irish Acad. 27 Dec, 1788. Mr. Poole, whose glossary is the foundation of Mr. Barnes's book, collected his words in 1823-4. Mr. Edmund Hore, author of the Forth and Bargo address to Lord Mulgrave in 1860, was of this century, and kindly wrote a letter to a friend of his for me on 5th Oct., 1873, shewing by numerous examples that the old pron. had died out. "The Barony Forth dialect," says he, "was dying fast at the close of last century. It was in extremis by 1825, and in the present year, 1873, I am confident that there are not half a dozen young persons of and under 25 years, who understand a sentence of it. I have scarcely met one who did not laugh, and admit his ignorance of it. I was born in 1801, and my schoolmates never used a word of it between each other, except when in want of one to convey their meaning. They learned it, however, as children do, from their seniors, spoke it, with a mixture, to them, and hence it became more weakly by degrees, and would have expired in a shorter time, only that it was the language of the *illiterate* alone." I felt therefore that it was useless searching further among the people. I was unable to hear Mr. Hore read, and he was apparently unable to make his pronunciation clear by writing, saying to his correspondent Mr. Walsh, "I have not sufficient confidence in myself to finish the task" of writing the pron. of a lw. which I had sent him, "and therefore leave you to do the Glossic." This was

tantalising, for he adds: "A stranger, or more correctly a person who *has not* heard the dialect from the lips of an old Forthian, has only such knowledge of its pronunciation as Moderns have of the ancient pronunciation of the Dead Languages. A stranger reading it after the manner of English is as near the true sounds as he would be in reading French with the English sounds. The letter *A* had *invariably* the sound of *A* in the English word *father*." To this he added in the preface to the Address (Barnes, p. 113), "Double *ee* sounds like *e* in *mæ*; and in most words of two syllables the long accent is placed on the last," and also directed the reader to speak slowly.

Under these circumstances we have to divine the pron. from the habits of different persons in writing dialects, of which I have had a great and unsatisfactory experience, and I have by no means felt certainty in phonetically rendering the isolated words and short extracts which follow. Thus *a, e, i, o, u* are assumed as (a, e, i, o, u), not distinguishing (e, æ) or (o, o, o). But this is uncertain, as persons constantly write *u* for (*u, ø*), as we do in *dull, bull*, without any indication of the change. In Pm., however, it seems certain that (*u*) is still occasionally heard. For digraphs I take *ee, oo, aw* = (ii, uu, aa). I am not so sure of *au*; it may have been used of (áú) or (éú). As for *ie*, it seems to have been sometimes (ái) and sometimes (ii). But *aa, oa, ea* are the greatest stumbling-blocks. Most dialect writers use them for (éev, óov, íiv) or some such forms. Here, however, I have generally taken (aa, oo, ee) as the sounds, not distinguishing (oo, oo) or (ee, ee) even when long, as all is utterly conjectural. There may have been two diphthongs (æ'i, a'i), but they are hopelessly confused by the writer, yet *ay, ai, aay, aai*, were almost certainly (ái, áai), but for safety I use unanalysed (a'i). As to *ou*, I use unanalysed (a'u) as a general expression, though I think (æ'u, ø'u, æ'u) at least likely. But *ou* often quite puzzles me. It may be (óu, ø, u, u, áu). For the consonants I assume *r* to be (r), because the dialect is Southern, and *dr* is used for *thr*, but it may have become fully (r) under Celtic influence, centuries ago. The *th, dh* seem to be occasionally (th, dh), but also (th̄, dh̄) or (th, dh), and *dh* final was perhaps (dth̄). *Lh, rh* were possibly (lh, rh), but may have been (lh, rh), as these sounds seem still to occur in S. The postspirates are probably all Celtic in origin, being frequent all over Ireland. The *f* when replacing (wh) may have been a strong (wh) misheard, but as (f) occurs in Aberdeenshire, probably under Celtic influence, it must be accepted; *fh* may be simply an exaggerated or postspirated *f*. The *gh* I attribute to the scribal habits of the writer. I cannot think (kh) occurred even 100 years ago. Mr. Barnes unfortunately frequently "regulated" the spelling of his authorities—Vallancey's certainly, for I have compared the original, and Poole's probably—so that we have not by any means the words as those who heard them tried to represent them, which greatly increases my difficulty, as I have to conjecture what is meant by Mr. Barnes's conjecture as to the meaning of the original spelling. But assuming these values of the letters, we find on going through Mr. Poole's Vocabulary as printed and enlarged by Mr. Barnes, as decidedly characteristic: initial *dr* for *thr* implying (dr̄) or reverted (r̄); initial *z, v, zh*, for *s, f, sh*, and *ieh* (ty) for the pronoun *I*; (a'i) in *tail, main, brain, rain, twain, eight, they*, (ii) for long *I, Y*, which is very old. All these (except the last) also characterise D 4, so that the S. character of D 1 is established. The particulars are put in the form of a cwl. below, p. 30.

Illustrations.

1. Extract from Vallancey's *A Yola Zong* (1) (ə ʃoo·lə zoq)
 - Fade teil thee (2)—fartoo zo hachee (3) ?
 - Well, gosp, c'hull be zeid (4); mot thee fartoo, an fade (5)
 - Ha deight ouz var gabble (6), tell ee zin go t' glade (7) ?
 - Ch'am a stouk, an a donel; (8) wou'll leigh out ee dey (9)
 - Th' valler w' speen here (10), th' lass ee chourch-hey (11).

Conjectural pronunciation.

fadt áid dhi—fartuu· zo atjii· ?
 wel, gosp, t̃r̃el bi záid ; mot dhi far·tu ? ʷn fadt ?
 ha diit uz var gab'l, tel i zín goo t̃e gladt.
 t̃jam ə stóvk ʷn ṽ duu·nel ; wóel lii xut i dáí ;
 dh̃e val·ʷer w̃e spiin hiir, dh' las i t̃j̃ært̃j̃ háí.

Translation and Commentary.—(1). *An old song.* Old, commonly loses its d, and becomes (*ool*). Then a fractural (*r*) is prefixed, forming (*sool*), which form occurs in the *Bride's Portion* (Barnes, p. 102, l. 2). The additional *a* making (*soo·le*), is perhaps solely due to the following *z*, before which the *l* was lengthened by the speaker, and then the (*ʷ*) was inserted by the literariser.

(2). *What ails thee?* I consider the original *fads teil*, to be an error for *fadt eil*, the reporter, Dr. Vallancey, 1788, having been misled by the running on of a *t* after *fad* to the following vowel. The *fadt* for *what*, may be also a mistake of the transcriber. Although (*f*) for (*wh*) occurs in Aberdeenshire, it is very likely that Dr. Vallancey may have misheard (*wh*) as (*f*). The rest of the stanza contains many un-English words, and is omitted with the exception of the last words.

(3). *Whereto (i.e. wherefore) so agee?* The *fartoo* is evidently *where-to* on the analogy of *fadt* for *what*. *Agee* out of sorts, "ill-tempered." Sir JAP. suggests Old French *hachée*, which Roquefort translates "peine, fatigue, pénitence," supposing that Old French formed part of the language of the original settlers, adducing *core* heart fr. *cœur*, *benisons* blessings, *meivies* wives and families fr. *mesnie*, *poustee* power fr. *poste* [ʔ *postéis* "un grand seigneur, un homme puissant"], *mire* wonder fr. *mirer*, *avanet* arrived fr. *avenir* [ʔ]. Whence *hachee* really comes is unknown, and I am far from suggesting that it is the same word as *agee*, which translates it so well.

(4). *Well, gossip, it shall be said.* I take *ei* here to represent (*a'i*).

(5). *But thy wherefore and what.* *Mot* is translated by *but* in Dr. V.'s glossary, but he translates this passage as "you ask what ails me and for what."

(6). *Have dight (or prepared) us for gabble.* I doubt whether *gh* was a guttural in Dr. V.'s time. The pronunciation of *ouz* (as Dr. V. writes, Mr. Barnes has *ouse*) is conjectural. Observe *for* with southern *v-* in *var*.

(7). *til the sun go to valley.* The *zin* is thorough Devonshire. *Glade* is translated *valley* by Mr. Hore in the address to Lord Mulgrave, Icel. *gluðr*, bright shining. You see the sun set through an opening only.

(8). *I am a stock and a fool.* *Cham* = *ich-am*, is a regular old Southern form. *Stouk* I suppose to have been meant for *sto-uck*, that is (*stóvk*), a stock or blockhead, and *donel* is unknown. Sir JAP. suggests Irish *dona*, a poor unfortunate fellow. Dr. V. translates *dunce*, and Sir JAP. a *simpleton*.

(9). *Will lie (i.e. idle) out the day.* The pronunciation of *wou'll* is quite doubtful. I take it for *wol*, that is, *will*. Sir JAP. considers it *w'out* we will. *Leigh* is translated "idle" by Dr. V. Mr. B. compares "to lake" or play, *ags. lácan*, but this would hardly give anything written *leigh*. Dr. V. translates "idle." Poole's glossary has *leeigh* to laugh, with which it may be related. The use of *ee* for "the" is regular. *Dey* gives the Southern pronunciation (*da'i*).

(10). *The longer we spend here.* *Valler* may have been an error for *vuller* = fuller. Dr. V. translates "more, longer in time." Sir JAP. suggests *value*. *Speen* for "spend" is like *cen* for "end."

(11). *The less in church-hay.* *Hay* an inclosure, with regular pronunciation. Sir JAP. says, "The meaning of this is, I suppose, that the churchyard on Sundays and holidays being the great mart for gossip, the time in telling the story now would be so much saved at the Sunday meeting."

The rest of the text is so difficult, and evidently corrupt, that it is passed over.

2. Casteale Cudde's Lamentation for loss o' his Cuck at vas ee-took be a vox. kastee'l⁽¹⁾ kudz⁽²⁾ lamentee'shən for los o hiz kuk, et wəz i-tuk bi v vokz⁽³⁾.

Recited by Tobias Butler, 1823.

(Barnes, pp. 102 to 106.)

Original.

Pronunciation.

1.

1.

Ye nypporès aul, come hark to mee,
Faade ee-happen'd me lautest
Gooode Vreedie,
Mee cuck was liveen mighty
well,
Dhicka die fan ich want to a
mile.

ʒina'iporis⁽⁴⁾ áaəv⁽⁵⁾, kuum haark
tə mi,
fàdt i-hap'nd mi laa'test gúuəd
vriidii⁽⁶⁾,
mi kuk wəz lɪvii'n miiti wəl,
dhik·v⁽⁷⁾ da'i fan itʃ want tu v
mɛl⁽⁸⁾.

Ho ro! mee cuck is ee-go (*bis*),
Neen chickès hav hea ee-left
vatherless,
To fho shall ich maake mee
redress?

hoo roo! mi kuk iz i-goo! (*be's*)
niin tʃikiz həv hee⁽¹⁾ i-left
vaadherles⁽⁷⁾,
tu foo⁽⁹⁾ shəl itʃ mək mi
rɪdres·? ⁽¹⁰⁾

2.

2.

As ich waant draugh Bloomere's
Knough,
Ich zide [a] vethers o' mee cuck,
Aar was nodhing ee-left mot a
heade,
Which maate mee hearth as coale
as leed.

az itʃ wànt dɾa'u⁽¹¹⁾:bluumee'res
knuk,
itʃ zid⁽¹²⁾ [i] vedh·əɾz⁽⁷⁾ v mi
kuk;
àɾ⁽¹³⁾ wəz nədh·iq⁽⁷⁾ i-lef mot
v hiid⁽¹⁾,
whitʃ mət mi hartʃ⁽¹⁴⁾ ɛz kool
ɛz liid⁽¹⁵⁾.

3.

3.

'Cham afear'd ich mosth cress a
Shanaan,
And lea a pariesh o Kilmannan,
Mee piggès, mee geeearthès, nor
nodhing threave,
Lickweese mee been deeth in aar
heeve.

tʃam əfii'rd itʃ mostʃ kres v
:shanan·⁽¹⁶⁾,
ən lee v pari'sh v :kɪlmanan·⁽¹⁷⁾
mi piɡ·is, mi giɛərthi's, nor
nədh·iq⁽⁷⁾ dɛriiv⁽¹⁸⁾,
lɪkwii'z mi biin diith in e'r
hiiv⁽¹⁹⁾.

4.

4.

Zimaan Haay is a wicked man,
Hea pryet ich mought na ha
chicke or hen,
Ar aany noor dhing at woode
comfoort mee,
Fan ich aam in this miseree.

:ziman· :ha'i iz v wɪk'ed man,
hee prai'et itʃ móvt nɛ ha tʃik
or hɛn⁽²⁰⁾,
ɛɾ ani nuur⁽²⁰⁾ dhiq⁽⁷⁾ ɛt wud
komfuu'rt mi,
fan⁽²¹⁾ itʃ am ɪn dhis mi'zerii·.

5.

5.

Mizluck mye lhygt on Tam
Busheare,
Hea zed mee cuck vlew in a aare.

mɪzluk· ma'i hɛit⁽²²⁾ on :tom
:bushee'r,
hee za'id mi kuk vliú in v ɛɛɾ⁽²³⁾.

6.	6.
Lhaung life to Mistear Reed- forth an his vamilee,	ЛНAAQ liif tu :mistee'R :reedforth en iz vamilii' (24),
Lhaung mye thye live in pros- peritee;	ЛНAAQ ma'i dha'i liiv in pros- peritii' ;
He zide hea'de help me udh o' hoan	hee záid hee-d help mi udH) e) hoon (25)
To hint dhicke cursed yox vrom Bloomere's lhoan.	tu hñnt dhik kærсед voks vrom :bluumee'nis ЛHOON (26).

Notes.

1. *Casteale*, Castle. The pronunciation (kasteel) is doubtful. It is impossible to say that Mr. Poole would have written consistently, or what phonetic analogies would strike an Irishman 60 years ago. The *ea* is now, and was then, generally (*ee*) or (*ee*) in Ireland. Mr. P., like other dialect writers, often uses it I think for (*iie*), but probably he used it in both senses, for few dialect writers are consistent. This is stated to be a nickname.

2. Patrick Codd is given as the man's real name.

3. 'Cock that was i-taken by a fox.'

4. 'Neighbours,' the (p) occurs in other districts.

5. As 'aul' could hardly have been used for the ordinary pronunciation of 'all,' I have assumed it to be *a-ul*, which agrees with Southern usage.

6. 'what happened [to] me last Friday.' The rhyme requires (*dii*), but (*da'i*) would have been expected; see *cwl.* p. 30, No. 161.

7. *th*, *dh* in F. and B. writing generally mean (*th*), (*dh*) or postaspirated *t*, *d*. But here and there (*dh*) is a dialectal change from (*th*). I think *dh* means to imply (*dh*), or at least its Celtic substitute (*dh*).

8. Written *mile*, where the last letter seems to have been misread for *l*, as many writers make *ll* resemble *le*. In Poole's glossary *mele*, *mell* occur for *flour*, and Mr. Barnes inserted *mile* from this passage.

9. That is (whoo) for *whom*.

10. "Make my redress," instead of "apply for" or "go for." Tobias Butler, who recited this in 1823, may have been in error. The verse is throughout so faulty that this was probably often the case.

11. Interpreting *au* as (a'u), but this

is quite uncertain, *drough* may have been written, and meant merely for (*druu*), as I have had sent to me many times by informants.

12. *zide* would be 'said,' as given in the glossary, hence this must be an error for *zede* = *see'd*, that is, saw.

13. For (*dhe'n*), a regular Forth form.

14. Here I suppose the *-th* indicated only a strong final flatus, which is written as (*l*).

15. 'There was nothing i-left but the head, which made my heart as cold as lead.' In *cold* the *d* is omitted as in *yola* old. In this example *the* instead of (*i*) often becomes (*e*).

16. 'I am afraid I must cross the Shannon.' I feel doubtful about the pron. of (*kres*) and (*Shanan*).

17. 'And leave the parish of Kilmannan.' Kilmannan is a parish in Bary (6 sw. Wexford).

18. 'My pigs, my goats, nor nothing thrive.' The insertion of *r* in *gearthés* for 'goats' may be right, for such insertions occur in *w.Sm.* But on the other hand it may be entirely due to the transcriber. In *threave*, *th* must be an error for *d* or *dh*, as the *thr*- regularly becomes (*dr-*) or (*dhrr-*).

19. 'Likewise my bees die in their hive.' Observe (*ikwii'z*, *hiiv*), (*biin*) as a plural in *n* and (*diith*) as the *Ws.* verbal plural in *-eth*.

20. 'He prayed I might not have chick or hen or any other thing.' Observe (*praí'et*) ending in *t*. Compare *maate* for *made* in stanza 2. Observe (*núuær*) for *another* (sometimes spelled *anoor*, and then *another* for *other*).

21. *Fan* of course represents (*whan when*).

22. I have taken *lh* to be a post-aspirated *l* rather than the voiceless (*lh*).

23. 'He said my cock flew in the air.' Here *zed* is apparently an error for *zide*,

just as *zide* was miswritten before for *zede*, see note 12. The last two lines of this stanza are missing in Barnes, p. 102.

24. The (v-) in this Latin word is doubtful, see introduction to D 4.

25. 'Out of hand.' Here several things are uncertain, the pronunciation

of *u* in (udh), the effect of (dh) which can only be shewn on the following vowel, and the sound of *hoan*, which I assume here to be (hoon) and not (hóvn), just as in *lhaung* I took *au* to = (AA).

26. "To hunt this cursed fox from Bloomer's land."

3. FORTH AND BARGY CWL.

Collected from the glossary and specimens in Mr. Barnes's book. The spelling there used is placed first in Italics, and then the conjectured pron. in pal. Observations are included in []. The numbers refer to the cwl. on p. 15*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *taake* tàk. 5 *maake* màk. 6 *maate* màdt. 14 *dra* draa. 18 *caake* kàk. 19 *taale* tàl. 21 *naame* nàm naam. — *gaam gaume* gà[m] [game]. — *glade* glàd [glade, valley]. [In all these words I feel that *aa*, *au* may have meant (áu, éu).] A: 40 *khime* khjám. 43 *hoan* hoon. 44 *loan* loon. 53 *coan* koon. 57 *ess* es. A: or O: 58 *vrum* vram. 61 *amang* ɔmá'q. A'- 67 *goan* góvn [going]. 72 *fo* fjoo. 73 *zo zoo sae* zoo zuu see [the last form is anomalous]. 82 *oance* óv'nes. 86 *oates* óvts. 94 *croowe* kruu [?]. 95 *drowe draugh* droo. A': — *laady* laadi [lady]. 108 *doaugh dhoough dough* doo. 115 *hime hyme* háim. 117 *oan* oon. 118 *bane* baan. 124 *sthoan* stjooon.

Æ- — *aake* aak [ache]. 138 *vather* vaadhær. 141 *niel* ná'íl. 141 *tyel* ta'íl. 144 *agyne* ɔgá'in. 146 *mhyne* mha'in [main, very]. 147 *bryne* bra'in [the *y* spelling in these last four words seems to indicate (a'i) with certainty]. 152 *waudher* wádhær. Æ: 155 *detch* dɛtɔ. — *bhlock* bhlok [black]. 156 *glaud* glàd. 161 *die dey daaily* da'í da'íli. 165 *zide* za'id. — *smaai* smaal [small]. 179 *faade* fàdt. Æ'- — *leache* leetɔ [physician from Stanyhurst 1577, misprinted *leech* in glossary]. 187 *laave* lea lév lee. 194 *aany* áni. — *erroane* eroo'n [errand]. 200 *whet* wheet. Æ': 211 *gray* grey gra'í. — *meale* meel [a meal]. 217 *earch* eertɔ [ever-each, every]. 218 *zheep* zhiip. 223 *aar thaare* aar dhaar. 224 *far* far.

E- 231 *ee* i [and] a ɔ [compare omitted consonant in the D 40]. 238 *hey hye* há'í. 241 *rhyne* rha'in. 242 *twine* twy twa'in twái. 245 *mele* mell meel [meal, flour]. — *brimel* bráimel [bramble]. 251 *maate* métt. — *vether* vedhær [feather]. E: 260 *laaye* lái. 262 *wye wyse* wa'í wa'íz. 263 *awye* ɔwa'í. 266 *waal* wál. — *dell* del [delve]. 279 *waant* wéunt [?]. — *speen* spiin [spend]. — *zeen* ziin [to send]. — *een* iin [an end]. E'- 296 *beleave* beleev. 301 *heereen* heereen hiiriin ha'iriin [hearing, the second form is still heard in D 4, but is dying out]. E': 305 *heegh* hií.

EA: 324 *ayght* a'ít. — *ayghteen* a'ítii'n. 326 *yole yola* jool joo'la. 328 *cole* khaal khjool. 330 *houle* ha'ul [?]. 346 *yeat* jɛet jɛt [?]. EA'- 347 *haade* hád. 348 *een* iin [eyes]. EA': 350 *deed* diid. 351 *leed* liid. 352 *reed* riid. 353 *breed* briid. 358 *neeghe* nii. 359 *nyporès* na'iporis. — *reem rhyme* riim rha'im [cream]. — *ayenst* ɔenst. — *thowse* thause touse loos la'us [? loose]. — *eeth* eefe iith iif [easy].

EI- 373 *thye* dha'í. 374 *naay* ná'í. EI: 379 *haail* há'íl. 380 *aam* éem [(am, ɔm) ?].

EO: 388 *mulke* mɔlk [or ? (m'lk) see D 10]. — *barrm* barm [barm = yeast]. — *heartih* heertih [heart]. 406 *eart eard* eert eerd. EO'- 409 *been* biin [bees]. — *fleen* fiin [flies, Mr. Barnes says 'fleas,' but that is impossible]. 411 *dhree* dhrii. 412 *shoo* shuu. EO': 436 *drue* dhruu [? (thrau)]. EY- 438 *dee* dii. EY: 439 *thrist* thrist.

I- 443 *vreedie* vriidii [see p. 29, note 6]. I: 452 *ich* itɔ [and in composition *cha cham chas chood choote chull* = I have, am, was, would, wot, will]. 455 *lee* lii [hence to idle, and then spelled *leigh*]. — *michty* mii'ti. — *deight*

diit. 458 *neeght niegght* niit na'it. 460 *waaight* wáit. 470 *aam* e'm [see 380]. 475 *weend* *wyeene* wiind wa'in [? Vallancey gives *weend* only]. 480 *dhing* dhiq [(dhiq) ?]. — *zhip* zháp [ship]. — *dhurth* dhərt [dirt]. I'- 492 *zeide* zeed [taking *ei* as a mistake for *ee*]. 493 *dhreeve* dhriiv. 494 *deem* diim. — *peepeare* pipee r [piper]. 496 *eeren* iiren. I': 502 *veeve* viiv. — *hye* ha'i [hay, and also 238]. 510 *my* ma'i. — *leen* liin [line]. 515 *veezer* viizer [? (wii'zər), otherwise this is the only case where w=v].
 O- 518 *buthee* *bodhee* *bothige* buthii' bodhii'. O: 531 *doughtere* da'utee r. — *cawl* kaal [? (kool) a *colt*]. 552 *coorn* kuurn. 553 *hoorn* huurn. O'- 555 *shoon* shuun pl. 564 *zoon* zuun. 565 *nize* *niz* náiz niz. 566 *anoor* anuua [another]. O': 571 *gooude* goouness gúud gúunes. 572 *bloed* blúud. 579 *eenew* iniu'. 597 *zoot* zuut.
 U- 599 *aboo* əbuu. 603 *coome* kuum. 605 *zin* zin [common in D 11]. 606 *dher* dhər. U: 609 *valler* [? misprint for *vuller*] valer, ? vuler. 612 *zim* zim. 616 *greoune* grea'un. 629 *zin* zin. U'- 640 *keow* kea'u. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *about* *abut* əbea'ut [?].
 U: 658 *deown* dea'un. 662 *ouse* ouz uz ? 663 *heouse* hea'us. 667 *outh* udh út [ədh, *udho* ədh] [out of]. 671 *meouth* mea'uth.
 Y- — *heve* hiiv [hive]. — *ree* ri [rye]. 679 *chourch* tʃərt [? tʃurt].
 Y: 684 *burge* bərdʃ. — *hels* hel [? a *hill*]. 690 *keene* kiin. 701 *vurst* vərst.
 Y'- — *keen* kiin [kine, from Ws. *cý* plural of 240]. 705 *skee* skii. — *theene* tine thiiin [tine]. Y': — *breede* braid [bride].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *kaayle* ka'il [kail]. E. — *lear* leer [empty]. — *skeine* skyne skáin [skein]. O. — *poul* pa'ul [poll of the head]. — *mot* mot [but].
 U. — *unket* ə'kɛt [unkid].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *faace* fauce fàs. 812 *laace* làs. 813 *bawcoon* bàkuu'n. — *pyle* pa'il [... *paele*, a pail]. — *plaague* plàg [plague]. 820 *gaaye* gáí. 827 *aager* əgər. — *gryne* gra'in [grain]. 835 *raison* ra'izoo'n.
 E.. 885 *veree* venii'. — *feyer* fa'ir [a *fair*]. 890 *beasthès* beesthɪs.
 I.. and Y.. — *pee* pii [a *mag-pie*]. 900 *pry* pra'i. — *gimlie* dʒimli [chimney].
 O.. — *faaighe* fythe fa'i fa'ith. — *geint* dʒa'int [joint]. 925 *vice* váis. 937 *cuck* kuk. 947 *bile* ba'il. 956 *kiver* kiver. U.. 960 *kie* ka'i. — *waait* wa'it [wait]

D 2 = m.CS. = mid Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Pm. and the coast sw. of it.

Area. The two peninsulas to the sw. of Pm., formerly known as "Little England beyond Wales."

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under Pm., Rhôs and Dangleddy, information from Rev. J. Tombs, Mr. Elworthy, Mr. E. L. Jones, Mr. W. Spurrell, and Archdeacon Edmondès.

Character. The S. reverted (r) according to Mr. Elworthy, who says the dial. is "most like a book version of w.Sm.," see D 10, and thinks he heard some (y), though Rev. J. Tombs says there is nothing like it there. Mr. Tombs also thinks the r is "not materially different from the Welsh r," fully trilled (r), and that Pm. speech is very different from a Sm. or n.Dv. But initial *dr-* accepted by Mr. Tombs in *three*, *through*, *throw*, *threaten*, implies (dr-). The (a'i) for ÆG, EG, initial (z-) for (s-), though only preserved among old speakers, and of (éi) perhaps (s'i) for I', the use of (iin) for *him*, and of (dhíiez) as one of the forms of *this*, the (ə-) before the past participle, are all of them S. forms. The

only words I have heard are 3 or 4 pron. by Mr. Elworthy. Hence I give the original spelling in the following cwl. The indications respecting the value of short U have been most diverse. It will be seen by the dt. furnished by Mr. Spurrell, from dictation of a Castle Martin man, that short U is invariably (u) or (u). Mr. E. L. Jones says it is "never" like the La. (u₁), but "always" as u in rec. buck (ə, æ). As *Zoonday* occurs in a subsequent specimen, I endeavoured to clear up the matter, without much success. Mr. Tombs gave (ə, æ) in love, come, summer, son, butter, ugly, some, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, Sunday, nun, sun, but allowed (u, u) in full, cup, dust. Archdeacon Edmondes, of Warren, close to Castle Martin, says that a girl in his service speaks of "carr'ing things oop, taking in loonch," but her parents come from Narberth. Under these circumstances it seems that (u) still exists, but is not general. It is of course a mark of antiquity, and for this reason I assume it in the older form of D 1. There is no trace of it in D 3. For D 4 see the s. *sööm* line 2, p. 16. Mr. Tombs or else Arch. Edmondes admits *v* for *f* in fair, farm, fast, feed, fiddle, four, fox, flail, from, furrow; (væqk) for spark is known to Mr. Thomas; and they admit *z* for *s* in say, self, seven, sick, six, soon, son, Sunday, and lastly that the *f* and *s* remain in face, fail, fall v., false, far, fat, fault, friend, not very regularly; and in sad, sand, saw, song, so, such, sweet, swallow, swine, still less regularly. As to *ow*, Mr. Tombs does not admit (éu), but Archd. Edmondes hears *caoo* (kéu, kæ'u, kæ'u?)

1. TWO INTERLINEAR PEMBROKESHIRE dt.

T. written in io. by Rev. J. Tombs, Rector of Burton, Pm., and pal. conjecturally by A.J.E.

S. written in a phonetic alphabet by Mr. Spurrell from the dict. of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Castlemartin, Pm.

- (1) T. zoo éi zái, ba'wjiiz, ʒ zii nia'u ɛz éi bi réit ɛba'ut -dat
S. zoo éi záai, bə'iz, jæ zii néu æz éi)m 'réit ɛba'ut dhæt

T. líd'l máid kəmín vrom dhɛ [skuul]
S. líd'l [liid'l] máaid kəmín [gwmín] vrom dhæ skuul [skuuld]

T. a'ut dheer.
S. éut dheer.

- (2) T. shii)z a)gwáin dia'um dhɛ rhóovd dheer, nria'u dhɛ rid
S. shii)z æ gwáain déum dhæ róovæd dheer, dhru dhæ rid

T. gee't pɛn dhɛ líft han zéid ɛ dhɛ wáiz.
S. gaat pɛn dhæ líft hænd [hæn?] zéid o dhæ wáai.

- (3) T. shuur ɛnú dhɛ tjéil hɛv ɛ-gon stráit [ɛp tɛ] dhɛ
S. shuur enéu dhæ tjéil[-d] hæv æ gɛn stráit ɛp tæ dhæ

T. duur ɛ dhɛ RAAQ [ha'us]
S. duur ɛv dhæ rɔq héus

- (4) T. weer (waar) shi ul léiklí féin [dhat] dræqkín diif (díf)
S. weer shii ul léiklí féin dhæt druqk'n díf

T. sriv'lt felɛ bi dhɛ néem ɛ :tomɛs.
S. skruqk felæ béi dhæ néem o :tomæs.

- (5) T. [wi AAL] NAAZ iin [VERi] wEL.
S. wii óæl NAAZ iin verí wel.
- (6) T. [woont] dhw AAL [tjap suun] lærn ɔɛ not tɛ duu)t ɔgen,
S. wunt dhi áaul tjæp suun laarn ɔr not tæ duu)t æge'n,
T. puuɛɛ dhíq!
S. puur dhíq!
- (7) T. [lʌk !] been't [it] tríu ?
S. luuk beent it tríu ?

Notes to T. version. Words in [] were not filled in by Mr. T. and are supposed to be in (dialectal) rs. Mr. T.'s spelling may be seen in the cwl.

1. *So say*. The initial (z) is heard only from old people.—*I be* is more heard in the n. and *I am* in the s. of the district.—*right*. The pron. (éi) is adopted from Mr. Jones, who says it is most like the Cockney *a* in *fate*, which sounded to the Tenby schoolchildren in Mr. Matthew Arnold's pron. like their own pr. of *fight*.—*boys now about*. I have interpreted Mr. T.'s *ou*, *ow*, *eow* as (a'u, ia'u) using the unanalysed form. The triphthong (ia'u) possibly occurred in D 1. We find (éau) in M. But Mr. Spurrell's version points to its meaning (éu).—*from*. I adopt (ɛ) everywhere on Mr. Elworthy's authority. Initial it is probably aspirated as in Mr. T.'s *rho-ad*. His *dr* for *thr* implies (DR), and perhaps *tr* would be (TR). But I leave (r) in Mr. Spurrell's phonetic writing.—*that* (dat) is very peculiar. Its appearance and present gradual disappearance may be compared with D 9. That *the* should not be similarly affected is singular.—*little*, (li'd') is found elsewhere.—*maid, going* (ái) in (máid, gwáin) is regular S.—*from* (vrom) is regular S., but the other forms *from*, *throm*, which Mr. T. has heard, seem to be foreignisms.

4. *where*. I considered Mr. T.'s written *wh* to be an accident for *w*. He says, however, that *h* is "very well and correctly used generally speaking; it is occasionally but rarely omitted where it should be heard; but still seldomer inserted where it should not be; these are, I think, faults of recent growth."

4. *shrivelled*. (shr-) seems to be a difficulty. In this word (sr-) is used, in others (sh-r-), see—*shrub* before 543, and *shrimp* 756 in cwl. *infra* p. 35.

5. *we all know him* (wi AAL NAAZ iin). "*We* is sometimes heard as the objective case, and *us* as the nominative, but rarely; and this usage has grown up within the last twenty-five years [dated Mar. '79] by the advent of English navvies into the district to form the railways; many such have married and settled here, and the natives have partly followed their usage sometimes." The usage is common in Do. The form (NAAZ) for the pl. is common S. (iin), which Mr. T. writes *ihn* as in German, is the regular S. *en* (ɛn), from Ws. *hine*, the true acc., for which the dative *him* has been substituted in rs.

6. *thing* (dhíq) is old.

7. *is not*. *I be* is heard more in the n., *I am* in the s. of the district.

2. *Example* given at the Swansea meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, 1861 :

"I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day zoonday."

This Mr. T. thinks "unmistakably Flemish." It is "unmistakably" S. But *I'ze*, as thus written for *I is*, is the N. form, and is of course an error. There is a possibility that it stands for *ees be* (iis bi). In a cutting from a Carmarthen newspaper I find *I's* regularly used for *I*, as "I's so [= *saw*, the distinction (AA, oo)

is heard with difficulty], I's tell, I's cud, I's hasn't, I's goin, I's did, I's isn't, I's does, I's has, I's propos, I's thinks, I's has, I's was," where *I's* is simply an old S. (iis)=I, and only in "I's goin" is the verb omitted. A man who left Narberth about 1864 told Mr. Spurrell he had heard (*éiz thiqks*) for *I think*. This is very doubtful. I cannot get any other confirmation of the use of such a form. Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, a Tenby man, never heard it. And *oo* in *zoonday* is also N. Perhaps, using (*u*) as in the dt. from Mr. Spurrell, we may read (*iiz bi e)gwáin ts zel zúm vish ts bæ'i zúm vlësh ver dhat blézed dáí zunda'i*).

PM. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Compiled from words furnished me from different quarters, distinguished by initials. Ed. From Archdeacon Edmondson of Warren (4 sw.Pembroke), in answer to questions.

El. From Mr. Elworthy after a visit to Tenby, communicated vv.

Ev. From Miss Evans's "Molly and Richard" in Chambers's Journal, quoted as Pm. in Rev. J. Tombs's lecture. Her spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

J. From Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, native of Tenby.

N. Words from Narberth furnished by Mr. Spurrell of Carmarthen.

T. From Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n.Pembroke). His own spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

Th. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas of Castlemartin (5 wsw.Pembroke), obtained vv. by Mr. Spurrell and written in his phonetic alphabet here transliterated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T. *naame* *néem*, Th. *néem*. A: 43 T. *han' han*. A: or O: 58 T. *vrom rom throm* from rom throm [but the speaker had Welsh blood]. 64 T. *raung* *raaq* Th. *roq*. A'- 67 T. *agwaayin' egwáin*. 73 T. *zo zoo* [(z) used only by older people]. 92 T. *we knaows* *wi naaz* [see 98]. 98 Ev. *knawed* *naad* [p' nood]. A': 104 T. *rho-ad rhóod* [Mr. T. does not acknowledge (x)], Th. *róoad*. 123 Ev. *nawthin* *naathin*.

Æ- 138 Ev. *feither* *feedher*, T. *veedher*. — Ev. *spaid* *spáid* [spade]. 141 Ed. *náil*. 142 Ed. *snáil*. 143 Ed. *táil*. T. *aghen* *egen*. 146 Ed. *máin*. 147 Ed. *bráin*. 148 Ed. *váir*. 152 Th. *weeter*. Æ: 160 Ed. *dái*. 161 Ev. *to daay*. 162 Ed. *ts dáí*. 164 Ed. *mái*. 166 Ed. *máid*, T. *maayd* *máid* N. *máid*. 177 T. *dat* *dat* [Mr. T. says, "d for th was a characteristic mark in 1860, fast disappearing"]. Æ'- — El. *ǰeth* [heath, as well as 405 hearth] *ǰetel* [Heathfield]. Æ': 224 T. *whair* *wharr* *weer* *war*.

E- 231 *tha* *dhv*. E: 261 *zay* *zái*. Th. *záai* [used only by older people], Ev. *saay* *sái*. 262 *waey* *wái*. 265 *strayet* *stráit*. E'- 297 T. *fellah* *flah* *fel'v* *fla* [p]. EA: 326 T. *awle* *ool*, *áawl*. 332 Ev. *tould* *tóuld*? 335 Th. *óawl*. 346 T. *ga-at* *géevt*. EA'- — El. *ǰefer* [heifer]. EA': 352 T. *rid* *rid*. 355 T. *deef* *diff* *diif* *dif*. — Ev. *yasy* *ree'zi* [easy]. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used]. 402 T. *larne* *larn* [teach]. 405 El. *ǰeth* [also used for *heath*, see under Æ'-]. EO': 427 *bain't* *beent* [*be not*, for *is not*]. 428 T. *zee* *zii* [z used only by old people]. 436 *trew* *tríu* [rhymes to *new*].

I- 447 *hur* *ur* *hvr* *vr*. — *yis* *jis* [yes]. I: 452 J. Th. *éi*. 459 J. Th. *rite* *réit*. 469 *ool* *ul*. 470 T. *ihn* *in* *iin* [p]. 477 T. *fine* *fa'in*. 480 T. *thing* *dhig* ["flat th as in *then* among old people"] 484 El. *dhíez* [a distinct form of this]. I'- 492 T. *zide* *zéid* [z used only by old people].

O- — N *shuv'l* [shovel]. O: — T. *shurub* *sherab* [shrub]. 543 T. *'pan* *pén*. O'- 560 Th. *skuul* *skuuld*. O': 578 Ev. *pleugh* *pliu*. 579 *enaf* *enóu* [sing. and pl.]

U- 603 T. *cummin'* *kém'in*, *kúmin*. 606 T. *doore* *duur*. U: 613 Th. *drauk'n*. — *skruqk* [skrunk]. 632 Th. *up*. 633 Ed. *kup*. 634 T. *dreow* *driou*, Ev. *throu* *thra'u*, ? *dra'u*; Th. *dhru*. U'- 643 T. *neow* *nia'u*, Th. *néu*. U': 658 T. *deown* *dia'un*, Th. *déun*. 663 Th. *héus*. 667 T. *out* *a'ut*?

Y- 682 *liddle* *lid'l*. Y': 709 Th. *ve'ir*.

II. ENGLISH.

- E. 749 T. *lift* lift.
 I. and Y. 756. T. *shur-rimp* shur'i-mp. 760 *srivolet* sriv'lt [often heard by Mr. Tombs, not known by Mr. Thomas].
 O. 791 T. *bouiese* bóiz ba'wiiz [?].

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. 866 T. *poour* púuɐ.
 E.. — T. Ed. *crawtur* kraatɐ [creature].
 O.. — Ev. *jouin* dja'u'in [join].

D 3 = e.CS. = eastern Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The Gm. CB. and the Bristol Channel.

Area. The 17 En. speaking parishes of the peninsula of Gowerland, Gm., enumerated under Gm. CB. p. 13c.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List, Gm. Gowerland.

Characters. Reverted (r) inferred from (drau) through, (z) initial in place of (s), ('n) for *him* are all distinctly S. The dialect seems to have been greatly worn, as my informant, the Rev. J. D. Davies, alters the spelling of but few words in the dt. and says that the others are in rs. No specimen has been printed. Not having been able to find or obtain any complete specimen of the dialect, and Mr. Davies's dt. being very defective, I merely add the words in the owl form.

GOWERLAND CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Containing the words supplied to me by Rev. J. D. Davies, giving his spelling first, followed by the conjectural pron. in pal.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A'- 67 *gwain* gween [going]. 73 *zo* zoo.
 Æ- 144 *agen* ɛgɛ'n.
 E: 261 *zay* zái [possibly (zee)]. E'- 297 *fellah* fɛle. EA: 326 *auld* ʌld.
 EA': 355 *defe* diif. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used] EO': 427 *bean't* béunt [is not]. 428 *ze* zii.
 I- 447 *er* ɛr. I: 470 *n* 'n [after verbs]. I'- 492 *zide* zéid [ʔ].
 U- 606 *dæur* dɛr [probably, Mr. Davies says, like the French *sœur* (sœɛr)].
 U: 634 *drough* (dra'u ʔ) [may be (drau)].
 Y- 682 *li* li.

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. — *gracieuse* grashæz.
 E.. — *précieuse* preshæz.

In the Philological Transactions for 1848-50, vol. 4, p. 222, is a list of 68 Gower words, given by Rev. J. Collins, with no explanations of spelling. Of these the following are common words. I do not trust myself to give the pronunciation.

Brandis (brandrith), iron stand for pot or kettle. *Cammet* (cammed), crooked. *Eddish*, wheat stubble. *Hay*, an inclosure attached to a dwelling. *Main*, strong, fine (but here said of growing crops). *Nommet*, noon-meat, luncheon. *Plym*, plump, full. *Peert*, lively, brisk. *Quapp*, to throb. *Rathe*, early. *Reremouse*, bat. *Snead*, handle of scythe. *Songulls* (songles), gleanings.

The following are Southern or Western :

Caffle, entangled, Sm. *Cloam*, earthenware, Co. *Clit*, stiff, sticky. *Dreshel*, (drashel), a flail. *Evil*, a three-pronged fork. *Fleet*, exposed in situation, Sm. *Flott* (float), aftergrass, Dv. *Foust*, tumbled. *Frithing*, wattled fence, to *frith* a fence, Dv. *Nesseltrip*, small pig in a litter. *Ovice* (ovis), eaves of house, Dv. *Planche*, boarded floor, Do. *Purty*, to turn sulky. *Quat*, to press down or flatten, Do. *Show-y*, to clear (of weather), the verbal termination -y common. *Soul*, cheese, butter, etc., as eaten with bread. *Slade*, a valley, ground sloping to the sea. *Sul* (zul), a plough. *Suant*, regular, working smoothly, Dv. *Toit*, small straw seat, Dv., frisky, Co. *Want*, a mole [the animal]. *Wimble*, (wine), winnow.

Of the other words I am not so sure.

Angletouch, warm. *Bumbagas*, bittern. *Charnel*, place in roof for hanging bacon. *Deal*, litter of pigs. *Dotted* (? doted), giddy, of a sheep. *Dome*, damp. *Firmy*, to clean out (-y is S.). *Flaairing*, an eruption like erysipelas. *Fraith*, freespoken, talkative. *Flathing*, a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk. *Gloy*, refuse straw after the "reed" has been taken out. *Gloice*, sharp pang of pain. *Heavgar*, heavier (so also *near-ger*, *far-ger*). *Homrach*, harness collar made of straw. *Kittybags*, gaiters. *Lipe*, matted basket of a peculiar shape. *Letts*, a lout. *Noppet*, *Nipperty*, lively, convalescent. *Ryle*, angle in the sea. *Riff*, a scythe sharpener. *Seggy*, to lease (the -y is S.). *Semmatt*, a sieve made of skin for winnowing. *Shoat*, a small wheaten loaf. *Stiprog*, a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw or withy. *Susan*, a brown earthen pitcher. *Sump*, any bulk that is carried, Sf. *Slade*, ground sloping to the sea. *Tite* (toit), to tumble over, N. *Vair*, a weasel or stoat. *Wing*, a willow. *Weest*, lonely, desolate. *Wash-dish*, the titmouse.

Hence, although vocabulary is a very uncertain test, the dialect has a clearly S. character, agreeing with the small evidences furnished by pron.

D 4 and 5 together form the MS.=Mid Southern Group.

This was the principal seat of the Wessex tribe, and the strongly-marked peculiarities tend to shew that the people have preserved much, although they have altered much of the original pron., more marked on the w. side than on the e. Although no strict line can be drawn separating the two, yet the peculiarities die out so rapidly to the e. that I have thought it best to divide the group into two districts, by a rather arbitrary, nearly direct n. to s. line, which is the best I can draw. D 4 on the w. must be regarded as the typical form of S. speech. It is not quite uniform, but nearly so.

Boundaries. The n. and s. b. of D 4 and D 5, the w. b. of D 4 and the e. b. of D 5.

Area. All Wl., Do., and most of Gl., with n. and e.Sm.; most of Be., all Ha. and Wi., s.Sr. and w.Ss.; with narrow slips of e.He. and w.Ox., and the extreme se. corner of Dv.

Character. Phonetically, reverted (\mathfrak{R}) or retracted (\mathfrak{r}_1), and (\mathfrak{DR}) for *thr*-; (\mathfrak{z} , \mathfrak{v}) initial for (\mathfrak{s} , \mathfrak{f}) in Ws. words, but not in Romance words; the use of ($\mathfrak{ái}$) for $\mathfrak{ÆG}$ and \mathfrak{EG} ; the broad ($\mathfrak{æ}'i$, $\mathfrak{æ}'u$) for I', U'. Grammatically, *I be* for *I am*; *a* becoming (\mathfrak{v}) before past participle. All these are subject to slight variations.

D 4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern.

Boundaries. Do. Begin on the English Channel just w. of Axmouth (20 e-by-s. Exeter), on the Axe R. Proceed in a n. direction e. of Colyton (20 e-by-n. Exeter), through Yarcombe (22 ne. Exeter).

Sm. Enter Sm. a little w. of Buckland St. Mary (8 s. Taunton), and e. of Otterford (7 s. Taunton), and keeping e. of Wellington (6 sw. Taunton), and w. of Thurlbeer (3 se. Taunton), proceed nearly to Taunton, then n. to just e. of Kingston (4 nw. Taunton), when it deflects to nw. and follows the Quantock Hills to the Bristol Channel at East Quantock Head.

Bristol Channel. Proceed along the coast of Sm. and Gl. to just opposite the mouth of the river Wye.

Gl. Cross the Bristol Channel and follow the reverted *ur* line 3 to just opposite Monmouth.

He. Continue along the reverted *ur* line 3 in a nne. direction, w. of Ross, Stoke Edith (6 e-by-n. Hereford), and Much Cowarn (9 ne. Hereford), but e. of Bromyard (10 ese. Leominster), and then passing w. of Whitbourn (14 e. Leominster), enter

Wo. Continue in nearly a straight line to Bewdley (3 se. Kidderminster), where quit line 3 and return suddenly s. along the Malvern Hills in a nearly direct line to the s. b. of Wo. by Staunton (7 wsw. Tewkesbury), then turning e. pass s. of Eldersfield (6 wsw. Tewkesbury), into

Gl. Go through Tewkesbury and proceed direct e. to Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e. Tewkesbury), and continuing e. to the w. b. of Ox. Then turn s. along the w. b. first of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w-by-s. Reading), and then continue in a n. to s. line through

Ha. Passing just w. of Andover to Nursling, just at the n. point of Southampton Water, and then to the sea near Lymington (10 e. Christchurch), and turn w. along the coast to the starting-point by Axmouth. About Lymington and Christchurch there is no dialect. The line is intended to avoid the whole of Wi., which is all in D 5, but accidentally it appears on the map as if a small portion of Wi. belonged to D 4. The whole line from the w. b. of Ox. is very uncertain for want of sufficient information, but it cannot be far wrong either way.

Area. All Wl. and Do., n. and e.Sm., most of Gl., the extreme se. of Dv., and small parts of w.Be., and w.Ha.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., || in so., ° in io.

Dv. °Axminster.

Do. °Bingham's Melcombe (or Melcombe Bingham), °Blackmore Vale, *Blandford, °Bradpole, °Bridport, °East Lulworth, °East Morden, *Hanford, °Sherborne, °Staminster-Marshall, °Swanage, °Walditch, || Whitchurch Canonicorum, || Winterbourne Came.

Gl. *Aylburton, °Berkeley, †Birdlip, †Bishop's Cleve, °Bisley, †Bristol, †Brockworth, †Cheltenham, *† Cirencester, *Coleford (= Forest of Dean), °Compton Abdale, †Fairford, †Gloucester Town, *Gloucester Vale, †Highnam, †Hucclecote, °King's Wood, †Maisey Hampton, †Tetbury, †Whitcomb.

Ha. °Broughton, °Christchurch, °Iford, °Nursling, *Ringwood.

He. || Eggleton, *Ledbury, || † Much Cowarn, °† Ross, † Stoke Edith, °Upton Bishop.

Sm. || Bath, °Burtle Turf Moor, °Castle Cary, °Chard, °Chedzoy, °Combe Down, °Compton Dando, || Crewkerne, °Croscombe, °East Harptree, °High Ham, °Langport, *Merriott, *Montacute, °Nailsea, °North Wootton, °Sutton Mallet, °Swanswick, °Wedmore, † Wincanton, °Worle.

Wl. °Aldbourne, °Calne, † Chippenham, *Christian Malford, *Corsham, °Corsley, °Damerham, °East Knoyle, † Kemble, °Maddington, °Orcheston St. George, °† Purton, °Salisbury to Warminster, °Seend, °Sopworth, *Tilshead, °Wilton, °Yatesbury.

It will be necessarily impossible to give all the information received from so many places. My best help has come from Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, and as n.Wl. seems the most typical form of D 4 = w.MS., I shall examine this part of the district at great length. The use of these numerous sources of information is necessarily to shew the continued prevalence or the change of any form of speech. Indeed without this large body of evidence, it would have been totally impossible to map out the district even roughly with any degree of accuracy. Hence my investigation is greatly indebted to those who have furnished some clue to the prevalent speech sounds, even when it manifestly became impossible to give their communications at length.

Character.

Consonants (f v, s z). The conspicuous feature of D 4, which most strikes the visitor from any other part of England, is the use of (v, z) initial in place of (f, s). But undoubtedly for Ws. words (v, z) were the original forms, just as to this day (z) initial is the received form in Dutch where *z* is written, and High German where *f* is written in German. In both, however, the pron. when no vowel or voiced consonant precedes is (sz-), thus High German *sie sehen* is (szi zee-vən) they see. The (f, s) are later developments, and seem to have been introduced by the Normans, for as a general rule, to which even at this late period there are very few exceptions, and those chiefly in words familiar to particular districts, "Ws. words have (v, z), and Romance have (f, s)." This custom once prevailed over the whole s. of England from Ke. to Dv. It has altogether disappeared in Ke. and Ss., and has almost disappeared in Ha. and Be. But it is rarely lost in D 4, and in D 10, 12. In order to test the prevalence of the rule just given, I examined all the words in question in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*, which is in Kentish of the xivth century, and the words in Mr. Elworthy's lists attached to his *Dialect of West Somersetshire*, and then I sent lists of most of them to Rev. W. Barnes for Do., and Rev. A. Law for Wl., requesting them to mark the words for (f v, s z, sh zh, th dh), etc. The result is given in the following table, where the words in usual spelling are arranged in alphabetical order under appropriate headings, and against each word is written the sound of the letter used, *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, etc., or *vf*, *zs*, when sometimes one letter and sometimes the other is heard, adding M for Dan Michel for Ke. in xivth century, D for Do., W for Wl., and S. for w.Sm., in the order from e. to w. An * points out Fr. or Romance words.

F INITIAL.		
*fable <i>f</i> DS	*faith <i>f</i> S	farrow <i>v</i> WDS
*face <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	fall vb. <i>v</i> MDWS	farther <i>v</i> S
*facia <i>f</i> S	fall sb. <i>f</i> D	farthing <i>v</i> MDWS
*fact <i>f</i> DWS	fallow <i>v</i> DWS	*fashion <i>f</i> S
*factory <i>f</i> DS	*false <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> W	fast vb. adj. <i>v</i> M
*fade <i>f</i> S	*fame <i>f</i> DS	fast adj. adv. <i>v</i> S
fag <i>v</i> S	*family <i>f</i> DS	fast sb. <i>f</i> S
*fail <i>f</i> MDWS	*famish <i>f</i> D	fat (vat) sb. <i>v</i> M
fain adj. <i>f</i> S	fan <i>v</i> MS	fat adj. <i>f</i> DW, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> S
*faint <i>f</i> S	far <i>v</i> MDWS	*fate <i>f</i> DWS
fair adj. <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	fare <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	father <i>f</i> D, <i>v</i> MW, <i>vf</i> S
*fair s. <i>f</i> DS	*farm <i>f</i> DS	fathom <i>v</i> S
	*farmer <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	*faucet <i>f</i> S
	*farrier <i>f</i> DS	*fault <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W

- *favour *f* MS
 *fawn sb. *f* S
 *fawning *v* S
 fear *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fearless *v* S
 *feast *f* MDS, *vf* W
 feather *v* MS
 *feature *f* S
 *february *f* S
 fed *v* M
 fee *f* S
 *feeble *f* MDWS
 feed *v* M
 feel *v* MS
 feet *v* MS
 *feign vb. *f* S
 fell *f* M
 fell sb. *v* M
 fell (in sewing) *v* S
 fellow *v* DS
 fellow *f* DS, *v* MW
 *felon *f* MS
 felt *v* DW, *vf* S
 *female *f* S
 fennel *v* S
 *fence *f* S
 *ferment *f* S
 fern *v* S
 *ferret *f* DS, *v* W
 ferry *f* DS
 ferule *v* S
 *fervent *f* M
 fester *f* D, *v* M, *vf* S
 fetch *v* DWS
 fetters *v* M
 fetlock *v* S
 *fever *f* MDS, *vf* W
 few *v* MDWS
 fiddle *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fidget *f* S
 field *v* MDWS
 fieldfare *v* S
 fiend *v* M
 fifth *v* M
 fife *f* S
 *fig *f* DW, *vf* S
 fight *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *figure *f* MS
 *filbert *v* S
 fill *v* MDWS
 film *v* S
 *philosophy *f* M
 *filter *f* S
 filth *f* DS, *v* M, *vf* W
 fin *v* S
 goldfinch *v* S
 find *v* MDWS
 *fine *f* DS, *v* W.
 *finger *v* MDWS
 *finish *f* DS
 fir *v* S
 fire *v* MDWS
 firkin, *v* S
 firm *f* S
 first *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fish *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fist *v* DWS
 fit *f* S
 fitch (polecat) *f* S
 five *v* MDWS
 *fix *f* S
 flag *v* S
 flagon, *v* S
 *flail *v* DWS
 *flame *f* S
 flange *v* S
 flank *v* S
 flannel *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flare *v* S
 flask *f* S
 flat *f* S
 flatter *v* *f* M
 flaw *v* S
 flax *v* S
 flayed *v* M
 flea *v* S
 *fleam *f* S
 fled *v* M
 fledged *v* S
 fleece *v* DWS
 *phlegmatic *f* M
 flesh *v* MDWS
 flew *v* S
 *flinch *f* M
 fling *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flint *v* MS
 *flippant (elastic) *f* S
 flitch *v* S
 flock *v* DWS
 *flog *v* S
 flood *v* MS
 floor *v* DWS
 *flour *f* MDS
 flow *v* S
 *flower *f* MDW
 *flue *f* S
 *fluent (said of quickly
 running water only) *f* S
 flush *v* S
 flute *f* S
 flutter *v* S
 fly vb., sb. *v* MDWS
 foal *v* DWS
 foam *v* S
 foe *v* M
 fog *v* S
 fold *v* DWS
 folk *v* MS
 follow *v* M
 *folly *f* M
 *fool *f* M
 *foolish *f* M
 foot *v* MDWS
 for *v* MDWS
 *forage *f* S
 forbear *v* MS
 forbid *v* MS
 force *f* DS, *vf* W
 ford *v* DS, *vf* W
 fore *v* S
 forehead *v* S
 *foreign *f* DS, *v* W
 *forest *f* DS, *v* W
 forgive *v* MS
 *forge *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fork *v* DWS
 forlorn *v* M
 *form *f* M
 *form (bench) *f* S
 forsake *v* MS
 forsooth *v* M
 forswear *v* M
 forth *v* M
 forth *v* DWS
 fortnight *v* S
 *fortunate *v* S
 fortune *f* S
 forty *v* MDW, *vf* S
 forward *v* WS
 foul *f* D, *v* M
 found *v* MDWS
 *foundation *f* S
 *fountain *f* S
 four *v* MDWS
 fourfoot *v* S
 fourth *v* M
 fowl *v* MDWS
 fox *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *fracas *f* S
 *fraction *f* S
 *a-fraid *vf* S
 *frail *f* S
 frame *f* S
 *fray *f* S
 freak *f* S
 free *v* MDWS
 freedom *v* M
 freehold *v* S
 freeze *v* S
 *frequent *f* S
 fresh *f* D, *v* WS
 fret *f* W, *vf* S
 Friday *v* DWS
 *fried *f* S
 friend *v* MDWS
 fright *v* S
 *frill *f* S
 *fringe *vf* S
 fro' *v* S
 *frock *v* S
 frog *f* D, *v* WS
 frolick *v* S
 from *v* MDWS

*front *f* S
 frost *v* MDWS
 froth *v* DWS
 *fruit *f* MS
 *fryings *f* M
 *fry *f* D, *v* S
 full *v* MDWS
 *fuller sb. *f* S, *v* M
 fumble *f* D, *v* W, *v* S
 *funeral *f* D
 *furbish *v* S
 *furl *v* S
 furlong *v* S
 furlough *v* S
 *furnace *f* MS
 furrow *v* DWS
 further *v* S
 furze *v* DWS
 *fusty *f* DS, *v* W
 *physic *f* M
 *physician *f* M

F FINAL.

(*o* means not pronounced.)

*balliff *o* S
 calf *f* DW, *v* S
 half *f* DW, *v* S
 *handkerchief *o* S
 herself *o* S
 himself *o* S
 leaf *f* DW, *v* S
 life *f* DW, *v* S
 loaf *f* DW, *v* S
 *plaintiff *o* S
 roof *f* DW, *v* S
 sheaf *f* DW, *v* S
 turf (*tare*) S
 wife *f* DW, *v* S

GH FINAL.

cough *f* S
 dough (occ.) *f* S
 enough *o* S
 plough *o* S
 slough *o* S
 though *f* S
 through *o* S
 tough *f* S
 trough *o* S

S INITIAL.

(*s*=*z*, *S*, before *hlmno* *v* except as below.)

*sabbath *s* D
 sack *z* DWS
 *sacrament *s* D

sad *z* MWS, *s* D
 saddle *z* DWS
 *safe *s* M, *z* W
 *sage *s* D *z* WS
 said *z* MDWS
 sail *z* M
 sailor *s* D, *z* WS
 *saint *z* S M
 sale *z* DWS
 sallow *z* S
 salt *z* MDWS
 sand *z* DWS
 sap *z* MS
 sat *z* S
 Saturday *z* MDWS
 *save *s* M
 I saw *z* DS
 a saw *z* S
 say *z* MDW
 scrape *s* D
 sea *s* D, *z* M
 sedge *z* DWS
 see *z* MDWS
 seed sb. *z* MS
 seek *z* M
 seem *s* D, *z* WS
 *segment *z* S
 self *z* MDWS
 sell *z* MDWS
 send *z* M
 *sentence *s* M
 *sergeant *s* M
 *sermon *s* M
 *servant *s* D
 *serve *s* MW
 *sessions *s* D
 set *z* MDWS
 settle *z* S
 seven *z* MDWS
 sew vb. *z* DWS
 sick *z* MDWS
 side *z* MDWS
 sieve *z* DWS
 sift *z* DWS
 sigh *s* D, *z* WS
 sight *z* M
 silver *z* MDWS
 *simple *s* M
 sin *z* M
 since *s* D, *z* WS
 sinew *z* S
 sing *z* MDWS
 *single *s* MD, *z* WS
 sink *z* DWS
 sip *s* D, *z* WS
 *sir *s* D, *z* S
 sister *s* D, *z* MWS
 sit *z* S
 *site *z* S
 six *z* MDWS
 *sire *s* DWS

sketch *s* D, *z* S [(zkity)
 almost two syllables]
 skill *s* D
 slack *s* M
 slay *s* M
 sleep *s* M
 sly *s* M
 small *s* M
 smell *s* M
 smith *s* M
 snail *s* M
 snow *s* M
 so *z* MW
 sob *z* M
 *sober *s* M
 soft *z* M
 sold *z* M
 some *z* DMW
 son *s* D
 song *z* M
 soon *z* MW
 sooth *z* M
 sorrow *z* M
 *sort *s* S
 sought *z* M
 soul *z* M
 sour *z* M
 south *z* M
 *sovereign *s* W
 sow vb. *z* M
 sparrow *s* M
 spring *s* D
 string *s* D
 *subtle *s* M
 such *z* MW
 suck *z* M
 *suffer *s* MD
 *sugar *sh* S
 sul (plough) *z* M
 *sum *s* MD
 summer *z* MW
 sun *z* MD
 Sunday *z* M
 *sup *s* M
 *supper *z* W
 *sure *zh* W, *sh* S
 *sustain *s* M
 swallow *z* M
 swear *z* M
 sweat *z* MW
 sweep *z* M
 sweet *z* M
 swift *z* M
 swine *z* M
 sword *z* M

SH INITIAL.

share (part) *sh* DW
 share (of a plough) *zh* *sh* S
 shave *sh* DW, *zh* *sh* S
 she *zh* W

sheaf <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> W, <i>zh</i> <i>sh</i> S	though (dháu) <i>dh</i> W,	*vile <i>v</i> M
shear <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> W, <i>zh</i> <i>sh</i> S	(thAAf) <i>th</i> S	*village <i>f</i> S (<i>fu·lidj</i>) [com- mon]
shepherd <i>zh</i> W	thr- <i>dr</i> WS, not M who has <i>pr.</i>	*villain <i>v</i> M
shoot <i>sh</i> W	th- <i>dh</i> S except in the above cases	*vouch <i>dh</i> S (common)
should <i>zh</i> W		
shred <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> WS		
shrew <i>zh</i> S		
shriek <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> S	TH FINAL.	V FINAL.
shrimp <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> S	sheath <i>f</i> S	(<i>o</i> means omitted.)
shrink <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> S	moth <i>f</i> S	above <i>o</i> S (<i>sbuu·</i>)
shrivel <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> S	cloth <i>f</i> S	cleave (klɛf) <i>f</i> S
shroud <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> W	tooth <i>f</i> S	curve <i>b</i> S
shrove <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> W		give <i>o</i> S
shrub <i>sh</i> D, <i>zh</i> WS	V INITIAL.	have <i>o</i> S
shrug <i>z</i> S	*value <i>f</i> S (<i>fali</i>) [common]	heave <i>f</i> S
	*variety <i>v</i> M	leave <i>f</i> S
TH INITIAL.	*veal <i>dh</i> S (<i>dhe'ul</i>) [some- times]	lieve <i>f</i> <i>o</i> S
thatch <i>v</i> S	*venial <i>v</i> M	*serve (earn wages) <i>o</i> S
thick <i>th</i> S as distinguished from (<i>dhik</i>) this	*venom <i>v</i> M	themselves <i>o</i> S
thief <i>th</i> S	*very <i>dh</i> S	valve (<i>valb</i>) <i>b</i> S
thin <i>th</i> S	*vestments <i>v</i> M	-ive <i>o</i> S [= (<i>i</i> , <i>if</i>) never (<i>iv</i>) common in: expensive abusive native laxative active destructive de- ceptive
thing <i>dh</i> W	*vetches <i>dh</i> S (<i>dhatjes</i>)	
thirsty <i>dh</i> W	*vice <i>v</i> M	
thistle <i>d</i> S	*victuals <i>f</i> S (<i>fxt'lz</i>) [common]	

(R). The most important character of the S. dial., the reverted or retracted (R, r), is, as has been mentioned, not confined to this district, but spreads more or less strongly over the whole S. div. Its nature was explained *suprà*, p. 23, together with the way in which it affects a subsequent *t, d, r, l, n*, which were probably originally reverted. But I think, although I have not been able to verify the conjecture, except by private trial, that it also affects (*sh, zh; th, dh*), converting them into (*sh, zh; rh, dh*). In this case (*sh, zh*) would be spoken with the tongue quite turned back, a true "cerebral" (*sh, zh*), and in (*rh, dh*) the under part of the tongue tip would be brought against the teeth. The (*sh, zh*) would occur in the diphthongs (*tʃ, dʃ*), or (*tʃh, dʃh*), in place of the ordinary (*tʃ, dʃ*). These forms would probably arise from the convenience of the tongue remaining in its reverted condition. The most doubtful are (*rh, dh*), because we do not find *thr-* initial, that is, (*dhr-*), but the easier *dr-* (*DR-*). The (*tʃ, dʃ*) are however almost necessary in such combinations as *hurchard* (*hærtʃærd*) for Richard and orchard, and *burdge* (*bærdʃh*), bridge. And in the same way it would be easier to say (*æRth, wæRdhɪ*) earth, worthy, than (*æRth, wæRdhɪ*), the last word usually omits the (R). In process of time, however, especially as the dialect advances eastwards, the actual reversion ceases, and the effect is pretty well produced by retracting the tongue, and arching its back so as to allow a hollow to exist behind the raised tip and the raised back of the tongue. Towards the w. and n. of the district there seems to my ear to be no such retractive tendency. JGG., however, regards retraction as the typical formation. In the E. div. we shall find (*truu, tred*) through, thread, which probably point to an original but

now lost (TRHUU, TRHED). This retraction accompanied with hollowing is further refined by omitting the hollowing, so that we have merely a raised tip of the tongue, producing the coronal English (t d r l n), etc., which are so distinct from the continental (ṭ ḍ ṛ ḷ n) that they must evidently have had a different genesis. We shall meet with (t) before (r) in the M. and N. div. Now the English coronal form was the only one acknowledged by Mr. Gupta (Part IV. 1096 b', 1137 c') for Indian pronunciation of the Sanscrit cerebrals, so that the same refining system has gone on in both countries, but in our own dialects we have all the stages (R r, r, ṛ t, t) now coexistent. This (R) is constantly flated when initial, and often transposed with an (h) prefixed, as (hæRD, hæRN), red, run, from (RHED, RHEN).

Another very important character of this (R) is its amalgamation with a preceding vowel. In fact, it seems to give a new series of vowels (æ_R a_R A_R), etc., and even (ii_R ee_R uu_R). With regard to the first, it was a great difficulty with me how I was to represent such words as *her*, *burn*, and for some time I thought that they had merely vocal ('R_O), thus (h'R_O b'R_On), but I latterly came to the conclusion that there was a preceding vowel followed by an amalgamation of the vowel with æ+æ_R (R). What that vowel really was, however, I found so difficult to determine, that I finally adopted different hypotheses as I heard different speakers. I have used (æR, æR, æR), and JGG. writes (æR, æR). But latterly I have fallen back on (æR) accented, and (æR) unaccented, whether rightly or not I cannot quite make out. With this explanation, however, this sign will suffice, and it must be left to actual audition during a long period and with many speakers, for good phonetists to determine the best representative of the actual sound. I have not met with any instance in D 4 and 5 of the introduction of an (R) after a vowel which was not justified by the orthography, but in D 10 and 11 there seem to be some cases, there to be noted.

With regard to the complete series of sounds (T D N R L), etc., it was only on the close of a second revision of his wl. taken from his stepmother, that JGG. (although he had been familiar with Wl. dialect from childhood) recognised that they invariably took the place in her pronunciation of the usual (t d n r l), etc., just as these in English and in the pron. of continental languages by Englishmen invariably replace the continental (ṭ ḍ ṇ ṛ ḷ), etc. For myself I had not observed it, although it seems to me most probable. In JGG.'s Chippenham wl. and spec. therefore the complete substitution is made, but as in those specimens which I took down from native speakers, I only detected (R), and the other letters when juxtaposed, and therefore as it seemed to me assimilated, I have thought it best to retain what I wrote from their dict., although I have now, in the course of many years, come to the conclusion that my former appreciation was probably erroneous and ought to be amended in this direction throughout. And the same is probably the case for my (sh zh ṭ ḍ), which in the S. div. should prob. be (sh zh ṭ ḍ). The final (D) is frequently lost

after (l, n). The ending of the present participle, modern *-ing*, was ancient *-ande*, hence the (-en, -in) now heard, really arises from the omission of (d) after (n), and not from the use of (n) for (q).

(h). In D 4 and 5, as well as in almost all our dialects, (h) is naturally omitted, but with no hiatus to indicate the speaker's knowledge that it is absent. My authorities differ very much as to its presence. It seems decidedly used when (hæ-) is employed for (rh-).

The other consonants have no peculiarity. There is for example no use of (b d g) for (p t k), parallel to (v z) for (f s).

Vowels. The following gives the principal characters of the vowels, for details see the various cwl. that follow.

A- is often represented by (ie), reduced to (fo iə ii'), and finally to (ii' ii), as in name (niem niem niem nii'm niim), or else (é'ə év ee) as (n'ém n'ém n'ém). The former prevails over the m. and n. part of the district, (ii) being especially prevalent in towns, e.g. in Gloucester, and (éə) in rural districts.

A: varies from (æ) to (a', ah), but hardly reaches (a).

A' is normally (úa), whence (úə, úə), but it varies.

ÆG and EG are normally (ái) not (á'í á'í), but this falls locally into (æ'í æ'í ææ), and sometimes into simple (ee), and similarly for Fr. *ai*. This (ái) sound is a very strong mark of the w. forms of S., but it is not peculiar to D 4.

I', in contrast to this clear (ái), has (æ'í, æ'í) or (ái), which strangers hear as (o'í) and write *oy*.

O I generally hear as (o), but JGG. only hears it as (o). The latter sound, being the modern received form, is always given me by people of education. But it is, I think, a modernism or misappreciation.

O' is properly (uu), but occasionally (æ) and rarely (æ), a sound of (æ) with (AA) running through it which I have heard only from Mr. Law in the words EY: 439 træs, O' 567 tædhæ, 587 vðæn, U 604 zæmæ, 627 zændi, Y 673 mædt, U 804 dææqk'n, O.. 950 zæpp'n, and in no other words. JGG. has, however, quite recently observed what I suppose is the same sound.

U is regularly (æ), but there is a trace of M. (u) as far s. as Purton (4 nw. Swindon, Wl.), see s. *sööm* line 2, p. 16.

U' is regularly (æ'u, æ'u) not (áu, áu).

In *grammatical construction*, that which strikes a stranger most is *I be* for *I am*, the prefix (ə) before the past participle, as (æ'í)v adæ'n) I have a-done; and the periphrastic form *I do go* for the simple *I go*, together with the curious use of the nominative for the objective case, and sometimes the converse. Remarkable survivals are first (æn) for *hine*, the true acc. of *he*, for which the dative *him* is substituted in rec. sp. This (æn) is very widely spread in the S. div., and is also used where *it* is said in received speech, on account of the general use of *he* applied to inanimate objects; and secondly, in a small district of Sm. hereafter described as the *Land of Uteh*, the forms (æt, etjii') for the personal pronoun I, which in old writers is the usual mark of our S. dialects. But these are forms which cannot be more than alluded to. For vocabulary, see the printed Glossaries, which, however, must generally be used with great caution.

Varieties. Over such an extensive tract of country there must necessarily be many slight varieties, some of which are mentioned in the preceding table of vowels. But I have not been able to mark out any sharply-defined varieties or subdistricts. I find it,

however, necessary to draw attention to six different varieties or forms, which, on account of the importance of this district, I proceed to illustrate at considerable length.

- V i. The Middle or Wl., typical or standard form of D 4, of which three phases are given, Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, all from vv. information.
 V ii. The Northern or Gl. form.
 V iii. The North-Western or e. He. form.
 V iv. The South-Eastern or Do. form.
 V v. The land of Utch, or region of the continued old use of (*ætj*, *ætjii*) for the first personal pronoun.
 V vi. The South-Western or Sm. form.

VAR. i. THE MIDDLE OR TYPICAL FORM IN WL.

Phase I. *Christian Malford* (11 nnw.Devizes), WL.

Rev. Arthur Law, son of the Rector, whose curate he became (he is now rector of Dauntsey, 4 nne. Christian Malford), was born there and lived in constant communication with the peasantry, entering heartily into their mode of speech, which he acquired with remarkable accuracy and fluency. He wrote a version of my cs. in io. and kindly came to London on two occasions (in 1874 and 1878) on purpose to work it over with me vv. As this was the foundation of my knowledge of D 4, I add the whole cs. as he rewrote it, with additions, to give it more of the character of a Wl. peasant's speech. And as it departs so much from the original in the Preliminary Matter, No. III. p. 7*, I add a slavishly literal interlinear translation. Some separate sentences written from his dict. are annexed with notes and a cwl.

0. wæ'i :djon æ'evz nor)æ dæ'ut.
 why John has ne'er)a doubt. [The peasant would probably say,]
 z)dhii want d)náu wæ'i :djon bii zi zaart'n bæ'ut dhæ)k)æ
 dost)thou want to)know why John be so certain about thick)e'er
 dhæq, wæ'i dhen æ'i)l tel)i.
 thing, why then I'll tell)ye.
1. wæl, wot bi læf'in [læf'in] æt 'æ'i vææ, dhæ gært ziliz? aa!
 well, what be (you) laughing at I for, the great sillies? ah
 æ)mæd) læ'af bæ'ædh on)i, if)i mæ'in tu, æt)wat æ'i dæ)tel)i.
 ye)mote = may) laugh both of)ye, if)ye mind to, at)what I do)tell)ye.
 'æ'i dæ)ænt kfiæ! t)i)ænt no odz tæ 'æ'i, næ naa'bædi æls
 I do)n't care! it)is)nt no odds to I, nor nobody else
 æz)æ)náuæ on.
 as)I)knows of.
2. t)wú)ænt kæl)æ t)æp bin [kæz] æ)dæ læ'æf æt)æn, æ'i)
 it)will)not kill)a chap being [because] ye)do) laugh at)him, I)
 dæ)lot)'n)! t)i)ænt læ'ikli.
 do)al)lot)him, it)is)not likely.

3. wat ɹ'í bɪ gwóón tɔ)TEL)i, ʋ(wɛv'ɛr, bi TRUU)ɛZ ɛVɛr ɹ'í
 what I be going to)tell)ye, however, be true)as ever I
 wɛr báaɛRND. dhɛr [dhɛ'R] nɹ'u! zɔ dʒɛz bɹ'íd kwɹ'í'ɛt,
 were born. there now! so just bide quiet,
 ɛn lɛt ɹ'í spɛɛk.
 and let I speak.
4. wɛl, ɹ'í hɹ'í'ɛRD)ɛm zái, ʋ,wɛvɛr, ɛn zɛm)ɛ dhái vɹi:
 wel, I heard)them say, however, and some)of they very
 vaak tu, ɛz)zid)ít vɹɛm)dhɛ vɛs dhɛRZEL'vz, ái)háí!
 folk too, as)see'd)it from)the first theirselves, igh-high!
 ·dhæt)i)díd TRU nɛf—
 that)I)did true enough—
5. dhɛt)dhɛ)ɹɛqgɪst zɛn ize'lf, ʋ)gɹɛt bwóí ʋ)nɹ'ín, náud)iz
 that)the)youngest son his-self, a)great boy of)nine, knowed)his
 vɛɛdhɛRZ vúóis ɛz)zuund)ɛZ ɛVɛr i)hɹ'í'ɛRD)ɛn, dháu
 father's voice as)soon)as ever he)heard)him(=it), though
 [dhɹ'ú] t)wɛr zɔ) kom'íkɛl) lɹ'ík. laa blɛs)i, t)wɛr)z
 it)were so) comical like. Lord bless)ye, it)were)as
 skwɛeki ɛn bæɛ'ɛli ɛz) ɛ'v'ɛ)kɛd)bi, bɹt'ii náud)'n,
 squeak-y and bawl-y as) ever)could)be, but he knowed)him(=it),
 ɛn ii)'l speak dhɛ TRUuth aar)ɛ dée: (dáí), ɹ'í)l waaRN)ín
 and he'll speak the truth e'er)a day, I'll) warrant)him
 [waaRND)ɛn].
 [warrant)him].
6. ɛn dh)ɹ'ul)d)wɛn ɛRZE'lf, 'l)tɛl ɛni on)i, ɛz)STRɛ'ít
 and the)old)woman herself will)tell any of)ye, as)straight
 vɔrɛd ɛz ɛni dhɛq, ɹ'í)l waaRND)ɛr, íf)'l ɛks)ɛr.
 forward as any thing, I'll) warrant)her, if)you'll ask)her
7. lɛstwá'íz ɛr tɛld ɹ'í wɛn ɹ'í ɛkst)ɛr tuu)ɛR)DRii tɹ'ínz
 leastwá'íz her telled I when I asked)her two)or)three times
 aa'vɛr, ɛR)díɛd, ɛn 'zhii)d náu, íf ɛR)ɛn u'l, ɛ'í dɛ)lot)
 over, her)did, and 'she)would know, if e'er)one will, I do)allot)
 ɛr, wat dɛ)dhɛqk)on)t, áí?
 her, what do)you)think)of)it, eh?
8. wɛl, ɛz)ɹ'í)wɛr)ɛ)zái'ín [zɛ'í'ín], ɛR)D)tɛl)i wɛr)ɛR
 well, as)I)were)a)saying, her)would)tell)ye where)her
 vɹ'ún dhík)ɛR DRɛqk'n bíɛs ɛz)ɛR di)kɛɛ'ɛl ɛR)ɛz)ɛn.
 found this)ere drunken beast as)her do)call her)husband.

9. dæld)if)wɛr dɪd)'nt tɛl ɔ'i ɛz wɛr)ziid)ən ɛrɛzɛ'lf. "dhɛr)
dashed)if)her did)not tell I as her)see'd)him herself. "there)

i)wɛr," ɛr)zɛd, "lɛd dɔ'wɪn i)wɛr wiiz bɛs klaaz on,
he)were," her)said, "laid down he)were with)his best clothes on,

ɛz tɪpsɪ ɛz ɛvɛr)ɛ kɔd)bi, ɛ)kɔd)'nt wæg izɛ'lf noo ɔ'u.
as tipsy as ever)he could)be, he)could)not wag his-self no how.

ɛ)wɛr)klas ɛp ɛgɪ'n dhɛ dúwɛr)ɛ)dhɛ ɔ'us ɛt)dhɪ)kɔrnɛr
he)were)close up against the door)of)the house at)the)corner

ɛ)dhɪ lɛ'ɛn.
of)the lane.

10. ɛ)wɛr)ɛ)bæɛ'lɪn ɛn)ɛ)skwæɛ'lɪn, blɛs)i, ɛr)ɛl)dhɪ
he)were)a)bawling and)a)squalling, bless)ye for)all)the

wɛrl lɔ'ɪk)ɛ zɪk tʃɪ'l ɛr)ɛ)kæt ɛ)mɪáustɪn." ɛn)ɛr)
world like)a sick child or)a)cat a)mewing." and)her)

ækst tu)ɛr)DRii on)ɛm, ɛr zɛd, ɛz)wɛr)ɛnt ɛrɪ ɛr
asked two)or)three of)them, her said, as)were)not very far

aaf, ɛn "dhee ɛlpt ɔ'i vat)ɛn úm," ɛr)zɛd, "ɛn dháí braat)
off, and "they helped I fetch)him home," her)said, "and they brought)

ɛn ɛl ɛdhɛrt)ɛskwɪ'nt ɛarmɛr :pɔ'ɪks ɛ'ɪl," ɛr zɛd, "wɛr
him all athwart)asquint farmer Pike's field," her said, "where

ɔ'i dɛ)ɛɔ'id, ɛn dhɛr dhɛ)lɛf)ɛn."
I do)bide, and there they)left)him."

11. ɛn dhæt [dhɛk] wɛr, d)Nɛɛ'ɛ? ɛz zhii)ɛn)ɛr dæt)ɛr lɛɛ
and that [thɪk] were, do)you)know? as she)and)her daughter[in]law

kæmd ɪn DRuu dhɪ bæk jíárd, wɛr)ɛr bɪn ɛ)æqɪn ɔ'ut
come'd in through the back yard, where)her [had] been a)hanging out

dhɪ klaaz tɛ DRɔ'ɪ.
the clothes to dry.

12. ɛn)ɛr)wɛntɛd tɔ bɔɪ'l dhɪ kɪt'l ɛr)tee. "ɪt gɪd ɔ'i ɛl)
and)her)wanted to boil the kettle for tea. "it give'd I all)

ɛv)ɛ tɛɛrn," ɛr zɛd, "ɛn mɪɛd ɔ'i zwɛt ɛmú'ɛs ɛl aavɛr.
of)a turn," her said, "and made I sweat almost all over."

:bɪl :dɪúvɛnz dhɛr, ɛ)ɛd)ɛ dɪu'ɪlɛs dhaat on)ɪn, ɛr)ɛ
Bill Jones there, he)had)a dubious thought of)him, for)he

tɛld ɔ'i ɛz)i)zɪd)ɛn ɛɔ'ut ɛá'ú'ɛ ɛklo'k ɪn dh)æt)ɛrnú'ɛn,
telled I as)he)see'd)him about four o'clock in the)afternoon,

ən)i)wɛr maín vor'adish dhen. ɛ(d waakt pɛrti nɑ'i zɛb'm
and)he)were main forwardish then. he)d walked pretty nigh seven

mɛ'i'l ɛlo'q dhe rhaad, ɛn)i)wɛr)ɛz dɑ'ustɪ)ɛz ɛvɛr ɛni
mile along the road, and)he)were)as dusty)as ever any

dhɛq. ɛ'i nɛvɛr zid noo zɪtɪ dhɛq ɛv'ɛr." laa blɛs)i!
thing. I never see'd no such thing afore." Lord bless)ye!

t)w'r)ɛ wɪ'ɪk ɛg'ɛ kɛm nɛks dhɛrzdɪ, ɛn)ɛ)·vɑ'ín zɛmɛr
it)were)a week ago come next Thursday, and)a)fine summer

ɛtɛrn'ɛn tuu, t)wɛr.
afternoon too, it)were.

13. an)tel)i wat! ɛ'i nɛvɛr hɛ'ɪɛrd noo m'ɛr)ɛ)dhɪs)ɪɛr
and)tell)ye what! I never heard no more)of)this)here

dɪ'ɔb tɪl tɛ dɛɛi. ɛn)ɛ)du)ɛnt kɪɛr wɛr)ɛ duu ɛr naa,
job till to-day and)I)do)n't care whether)I do or no,

aa)lɛk)ɪ!
ah)look)ye.

14. ɛn)dhɛr)ɛ'i bi gwóin 'ɛm tɛ hee)ɛ bít ɛ zɛp'p'r, zɛ)g'ɔd
and)there)I bi going home to have)a bit of supper, so)good

nɑ'ít, ɛn)du)ɛn)i bii zɛ kw'ik tɛ læ'ɛf)ɛt)ɛ tɪɛp ɛg'ɛn.
night, and)do)not)ye be so quick to laugh)at)a chap again,

wɛn)ɛ)ds tel)i)ɛ ɛni dhɛq.
when)he)do tell)ye)of any thing.

15. ɛn)dhæt)s ɛl ɛ'i got tɛ)zái tu)t. g'ɔd bɑ'í.
and)that)is all I [have] got to)say to)it, good b'ye.

Notes. The figures refer to the paragraphs of the above cs.

. Perhaps throughout (t d tɪ dɪ n l) should have been (t d tɪ, dɪ, n l).

2. Being (bin) for *because* is used by older people.

4 and 13. *Heard*, this is the form used by older people, see D 1, cwl. 301, (ii'r, p) is the result of education. The (h) is heard only when the word is emphatic, and is gentle even then.

5. *Bawly*, cats are said to (bæɛ 'ɛl) in n.W1.

6. in (ɛ'ul)d'ɛm·ɛn *old woman* the d separates from the (l) and is made part of the next word; (d) is dropped in (ɛr bi vɛri, ɛ'ul) *she be very old*.

7. *She*. Observe emphatic (-zhii); compare (-zhii ɛvz)'n) 'she has)him with (ɛr)z)got)'n) she's got him. — *Know*. This has its regular form, but the final (u) is dropped in (ɛ'i du'n naa, ɛ'i naa nɑ'ɪt ɛbɑ'u-t)it) I don't know, I know nought about it, and even the (a) is changed in par. 11 (d)nɛɛ?) *do(you)know*. 10. *Athwart*, by itself, means across a field at right angles to its sides, (ɛdhɛrt ɛskwɪnt) *athwart* asquint, is diagonally, from one corner straight to the next but one.

Phrases and sentences originally heard from peasants, and dictated
by Rev. A. Law.

1. (mæ'i hɛd bi:t lɛ'ik. DRɛ'ish'lz ɐ)gwáin), my head beat like flails a-going.
2. (dʊ)'ntʃi shu:t tɛ'wɔ:dz dhɜ hɛ'uz'n), don't ye shoot towards the houses.
3. (tɜ hee)ɐ bi:t on)t), to have a bit of)it.
4. (i)w'r ɐ)tʃæmpɪn ɛt 'ɑ'i), he was chaffing at me.
5. (i di:d DRɛ'u iz hɛd bæ:k ɛn kɔ:k'ld), he did throw his head back and gargled.
6. (bles)im! it)s ɐ hɑ:d mæt'r tɜ kɑ:m ɔ:pzɑ'ɪdz wɛ)ɛn), bless him! it's a hard matter to come upsides [right way up] with him.
7. (i)z nee'tli kɔ:ld), he's naturally cold.
8. (ɐ peen ɑ'i hɛd ɛdhɛ'r:t dhɜ sɪnɛz), a pain I had across the sinews.
9. (ɑ'i)l tɛl)i ɑ'u ɐ wɛz sɑ:rd), I'll tell)ye how I was served.
10. (i)z gɔ:t tɜ vɔ:dɜ dhɜ bi:s), he has to fodder the beasts [horned cattle].
11. (dhɜ)z)ɐ pæs'l)ɐ lit'l ɔ:dziz), there's a parcel of little odds and ends.
12. (ʒhiɪ hævz ɐ vɛri gʊd)ɛn), she has a very good one.
13. (gɔ so'lid, ɑ'ɪl mi:k in)kwɑ'iree'sh'n), go quickly, I'll make inquiries.
14. (i)z vɛri bæd nɑ'i-tɛmz), he's very bad night-times.
15. (dhæt)s thɜ mɛ'in on)ɛm), that's the mind [intention, bent of mind] of them.
16. (ɑ'i dha:t ɑ'i)shɛd)ɐ dɛ'ɪd ɪn)dhɜ nɛ'it), I thought I should have died in the night.
17. (hɛ'uld)ɛn tɛ'it), hold him tight.
18. (wɛn)ɛn) ɛnɑ'dh'r, tuu)ɛn)ɐ t)ædhɜ), one and another, two and a t'other.
19. (dʊ)ɛs? wɔ:t)ɛd? ɑ'i, jɛn)it?) don't us = we? what should? aye, is'n't it?
20. (ɑ'i bi zɑ:tɪn zɦɑ:ɛ; t'l)ɑ'i)v ɛdɔ:n), I am certain sure; till I've done.
21. (nɜ mʊɜ nɜ dhɪs), no more than this.
22. (t)ɛ)nt nɜ ɔ:dz tɜ jɛ'ɔ), it is not no odds to you, it is no business of yours.
23. (bɛ'i dhɜ zim on)t), by the seem [appearance] of it.
24. (dhæk)s ɑ'u ɑ'i spɛl fɛ'ɪv), that's how I spell five.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD cwl.

Containing the words from the preceding examples and some others given me by Mr. Law. Probably all the (t d tʃ dʒ sh n l r) should be (t d tʃ dʒ sh n l r). See suprà p. 23.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zʊ. 5 miək. 6 miəd. 8 tʰe hee [to have]. 17 læ [the older sound was (laa), and Mr. Law himself, who used to be called (laa), is now called (læ)]. 21 nʰem. — fə'ɪr [fare]. 34 læ'st. A: — sæd'l [saddle]. 39 kænd [come'd]. — zæn [sand]. 49 aɪn [hanging]. 54 want. 56 wéish. — kæt [cat].

A: or O: 58 vrəm [weak form]. 60 ɛlɔ'q [along]. 64 roq [generally, occ. (raq)]. A'- 67 gwóin [going]. 69 naa noo no. 72 hús [when standing alone, otherwise (uu)]. 73 zi zʊ [weak forms]. 74 tuu. 77 laa [for Lord! is an exclamation]. 79 ɹ'un. 81 lʰen. 84 múvɹ. 87 klaaz. 89 búvədh. 92 náu, [but (d)næ do you know?]. 94 kɹə'u. A': 102 æks ækst. 104 rhaad. 107 lʰef. — zhroov [shrove]. 111 aat. 113 hʰául [a half sounded]. 115 úm. 120 vɹúv.

Æ- 138 vɹɛdhɹ. 144 vɹʰen. 146 máin. 148 fáir [see 709 and 887]. 150 lʰst wə'iz [least wise]. 153 zæ't'ndi. — wɹ [whether]. — pɹtɪ [pretty, tolerably]. Æ: 154 bæk. — ɛd [had, weak form]. — zæd [sad]. 158 ɛtɹ. 159 hævz. 161 déei [seldom (dái)]. 162 tudéi [to-day]. 165 zed. 166 máid [a little girl, see 758]. 169 wɹ'n [“not quite a dissyllable” and] wɹn. 173 wɹ [were, was]. 174 ɹ'ishɹn trɪi [“always with (ɹn)"]. 177 dhæt [also (dhæk)]. 179 wot wat.

Æ'- 187 lʰef [left, did leave]. — zili [silly]. 194 ɹni. 196 wɹɹd'nt [were not]. 198 læt. Æ': 205 drɛd. 208 ɛvɹ, ɹɹ'ɹn [e'er a one], ɹɹ'ɹ [e'er a]. 209 nɹ'vɹ nor [never a]. 213 ɹ'ɹdhɹ. 214 nɹ'ɹdhɹ. 220 zhɹpɹd. 221 vi'r. 223 dhɹ, dh'ɹ. 224 wɹ. 225 vlɹsh. 226 ɹmú's [almost]. 227 wɹ'et [“not quite a dissyllable”]. 228 zwɹt. 230 vɹt.

E- 231 dhi dhɹ dh-. 233 spéek. 236 vévɹ. 239 záilɹ [sailor]. 244 wɹl. — tɛld [tell'd]. — zhɹɹ [shear]. 251 meet. 252 kit'l. E: — vat vɹtʃ [fetc]. 256 strɹɹt. 258 zɛdʃ. 260 læd [laid]. 261 zái zái'in zɹ'i'in [sayin] 263 ɹwái. 265 strɹ'it. — vʰel [field]. 269 zɛlf ɹzɹ'lf ɹzɹ'lf dhɹzɹ'lvz [self himself herself themselves]. 271 tɛl. 272 ɛlmɹn trɪi [“always with (ɹn)"]. — ɹɛls [else]. — ɛlpt [helped]. — zil [sell]. 278 wɹntʃ [a marriageable girl, see 758]. 281 læqth. — vrɹsh [fresh]. 284 drɹsh [see after 735]. — ɛdhɹ'rt [ɛthwart, across from side to side, (vɹdhɹ'rt, ɹskwint) athwart asquint, diagonally from one corner to the next but one]. — vɹ'stɹ [fester]. — bɛs [best]. E'- 289 i [weak]. 290 ii, ɹ, ' [(ɹ)ad, 'd] he had, weak form]. 297 vɹɹ. 298 vʰeld [felt]. 302 míst. E': 307 nɹ'i. 312 ɹɹ. 313 hark. 314 hɹ'ɹd [older people]. — blɛs [bless]. — tɹ'it [tight]. 316 nɛks.

EA- — shiiv [shave]. — væls volɹ [fallow]. 320 kíɹ. EA: 322 læf læf'in læf'in [laughing]. 325 waakt [walked]. 326 ɹ'ul-d. 328 kɹ'ul. 329 vóol. 330 tɹ hɹ'uld [(ɹ) hoolt] subs. 333 kɹ'ɹf. 334 hɹ'ɹf. 335 ɛl. 336 vɹ'ɹl. 338 kɹɹ'ɹl. — zæ't [salt]. — sh'ɹ [share]. 340 járd. — vorɹ [farrow]. EA'- — zhɹɹd [shread]. 347 hɹd. 348 ɹ'i-z. 349 vi'ɹ. EA': 354 zh'ɹf. 356 lʰef. 357 dháɹ dhɹ'ɹ. 359 nɹ'ɹbɹ. — vɹʰen [against]. 364 tʃæp. 366 gart. 367 drɛt.

EI- 372 ái. 373 dhái dhɛ. EI: 378 wéek. EO- 383 zɛb'm. 387 nɹ'ɹz [news]. EO: 390 zhɹd. — zil'ɹ. — vɹmɹ [farmer]. 402 lɹn. 403 vɹ. 407 vɹdɹn. — zɹstɹ [sister]. 408 náɹd [made weak from (náɹ) know]. EO'- — vrɪi [free]. 411 drɪi. 412 zhii. 414 vlɹ'i. — shuut [shoot]. 420 vɹ'ɹɹ. 421 vɹɹrti. EO': 422 zik. 426 vɹ'it. 427 bɹn [being=because]. 428 zid [see'd]. 430 vrɹn. 434 bíɹt. 435 jɹ'u [not used]. 436 truu. — drɹ'ɹ [threw]. 437 truuθ. EY- 438 dɹ'i. EY: 439 trɹs.

I- 440 wíuk. 441 z'i'v. 443 vrɹ'ideɹ. 446 nɹ'in. — ɹn, ɹn [him, old

acc. form]. — *sinw* [sinew]. 447 *ɛr*. — *éyz* [yes]. 448 *dhíez*. — *bit* [a bit]. 449 *got* [p.p. of get]. — *vid'l* [fiddle]. 451 *zâw*. I: 452 *á'í*. 453 *kwik*. 465 *la'in* [lying]. — *zift* [sift]. 458 *na'it*. 463 *tíl*. 465 *zity* *sity*. 466 *tja'íl*. 469 *w'l* [will, for (wol)]. 477 *vá'in*. 480 *dhæq*. — *zæq* [sing]. 481 *væqgær*. — *zæqk* [sink]. 483 *iz*. 484 *dhíes dhís*. — *vish* [fish]. — *zæns* [since]. — *ziks* [six]. I'- — *bá'id* [bide]. 491 *za'í*. 492 *za'id*. — *gid* [give'd=gave]. 494 *ta'im*. 495 *wá'in*. I': 500 *la'ík*. 502 *vá'iv*. 503 *laif*. 505 *wáif* [generally my (míes) or (æw)ðæmmen]. 506 *æmmen*. 508 *ma'íl*. 509 *wá'íl*.

O- 519 *aaver*. 521 *vá'wæl*. — *ɔvúur* [afore]. — *voræd* [forward] *vorædish* [getting forward, tipsy]. — *baarnd* [born]. 524 *wærl*. — *droot* [throat]. — *vrath* [froth]. — *vlok* [flock]. — *odz* [odds]. O: 525 *aaf* [off]. — *vrog* [frog]. — *zhræb* [shrub]. 528 *dhaat*. 529 *braat*. 531 *dævæp*. 535 *vaak*. 538 *áud*. 541 *t)wu'nt* [it won't]. 543 *on*. 544 *dhen*. 546 *vær* *vá'r*. — *vark* [fork]. 548 *værd*. 550 *wærd*. — *vràs* [frost]. — *varth* [forth]. — *voks* [fox]. O'- 556 *d' tæ*. 557 *tuu*. 558 *aa)læk)í* [ah! look ye! exclamation]. 564 *zuund*. 567 *tædher*. — *tá'wrdz* [towards]. O': 571 *gúnd*. — *raf* [roof]. 579 *næf*. 586 *á'í dæ*, *á'í du'nt*. 587 *ɔdæ'n*. 588 *æværnævæn*. 590 *vú'r*. 592 *zwærd*. 595 *væt*.

U- — *ud* [wood, not (hud)]. 601 *vá'wæl*. 603 *kæm*. 604 *zæmæp*. 605 *zæn*. 606 *dævæp*. U: 609 *væl*. 612 *zæm*. 616 *græ'mn*. 619 *vá'und*. 627 *zændi*. 631 *dhærzdi*. — *vævæ* [furrow]. 634 *druu*. — *dhersti* [thirsty]. 639 *dá'ustá* [dusty]. U'- 641 *á'u*, *á'usæmdev'r*, *á'usæmævæp*, *ɔ)wæ)væp*. 643 *na'u*. 650 *bá'ut* *ábá'ut*. 651 *wi-æwt*. 652 *kæd* [weak form]. 653 *bæt*. U': 654 *zhræ'ud*. 658 *dá'mn*. 663 *á'us*, *há'us* [pl. (há'uzen)]. 666 *æzben*. 667 *á'ut*.

Y- 673 *mæpti* [greatly resembled (moty)]. 674 *did dáud* [the latter emphatic]. 675 *dra'í*. 681 *biznis* [seldom used]. Y: — *vil* [to fill]. 691 *ma'in*. 692 *joqgist*. — *væz* [furze]. 701 *væs*. 702 *wi*, *wii*. Y'- 706 *wá'í*. Y: — *vilt* [filth]. 709 *vá'ir*. — *vlíes* [fleece]. — *vist* [fist].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *wæg* [to wag]. 725 *zæl*. 726 *taak*. — *vlæn'l* [flannel]. 732 *æp'm*. — *dra'ish'l* [thresher, flail]. — *bææ'eli* [bawly, a crying child is (bææ'lin)].

E. — *zím* [seem]. 751 *p'ært*. 752 *fræ't*. — *miáwtin* [mewing].

I and Y. — *bil* [Bill]. — *kil* [kill]. — *ɔskwint* [crosswise, diagonally]. — *vleq* [fling]. — *tipsi* [tipsy]. — *zæp* [sip]. 758 *g'rærl* [a long untrilled (ræ) followed by a trilled (æ) and reverted (l) much used for a servant. See 166 and 278].

O. — *ɔklo'k* [o'clock]. — *d)ob* [job]. 765 *d)on*. 767 *na'iz*. — *d)ænz* [Jones]. 776 *gúnd* *bá'í*. 781 *bodhæp* [usual word (kæd'l)]. — *lot* [allot]. 791 *bwóti*.

U. 797 *skwæeki* [squalling]. 798 *kwæp* [modern (kwæp)]. — *væmb'l* [fumble]. 804 *dræqk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *zæk* [sack]. 810 *víes*. 815 *fæks*. — *vlá'íl* [flail]. — *zeedj* [sage]. — *fáil* [fail]. 835 *reez'n*. — *waarnd* [warrant]. 857 *kíes*. — *mæter* [matter]. 862 *zief*. — *fææt* [fate]. 864 *keez*. 865 *vææt*. — *væ'æls* [false].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *peen* [pain]. 885 *væri*. — *fee'r* [a fair, market, see 148]. — *voríer* [farrier]. 888 *zaartin*. — *saar* [serve]. 890 *bíes* [pl. (bíestiz) occ. *bíes*]. 891 *ví'st*. 893 *vla'wæp*. — *plæ'tiks* [apoplexy]. — *væg* [fig]. 901 *vá'in*. — *zæqg'l* [single]. — *záiz* [size].

O.. 918 *fævb'l*. 920 *p)wóint*. 925 *v)wóis*. — *komik'l* [comical]. — *væes* [force]. 938 *kærner*. — *vá'in* [foreign]. — *voræst* [forest]. — *váevrdj* *vúevrdj* [forge]. 939 *klas*, *klast* [occ.]. 940 *kúwt*. 941 *vúvæl*. 947 *b)æ'íl*. 950 *zæppær*. — *tærn* [turn]. 955 *dá'ut*.

U.. — *d)juu'bíes* [dubious]. 963 *kwá'í'et*. 969 *zha'væp*. — *vævæt*. 970 *d)æz*. — *vásti* [fusty].

Phase II. *Chippenham*, 9 n.w. Devizes.

As JGG.'s stepmother (now an elderly lady, who had brought him up) was a native of Chippenham, and though long resident in London, kept up her knowledge of the dialect (which she did not use in speech) by visits, and by seeing many Wl. people, I requested JGG. to ask her to repeat one of those stories with which she used to amuse the children, while he noted it down in pal. As she was good enough to consent, the attempt was repeated on many occasions during the last few years, and the following fable by Akerman is the result, after many corrections. The difficulties in palaeotyping any individual's speech are very great; and of course such minute accuracy as JGG. attempted is liable to the perpetuation of individualisms. Still it is very instructive to compare the result with the specimen by Mr. Law, just given, as the two places are only four miles apart and both must represent a Wl. pron. I must draw attention to the constant reversion or retraction as JGG. considers it of the (T D N L R sh) series and of (κ) and the conversion of (tj, dj) into (tʃ, dʃ). I am anxious to express my obligations to Mrs. Goodchild for submitting to such a fatiguing trial and for venturing to dictate a complete wl. The original spelling from the preface to Halliwell's Dictionary is added interlinearly.

dhə aar _o nət ən dhə bi'i'dəl'	0
The Hornet and the Bittle.	
dhə aar _o nət zət in)ə ɔlə trii,—	
a harnet zet in)a hollar tree,—	
ʊ prəpər _o spɔytʃəl tʊo'əd wər _o ii ;	2
a proper spiteful twoad was he ;	
ən)ə mɛrɛl _i zɛq ʊ'dyl ii dɪd zɛt	
and)a merrily zung while he did set	
iz stɛ'q ɛz shaar _o p ɛz)ʊ bæ'gʊnɛt :	4
his stinge as shearp as)a bagganet.	
“ ɔɔ uu zə vɔdn ɛn bæ'wɪld ɛz ɔy !	
oh ! who so vine and bowld as I !	
“ ɔy bɛənt ɛfi'ər _o d ə ʊɔps, nar _o vɪɔy ! ”	6
I veers not bee, nor wapse, nor vly	
ʊ bi'dəl' ɛp dhɛk trii dɪd klɪm,	
a bittle up thuck tree did clim,	
ɛn skaar _o nvəl _i dɪd lʊk ət ii ;	8
and scarnvully did look at him.	
zɛd ii, “ zər _o aar _o nət, uu gɪd dhii	
zays he, “ Zur harnet, who giv thee	
ʊ rɔyt tɛ zɛt in dhɪk dhər _o trii ?	10
a right to zet in thuck there tree ?	
var _o ɛæl dhii zɛqz zə niishən vɔdn,	
vor ael you zengs zo nation vine,	
ɔy tɛl dhii t)iz ə ɔ'us ʊ mɔdn.”	12
I tell 'e 'tis a house o' mine.”	

- dhə aar_o nɔts kɔnʃhəns viil'd)ə tʃiːndəh
the harnet's conscience velt a twinge,
- bət ɡraaːɪn bə'wɔld ʃiː ɪz lɔq stɛ'q
but grawin' bowld wi his long stinge, 14
- zɛ'd ɪi : "pəzə'she)nz dhə bɛ'st laaː
zays he : "possession's the best lāāw ;
- zoo ʃʊər_o dhii ʃhæ't)nt pət ə klee ;
zo here th' sha'sn't put a clāāw ! 16
- bɪ aaf ən lɪːv dhə tʃriː tə ɔy !
be off, and leave the tree to me !
- dhə mæksən)z ɡʊ'd ʊnɛf vər_o dhii !"
the mixen's good enough for thee !" 18
- dʒɪs dhen, ʊ ʃə'ʊk'l', pæəsɪn báy,
just then, a yuckel, passin' by,
- wəz ækst bɪ dhɛ'm dhə kɛz tə tɹáy ;
was axed by them the cause to try ; 20
- "ɛɛ ! ɛɛ ! ɔy zii ə'ʊ t)ɪz !" zɛ'd ɪi,
"ha ! ha ! I see how 'tis !" zays he,
- "dhɪ)əl' mɪ'k ʊ viiməs mænʃh vər_o ɔy !"
"they'll make a vamous nunch vor me !" 22
- ɪz bɪl wəz ʃhaar_op, ɪz stamɪk lɪvər_o,
his bill was shearp, his stomach lear [empty],
- zoo əp ʊ snæpt dhə kædlɪn pər_o !
zo up a snapped the caddlin pair. 24

MORAL.

- ææl' juu əz bii tə laa ɪnklaɪn'd,
ael you as be to lāāw inclined,
- dh'ɔs lɪt'l' stɹɪ bɛər_o ɪn mɔɪn' ;
this leetle stwory bear in mind ; 26
- vər_o ɪf tə laaː juu ə'ɪmz tɛ ɡó'ə
vor if to lāāw you aims to gwo,
- juu)l vɔɪn'd dhæ'i)l' æəlʊz zaar_o)ɪi zoo ;
you'll vind they'll allus zar'e zo ; 28
- juu)l' miit dhə vi'ɪt ʊ dhiiz ʃɪər_o tuu,
you'll meet the vate o these here two,
- dhə)l' tɪi'k dhɪ kɔɔət ən kaar_okəs tuu.
they'll take your cwoat and carcass too ! 30

Notes to the above.

0. The references are to the number of the line. In this transcript an endeavour has been made to follow JGG.'s notation of the last of his many transcripts. In the following cwl. as there explained, some compromises have been made. The letters (r d l n r sh) have been used for typographical convenience in place of (t d l n r sh.), which would represent JGG.'s opinion of their formation as retracted rather than reverted, but we are quite at one respecting the sound. Also throughout this example I have used (r_o) in place of (r) to show absence of trill. I am, however, by no means clear that there is no trill, though the effect of the reverted trill (r_o) is quite different from that of the tip trill (r_t), on account of the dullness and indistinctness of the beats. In the cwl., and also in recording the pron. of other districts, I have used (r) exclusively for this r, whether reverted or retracted, whether trilled or untrilled, because the sound itself is certain, and these four differences are theoretical. In my own pron. I feel that (r) is both reverted and trilled, as the form (r) properly implies.

0. *hornet* (aax_onɔt), which I should prefer writing (aɾnɔt). The (aa) says JGG. "is not quite pure (aa), there is more or less (a') character about it, it is certainly modified before (r_o) by an upturned tongue. The (r_o) is an r with the tongue turned tip upwards, to the highest part of the palate, so as to present a teaspoonbowl-like form towards the larynx and is not trilled wherever I have heard it." JGG. has been constantly in the habit of speaking to Wl. people. The reverted or retracted character of (r d n l) as well as (r) on all occasions has been introduced here as well as in the cwl. as explained to me by him verbally. The aspirate (h) says JGG. "seems to be rather permissive than obligatory, except of course where the word is emphatic, but I have never noticed any of the Wl. people inserting an aspirate in its wrong place, as Londoners do; and I have been familiar with Wl. talk for the last 25 years."

and *the* (ən dhə), "(ə, v) in unaccented syllables may be simply (ə) throughout. By (ə) I mean my own pron. of the vowels in the words, some one's husband

son or brother comes running in at once."—JGG.

beetle (biɪ'dɛl'): this is a common London mispronunciation, if (d, l) be substituted for (ɒ, ɪ). In Mrs. G.'s first and second dictation, and as JGG. remembered her repeating these lines when he was a child, she said (bɪr'l'), and all my other Wl. authorities give (bit'l) both for the mallet and the insect.

2. *spiteful*. The long i was originally written (ai) in the cwl., and sounded to me rather (æ'i) or (ə'i). But JGG. says the first element is "Scotch or German long (aa) gliding into a rounded (i) almost (y), lips as for (o)," that is, properly (ay_o); (ay) is here retained, because in JGG.'s very last hearing of the dictation, this still seemed to him the nearest sound, and he has also in correcting the proof introduced it into the cwl. See D 5, Andover.

3. *while*. JGG. did not find a fully consonantal (w) or (ɹ), but felt that they were really vowels, as in Welsh, and hence they are here written (ü, ɪ).

6. Mrs. G. had (dy béant efíar_o d ə biɪ nɔr_o ðops, nɔr_o vláy), as Mr. Akerman's "I vears not bee" was not dialectal. But on the line thus becoming two syllables too long, the words *bee nor* have been omitted.

8. *look*. The pron. (lʊ'k) was obtained specially. "This (u') is neither (u) nor (u'), but an intermediate vowel," it bears the same relation to (u) as (i') to (i), see (gu'd) l. 18. These differences are hard to catch in isolation, but make themselves generally felt in conversation. In the proof JGG. introduced (k) generally.

11. *all* (æxl', æl'). JGG. says, "I cannot quite make out what this vowel is; it is not quite the same as the Cu. and We. sound, but seems more like (ææ). I think it quite likely that I should write it (ææ) at one time, and (æ) at another. But I think the last is the nearest equivalent I know, unless we use (ææ²⁰), which would express my idea of it." This would be (æ) inclining to (ææ), and might be written (ææ₁).

14. *bold*. In this word (bɔ'wld) we meet (ɔ') a higher form of (ɔ). JGG. considers it the same sound as the s. Scotch (ɔ) as pron. by Dr. Murray. It is a shade of sound which I cannot distinguish. See D 5, Andover.

sting, will not rhyme with *twindge* as Mr. Akerman implies by the spelling

stinge. Mr. A. rhymes lines 7 and 8 *him clim*, but Mrs. G. restoring the dialect has (ii, κlim); l. 15 and 16, Mr. A. has *lāw, klāw*, and Mrs. G. (Laa' κLEE). The older sounds I heard from Mr. Law were (laa, klaa), the modern (LEE κLEE). Lines 17 and 18 Mr. A. has *me, thee*, Mrs. G. says dialectally (*dy, dhii*), and similarly lines 21 and 22. Lines 23 and 24 Mr. A. has *lear, pair*, which Mrs. G. reads (liēr, pēr). Lines 25 and 26 Mr. A. has *inclined, mind*, Mrs. G. leaves out the last (d). Lines 27 and 28, Mr. A. has *gwo, zo*, Mrs. G. reads (gō'ə, zoo). This shews how dangerous it is to write dialect in rhyme. Mr. Akerman's stories have usually been considered first-rate dialect. I found dialectal construction frequently so violated in them that whole passages might be read off perfectly in rs., and I could not use them at all, for present purposes, especially as shades of sound were not distinguished.

16. *here* (iēr); for the (i) in place

of (j) see note l. 3 *while*. For (və) JGG. says, "as in the 'early bird deserves the early worm,' but the tongue is raised more, I should say it is more *arched*." As I write the vowel in the above words in rs. (ə), generally avoiding (v), except in weak syllables, this might be (ə'), but from the description it is possibly a new vowel. — *shalt not*, probably, though the form (shær'nt) is very singular, but Akerman's *sha'sn't* is quite unintelligible.

19. *yuckel*, a Wl. name for a woodpecker. Mrs. G. seems to have confused it with *yokel* a bumpkin.

22. *munch*, with retracted or reverted (ɲ) and the corresponding (sh), not (mantɲ). The word *munch* = lunch, or noon-food, seems to have been confused with the more familiar *munch*, which, however, is properly a verb. — *lear* is used for empty, hungry, in many dialects.

28. *serve you so*, the *v* is regularly omitted. The word (sar) is also commonly used for to *earn*.

CHIPPENHAM CWL.

From a complete wl., with the words from the *Hornet*, marked H, in the spelling there used, the whole taken down with scrupulous accuracy by JGG. from his stepmother's pronunciation, a work of great labour extending over many days or rather years, for the list was entirely gone over and retranscribed many times, and finally all doubtful points were re-examined. On the treatment of (T D N L R) see note to title of *Hornet and Beetle*. Here and elsewhere in future (R) and not (R_o) is written for typographical reasons. See also the same note for (aa) or (aa') and likewise for the use of (ə). Also for writing the diphthongal long *i* as (*dy*), see note to l. 2 in the *Hornet*. The vowel (ii) varied in speech as (*i*'), which is used in the *Hornet*, but I have here used (ii) only for convenience. Also (*i*, *e*') occur, but are nearly identical, and were used by JGG. according as the sound seemed to incline to (*i*) or (*e*). The series (*i* *i*' *i*, *e*' *e*) is practically continuous from (*i*) to (*e*). On (v, ə, ə') see note to l. 16 of *Hornet and Beetle*, and on (ü, i) note to l. 3.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 *zoo*. 3 *biik* [the rural form for all these (ii) is (*e*'ə') nearly (*é*)]. 4 *tiik*, H *ti'i'k*. 5 *miik*, H *mi'i'k*. 6 *miid*. 7 *ziik*. 9 *bi'ii'v*. 10 *aa'*. 12 *ZEE zaa*. 14 *DREE*. 17 *laa*, H *laa'*. 18 *kiik* *ki'ək* [see 3]. 19 *ti'ə'l* [even accent, almost dissyllabic]. 20 *liim* *le'ə'm* [see 3]. 21 *niim* *n'ə'm*. 22 *riim*. 23 *siim*. 24 *shiiim* *shé'ə'm*. — *MEENDzh*. 27 *Nee'v*. 28 *vēr*. 29 [(*bii*) been used]. 30 *ki'ēr*. 31 *liit*. 32 *biidh*. 33 [(*zə'və*) sooner, used]. 34 *Læəst*. 35 *aa*. 36 *dhaa* [(*mi'l't*) melt, generally used]. 37 *klaa* and H.

A: 39 *kəm*. 40 *kūəm* [not quite (*kwəm*)]. 41 *theqk* [(*dheqk*) means *think*]. 42 *ən*. 43 *ən'd*. 44 *lən'd*. 45 *ūant*. 46 *kændəl*. 47 [(*stree*) stray, used]. 48 *zəq'*. 50 *təqzi'z*. 51 *mæn*. 53 *kæn*. 54 *ūənt*. 55 *éi'shi'z*. 56 *ūəsh*. 57 *ees*.

A: or O: 58 *vrom*. 59 *læm*. 60 *ləq* and H. 61 *əmaq'*. 62 *strəq'*. 64 *rəq*. 65 *zəq'*. 66 *dhaq'*. A'- 67 *ai gūə*, H *gō'ə*. 69 *noo*. 70 *tu'ə*. 72 *uu*. 73 *zoo* and H. 74 *tuu* and H. 75 *strə'k*. 76 *tūəd*, H *tōo'əd*. 77 *laa'rd*.

- 78 a'un'. 79 [same as 78]. 80 ali₁dii. 81 liin'. 82 üans. 83 müən'. 84 müv'r. 85 züv'r. 86 üats. 87 klaaz. 88 tē klaadh. 89 búadh. 90 blaā. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 draa. 96 zaa. 97 a'ul. 98 ii naad, áy did naa, ná'v'n. 99 draan. 100 zaan.
- A': 101 aak, eekaa'RN trii. 102 æks. 103 ækst and H. 104 raad. 105 raad. 106 braad [not (aa)]. 107 loov. 108 daa. 109 laa. 110 næt. 113 üal [L is very vocal]. 114 ma'ul. 115 üam. 116 uu. 118 bo'ən. 119 tē gūə. 121 gaan. 122 noon. 123 nædhiq. 124 stúə'n. 125 anli₁. 126 [(raa)v'r] rower, used]. 127 úəs. 128 dhíəz. 129 gúəst. 130 búə't. 131 gúə't. 132 ot. 133 raat. 134 úəth. 135 klaath.
- Æ- 138 fídhē'r fēdhē'r. 139 dree. 140 eē'əl a'íə'l'. 141 nēē'əl. 142 snēē'əl. 143 tēē'əl. 144 əgə'v'n. 146 mē'ín. 147 brē'ín. 148 fē'v'r. 149 bli'z. 150 l'əst. 152 úaatv'r. 153 zædv'rdi₁.
- Æ: 154 bæk. 155 dhætsh. 156 glæd. 157 riiv'n. 158 eevr. 160 v eg. 161 dii. 162 tē dii. 163 [(leed) laid used]. 164 mée. 165 zed. 166 mē'ín [almost (má'ín) with (i) not (i)]. 168 tælə. 169 üen. — H úəps [wasp]. 170 aa'rví'st. 171 baarlí₁. 172 grées. 173 úaaz, ii úvvr. 174 a'ísh. 175 veešt. 176 æt. 177 dhæt. 178 næt. 179 wat. 180 bē'ə'th. 181 pēē'th.
- Æ- 182 zii'. 183 [(tē laa'RN) used]. 184 tē l'əd. 185 ri'í'd. 186 brí,dth. 187 lí'əv, H lí'əv. 188 nēē. 189 wēē. 190 kēē. 191 íə'l'. 192 míə'n. 193 klí'ə'n. 194 əni₁. 195 məní₁. 196 úvvr. 197 tshíiz. 198 tē let. 199 [(tē bēē) = baa, used]. 200 wiit. 201 údhen. 202 iit.
- Æ': 203 [(tēēk) = talk, used]. 205 dreed. 206 ii ri'í'd. 207 n'íə'l'. 208 evr. 209 nevvr. 210 klēē. 211 grēē. 212 úēē. 213 [(aarn) = e'er a one, used]. 215 [(ii tīrsh't) = he taught, used]. 216 diivl. 217 íə'tsh on v, vvr v úə'n. 218 v shíp. 219 slíp. 220 shepərd. 221 viivvr. 222 vvr. 223 dhvvr. 224 wvvr. 225 vlēsh. 226 mó'əst. 227 úet. 228 zúet. 229 brēēth. 230 fə't.
- E- 231 [(dhík, dhək) used]. 232 briik. 233 spiik. 234 n'əd. 235 ú'əv, úiiv. 236 viivvr. 237 tshívl-blə'ín. 238 eēdz. 239 zēē'əl. 240 leed. 241 rē'ín. 243 plēē. 244 úēēl. 245 m'ívl. 246 küün. 247 úíen. 248 mvvr. — H bēvr, [to bear]. 249 úvvr. 250 zúvvr. 251 miit. 252 kí,təl'. 253 nē'təl'. 254 lēdvr.
- E: 256 [(tē dree a'v't) = to draw out, used]. 257 eēdz. 259 úídz. 260 lēē. 261 zēē. 262 úēē. 263 vj'úēē, e'úēē. 265 strə'ít. 266 úē'l'. — v'íə'l'd [field]. 267 [(tē g'í in) used]. 268 a'ul'dis. 269 zēlf. 270, i. bí'ləsi,z, ii. bēle. 271 tē'l'. 272 eēlm. 273 mēn [not (mēn)]. 274 bí'nsh. 275 stēqk. 276 dhēqk. 277 drí'nsh. 278 úēnsh. 279 úē'nt. 280 lēb'm'. 281 lēqth lēnth. 282 strēqth. 283 mēri₁, H mēri₁ [merrily]. 284 dr,ēsh. 285 kriisez. 286 arə. 287 bí,zəm. 288 lēt. — H zēt [set]. — H bē'st [best].
- E'- 289 ii [heard as (ii')]. 290 ii [heard as (ii')] and H. 291 dhii. 292 [(áy) used]. 293 úii. 294 viid. 295 brí,d. 296 bí,lí,əv. 298 v'íə'l'. 299 grí'ín. 300 kí,əp kíp. 301 ívvr. 302 miit and H. 303 zúit. 304 [(mahlət) used].
- E': 305 áy. 306 áyth. 307 [(klaas) used]. 309 spíid [(riit) = rate more usual]. 310 íə'l'. 311 tē'n'. 312 ívvr, H ívvr, ívvr. 313 aark'n. 314 i. ívvr. 315 viit. 316 neks.
- EA- 317 [(tē skín) used]. 318 lēeft. 319 gēep. 320 kívvr.
- EA: 321 ziid. 322. lēef. 323 ii v'á'v't. 324 a'í't. 326 a'ul'. 327 ba'ul'd, H ba'ul'd. 328 ka'ul'd. 329 va'ul'd. 330 a'ul'd. 331 z'a'ul'd. 332 t'a'ul'd. 333 kēēv. 334 eēf. 335 eēl, H əēl. 336 vēēl'. 337 úaahl'. 338 kəēl'. — əəl'əz [always]. 339 [(áy bíi') used]. 340 íaa'rd. 341 mərə. 342 aa'rm. 343 úaa'rm. — H shaar,p [sharp]. 345 dvvr. 346 gēət giit.
- EA'- 347 ed. 348 áy. 349 v'í,a.
- EA': 350 dēēd. 351 lí,d. 352 ri,d. 353 brēēd. 354 zhíəv. 355 díf. 356 lí'əv. 357 dhaa dhoo. 359 níivvr. 360 t'əm. 361 bí'əm. 362 zlēē. 363 tshíəp. 364 tshəp. 365 níivvr. 366 gvvr. 367 drēt. 368 dēth. 369 slaa. 370 rēē. 371 strēē.

- EI- 372 ee. 373 dheer. 374 [(noo) used]. 375 tē rāyz. 376 bæ'it.
 EI: 377 stīik. 378 ūik. 380 dheer em. 382 dhæ'vēr.
 EO- 383 zeb'm. 384 eb'n. 385 [(bilaa')=below, used]. 386 ʔa'u.
 387 nīuu.
 EO: 388 mǎl'k. 389 ʔaak. 390 shud shād. 391 [(dy bi) used]. 393
 bi,æ'n'd. 394 ʔæn'dēr. 395 ʔaq'. 396 ūēerk. 397 zūēerd. 398 staa'v.
 399 brāyt. 400 vērnis. 402 laarn. 403 vēr. 404 staa'r. 405 vērth-
 stūon, eef-, eef-stūon [always with stone]. 406 vērth. 407 vaard'n. 408
 [(ii naad) used].
 EO'- 409 bi. 410 [(shii) used]. 411 drii. — H trii [tree]. 412 shii.
 413 di,vəl'. 414 vlāy, H vlāy. 415 lāy. 416 diēer. 417 tshaa. 418 bruu.
 419 vēr. 420 va'vēr. 421 faarti.
 EO': 422 zik. 423 dhāy-bōn. 424 rēf. 425 lāyt. 426 vāyt. 427 tē
 bi. 428 tē zii and H. 430 vrend. 431 biēer. 432 va'vērth. 433 brēst.
 434 i bi'er. 435 iuu. 436 truu. 437 truu'uth.
 EY- 438 dāy. EY: 439 trās.
 I- 440 ūik. 441 ziv'. 442 āy'vi. 443 vrāy'di. 444 stāyəl'. 446 nāin.
 — H bil [bird's bill]. 447 vēr. 448 dhāz. 449 ger. 450 tshuuzdi. 451
 zaa [confused with 76 to sow].
 I: 452 dy H dy. 453 kǎik [(vēest) fast, used]. 454 ūitsh. 455 lāe
 [confused with to lay]. 456 ef. 457 mdyt. 458 ndyt. 459 rdyt H rdyt.
 460 ūæ'i't. 462 zāyt. 463 tal'. 464 ūitsh. 465 zatsh. 466 tshāyəl'd.
 467 ūāyəl'd. 468 tshil'dern. 470 [(ii) he used]. — H klīm [climb]. 471
 tīmbēr. 472 shre'qk. 473 blāyn'. 474 rāyn'. 475 ūāyn'. 476 bāyn'.
 477 vāyn'd and H. 478 grāyn'd. 479 ūā'yn'd. 480 dheq'. — H ʔaq
 [sung]. — H stē'q [sting]. 481 vērger. 482 iz. 483 iz. 484 dhis,
 dhāz. 485 dhisəl'. 486 ʔast. 487 istērdi. 488 it. 489 it [only (t) as an
 enclitic]. — H zet zar [sit, sat].
 I- 490 bāy. 491 zāy. 492 zāyd. 493 drāyv. 494 tāym. 495 ūāyn'.
 496 āyēr'n. 498 rāyt. 499 bit'l' [originally, then as in] H bi'vəl'.
 I: 500 lāyk. 501 ūāyd. 502 vāyv. 503 lāyf [but (lāyv) alive]. 504 nāyf.
 505 ūāyf. 506 umən. 507 ūāmen. 508 māyəl'. 509 ūāyəl' H ūāyl'. 510
 māyn' H māyn. 511 ūāyn'. 512 spāyēr. 513 ūāyēr. 514 dāy. 515 ūāyz
 [wiseacre (ūāyzīkēr)]. 516 ūāzōm. 517 iuu.
 O- 518 bādī. 519 avēr. 520 baa. 521 va'ul'. 522 aap'm. 523 aap.
 524 ūēerdəl'.
 O: 525 aaf and H [for off]. 526 kaaf. 526 baat. 528 dhaat. 529
 braat. 531 deetēr. 532 kaal. 533 dāl' [a variant of (ə) in direction of (o, ə)
 or (a), ? my (ə)]. 534 aal'. 535 vaak. 536 grā'ul'd. 537 mē'ul'. 538 ud.
 — H əlb [hollow]. 539 fa'ul'. 540 əl'i. 541 ūont. 542 bā'ul't. 543 ən.
 544 dhen. 545 ap, op. 546 vaer. 547 bāvēr. 549 ūvēr. 550 ūvēr.
 551 staa'm. 552 kaarn. — H skaar,nvəl'i [scornfully]. 553 aarn. 554
 krees.
 O'- 555 shuu. 556 tē. 557 tuu and H. 558 lu'k and H. 559 mādher.
 560 skāuəl'. 561 bluum. 562 mūn'. 563 mēndi. 564 zu'n. 565 naaz.
 — graa'in [growing]. 567 tēdher. 568 brādher.
 O': 569 bū'k. 570 tū'k. 571 gū'd H gū'd [(u, u') are practically
 identical]. 572 blād. 573 vlād. 574 [(ə ətsh) a hatch, used]. 575 stād.
 576 ʔænzdi. 577 bā'u. 578 plā'u. 579 [ʔæf [(i, ɔ) hardly audible] H vnaf.
 580 tēf. 583 tū'al'. 584 stū'al'. 586 duu'. 587 dōn. 588 nuu'n. 589
 spuun. 590 vlōvēr. 592 zūvēr. 593 mēst. 594 bu'it. 595 vū'it. 596
 [(maa'r) used]. 597 zū't.
 U- 599 boov. 600 lāv. 601 va'ul. 602 zā'u. 603 kam. 604 zōmēr.
 605 zēn. 606 dāvēr. 607 bātēr.
 U: 608 əgl'i. 609 vāl. 610 ūūəl' [there seems to be a distinct separation
 of (ūū)]. 611 būlək. 612 zām. 613 drāqk. 614 ʔū'n'. 615 pā'ū'n'. 616
 grā'ū'n'. 617 zā'ū'n'd. 618 ūū'n'. 619 vā'ū'n'. 620 grā'ū'n'. 621 ūā'ū'n'.
 622 əndēr. 623 vē'ū'n'd. 624 grā'ū'n'. 625 tēq'. 626 ʔqgēr. 627 zāndi.
 628 nā'n'. 629 zā'n'. 630 ūā'n'. 631 dhozdi, dhēvērzi. 632 əp and H.
 633 kap. 634 droo. 635 ūāth. 636 vēvērēr. 637 tēsk. 639 dā'vēr.
 U'- 640 kē'u. 641 ʔū. 642 dhā'u. 643 nā'u. 645 doov. 646 bā'u.

647 a'ul'. 648 a'uer. 649 dha'uz'n'. 650 ba'ut. 651 üidha'ut. 652 k'ud. 653 bat.

U: 654 zhra'ud. 656 ru'm. 657 bra'un'. 658 da'un'. 659 ta'un'. 660 ba'uer [arbour]. 661 sha'uer. 662 as. 663 a'us and H. 664 la'us. 665 ma'us. 666 adzhen. 667 a'ut. 668 pra'ud. 671 ma'uth. 672 za'uth.

Y- 673 madtsh. 674 did. 675 dráy. 676 láy. 677 dráy. 679 tshwertsh. 680 bizí. 681 bizínes. 682 lítál', H lít'l'.

Y: 684 bridzh. 685 ridzh. 686 báy. 687 vldyt. 688 zatsh. 689 b'ald. 690 káyn. 691 máyn[D H máyn. 692 yeqis. 693 zín. 696 b'earth. 697 berí. 698 m'earth. 699 rayt. — H aar,n'et [hornet]. 700 úas. 701 vast. 702 úi. 703 pit. 704 viksh'n.

Y- 705 skáy. 706 úáy. 707 dhvertin. 708 tu áyer.

Y': 709 va'uer. 711 láys. 712 máys.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l'd eg. — H kædlin [caddling, quarrelling]. 718 triid. 722 dræ'in. 723 dæ'iri. 724 bæel'd. 725 riæl'. 726 tææk. 727 dzhæm. 728 shæm. 729 friim. — H snæpt [snapped]. 732 æp'n'. 734 daa'rn. 735 smæ'ish. 736 lees. 737 miit. 738 priit. 740 úiv' úiiv'. 741 miiz. 742 liizi.

E. 743 skriim. — H líier, [lear=empty]. 744 miizal'z. 745 tshíet. 746 briidh. 748 flédzh. 749 left, tə líə'v. 750 bæg. 751 p'ert. — H æ'im [to aim]. 752 vret.

I. and Y. 753 tikál'. 754 peg. 755 vilbert. 756 zhrímp. — túindzh [twinge]. 757 táyni. 758 gæl'. 759 vit. 760 shivél'. — H meksn [miken, dungheap].

O. 761 lúed. 762 a'kæm. 763 [(raav) rove, used]. 765 :dzhæn. 767 n'e'z. 768 kaak. 770 :tómus. 771 vón'd. 772 bonváyer. 773 donki. 774 poní. 775 b'ibí. 776 gu'd búdy. 777 shap. 778 evá'berd. 779 [(lávinz) leavings, used]. 781 b'odher. 783 pa'ul'tri. 784 ba'uns. 786 da'us. 787 za'uz. 790 ga'un. 791 búdy.

U. 792 skúabul'. — H ía'uk'l [yuckel, woodpecker]. 793 ag. 794 dzhag. 795 shrag. 796 bl'ál'. 797 [(skúal'in) used]. 798 kúber. 799 skel'. 801 ram. 802 ram. 803 dzhamp. — mánsh [munch]. 804 dræq'k [as (-qk) often occurs]. 805 kradz [en úee]. 806 vas. 807 púis. 808 p'et, H p'at.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 iibəl'. 810 fis. 811 plis. 812 liis. 813 biik'n. 814 miis'n. 816 fiid. 817 rædish. 818 iidzh. 819 riidzh. 820 gre. 821 dilee. 822 mee mæe. 824 tshæ'ier. 825 úeef. 826 úigæl. 829 gæ'in. 830 træ'in. — H bægenet [bayonet]. 832 mæ'ier. 833 p'eer and H. 834 shæ'iz, shi'z. 835 riiz'n. 836 ziiz'n. 838 triit. — mi'al [male]. 840 tshæmber. — H viiməs [famous]. 841 tshheens. 842 plæ'qk. 843 breensh. 844 trensh. 845 æqshent. 846 tshheener. 847 dændzher. 848 tshæ'indzh. 849 strændzh. 850 deens. 851 ent. 852 ee'p'ern. — H kaar,kas [carcass]. 853 baarg'in. 854 barəl'. 855 karət. 856 p'ert. 857 kiis. 858 briis. 859 tshiiis. — H pæesin [passing]. — H vii't [fate]. 860 piist. 861 tiist. — H niishan [damnation]. 862 siif. 863 tshæ'f. 864 bikeez. — H keez [cause]. 865 vaat. 866 p'uer.

E. 867 tií. 868 dzhee. 869 vi'el'. 870 biúti. 871 agrii. 872 tshíef. 874 ræ'in. 875 fæ'int. 876 dæ'inti. 877 ver. 878 sæleri. 879 fi'meel'. 880 egzæmp'l'. — H kónshens [conscience]. 881 zens. 882 [(lavaldydæl) used]. 883 dændiláien. 884 aprentis. 885 v'eri. 886 vráyer. 887 klærdzhvæn. 888 zaart'n. — H pze'shən [possession]. — H zaar, [sieve]. 890 biäst. 891 fiäst. 892 nevi. 893 flá'uer. 894 dizii'v. 895 riziiv.

I. and Y. 897 diláy. 898 náys. 899 niis. 900 p'ree. 901 váyn, H váyn. — inkláynd [inclined]. 902 máyn. 903 dáyn'. 904 vaylat. 905 ráyat. 906 váy'per. 908 evváyz. 909 briiz. — H spáy'tel [spiteful]. 910 dzhæ'is. 911 zist'ern. 912 ráys.

O.. 913 kaatsh. 914 brootsh. 915 staf. 916 dynin. 917 raag. 918 viibal'. 919 æ'INTMENT. 920 pdynt. 921 ekæ'INT. — H stári [story]. 922 bu,shəl'. 923 máyst. 924 tsháys. 925 váys. 926 spúdy'EL'. —stam'k [stomach]. 927 трақк. 928 nāwns. 929 kukimer. 930 LÁIN. 933 frant. 935 kANTRE. 936 fa'INT. — H prəpər [proper]. 938 kaARNER. 939 KLAAS. 940 kúət H kóoət. 941 vól'. 942 bu,tshər. 943 тэтш. 944 vLá'u'. 945 vá'u'. 947 búdyəl'. 948 bæ'l'. 950 səpər. 951 kəpəl'. 952 kúərs. 953 kəz'n'. 954 kúshe'n'. 955 dā'ut. 956 kəvər. 958 frEE. 959 kəvEE. 961 GRÁ'EL'. 963 kúdyət. 964 shúət. 965 æ'íəl'. 966 frú't. 967 shú't. 968 æ'ístər. 969 sha'vər. 970 dzhas H dzhi's. 971 vLú't.

Phase III. *Tilshead*, 8 sse. Devizes, in the centre of W1.

Theodulf's hide, Tydulviside, Tidulside, Tyleside, Tilshead, called (t:xl'səd), as I was informed by the then Vicar's daughter, Miss Louisa H. Johnson, who was born and had resided there above forty years. She kindly wrote a wl. and dt. and on 6 Oct. 1879 called on me to work them over *visá voce*. She also gave me the example of *Hocktying* or *Hocktide*. The custom about 1850 was that on the second Tuesday after Easter, the young men tied the ancles of any young women they could catch about; and on the following Wednesday the girls returned the compliment. The following was the explanation given by old people, which I wrote from Miss J.'s dict. Probably every (t d n l r) should be (T D L N R), but I leave the transcription as I wrote it.

1. The Peasants' account of the origin of *hock-tying* or *hocktide* in the village of Tilshead.

wans dhər wər ɛrd fook əz ud kíp on ɛ kəmín ii'r, ɛn ɛ robín
once there were red folk as would keep on a-coming here, and a-robbing

dh):íql'əsh fook, ɛn ɛt last dhái əp ɛn ɛt)əm, ɛn tɛ'id)əm əp
the English folk, and at last they up and at them, and tied them up

tə púest'iz ɛn kət dhər drots.
to posts and cut their throats.

2. Tilshead dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Johnson.

(1.) zoo ɛ'í dɛ zEE, m'ets, dhii dɛ zii nɛ'u, dhət ɛ'í bi rɛ'it ɛbɛ'ut
dh'k liit'l máid kəmín vrom dhɛ skúuəl jondər.

(2.) shii)z ɛgwáin dɛ'un dhɛ róoəd dhe'e'r, druu dh' ɛrd g'et on
dhɛ líft hænd zɛ'id ɛ)dhɛ wái.

(3.) shuur ɛnɛf dhɛ tʃɛ'ild hæv ɛwɛ'nt stráit əp tɛ dhɛ dúər
ɛ)dhɛ roq hɛ'us.

(4.) weer shi)əl mɛ)bi vɛ'ind dh'k drɛqk'n d'if shrív'ld fɛlɛ ɛ)dhɛ
níəm ɛv :tooməs.

(5.) wi)d ɛəl naa)n vɛr' wɛl.

(6.) wɛ)nt dh)aald tʃəp zuun larn shi not tɛ duu)t ɛgen, puur
dheq !

(7.) loks, [i)laa:k]i] bíe)nt ɛt truu ?

3. TILSHEAD cwl.

Pal. in 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Miss Johnson.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biék. 4 tiék. 5 miék. 6 míed. 7 síek. 12 zee. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kiék. 20 liem. 21 niem. 22 tiem. 23 siem. 24 shíem. 36 dhaa. 37 tlææ. A: 40 kúsem. 41 dhæqk. 45 want. 55 èshez. 56 waa'sh. A: or O: 58 vrom. 61 ðmæq. A'- 67 guu. 76 túuð. 81 lien. 83 múuen. 84 múuer_o. 85 súuer_o. 86 wats. 87 klaaz. 89 búuðh. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 95 droo. A': 104 rúued. 115 húuem. 118 búuen. 122 nóoen. 124 stúuen. 125 oni. 127 húuers. 128 [(dham) used]. 129 gúuust. 131 gúut.

Æ- 139 drái. 140 háil. 141 náil. 142 snáil. 143 táil. 144 egen. 145. sláin. 146 máin. 147 bráin. 148 fáin. — emet [emmet more used than ant]. Æ: 155 dhætj. 158 æt'r_o. 160 æg. 163 lái. 164 [(mid) pl. (mid'n) used.]. 165 zed. 166 máid. 174. áish. 175 væst. Æ'- 183 teetj. 189 wái. 190 kee [in East Lavington (4 s.Devizes) (kói), possibly (kái)]. 192 míen. 193 klíen. 197 tpiiz. 202 hæt. Æ': 205 dreed. 207 nid'l. 213 iidher. 218 ship. 225 flæsh. 226 múuust.

E- 236 fæever. 237 tjalblain. 241 ráin. 242 twáin. 243 plái. 252 kit'l. 253 net'l. E: 261 zee. 262 wái. 265 stráit. 270 belesiz. 284 dráish. — bæst [to burst]. 286 hare. 287 bizem. E'- 294 viid. 298 vii'ld [(væx'ldid), felt, as that something is hot]. E': 306 hæ'it. 307 ná'i. 314 hii'rd, jii'rd. 315 viit. EA: 321 [(zid) see'd, used]. 322 lææf. 323 fáut. 324 áit. 326 aald. 327 búueld. 328 kúueld. 329 vúueld. 330 húueld. 331 súueld. 332 túueld. 333 kææf. 334 hææf. 335 ææl. 336 vææl. 342 jaarm. 346 gíet. EA'- 349 víú. EA': 352 urd. 355 dif. 359 náiber. 362 slái. 370 rææ. 371 strææ. EI- 373 dhái. 376 báit. EI: 379 háil. 381 swáin. 382 dháir. EO: — vaarmær. 403 vær. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drii. 413 dível. 420 váuer. 421 váurti. EO': 423 dhá'i. 426 vait. 430 virnd.

I- 447 hærn [hers, in Urechfont (4 se.Devizes) (shii'z'n) is used]. 448 dhii'z. I: 460 wáit. 466 tjalld. 468 tjalderu. 481 víggær. 484 dhii'z. 485 dhis'l. 486 [(baarm) used]. I'- 499 bir'l [see p. 53, col. 2]. I': 506 wmen. 507 wímen.

O- 522 oop'm. 523 hoop. 524 wærd'l. O: — troo [trough]. 528 dhaat. 531 dææt'r_o. 532 kaal. 536 gúueld. 537 [(dært) dirt, used]. 539 bool. 545 hop. — vark [fork, "the mouth must be elongated as for a grin"]. 547 búuerd. 548 váuerd. 549 húuerd. 552 kærn. 553 hærn. 554 kraas. O'- 565 núuez. 566 ædher. O': 577 bæ'u. 578 plá'u. 579 eno'f [(væ'u) not heard]. 580 tá'u. 582 kúueld. 583 túueld. 584 stúueld. 589 spúuen. 590 flúuer. 592 súuer. 597 zut.

U- 601 v'uebl. 602 za'u. 606 dun'r. U: 609 vul, vúueld. 610 uu'l. U: 618 uund. 619 va'und. 634 dra'u. 635 wath. 636 vardær. U'- 641 hæ'u [approaching to (hóu)]. 642 [(dhii) used]. U': 663 hæ'us [pl. (hæ'uz'n)]. 665 má'us.

Y- 682 liit'l. Y: — wæst [worst]. 701 væst. Y- 707 dh'ætiin. 709 vá'ir.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 dráin. 723 deeri. 742 líezi.

E. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tpiit. 748 [(flash) used]. 750 bæg.

I. and Y. 754 peg. 756 shrímp [=lollipop]. 758 gær'l [rather a foreign word, used for a sweetheart].

O. 761 lúuð. 767 ná'iz. 769 [(want) used]. 773 doqki. 774 puuni. 778 v'vúuerd. 781 bodher. 783 pæ'ultri. 790 gæ'und. — dra'und [pp. (dra'undid), drown, drowned].

U. 795 shræg. 801 ram. 802 ram. 805 kærðz. — kær'lz [curls]. 806 fas. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jæb'l. 810 fɛs. 811 pleez [pl. (pleez'n)]. 812 liəs. 813 biək'n. 817 rɛdɪʃ. 822. mái. 824 tʃáɪər. 827 [(fɛs) fierce, used]. 829 gáin. 830 tráin. 836 seez'n. 840 tʃamb'r. 841 tʃæns. 843 bræntɪ. 845 ænshɛnt. 847 dændrɪr. 848 tʃændɪ. 849 strændɪr. 850 dæns. 851 ænt. 852 jæpɜrn. 855 kaarət. 856 peert. 860 peest. 861 teest. 862 sɪf. 864 koz. 865 fvæet. 866 puur.

E.. 867 tee. 869 viiəl. 874 ráin. 875 fáint. 876 dáinti. 877 áir. 878 sælɜri. 879 feemeel. 887 [(pæəs'n) parson used]. — fáier [market]. 890 [pl. (bíestɪz)]. 891 víust. 892 nevi. 893 vla'wɜr. 894 díseev. 895 ríseev.

I.. and Y.. 900 prái. — fɛs [fierce; see No. 827]. 901 vɛ'in. 904 vɛ'ílít. 910 dʒíst [pl. dʒístɪz].

O.. 914 bruntɪ. 916 a'ínɪn. 919 a'intmɛnt. 920 pa'ínt. 921 ækwáint. 922 bʊʃel. 923 mɛ'íst. 924 tʃɛ'ís. 926 spúuɪl. 929 kɛ'ukɛmb'r. 930 lɛ'in. 936 vɔnt. 938 kærɜr. 939 [(krɔft) croft, used for a close]. 940 kuu't. 941 fáusl. 942 bɛtɜr. 943 tɛtɪ. 947 bɛ'íl. 948 bɛ'ul. 950 sɛpɜr. 951 kɛp'l. 954 kʊʃɪn. 955 dɛ'ut. 956 kíver.

U.. 961 gráuel. 964 zuút. 965 a'íl. 968 a'íst'r. 969 shuu'r. 970 dʒíst.

VAR. ii. THE NORTHERN OR GL. FORM.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS. marked V, T, D.

V marks the cs. for *Vale and Town of Gloucester*. It was first written in his own orthography by John Jones, Esq., who had known the dialect for 50 years, and was afterwards corrected in pal. from his dict. by AJE. He gave U = (æ) uniformly, but TH. in travelling over the district found the M. (*u*, *u*_o) with sometimes (o) and of course (ə, ɛ), not only in Tewkesbury, Ashchurch (8 n. Cheltenham), and Buckland (12 ene. Tewkesbury), which I place in D 6 = w. BS, but also frequently in Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bishop's Cleve (3 n. Cheltenham), Brockworth and Birdlip (6 se.-by-s. Gloucester), and even in Cirencester, Fairford (8 e. Cirencester) and Tetbury, so that it would appear that the whole of east Gloucester were in the mixed region. Indeed TH. heard (*u*_o) as far s. as Purton W1. (10 sse. Cirencester). It is evident that a mixture of (ə, ɛ, o, *u*, *u*_o) for U does not interfere with the dialect, which is strongly marked. The oldest form necessarily had some variety of (u), and hence (*u*, *u*_o) must in this region rather be considered as survivals, than as M. encroachments, see *supra* p. 17. Of course (ə, ɛ) are recent developments, that is, begun and developed within 500 years. For (*u*_o) see the introduction to the Midland division.

T marks the *Tetbury* cs. It was written in io. by Miss Frampton, daughter of the then vicar, and was pal. by AJE. from answers to a very long series of questions which she kindly answered. There is, however, always room for some doubt where there has not been personal audition. As regards U, Miss Frampton, like Mr. Jones, apparently used (ə, ɛ), but TH. was informed in September 1885 by two stonecutters from Tetbury that (*u*_o) generally and a few (o) were the sounds there used. The (o) is one of the transitional forms, see Line 2, p. 17.

D marks the *Forest of Dean* or *Coleford* cs. It was written from the dictation of Raymond D. Trotter, Esq., native of Newnham (10 sw. Gloucester), who kindly spent many hours with me over it in 1873 in company with his sister, who gave phrases from Aylburton on the s. of the Forest. Mr. Trotter visited me again about it in 1878. This, and Mr. Law's from Christian Malford are the two best vv. examples of D 4 which I have personally heard.

0. V <i>Vale of Gloucester</i> .	wə'i :dʒɔn ɜ gɔt nuu' dəu'ts.
T <i>Tetbury</i> .	wə'i :dʒɔn ɜ)nɛ dəu'ts.
D <i>Forest of Dean</i> .	wə'i :dʒək doo)'nt dəu't.

1. V wæl, náibær, juu en ii mæ buu'th laf et dhís
 T wæl, náibær, dhii en ii mái boo'th læf et dhís ii'r
 D w'í zái náibær, juu en im mái bu'th on)i grín ez matj ez
 V niúuz e mæ'ín. huu kii'rz? dhat's næ'idhær jær nær
 T niúuz e mü'ín uu de kii'r? dhæt bee)nt jii'r nær
 D dhii)st læ'ík et dhís)ji'r ez w'í)v bín e telæn on)jæ, uu dest
 V dhæR.
 T dhæR.
 D dhíqk ed k'i'r v'r dhat? t)ii)'nt noo ədz!
2. V víáu vook de dæ'í, bikəz dhæ bi laft)ət,
 T dhær bi prəshəs viú ez dæ'iz kəz ez w'u dhæ bi læəft)ət,
 D dhær bi'nt mən'i ez de dæ'í v'r dhái bii'en máid g'e'm on
 V wii de náu, duu)'nt)əs? wət zhud mak [mii'k] em? t)ii)'nt
 T wii de náu, dwe)nt)əs? wət shud miik em? t)ee)nt
 D bæ'í dhæ læ'íks e dhii, wii de nóou dhət, doo)'nt əs? wat
 V veri læ'íklí bii it?
 T læ'íklí?
 D zhud mee'k)ən, mən? t)ii)'nt ree'zənb'1 næ'u, iz it?
3. V ə'uwæ'væR, dhee bi dhæ vaks əv dhæ kii's, zoo dʒist
 T uuse)E'væR, dhiiz bi dhæ vəkts zə
 D se juu dʒest oold jiu'u'r, dʒAA, en hæ'isht e bit wi)ə'ut e
 V hæ'u'ld jær náiz, mæ vrend, en bi kwə'í'ət təl w'í)v
 T ə'uld jær dʒAA, en kíp kwə'í'ət təl w'í)v
 D misles'tən e mii, təl w'í)v teld)jæ. næ'u ju aark'n e bit
 V e)dæn. aark)i.
 T dæn.
 D en bæ'íd kwə'í'ət, təl w'í) e dæn.
4. V w'í be zartín zhuu'r, ez w'í ii'rd em zái—zəm e
 T w'í)m zartín w'í jii'rd em zái—zəm e
 D w'í bi zaart'n zhuu'r, ez w'í)v jii'rd em zái—zəm e
 V dhem vook ez went drə'u dhæ wæl (w'í'l) dhíq vrəm dhæ
 T dhee vaak ez went druu dhæ wul dhəq vrəm dhæ
 D dhái dhær vook ez went drə'u dhæ o'1 on't dherze'lvz
 V vət dherze'lvz, dhat w'í did zhuu'r enaf!
 T vət dherze'lvz,—dhæt e did zhuu'r -nə'u!
 D vrəm dhæ vət,—dhət)s vær zhuu'r ez w'í did!
5. V ez dhæ jəqgɪst zən ɪzɛ:lɪf, e gəɔrt bʊ'w'í e nə'ín, náud
 T dhæ jəqgest zən ɛzɛ:lɪf, e gəɔrt bʊ'w'í e nə'ín, nood
 D ez dhæ jəqgest zən ɪzɛ:lɪf, e gʊd nə'bɛv e bʊ'w'í e nə'ín, nóoud

V iz vaadhærz váis et wans, dháu t)wæz
 T iz væædhærz váis, dhoo t)wæor
 D iz vi'dhærz tæq ez zuun az e oop'nd iz mæ'uth dhoo t)wæz

V se kwæor en skweekin, en æ'i)d træst ·ii tæ speek dhe
 T zæ kwii'r en skwii'ki læ'ik, en ·ii-d tel dhe
 D zæ'tj e kweer skweeken væ'is, en æ'i)d bæk ·ii tæ speek dhe

V truuth oní dee, A'i, ·dhat i ud, awæ'væe.
 T truuth ·dhæt e ud.
 D tru'th oní dáí, dí ·dhæt æi úd!

6. V en dhe æ'uld wænæn æræ'lf el tel eni on)i ez iz a lafiæn næ'u,
 T en dhe æ'uld wænæn æræ'l ul tel eni on)i dhæt læf næ'u,
 D en dh)æ'ld wænæn æræ'lf ed tel ær)æ wæn on)i ez iz a giúulæn

V ædhæ'ut matj bodhæ, tuu, if jæ)l
 T en tel)i slæp aaf wiðhæ'ut muu'r æduu', if)i ul
 D en tel)i æo'it aaf, tuu, wi)æ'ut metj wæ'dærmænt, if dhii)lt

V oonli eks ær, wæ)nt e næ'iidhæe?
 T ooni æks shi—oo'! wænt shi?
 D ooni eks)æ, di ·dhæt ær úd.

7. V leest wáiz [æni)æ'u] ær táuld it ta æ'i wæn æ'i ekst ær,
 T lii'st wáiz ær tælt ·æ'i wæn æ'i ækst shi,
 D lii'st wáiz ær tæld it ·æ'i wæn æ'i ekst ær,

V tuu ær drii tæ'imz oover, e did, en ær aat)'nt tæ bi
 T duu ær drii tæ'imz ær did, æor did)'nt aat)æ bi
 D duu ær drii tæ'imz ær moo'r, áí dhæt ær did, en'æor aat)'nt tæ bi

V æq on zæ'tj e püæ'ínt ez dhæis—wæat dæ juu dhæ'qk [dheqk]?
 T æq on 'sítj læ'ik, wot d)jæ dheqk næ'u?
 D noo wáiz æ'ut on zæ'tj a pæ'ínt ez dhæ'k, wæ't)st ·dhii dhæ'qk?

8. V wæl, ez æ'i wæz e)zái'in æor)d tel)i æ'u wæor en wæn ær
 T wæl, ez æ'i wæe e)zái'in, shii)d tel)i æ'u wæn en wæor ær
 D ez æ'i wæz e)zái'en ær)ud tel)i æ'u wæe en wæn ær

V væ'und dhe dræ'qk'n bæst ez æor dæ kaaal æor æzben.
 T fæ'und dhe dræ'qk'n bíæst shii dæ kææl ær æzben.
 D væ'und dhe dræ'qk'n b'i'st ez 'r. kaa'ld ær mee'stæe.

9. V æor zwoord [zoo'r] ez æ'u ez ær zid en wi ær áun æ'iz,
 T shi swaar shi ziid im wiðh ær æ'un æ'iz,
 D ær zwoor ez ær zid en wi ær oo'n æ'iz,

V e)læ'i'in zdræ'tj et væl lænth on dhe græ'und, in iz gud
 T e)læ'i'in æ'ut ææl vlog in iz bíi'st
 D læ'i'en aal et iz læ'qkth v'æq dhe græ'und, wi iz best

- V zændi kwæt klooz tɛ dhɛ doo'r ɛ dhɛ ə'us də'un ɛt dhɛ
 T zændi koo't ɛnə'i' dhɛ duu'r ɛ dhɛ ə'us də'un nə'i' dhɛ
 D zændi-gwɔ'dɪn kwæt ɔn, dʒɛst bæ'i' dhɛ duu'r ɛ dhɛ ə'us,
- V kærnɛ ɛ JÆNDɛR, leen.
 T kaarnɛ [kə'in] ɛ Jɔn liin.
 D də'un dhə'r bæ'i' dhɛ kɔrnɛl ɛ JÆNDɛRZ lee'n.
10. V ɛ wɛz ɛ)wə'inɪn ɛwə'i', ɛr zɛz, vɛr AAL dhɛ wɔRLD lə'ɪk
 T ii wɛr ɛ)wə'inɪn ɛwə'i', i wɔr, fɛr sɛl dhɛ wɔRLD lə'ɪk
 D ɛ wɛz ɛ)wə'ɪlɛn ɛwə'i' dhɔr, vɛr AAL dhɛ wɔRLD lə'ɪk
- V ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld, ɛr ɛ lɪ'tl' gʒɔRL (wɛntʃ) in ɛ vɛrɛt.
 T ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld ɛr ɛ lɪ'tl' maɪd sɛl ɛv ɛ vɛrɛt.
 D ɛ dɔg kɔtʃt in ɛ trɔp, ɛr ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld in ɛ vɛrɛt.
11. V ɛn dhat ap'nd ɛz ə'ɔr ɛn ɛr daatɛr in laa, kɛm
 T ɛn dhɪs ʒɛr ap'nd ɛz ə'ɔr ɛn shiiz daatɛr-lAA, kɛm
 D ɛn dhət wɔr dʒɛst ɛz ə'ɔr ɛn ɛr dAAɛɛr-lAA, kɛm
- V DRƏ'u dhɛ bak ʒARD vɛrɛm aqɪn ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz tɛ
 T DRUu dhɛ bæk ʒAARD vɛrɛm ɛ aqɪn ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz tɛ
 D DRƏ'u dhɛ ʒIARD vɛrɛm ɛ aqɛn ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz tɛ
- V DRƏ'i, ɔn ɛ wɔshɪn deɛ.
 T DRƏ'i, ɔn ɛ wɛshɪn dii.
 D DRƏ'i, ɔn ɛ wɔshɛn [wɛshɛn] dɔi.
12. V wə'ɪl dhɛ kɛtɛl wɛz ɛ bɔ'ɪlɪn vɛr tee, wɛn və'in brə'ɪt
 T ɛgɛn dhɛ kɪ'tl' bæ'ɪld vɛr tee, wɛn fə'in aatɛr_nuun
 D wɛn dhɛ kɪ'tl' wɛz ɛ bæ'ɪlɛn vɛr tee, wɔn vɔ'ɪrɪsh brə'ɪt
- V zɛmɛr aatɛrnuun ɔnli ɛ wɪk ɛguu'ɛ kɛm nɛkst dhɔrzdɪ.
 T ɛ zɛmɛr ɛ wɪk ɛgɔn kɛm dhɔrzdɪ.
 D zɛmɛr aatɛrnuun, ɛ wɪk kɛm nɛkst dhɔrzdɪ.
13. V ɛn dɛ ʒu nɔ'u ? ə'i' nɛvɛr ʒi'ɪrd nɔɔ muu'r nɔr dhɪs ɛ dhat
 T ɛn ɛ tɛl)i wɔt, ɛ nɛvɛr ʒi'ɪrd tɛl nɛ muu'r ɔn)t
 D ɛn dɛst nɔɔu, ə'i' nɛvɛr lɔrɛnd nɔɔ muu'r nɛr dhɪs ɛ dhat
- V dhɔr bɪznes ɛp tɛ tɛdeɛ, ɛz ʒhuu'r)z mə'i' nɪ'mz [nɛɛm]z
 T ɛp tɛ nɔ'u, ɛz DRUu ɛz mə'i' niim)z
 D dhɛr dʒɔb ɛz ʒhuu'r ɛz mə'i' nɔ'im)z
- V :dʒɔn :zhɛpɛrd, ɛn ə'i' dɛ)nt wɔnt tu nə'ɪdhɛr, dhɔr nə'u
 T :dʒɔn :zhɛpɛrt, ɛn ə'i' dɛ)ns wɔnt tɛ nə'ɪdhɛr, zɔɔ dhɔr !
 D :dʒɔn :zhɛpɛrd, ɛn ə'i' doo)nt wɔnt tɛ nɔɔu niidhɛr.
14. V ɛn zoo ə'i' bi ɛ)gwáin wɛm tɛ zɛpɛr, gwɔd
 T zoo ə'i)m ɛ)gwáin wɛm tɛ zɛpɛr, gwɔd
 D ɛn zoo ə'i' bi ɛ)gwáin ʒɛm tɛ a)mi ɛ bɪt ɛ zɛmɪt tɛ ʒɛt,

V nœ'it, ɛn dœɑ)nt bi zœ kwik tœ kráu oovɛr ɛ bœdi ɛg'i'n,
 T nœ'it, ɛn dœɑnt)i bii zœ kwik tœ kráu oo'ɛ ɛ bœdi ɛg'in,
 D nœ'it)t)ɛ, ɛn doo'nt bii zoo zhɑp oovɛr ɛ tʃɑp,

V wɛn ɛ)z ɛ)tɑɑkɪn ɛ dhɪs dhat ɛr t)ɑdhɛr
 T wɛn i dœ tœɑk ɛ dhɪk ɛ dhæk.
 D wɛn ɛ tɑɑks ɛ dhɪs ɛr dhɑt.

15. V it)s ɛ wɛk vuul ɛz pɛɛts ɛdhœ'ut
 T ɛn dhɛn wɛl tœ it.
 D ɛ mæn jœ)nt noo bɛtɛr nɛr ɛ vuul ɛz dœ tɑɑk wi)œ'ut

V rœzɛn . ɛn dhat)s mœ'i last wœrd. gudbœwi.
 T ɛn dhat)s mœ'i last wœrd. gud bœwi'tœ)i.
 D noo zɛns, ɛ dhɑt)s mœ'i laast wœrd. zoo gud bœ'i t)ɛ.

Notes to V, Vale and Town of Gloucester.

Mr. Jones considers his *cs.* to be a fair specimen of the dial. spoken about Gloucester in the *Vale*. In the *town* the use of *z-* for *s-* is not so frequent, and (th) generally remains as in *rs.* But in the town the sound of (ii) continually replaces that of (œ) even among educated people. Mr. Bellows quotes from Lord Campbell's *Life of Judge Hale*, p. 230, to the effect that the judge's name was in Gloucester called *œl* (iil), and that Mr. Bloxham, Clerk of the Peace, born near Alderly (7 se. Berkeley), near the Judge's native place, in summoning the Jury in Court, called out (:diivid :iil, ɛv dhe siim pliis, biikɛr), for David Hale, of the same place, baker, and Mr. Bellows recollects a farmer telling him that he heard Mr. Bloxham say: "Answer to your (niim) name, and (siiv) save your fine." In a paper called a specimen of the *Vulgar Speech of the Town of Gloucester*, reprinted by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from the *Transactions of the Cotswold Field Naturalists' Club* for the year 1851, many such words occur. But they are by no means confined to the neighbourhood of Gloucester town. They will be found in Miss Frampton's *Tetbury Specimen*, and she gave me other instances. The following list contains all those in the above paper (unmarked), and those given by Mr. Jones (marked J), and Miss Frampton

(marked F). The words are arranged in the usual classes and in ordinary spelling, the letter pronounced (ii) being italicised.

- A- bœker, drake, take, F taken, make, made, cradle, F tale, lame, J F name [and (naim) F], J same, game, F mane [are, fare, as in rec. sp. ware (wœr)], bathe, rather.
- A'- lane.
- AE- blaze, hazle.
- AE: wœken, day, F today [exceptional and not constant].
- AE'- F stairs.
- EA- shake, shape.
- A. tradesmen, F trade, James, prates, potatoes [(tiitɛrɛz)], wave, quavering, gaze.
- A.. table, face and F, preface, place, bacon, paring, case, plate, separate, observation, narration, state, paste.

As regards the series A-, A., A.. this reduction to (ii) is merely a variety of (iie, iɛ, i') common in other parts of D 4, itself a reduction of (ia), which came naturally from (a-), but (œ, ee) are also found more in Do. and Sm. The intermediate form is (e'œ), which is given by JGG. as the rural form about Chippenham Wl., where (ii, ii') are the town forms.

Notes to D, Forest of Dean.

0. *why, doubts.* I have throughout represented the first element of the diphthongs (a'i, a'u) by (æ) in this district. I am not quite satisfied. It may be (ɔ). I long hesitated between (əh, æ) and simple (a), which in Do. I adopted; all my hesitation arose from study of sounds heard from Mr. Potter, Mr. Law and Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour. The first element is often medial or long, but as I did not mark it at the time I leave the vowel short.

1. *say*, distinctly (zɑi), varying in direction of (zA'i), not approaching (zee). — *neighbour*, the (A'i) effect was very strong in this word. — *thou dost*, the (st) is a contraction hereabouts. — *this here*, the (j) is prefixed to (i'r) in this phrase only. — *it is not*, (t)ii'nt) 'tain't, is very common in this district, varies as (tjɛnt), (it bi'i'nt) also used.

2. *their being made game of*, (dhɑi) for *they* not a common pron. in other districts but not unknown, *they* again is for *their*; (mɑid) *made* is similar to (nɑim) *name*, par. 13, but (mi'd) is also used like the following (gi'm) *game*. — *reasonable*, the use of (r) initially was thoroughly settled with Mr. Trotter, who repudiated (r). — *is it*, (bii-ɛt) is not used.

3. *molesting of me*, or (mɛdlɛn wi mi) meddling with me.

4. *heard*, (ʒii'RD), the effect of (r) on following or preceding (t, d, l, n) converting them into (r, D, L, N) was carefully ascertained. — *through* (DRɑ'u), the (r) before a vowel being distinctly trilled, see par. 2, *reasonable*, (thR-) could not be pronounced, and hence (TR-) or (DR-) became necessary. — *first* (vɑst), the (r) is quite lost in this word, and in (bɑst, wɑs, wɑst) burst, worse, worst; can this arise from the retention of (s) instead of retracting or reverting it? Thus (vɑst, vɑrs, r) would be quite possible, and this (s, s.) would be distinct from (s), either would lead to (sh) as in Sanscrit. But if this ever existed, it has disappeared.

5. *a good knob of a boy*. — *fathers*,

the first syllable varies as (vi', ve', vie'). — *I would back 'he*, the use of 'he is conditioned by emphasis, otherwise (w'i)d bak'əm) with the S. *kine*.

6. *woman*, emph. (hɦumen). — *e'er a one*, any one. — *guling*, the glossaries give this as a He. word for *sneering*. — *wonderment, if thou wilt only ask her*.

7. *leastways*, the use of (di) in place of (æ'i) shows that the speaker considered the termination to be *ways* and not *wise*. — *she told*, when (ɛr) is used for *her* = *she*, the (ɛr) is distinct, when for *her* (as usually written) = *he*, the (ɛr) is lost, (ɛ tɛld, ɛr tɛld) *he told*, *she told*, are thus kept distinct without emphasis. *two or three times or more*, in Aylburton (4 sse. Coleford, Gl.) they use (ɛne'nt) *anent* in place of 'or more,' meaning 'nearly, close upon,' but see *anent* in Murray's Dictionary.—*what dost*, see (dhii)st) 'thou dost,' par. 1.

8. *drunken* scarcely used, (fɑd'ld) 'fuddled' sometimes heard, but if a man is not very drunk they say, (im ɛ bɪn ɛ avɛn ɛ DRɑp) 'he's been having a drop,' and if he's very drunk indeed, (im ɛ got)ɛt ɔn)ɛn tɛ Rɑ'ɔts) 'he has got it on him to-rights,' but 'drunk' itself is almost a tabooed word.—*beast*, also (beest).

9. *lying*, they lie, and hens lay, (dhɑi dɛ lɑ'i, ɛn ɛnz dɛ lɑi) bring out the two diphthongs very clearly.—*coat*, (kwat ɔn) 'coat on,' since the word runs on to (ɔn) but in the pause it is (kwo't) in *that's my coat* (dhɑt)s mɑ'i kwo't).—*yonders*, the phrase is used, but the grammar is not clear.

10. *howling*, in the Forest of Dean, little babies even *howl*, and never *whine*, (but win'ikɛn) is heard at Aylburton.

11. *clothes*, Mr. Trotter thought he used (kloo'z), but on hearing the difference, acknowledged (tloo'z).

13. *name*, see *made*, par 2.

14. *and so I be a-going home to have)me a bit of somewhat to eat*. The (a)mi) was nearly (æ)mi).

Phrases from Forest of Dean from dict. of Mr. Potter and Aylburton
from dict. of Miss Potter.

1. (vz aakd vz ɪhəʊ'ɪ:ɪən), as hard as iron [the first aspirate omitted as usual, the second introduced for emphasis].
2. (v bɪt v v məɪd), a bit of a maid [one growing up to womanhood, a. (gærl is a maidservant of about fifteen, a (wɛnsh) is a grown woman in a good sense].
3. (gæɪ)wəʊ'ɪ wɪ:ɪv), get away with you, said to a dog [this conversion of (t) into (r) is very common with *get* before a vowel in numerous districts].
4. (æ)z bɪn ɛn jət mi ɒn dhə jəd), Forest; (iɪz bɪn v)jət'ɪn mi ɒn dhə jəd), Aylburton; he's been and hit [been a-hitting] me on the head.
5. (ə'u guu, nɪp'ɪɪ), how go (how are you), little fellow.
6. (uu:z'n əu:z'n bi:ɪəm), whose houses be them = are they. Compare Sh.
7. (bæɪd-dəb'ɪn), bird-dubbing, walking down in two companies on each side of a hedge and pelting at the birds, which fear to leave the hedge on either side.
8. (ɪm)z v prɒpɪɪ ɹɒq'k'n), he's a proper rank-one (?), he's a regular deep one.
9. (ə'ɪ)m gwɑɪn tɜ aa)mi v)rəʊ'ɪd), I'm going to have me a ride [=to get a lift in a waggon].
10. (u)t, lʊk'ɪ), wilt thou, look-you.
11. ('uu bɪst 'dhii v dhəʊ'u:ən), whom art thou a-thou-ing [in a quarrel, Forest]. (ə'ɪ beent ə gwɑɪn tɜ biɪ dhiɪd bə'ɪ dhəʊ'u) I am)not a going to be thee'd by thou [Aylburton].
12. (v pool'tən bən'ɪts), a-pelting walnuts.
13. (v woo)'nt aən'k'n ɛn'tə miɪ), he won't hearken to me, won't do what I tell him.
14. (kɪp dhəm vɪts stɪl), keep those feet still [that is, don't stamp, said at a public reading].
15. (hɛft)'n), heave him or it, (hɛft) weight or heavy load, both Forest and Aylburton.

GLOUCESTER cwl.

V Vale of Gloucester as in cs.

T Tetbury as in cs. with some extras.

C Cirencester from wl. given me vv. by Miss Martin of Whitelands.

D Forest of Dean as in cs.

A Aylburton as in specimens.

W Whitcomb (5 ese. Gloucester), wn. by TH.

Unmarked words belong to the four first-named places and also possibly to A.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 C tɪk. 5 C mɪk. 17 V laa, TD lAA. 18 kɪk. 12 V nɪəm
neem, T nɪm, D nAim, C nɪm. 22 C tɪm. 24 C shɪm. 28 C hɔɪr.
34 V lAst, D lAast, T lAest. A: 39 VTD [(kAm) come, used]. 45 C Ants.
46 [(lɔɪt) light, always used]. 54 V wAnt, T wAent, D wAnt. 56 V wɔsh wɔsh,

- T wæsh, C [(bək'n) a small wash]. A: or O: 58 VT vræm. 60 elæ'g. 64 V rəq, T raq. A'- 67 VTD egwain [a-going], D ə'u guu [how do go=do]. 73 VT zoo, D zoo. 75 TD duu, V tuu. 76 C túnd. 79 V áun, T ə'ún, D ooun. 81 V leen, D léeen, T liin. 82 wans. 84 VTD múuær. 86 C úets. 87 V klooz, TD klóuez. 89 V búusth, D búúeth, T bóouth. 92 VT náu, D nóou. 94 VT kráu. 97 sə'ul. A': 102 VD əks, T əks. 104 W rood. 113 V wal wíul, T wul, D 'ooul. 115 VTC wam, D jam. 118 C búen. 120 V egu-u', T egon. 122 V náuu. 124 stúuen. 125 oonli. 129 C gúuest. 130 C búut.
- Æ- 138 V vaadhær, T vææ-, D vi'-, ve'-, vie'-, C fæadhær. 143 tái. 144 V egin, T egin. 150 V leest, T liest, D liist. 152 C waærær. Æ: 161 V dee, T dii, D dai. 162 V tædee, T ts dii. 163 lói. 166 T máid, D máid. 168 C tæeler. 169 VTD wæn. 170 C æævst. 172 C grææs. 174 C eesh. 177 V dhat, D dhát, [T (dhak) used]. 179 V waat, T wot, D wat. 181 C pææth. Æ'- 182 C see. 183 C teetj. 190 kee. 193 kleen. 194 VT eni, VD oni. 197 tjiiz. 199 C bleet. 200 weet. 201 C eedh'n. Æ': — sidz [seeds]. 207 nid'l. 210 klói. 214 VTD nə'ídhær. 215 C taat. 218 C ship. 220 VD zhæphærd, T —t. 223 DC dhær dhær. 224 VTD wær. 227 VTD wæt.
- E- 233 V speek, D speek. — jæt [eat]. 252 V ketl, TDC kit'l. E: 256 V zdræjt, T stræjt. 261 VT zái, D zái. 262 VTD wái. 265 W stráit. 276 VD dhiqk, VT dhæqk. 278 wæsh [always used for girl in a good sense]. 281 V lenth, DT læqkth. 284 dræsh. 287 C biz'm [common word for all kinds of brooms]. — T bi'st, D best [best]. E': 313 DT aark'n. 314 V ii'rd, TD jii'rd. 315 D vits, C fit.
- EA- 320 VTD kíer. EA: 322 V laf, T læf. 323 fə'ut. 326 VT ə'uld, D əæld, W əuld əuld. 330 V hæ'uld, ə'uld. 332 V tæud, T tæit, D tæid. 333 C kææf. 335 T ææl, DV AAL. 338 V kaal, T kææl, D kaa'l. — aard [hard]. 343 C waarm. 346 D gíut, W gjæt. EA'- 347 D jæd, C jæd. 348 VTD ə'iz, C ói. 349 V viáu. EA': 354 C sheef. 365 C dúf. 366 C leef. 367 dháu dhoo. 369 T náiber, D náiber. 366 VTC. 370 C raa. 371 C straa.
- EI: 377 C stíak. 378 T week. EO- 386 C jæ'u. EO: 390 V zhud, T shud. 394 V jænder, D jænderz. 398 [C (klæm) used]. 399 VD brə'it. 402 D lærn, T laarn. EO'- 411 VTD C drii. 412 [(æ) her, used in nom., (shii) in acc.] 420 C vø'ur. 421 C fakti. 421 vo'rdh. EO': 422 W zik. 425 C íeit. 435 [C (dhii) always used, even to superiors, perhaps from large quaker community]. 437 VT trauuth, D trauúeth. EY- 438 VTD də'í. EY: 439 V trast.
- I- 440 C week. 441 ziv. 446 C nóin. 447 V ær [T (shiiiz) she's, used]. I: 452 VTD ə'í, C ói [evidently an error of my informant]. 455 VTD læ'í, C lói. 459 C róit [p ræ'it]. 465 setj. 467 VTD C tjo'ild, W tja'il. 480 V dhiq, T dhæq. 484 VD dhis [T (dhik) used]. 487 jístærdi. — jæt [hit]. I'- 495 VT wə'in [D (ə'ul) howl, used]. 496 nhæ'irn. I': 506 VTD C ænæn. 510 V mə'ín, T müə'in [and generally (ə'í)].
- O- 519 T ævæ. 524 VTD wærlæd. O: 531 daærær. 538 VTD ud. 546 v'r. — [C (praq) prong used for fork]. 547 buu'rd. 550 T wærd. 551 C starm. 552 C karn. O'- 559 C mædhær. 564 zuun. O': 571 V gud. 577 C boo. 578 C plo. 579 VT vnaf. 586 V dwænt, T da)ne, D doo'nt [don't]. 587 VTD dæn. 592 V zwærd zoo'r [both used], T swaar, D zwoor. 595 C fat.
- U- 601 fool. 602 zæ'u. 603 W ekamin. 604 VTD zæmæ. 605 VTD zæn. 606 TD dúuær, V doo'r, W dúær. U: 608 C [(ærnæri) ordinary, used]. 610 C ul. 612 VTD zæn. 615 C poond. 616 VDT græ'und. 619 VD vø'u'nd, T fə'und. 627 VTD zændi. 631 dhærdzi. 632 VT æp. 633 C kær. 634 VD dræ'u, T druu, W thruu. U'- 643 D næ'u, W næ'u. U': 658 VTD də'ín, C doon. 659 C toon. 663 VTD ə'us [pl. (ə'uz'n) C]. 665 C moos. 666 VT æzbæn [(mee'stær) used D].
- Y- 673 T matj. 675 VTD dræ'í. 676 C lói. 682 VT lit'l. Y: 690 C kóind. 691 C móind. 701 VTD væst. Y- 705 C skói. 706 VTD wə'í. Y': 709 C fóir. 712 C miis.

II. ENGLISH.

- A. 726 VD tæk, T tæk. 732 V ap'n, T æp'n. 738 T priit.
 E. 748 C flæst. 749 W lift. 752 VTD vret.
 I. and Y. 754 C pæg [heard from the old man who called bacon (báik'n)].
 758 V gǽrl, W gǽrl.
 O. 761 [(bærd'n) always used C]. 765 :dʒɒn. 767 T náiz. 781 T bødær.
 791 V búo'i, T búo'i, D búóí. U. 804 V dræpk'n.
 U. 804 V dræpk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. 813 C báik'n [heard from an old man]. 814 meesnar. — C [(bækit) bucket always used for *pail*]. 824 tji'r. 835 reez'n. 857 T kiis. 862 T siif. 864 koz.
 E.. 867 VC tee, TD tee. 878 sǽri. 887 [(pæəs'n) parson, used C].
 888 VTD zartín. 890 VC beest, T búest, D bi'st. 892 C nevi.
 I.. and Y.. 901 V vò'in, T fò'in. 904 vóilet.
 O.. 916 C áinenz. 920 VT pǽ'int, D pò'int. 925 VT váis. 929 koo'kembær. 938 VT kærner, D kørnel. 939 V klooz [T (enə'i) anigh, used].
 940 VD kwat, T koo't. 941 VDT vuul. 947 V bóil, TD bæ'il. 950 VT zapar. 955 VTD dæ'uts.
 U.. 964 C sáust. 969 VTD zhúær.

VAR. iii. THE NORTH-WESTERN OR EAST HE. FORM.

As we shall see, all He. is affected by the MS. dial., but the little slip which runs up from Gl. into He. is so strongly MS. that, although there seems to be a little falling off as we go on, I have found it necessary to place it in D 4. The w. b. of this slip is the w. b. of the S div. The e. b. is formed by the barrier of the Malvern Hills. The first considerable place we meet is Ross on the Wye. About this dialect a correspondent signing himself W. H. Green, who said he was a native of Ross, but whom we have been unable to identify, sent a letter in his own spelling to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which, in conjunction with notes from Upton Bishop, and a very few words given to TH. by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, Hereford, the following inferences are drawn :

Ross Pronunciation.

- (z) is used for (s) in *so see, some, said say, sow* (pig).
 (v) is used for (f) in *from find folk friend farmer for forty forget offended* (?).
 (iiv) is used in *late, plagued, place master, translate quakers*, implying the regular MS. change in A- words, but (ææ) is found in *clavey* a local word = mantlepiece.
 (áí) is used in *say way straight neighbour*.
 (á'ó) apparently is used in *know* and (úá'i) in *boy*.
 (æ) is heard in *put*.
 (dhik, dhak) are used.
 (bist) thou art, (ær im) she, he ; (dhii) thou, (*ut, ust*) wilt, would'st, I *be*, they *been't*, I *did* want.

All these are strong marks of D 4.

Going further n., TH. got from Stoke Edith, (grâin fâier dâi láí'i,n) grain, fair, day, day, laying and "I told *she*." But in this latitude at Ledbury, and further n. at Much Cowarne and Eggleton, there are very distinct marks of the same dialect in the following examples.

THREE INTERLINEAR HE. CS.

FROM LEDBURY, MUCH COWARNE, AND EGGLETON.

L marks the cs. specimen for Ledbury (12 e. Hereford) written by Rev. C. Y. Potts, and the late Mr. Gregg, solicitor, both of Ledbury, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Gregg.

C marks the specimen for Much Cowarne (9 ne. Hereford) written in phonotypy (see Part IV. 1183 c) by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, of Broad Street, Hereford, from the dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, Leighton Court, Bromyard, and pal. by AJE. As the diphthongs were unanalyzed in phonotypy, I have adopted the forms (ə'i, ə'u) heard by TH. when visiting Much Cowarne in 1881. Possibly Mr. Gregg's, which I heard as (ə'i, ə'u), were meant for the same.

E marks the Eggleton (8 ne. Hereford), practically the same as the Much Cowarne, written by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, of Blackway, Eggleton, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (who passed it over to AJE.), with an ingenious and exhaustive rhyming key to the pron., supplemented by long notes from Miss Mary E. Piper and her brother, who considered that the true He. speech began about Stoke Lacy, Pencombe, and Bromyard (9 ne. 10 nne. 13 ne. Hereford), slightly to the w. of Much Cowarne and Eggleton. From the key and the notes and TH.'s Much Cowarne words, the cs. has been pal. by AJE. The difference between Ledbury and Eggleton these informants considered to consist chiefly in the greater "gutturality" of Much Cowarne, adding that *horse* is (ars) at Ledbury, but (os) in Cowarne.

The substantial phonetic agreement of all three renderings obtained from such widely different sources (notwithstanding some evident dialectal slips which are inevitable when writers have not themselves spoken the dialect naturally in their youth) shows that the correct pron. must have been fairly reached.

Miss Piper added some further specimens which are given below with a translation interlined.

0. L *Ledbury.* wə'i :dʒAAN əz noo də'uts
 C *Much Cowarne.* wə'i :dʒa'k a'nt noo də'uts
 E *Eggleton.* wə'i :dʒAAN ə)nə gət noo misg'ivinz
1. L wal, náibəR, juu ən im mái boo'th la'f ət dhís i'R n'iuuz
 C wəl, náibəR, juu ən im mái booth on)ʒə laaf ət dhís i'R n'iuuz
 E weel, náibəR, bwəth ən dhə vook mái ləf ət dhík n'iuuz
- L ə mə'ín. uu kjəRz ? dhət)s nə'ídhəR i'R nəR dhəR.
 C əz ə'i'də təl ʒə. huu də keer ? dhət)s niidhəR ʒəR nəR dheer
 E əz ə'i ə gət. uu kéevəRz ? dhət jənt ʒivəR nəR dhivəR
2. L vi'a'u mən də'i kAAZ dhə)R la'ft ət,
 C fʒə'u fwaks də də'i kəs dhəe də gət la'ft ət,
 E dhivəR jənt bət vi'a'u menkjə'ind əz də'iz kəz dhái bi ləft ət,
- L wi nA'uz, doo'nt əs ? wAAt sh'd meek əm ? tʃiant vERɪ
 C wii də náu dən əs ? wət shəd míak əm ? it jənt vERɪ
 E wii nA'uz, dwənt)es ? wət shəd míək əm ? it bjənt vERɪ
- L lə'ikli, iz it ?
 C lə'ikli, bi it ?
 E lə'ikli, bi it ?

3. L AASEME·VÈR dhiiz bii dhi faks v)dhè kees, zoo djæst A'ud jèr
C ·liist)áiz dhiiz)jèr bent noo lè'iz, zoo juu djæst é'uld jèr
E é'usème·vèr it wèz atèr dhèk wáiz, soo djæst é'ud dhè

L náiz, èn bi kwæ'iet tìl é'í v dan. luk i'èr nè'ú!
C rə'u, é'uld bwa'i, èn juu é'isht tìl é'í v dan. aark)í!
E náiz, mèn, èn hə'isht tìl é'í bi dan. AARK'n!

4. L é'í bi zærtin é'í ii'rd èm zái—zæm v dhèm vooks èz
C é'í bi shuur é'í jerd èn sái—sæm o dhèm tjaps az
E é'í bi shúur èz é'í híisrd èm zái—zæm v dhái vook èz

L wènt drə'u dhè wèl dhíq vrəm dhè væst dhèrZE·lvz—dha't
C náud aal vè'ut it vrəm dhè vèst, did é'í shuurlé'í.
E wènt drə'u dhè wèl dhíq vrəm dhè væst dhíerZE·lvz—dhot

L é'í did zeef enaf.
C
E é'í did see'f enaf.

5. L dhet dhè jæqest zan izze·lf, v greet bwa'í v nè'ín, ná'ud
C ez dhè líttest bwa'í izse·l, v jæq)èn o nè'ín jèr é'uld, náud
E dhot dhè jæqest bwa'í izze·lf, v gréet bwa'í v nè'ín, ná'ud

L iz vee·dhèrZ váis èt wænst, dhoo it wèz zoo kwíer èn
C iz fiadhèrZ vA'is èt wænst, al ræmi èn
E himz veedhèrZ váis èt wænst dhoo v wèz soo kwéer èn

L skwiiki, èn é'í)d træst 'im tæ spiik dhè trauuth èni
C skwiikifé'id, èn 'im ud)ne tel noo lè'iz ta noobodi,
E skwíekín, èn é'í ud træst 'im tæ spiiek dhè trauuth an

L dáí, áí, i)·ud.
C noo v ud)'nt.
E dáí, áí, é'í·ud.

6. L èn dhè Aad wmen èrZE·lf ul tel èni on ju èz la'fs nè'ú,
C èn dhè é'uld wmen èrse·l ul tel èni o ju tjaps ez iz [wət's]
E dhè é'uld wmen èrZE·lf ul tel èni on dhè èz lafs nè'ú,

L èn tel ju stráit of, tuu, wdhə'u't matj bədhər, iv ju)l
C wgrí'nèn, widhə'ut noo fæs nAR bədhər, if juu
E èn tel dhè stráit of, tuu, udhə'u't matj boothər, if dhii)dst

L ooni a'sk wR want wR?
C ooni aksəz wR, áí, wR ul
E onli a'ks wR want wR, máí bi?

7. L liistwáiz v toold it 'mii wèn é'í a'kst wR, tuu wR drii
C liist)áiz wR did tel)mi wèn é'í akst wR tuu AR dhrii
E lestwáiz wR teld it mæ wèn é'í akst wR, tuu AR drii

L tə'ímz oovɛr, ɛr díd, ɛn ˈɛr aat)'nt tɛ bi ˈraaq on dha't
 C tə'ímz ə'uvɛr, ɛn ˈɛr dɛ náu ɛz wɛl ɛz moost,
 E tə'ímz ɔvɛr, díd ɛr, ɛn ˈɛr ad)'nt aat tɛ bi rɛq in dhɪk

L pə'ínt, waaɪt d)ɪ dhɪqk ?
 C wɔt d)ɛ thɪqk ?
 E ɪiɛr kíes, wɔt dəst dhii dhɪqk ?

8. L wɛl, ɛz ə'i wɛz ɛzái'in, ˈshii)d tel)ɪ, ə'u wɛr ɛn wɛn
 C wɛl, ɛz ə'i wɛz ɛzái'in, ɛr ud tel)ɛ, ə'u
 E wéel, ɛz ə'i wɛz ɛzái'in, ɛr ud tel)dhɛ, ə'u wíiɛr ɛn wɛn

L ɛr fænd dhɛ drɛqk'n biist ɛr kaalz ɛr ɛzbɛn.
 C ɛr fə'und dhɛ drɛqkɛn biast ɛz ɛr dɛ kaal ɛzban.
 E ɛr vænd dhɛ drɛqkɛn bjast ɛr kaalz ɛr mɔn.

9. L ɛr zoɔr ɛz ar zín im ɛdh ar ə'on ə'iz ɛlə'i'in
 C ɛr díd sweer ɛz ɛr díd sii im wíd ɛr ə'un ə'iz, ɛlə'i'in
 E ɛr sóɔr ɛz ɛr sii im ɛth ɛr ə'un ə'iz ɛlá'i

L zɔrɛtɪt a't vɛl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ gra'ond in iz zandɛ
 C ɛt fɪl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ grə'und in iz sandi
 E strɛtɪt ə'ut ɛt vɛl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ jaarth in dhɔt dhíiɛr gud

L kwoot, klaas bi dhɛ ə'us doo'r də'un ɛt dhɛ kaarn'l
 C goo'in koot, kloos ɛgɛ'n dhɛ doo'r ɔv iz ə'us ɛz dɛ stand
 E zandi kúust ɛ iz'n, klɔs ɛgɛ'n dhɛ dúuɛr ɛ dhɛ ə'us, də'un

L ɛ dha't lee'n.
 C ɛt dhɛ kɔrnɛl ɔv dhat dheer leen.
 E ɛt dhɛ kaarnɛl ɛ jandɛr láin.

10. L ɛ wɛz ɛwə'inín ɛwái, zɛz-ɛr, vɛr aal dhɛ wɛrld lə'ík ɛ
 C im wɛr ɛwə'inín ɛwái, ɛr dɛ sái, var aal dhɛ wɛrld lə'ík ɛ
 E ɛ wɛz ɛwə'u'lín ɛwái, sɛz ɛr, far aal dhɛ úuɛrld lə'ík ɛ

L zɪk ɪɛq)ɛn ar ɛ lit'l wɛnsh in ɛ vɛrɛt.
 C ɪɛq)ɛn az iz bəd, ar ɛ lit'l wɛntɪ ɛ ə'ulín.
 E sɪk ɪɛq)ɛn ar ɛ lit'l wɛntɪ ɛz wɛz frɛtɪt.

11. L ɛn dha't a'p'nd ɛz ˈɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kɛm
 C ɛn dhat dheer díd ap'n ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛrɪnlaa díd kɛm
 E ɛn dhɔt wɛz dɪst ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kɛm

L drə'u dhɛ ba'k ɪard vrɛm a'q'in ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz
 C drə'u dhɛ ɟardɪq aatɛr aq'in ə'ut dhɛ klwaz
 E drə'u dhɛ bɔk ɪaard wíiɛr əd bín ɛ a'q'in ə'ut dhɛ wææt klooz

L tɛ drə'i ɔn ɛ wɛshín dáí,
 C ɔn dhɛ lə'inz ɔn ɛ wɔshín dáí,
 E tɛ drə'i ɔn ɛ wɛshín dáí.

12. L wə'ɪl dʰe ket'l wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn vɛr tii wɛn və'ɪn brə'ɪt
 C wɛn dʰe ket'l wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɛn fə'ɪn
 E dʰe wə'ɪld dʰe ket'l wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɛn fə'ɪn brə'ɪt
- L zəməɾ aatɛrnuun ooni ɛ wɪk ɛguu kəm nekst thæzde.
 C zəməɾz aatɛrnuun ə'unli ɛ wɪk ɛgə'u kəm nekst thæzdi.
 E zəməɾ atɛrnuun ənli ɛ wɪk ɛguu kəm net dhæzdi.
13. L ɛn d)ɪ nɑ'u! ə'i nɛvɛr lærnd noo moo'r nɛr dhɪs
 C ɛn duu rɛ nɑu? ə'i nɛvɛr iird noo moor
 E ɛn dæst dʰɛ nɑ'ù, ɛz ə'i nɛvɛr lærnd ənɪ múuɛr nɛr dhɪk
- L ɛ dʰa't biznis ɛp tɛ dhɪs dái, ɛz zhuu'r ɛz mái
 C ɔn)t ɛp tɛ dhɪs iir dái, ɛz shuuɛ ɛz mə'i
 E ɛ dʰɔt dhíɛr biz'nɪs tɪl tɛdái, ɛz shúuɛr ɛz mə'i
- L nɛe'm)z :dʒaən :shɛpɛrd, ɛn ə'i doo)'nt wɔnt tu nə'ɪdhɛr,
 C nɛem)z :dʒak :shɛpɛt ɛn ə'i dæ)na wɔnt tu niidhɛr,
 E niɛm bi :dʒaən :shɛpɛrt, ɛn ə'i dæ)nɛ wɔnt tɛ nɛdhɛr,
- L dhæɾ nə'u!
 C zɛ 'dʰɛt bi dʰɛ ɛnd ɔn)t.
 E dhíɛr nə'ù.
14. L ɛn zoo ə'i)ɛ ɛgwee'n wam tɛ sɛpɛr gud nə'ɪt, ɛn
 C ɛn zoo ə'i bi ɛgwɪn wam tɛ av zəm zɛp'ɛr gud nə'ɪt, ɛn
 E ɛn soo ə'i bi gwá'ɪn wam tɛ zɛpɛr gud nə'ɪt ɛn
- L doo'nt bi zo vaast tɛ kra'u oovɛr ɛ bɔdi ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn
 C dæ)nɛ bi zɛ ɛnkɔ'mɛn kwɪk tɛ kɔk ə'uɛr ɛ fɛlɛr ɛgɛ'n, wɛn
 E dæ)nɛ dʰɛ bi so kwɪk tɛ kra'u ɔvɛr ɛ bɔdi ɛgɛ'n, wɛn
- L ɛ tAAks ɛ dhɪs dʰa't ɛ tædhɛr.
 C ɪm dɛ tAAk ɔv dhɪs rɛr ɛr dʰat dʰɛɛr.
 E ɛ tAAks ɛ dhɪk dʰɔt ɛr tædhɛr.
15. L ɪt)s ɛ puu'r A'uf ɛz pree'ts ɛdhə'u't riiz'n. ɛn dʰa't)s
 C ɪm bii [ɪz] ɛ haas ɛz bii haalɪs ɛ dʒabɛrɪn rɛbɪsh. dʰɔt)s dʰɛ
 E ɪt)s ɛ daandɛrɪq ə'uf ɛz pree'ts udhə'u't zɛns. ɛn dʰɔt
- L mə'ɪ laast wɔrd, gud bə'ɪ.
 C best niuuz ə'i ɛ got fɛr ja, ə'uld bwa'i! nə'u ə'i mɛn tɛek mə'i
 E bii mə'ɪ laast úuɛrd, gud báɪ.
- L
 C danɪk, ɛr ə'i sha)nt av noo sɛpɛr—uk ɪt!
 E

Notes to L, the Ledbury cs.

1. *neighbour*, not used in this way in the dialect. lately (dhrə'u) is used, but here he said (drə'u) not reverting (d r), a mere
4. *through*. Mr. G. said that iso- accident, few gentlemen learn to revert

(r) before a vowel. As to the *th*, Mr. Gregg gave, through (dhrə'u), throw (thra'u), thistle (diz'l), thin (dhin), thief (thif), thick = that (dhik), which indicated an inconsistent usage.—*safe* (zeef) meaning sure, but a (zee'f) for meat; the word ought to begin with (s) theoretically.

5. *aye I would*, *I* becomes (i) under such circumstances, the pron. varying with the construction.

6. *won't her*, *her* is used for *she*, and the (r) is felt distinctly, as (want v) would = *won't he*.

9. *own* (a'on) has a glide from the open to the rounded lips, (a) to (o).—*ground*, at first I wrote (A'A_o) considering the glide to be merely in the rounding, as in the last case, but subsequently (A'o) seemed to express it better, the position of the tongue being

also changed. Similarly *growth* was called (grA'oth), nearly (grA'wth).—*that lane*, (ɔn) is found in the dialect and might have been used here.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. Potts says *evening* would be used, Mr. Gregg just the reverse.

13. *shepherd* as a name has (sh),* as an occupation (zh).

14. *I are*, this is rare, *I be* is common, *he are*, *he be* are never used, Mr. G. said that "be is invariably used by the personal pronouns both in the sing. and pl." this is probably too wide an assertion. In this case (ə'i bii əgwee'n) would be more usual, the (ə-) is prefixed only to the present, not to the past participle. *Thou* is not found, but *thee bist*, *thee wust* are constantly used.

Notes to C, or the Much Cowarne cs.

15. *He is an ass as he always jabbering rubbish. That's the best news I have got for you, old boy. Now I must take my danniock or I shan't have no supper. Hook it!* The word *danniock* was not explained, it may mean *gaiters* for which *dannack* is used in Nf.

Mr. Hallam obtained in 1881 from Mrs. Sarah Griffiths in almshouses at Hereford, b. 1816 at Much Cowarne, where she lived till 7 and afterwards from 10 to 20, the following words, which are very fair D 4.

A- 21 nēm. A: or O: 64 rōq'. A'- 67 ə'i bi gwàin wòm [I am going home]. A': 106 brAAd. Æ- 138 feedhēr. Æ: 161 də'i, mid'l dēi. Æ'- 200 wif. Æ'- 218 ship', 223 dhēr, 224 wēr. E- 233

spiik. E: 261 sà'i, 262 wài, — fild [field], 279 went. E'- 290 i, 299 grin, 314 ɛrd. EA: 322 lɔf', 324 a'it', 326 àuld. EA'- 347 ɜ'd. EA': 350 dīə'd [approaching (dīəd)]. EI- 373 dhá'i. EÖ': — ə'i sɪd ɪm [I saw him]. I: 452 ə'i, 458 nə'it', 469 ə'i ùna [I won't]. I'- 494 tə'im. O: 531 dAAtēr, 538 ùd, — krɔp [crop], 552 kA'n. O'- 555 shuu, 559 mAdhēr, 562 muun. O': 587 də'n. U- 603 ɛkɔ'mɪn [a coming], 605 sə'n, 606 dðēr, 653 bət'. U': 663 ə'us'. Ū. — məd' [mud]. A.. — plá'inish [plainish], 841 tɔ'ns, 851 nēvnt [aunt], — gɔ'nd'n. E.. 892 nevü. I.. 899 nis'. Ö.. — bɪf [beef], — nəqk'l [uncle]. TH. considers that unaccented (i) should be written (i) here and elsewhere.

Notes to E, or the Eggleton cs.

Miss Piper seemed to have no rule for (s, z; f, v) initial and said they were used "indiscriminately." She wrote with (s) *sick*, *swore*, see [=saw], *swite* [blow], *spittal* [=spade], *swill*, *so*, *sure*, *safe*, and with (z) *say*, *some*, *Sunday*, *sumer*, *sense*; and sometimes with (s) and sometimes with (z) *seed* and *zeed*, to *sow* and to *zough*, *cider* and *zider*, *summut* and *zummat*. Again she wrote with (f) *from*, *far*, *frechet-like*, *for*, *fine*, *further*, *fof* [=fetched], and with (v) *few*, *father*, *voice*, *found*, *full*, *fallow*, *field*, *vetches*, *fill*, *feet*, *victual*, *four*. Miss Mary Piper found

these usages correct. If they were, they shewed that at this distance from the centre the instincts of the dialect were no longer felt.

In the same way in construction Miss Piper used *hims* for *his*, which seems a late development, and Miss Mary Piper said was rare. Again *him* had nearly superseded *un* for the acc. *hine*. Although in the examples, *I*, *he* are never used for the acc. emphatic, Miss Piper considered it common. Miss M. Piper, also said that *think*, *thing* had (dh) and *sure*, *sheep* had (zh).

Miss Piper's extra specimens for Eggleton, with her translation interlined.

1. mæster, bii ə'i ɛ gwáí'in tɛ ɔrɛ dhɛ piɛs ɛnənt
 master, am I a going to harrow the piece (of land) opposite to
 dha vɔlə vɪld?
 the fallow field?
2. ə'i kɔ)nɛ tʃiɛk dhəm dhíɛr ɔsez drə'u dhat dhíɛr jat.
 I cannot take those horses through that gate.
3. dhíɛr bjənt zid-vatɟez ɛnəf [ɛnə'u] tɛ zA'u dhɛ vɪld ɛnənt
 there are-not seed vetches enough to sow the field opposite
 dhɛ plɔk ɛn ɪf ɛr wɛz ʌʌl drɔsht ɛz bii in dhɛ
 the flock (small field) and if they were all threshed that are in the
 bərn, ˌlɑrd! ə'i dɛ)nə dhíɟk ɛz dháí)d vɪl ɛ wískɛt vɛl
 barn, Lord! I do)not think that they-would fill a basket full
 ɛnəf [ɛnə'u] tɛ jɛp ɪm ɛp fərdɛr nɛr dhɛ brɪm.
 enough to heap it up further than the brim.
4. ɛz ái wɛz ɛgwáí'in də'ɔn dhɛ láin, ə'i sii dhɛ bwáí at dhɛ
 as I was a going down the lane, I saw the boy at the
 gafɛrɛz ɔp'lz ɛth dhɛ brɔd-ɛk, ɛn, bə'i gom! ái dɪd
 gaffer's [master's] apples with the broad-hook, and, by gom! I did
 gɪv hɪm ɛ swə'ɪt ɛth dhɛ spɪtɪl rɔ'ɪt ɔn ɪz jɛd.
 give him a blow with the spade right on his head.
5. dhíɛr ɪm wɛz ɛláí ɛmɔɟ dhɛ dɔd-dɛk ɛn mɔlək djɛst ɛz ɪf
 there he was a-lying among the dead-wood and dirt just as if
 ɛ wɛz djɛd.
 he were dead.
6. ɛ wɛz bád, nɔɔ víɪr, ɛ wɔr)nt jəb'l tɛ jat, ɛn ə'i tɛld ɛn ɛz
 he was bad, no fear, he was)not able to eat, and I told him that
 ɪf ɪm ɛd gu ɛn swɪl ɪmz víɪs ɪn dhɛ brɛk ɛz ɛ kɔd go
 if he would go and swill his face in the brook that he could go
 ətɛr dhɛ stíɪrɛz ɛn fɔdɛr ɛm.
 after the steers and feed them.
7. sɔɔ ɛ got ɔn ɪmz tuu vɪt ɛn ə'i pət ɪm ɪn dhɛ kíɪrt, ɛn
 so he got on his two feet and I put him in the cart, and
 gɛn ɪm ɛ kek tɛ stɪk ɪn dhɛ sɔ'idɛr [zɔ'idɛr] kɛg, sɔɔ ɛz ɛ
 gave him ɛ keck to stick in the cider [zɔ'idɛr] keg, sɔɔ ɛz ɛ
 gave him ɛ keck to stick in the cider keg, so that he

kud get zamet te DRÍQK atER iz vítel.
could get something to drink after his food [victual].

8. me'i wmen fiERD ebə'ut it, dhə wə'ild ɛr wɛz sə'i'in dhə milk,
my wife heard about it, the while she was straining the milk,

ɛn, bə'i gosh! shi díd gu ɔn; ɛR)z AAliz fretʃetlə'ík.
and, by gosh! she did scold; she)s always cross.

9. ə'i met drii wmenvook ɛnɛnt dhɛm dhíɛR ə'uz'n ɛ juRN;
I met three women [woman folk] opposite those [there] houses of yours;

dhái wɛz ɛ-magin ɛn ɛmíekín múuɛR náiz nɛR və'wɛR undɛRT
they were a chattering and making more noise than four hundred

mɔnkə'índ ud.
men [man's kind] would.

10. tʃɔRLz wɛz ɛlɔ'q, ɛn ɛR AAl tɛRND íntu dhot dhíɛR və'uld
Charles was along, and they all turned into that [there] fold-yard

ɛ iz'n, ɛn dɛɔv dhə shíp íntu dhə buzi uth ə'wɛRN.
of his, and drove the sheep into the shed with ours.

VAR. iv. THE SOUTH-EASTERN OR Do. FORM.

Proceeding s.wards from Wl. we come to Do. The dialect is essentially the same, but at the e. end the (v, z) are less used for (f, s), a matter of education. The (ái) varies much as (ɛɛ'i) and occasionally even (ii). The A- is rather (éɛ, ee') than (íɛ, i') and falls into (ee) rather than (ii). The first example, a dt., was kindly given me vv. by Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, to whom the dialect was very familiar, and represents the pronunciation of her own district, Hanford (4. nw.Blandford). The same lady had also assisted Rev. E. A. Dayman of Shillingstone (5 nw.Blandford) to fill up a wl., which she subsequently went over with me vv., see p. 80.

A cs. was obtained from Mr. Clarke, native of Cranborne (12 ene.Blandford), and was pal. by me from dict. of Major-General Michel, being subsequently corrected in a few points by correspondence with Mr. Clarke, who was Master of the Schools at Ringwood, Ha. (19 wsw.Winchester), the dialect of which place he found to be the same as his own. This was confirmed by a few words I obtained vv. from a carter, native of the place, and from a wl. furnished by Mr. W. W. Farr from the comparatively dialectless district about Christchurch (20 sw.Southampton), and other indications, so that this strip of Ha. is reckoned dialectally as e. Do.

Finally the late Rev. W. Barnes, Winterborne Came, well known through his Do. poems, took great pains with a cs., which he wrote in a systematic orthography (see p. 80), and kindly explained by correspondence where any difficulty occurred. He also filled up a

wl. for me, which is given on p. 80, embracing also the most important words in the Cranborne, Hanford, Shillingstone, and East Lulworth (12 se. Dorchester). The Cranborne and Winterborne Came cs. are given interlinearly for more easy comparison.

HANFORD, Do.

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour.

1. zoo ə'i də zEE'i, mi lædz, juu də zii nə'ou dhæt ə'i bi rhə'it
bə'out dhik dheer līt'l máid kom'en frəm dhə skuu'l əp
jən'dær.
2. shii bi go'n də'oum dhə rhod dæuu dhə rhəd giət ən dhə lhift
hænd zə'íd v̄v dhə wái.
3. shuu'r ənaf' dhə tʃə'ild hæv ə)go'n strəit əp tu dhə dóov̄r
v̄v dhə rhaq hə'ous.
4. weer shi míd tʃaans tə və'ind dhik dheer drhəqk'en def
shrhəmd wəld tʃəp bæ'i née'm v̄v :rhítʃəd.
5. wii də aal nóou ən tər̄b'l wəl.
6. unt dhə wəld tʃəp suun lærn shi not tə duu et əgi'n', puu'r
szóou! !
7. lək)i dheer! id)'nd-it trhuu?

Notes to Hanford dt.

1. *Say*, not (zái). The words in ÆG wl. 139 to 148, 160 to 166, EG 237 to 243, 257 to 264, EI 372 to 382, and EY 438, 439, are very variously treated in this form of the dialect; see these numbers in the following cwl. But in thus pronouncing disconnected words some errors may have crept in. *Mates* not used; (*my zən*) is a common address even to an old man. *Now*, the diphthong sounded between (a'u) and (ou) and I think the effect was produced by commencing the first element without rounding, producing (a'o) and then running on to (u), giving (a'ou), at least I thus imitated it to Mrs. CKS.'s satisfaction.

2. *Road*, the (r), not (r), at the beginning of a syllable, was aspirated; when I used (rh) it was recognised as

incorrect. *Left*, the voiceless (lh) was distinct and insisted on.

3. *Going*, the sound was rather uncertain; I wrote both (go'n) and (ga'n).

3. *Strait* and 4. *Drunken*, the aspiration of (r) was apparently shewn by jerking out the following vowel, otherwise Mrs. CKS. seemed to say (trhəqkən).

4. *Shrammed*, properly starved with cold.

5. *Know*, the (oo) was long and distinct and almost (oo), the (u) was a full (u); the effect (sou) was therefore different from the usually (so'w) where (u) is not completely reached. *Terribly*, i.e. *very*; common in all Southern dialects.

11. *Soul*, the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is gradually led.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST DORSET CS. (see p. 75).

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|----------------|
| 0. C <i>Cranborne</i> . | wa'i | :dʒəʊn | gət | noo | dæ'uts. |
| W <i>Winterborne Came</i> . | whə'i | :dʒəʊn | hə | nuu | dæ'uts. |
| | | | | | |
| 1. C wəl, nEEbər, juu ən | ii | míd | búueth | laa'f | ət dhíez niúuz |
| W wəl, náibər, juu ən | hii | míd | búeth | la'f | ət whot ə'i |

- C e mæ'in. uu dæ k'æR? dha't)s ná'idhæR i'R næ
W dæ tel)i. en whot if ja' duu? dha't)s næ'idhæR híæR næR
- C dhæR.
W dhíæR.
2. C viúu mæn dæ dæ'i, bikò's dhæ bi laa'ft æt, wii dæ noo,
W viúu vook dæ dæ'í v bi'en laa'ft a't, wi dæ noo,
C do)'nt æs? wot shiúeld míek)æm? t)id)'n vERi læ'iklǝ,
W doo)'nt wi? whot shæd míek)æm? t)id)'n vERi læ'ikli,
C iz it?
W iz it?
3. C uuzui'veR dhíæz bi dhæ fa'ks v)dhæ)ki's. zuu dǝst
W æ'usæmæ'veR t)iz dǝst v z æ'í shæl tel)i. zuu dǝst
C whoold dhæ'i tæq, míet, en bi kwæ'i'æt tæl æ'i)v v)dæn.
W hoold jæR ná'iz, gud ma'n, en be küæ'i'æt tæl æ'i)v v)dæn.
C hhaa'æk)i!
W ha'æk)i!
4. C æ'í bi sært'n æ'í j'æRD)æm zái, zæm v dhæ vooks dhæt
W æ'í)m sa'rtæn æ'í híæRD)æn zii, zæm v dhæm vook dhæt
C wænt DRUu dhæ wul dhíq vræm dhæ væst dhæRZÆ'lvz, dha't
W zid dhæ húel æ)t vræm dhæ væst tæ laa'st. dha't
C æ'í díd, síef ænæ'f.
W æ'í díd, síef ænæ'f.
5. C dhæt dhæ jæqæst zæn izzæ'lf, v gæRT bú'í v næ'in, nood híz
W dhæt dhæ jæqæst zæn hízzæ'lf, v gæRT bú'í v næ'in, nood híz
C fæedhæRZ vóis æt uuns, dhoo it wæR za kwææR en skwíekín,
W faa'dhæRZ vá'is æt uuns, dhoo t)wæR zæ küææR en sküüiki,
C en æ'í)d træst)'n tæ spíek dhæ trauuth eni dáí. áai,
W en æ'í)d tíek híz wæRD eni dæi. dha't
C æ'í ud!
W æ'í ud!
6. C en dhæ woold æmæn hæRZÆ'lf il tel eni)ævi dhæt dæ laa'f
W en dhæ űoold æmæn hæRZÆ'lf ul tel ini)ævi dhæ síem, dhoo
C næ'u, en tel)i stræ'it æf, tuu, wí)æ'u't
W juu dæ laa'f næ'u, en tel)i æ'utræ'í't, tuu, va'st
C mæ'tj bodhæR íf juu)l ooni a'ks hæR, oo wo)'nt æR?
W ænæ'f. íf juu)l oonli a'ks æR, aa', æ'í bliiv shi ul?

7. C li'stwEE'iz shi túeld it mii, wEN a'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii
 W et líest shi túeld 'mii, wHEN a'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii
 C ta'imz oovER, shi díd, en 'shii díd)'n AA'et tē bi raq on
 W tō'imz AAVER, shi díd, en 'shii AAt)n tē bi mātq' o'ut
 C sítq e pūóint ez dhís, wot)ez 'dhii dhíqk?
 W epen sítq e pūó'int ez 'dha't, wot) dē 'juu dhíqk?
8. C wEL ez a'i wEZ e)zá'i'in shii)d tel)i, a'u wER en
 W wEL ez a'i wER e)zú'en, shii)d tel)i hā'u en whEEER, en
 C wEN shi vā'und dhE DRĀqk'n bíes shi dē kaal hER
 W whĒn shi vā'un dhE DRĀqk'q bíest ez shi dē kaa'l hER
 C azben.
 W hāzben.
9. C shi zOO'r shi zid)'n wĒ ER oon a'iz e)lEE'in STREtjt
 W shi zúER dhēt shi zid)'n wĒ ER oon a'iz e)lā'i'en e)STRA'tjt
 C et vul lEQkth en dhE GRĀ'un, in hĒz bíes zANDi
 W a'ut et vul lā'qth epĒn dhE GRĀ'un, in hĒz bĒst zANDi
 C kúuēt, klúes, bii dhE dÚER e)dhE a'us, da'un et dhE kARNĒR
 W kúēt, klúes bii dhE dÚER e)dhE hā'us, dā'un et dhE kARNĒR
 C e)dhE líen JĀNDER.
 W e)JĀNDER líen.
10. C hii wER wā'inĒn eWEE'i, zES shii, vER AAL dhE wĀRL
 W dhĒR hi wER, shi zED, e whĒmpĒREN, vER AAL dhE wĀRL
 C lā'ik e zĒk tja'ild ER)e, lit'l mEE'id e)VRĒt'n.
 W lā'ik en ā'ilĒn tja'íl, ER)e frĒtvul lit'l máid.
11. C aal 'dha't wER wHEN shii en hĒR daatĒR-in-laa
 W en dha't hā'p'md ez shii en hĒR daatĒR-in-laa wER
 C kĀm DRUU dhE ba'k JĀERD VRĒM aqĒn a'ut dhE wĒT
 W e)kĀMEN DRUU dhE ba'k iā'RD VRĒM hā'qĒn a'ut e dhE wĒT
 C klóoz tē DRĀ'i. en e WEESHĒN DEĒf.
 W klooz tē DRĀ'i epĒn dhĒR woshĒn dĒi.
12. C wā'il dhE kĒd'l wER bā'ilĒn fĒR tĒi uun BRĀ'it
 W whā'íl dhE kĒt'l wER e)būā'ilĒn vĒR tĒi uun fā'in BRĀ'it
 C zĀMĒR aatĒRnuun, ooni e wĒik eGUU kĀM NEKS dhĀRZdi.
 W zĀMĒR a'ftĒRnuun, oonli e wĒik eGUU kĀM NEKS dhĀRZdi.
13. C en dĀst dhi nOO? a'i NEVER lā'RNT eni moo'r dhĒn dhĒs e
 W en dji nOO? dha't)s aā'l)z i'vĒR a'i hĒRD e

now, (ə'i doo)nt wɔnt tɜ hɪər ɪni mʊər nɑdɦər, zuu dhɪər nɔ'u) I don't want to hear any more neither, so there now.

14. *if he do speak*, (whɪn hi dɜ taa'k) when he do talk, LLB.

15. *ninny*, soft poll, LLB. *that do talk without any grounds for it*, or (dɜ lɛt hɪz tɔq rɦan ɛvoo'r hɪz ʊit) do let his tongue run afore his wit.

EAST DORSET cwl. combined from several sources.

C Mr. Clarke's Cranbourne (12 ene.Blandford), pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Major-Gen. Michel.

H Hanford, from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, from dict., rather refined.

L East Lulworth, (12 se.Dorchester) from Rev. Walter Kendall.

W Winterborne Came (2 sse.Dorchester) from Rev. W. Barnes, his wl., cs. and phonetic part of his Grammar, translating his systematic orthography of figures thus :

long short

1. *sheep* pity (ii i).

2. Dorset *e ship* (ii i), this (ii) has hardly been given me by any others.

3. *mate* bet (ee e).

4. Fr. *le long* Fr. *le short* (ə ɛ).

5. It. *a long* It. *a short* (aa' a').

6. *awe* dot (AA, ə).

7. *rope* lull (oo, ə).

8. *rood* It. *u short* (uu u).

Diphthongs 4. 1. (ə'i), 5. 1. (âi), 6. 1. (o'i), 4. 8. (ɜ'u), 1. 4. (iɛ, iɛ). I never had the advantage of hearing Mr. Barnes read.

Note.—The pron. is said to be smooth, clear, and up and down in pitch.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

When C is placed only after sounds, Mr. Barnes agrees with Mr. Clarke. When C is placed before sounds, it gives Mr. Clarke's pr. only.

A- 3 WL biək, H béevk. 4 L tiək, H téevk. 5 W miək, C miək, H méevk. 6 W miəd, H méevd. 7 H séevk. 10 L aa. 16 H daa'n. 17 W laa, CL laa. 18 W kiək. 19 WL tiəl, H táil. 20 L hiem, H lee'm. 21 niem, C niem, H néevm. 22 H téevm. 23 H séevm. 24 H shéevm. 25 W máin. 34 W lest, la'st, laa'st, C læast, H læ'est. 36 H thoo. 37 L 'klaa, H tlaa.

A: — W ka'g [keg]. — W rɦa'm [a ram]. 39 C kəm. 41 W tha'qk. 43 H hænd. 45 L wa'nt. 48 W za'q. 50 W tɔqz. 52 W wɔn. 54 W wɔnt, C want. 55 H ɛes. 56 W wɔsh, C wɛɛsh, H wooshi. 57 W a's, H ɛæs.

A: or O: 58 W vrɛm, C vrɛm, H frɛm. 64 C raq, H rɦaq, rɦoq.

A'- 67 W ɛ)guu'ɛn, C ɛ)gwa'ɛn [going]. 69 L nuu. 70 L tuu. 72 LC uu. 73 zuu H and C, H zoo. 74 tuu. 76 W túed, H tóed. 77 HL lard. 79 oon C. 81 W liən, C li'n, H láin. 82 uuns. 84 W múər, C móvər, H móvər. 85 W zúər. 86 W úrts, L woots, H wots, wúrts, wets [different appreciations]. 87 W klooz, C klóovz. 89 W búəth, C búuəth. 92 W noo and C, H nóov [with (oo) and (u) distinct, not a vanish]. 94 kroo C. 97 H szóovl [the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is led].

A': 101 W ũok, úek, L wook, H óv̄k. 102 W a'ks, H aa'sk. 104 W rood, H rhoo [(rh) was recognised as wrong]. 106 brood. 108 W doo. 109 W loo. 110 H not. 111 W AA't, C AA't, H aat. 113 W húel, C wul. 115 W húem, C wu'm, hu'm. 117 WC uun [Mr. B. also writes *woone*]. 118 W búan and L, H bó'n. 119 H go'n, ga'n. 120 W ɛguu, C ɛguu. 122 nuu, C noo [no], núen [none]. 124 L stúen, H stó'n. 125 W oonli, C ooni. 126 W oor. 127 W hóovs. 128 H [(dhik, dhe) used]. 129 H gòst. — W lúəth [loth]. — W rɦoo [a row or rank]. 137 WC nɑdɦər.

Æ- 138 W faa'dɦər, fɛədɦər, LC fɛədɦər. 139 W drá'i, H drɛɛ'i. 140 WL há'v̄l, H háil. 141 W ná'i'v̄l, H náil. 142 W sná'i'v̄l. 143 W tá'i'v̄l, H táil. 144 WH ɛgi'en, C ɛgi'n. 145 slá'in and H. 146 má'in and H. 147 brá'in and H. 148 fɛər. 149 H bláiz. 150 W líest, L and C líest. — W sít [a seat].

Æ: 154 WC ba'k. 158 W eefrær. 160 W a'g, H æg. 161 W dii, C dái, CH dæi'i, L dái, dee. 163 W líi, H lái. 164 HC [(mid) more used], H mái. 165 WH zed. 166 WL má'id, C mæf'id, H máid. 169 W whán when, HC wén, H whán. — W whiq [a wing]. — ha'ps [hasp]. — wa'ps [wasp]. 171 W beerlao'i. 175 W va'st. — W list [late]. 177 H dhæt ((dhik) also used, Mr. Barnes says, for shaped objects). 179 W whot, C wot. 180 H béeth.

Æ'- 182 W síi, L see. 183 L teetj. 185 W riid, H rhiid. 191 W hiil, H hiil. 192 L meen, H miæn. 193 W klæn, L kleen. — læn. 194 W ïni, C ñni. 195 W ñni. 199 W bliit. 200 W whiit, L weet. 201 W hiidh'n, L eedh'n. 202 L het, H het.

Æ': 203 L speetj, H spiietj. — W mæd [mead]. 205 W driid. 206 H rhed. 208 W ivær. 209 C never. 210 W klíi, H klái. 211 W grii. 212 W whii. 213 WH á'idhær. 214 W næ'idhær, C náidhær. 215 H taat. 216 H diil. 217 W iitj, L eetj. — W glám [gleam]. 220 W shepærð, C shipærð. 221 H fee'r. 223 W dhívar, C dher, H dhee'r. 224 W wheeær, C war, H wee'r. 225 L vlesh. — W striit [street]. 227 WC wæt.

E- 232 H bræk. — W bræitj [breach]. 233 spíik, C spíek, H spék. 236 H fiivær. 237 W blá'in. 239 W sá'íel, H sái. 240 W lá'in. 241 W rhá'in, L ráin, H rhéin. 243 WL plá'i, H plái. — W stáil [to steal]. 245 W miil. 247 W wiin. 248 W miær, H mee'r. 249 H wee'r. 250 H swéær. 251 W miit, H miit. — W iit [to eat]. 252 W kit'l kit'l, C kid'l, H kit'l.

E: — W hiiv [heave]. 256 W strá'it, C stræit [stretched]. 260 H lái. 261 W zii, C zái zee'i. — W trái [a tray]. — W la'g [leg]. 262 W wá'i, C weei, H wái wee'i. 263 CW øweei. 264 W á'il. 265 W strá'it, C stræ'it, H stráit [(rh) after (sr) replacing (rh)]. 266 H wæl. 269 W dhurze'lvz [dhemself]. 270 H i. bælos, ii. bæli. 271 W tæl. 272 W elæm. — W helum [the helm]. 273 W min. 275 H stinsh. 276 W dhiqk. 277 H drinsh. 281 W la'qth, C læqth, H læqth. 282 H stræqth. 284 LH drash. — W bast [to burst]. — W zæt [to set], W sæt [a set]. — W best, bæs [best].

E'- 293 W wiil. 294 H spiid. 296 W bliiv, H biliiv. 298 W fi'l. 300 HL kip. 302 H miit. 303 H swiit. E': — bræitj [breach]. 305 H næ'i. 307 H næ'i. 308 H niit. 309 HW spiid. 310 H hiil. 311 W tæ. 312 W hiær, C iær, H hiær. 314 W hiærð, C jærð, H hærd. 315 H fiit. 316 W næks.

EA- 317 W flá'i, H flái. — íel [ale]. 320 C kíær.

EA: 322 W leef, la'f, C laaf. 324 W á'it, H áit. 325 H waak. 326 vóold, LC woold, H wald. 327 W búold. 328 W kúold, H koold. 329 W vúold, vúeld. 330 W hoold, C whoold. 332 CW túeld. 333 L keef, H kaaf. 334 W heef, L heef, H haaf. 335 WC aal, H aal. 336 W vaal [the fall of the year is (faal)], H faal. 337 H waal. 338 W kaa'l, C kaal. 340 W ja'rd, C ja'rd. 342 W iær, H jær. 343 LH waarm. — viær [fern]. — iær [earn]. 346 W giit, LH giit gee't.

EA'- 347 W hid hed. 348 W æ'iz, C æ'iz. — W biit [to beat]. 349 WC viuu. EA': 351 W léd. 352 W riid, H rhed. 353 W bræd. 355 W diif, L diif, H de'f. 357 W dhoo. 359 W náibær, LC neeber. — W siim [a seam]. — W stræim [stream]. 361 WL biæn. 364 H tæp. 365 W niær. — W niit [neat, cattle]. 366 W gært, HC gært. 370 H raa'. 371 W stræe, H straa'.

EI- 372 W á'i, C áai, H æ'i. 373 L dhái, H dhe'e'i. 374 ná'i, H nee'i. 375 rheez. 376 bá'it, H báit. EI: 377 H stee'k. 378 W wiik, C week, H wheek. 379 W há'il. 381 W swá'in, H sween.

EO- 383 W zev'n zeb'n. EO: 388 H m'lk [as nearly as I could appreciate, same as D 10]. 390 C shiúeld. 394 WCH jondær. 402 W liær, C la'ær, H lærn. 405 W haarth.

EO'- 409 H biil. 411 WH drii. 412 WH shii [emphatic]. 413 W dæv'l. 416 H diær. 420 W vø'uær, H foo'r. 421 H fanti. EO': 424 H rhaf. — W wiil [a wheel]. 427 H bi. 428 WH zii. 430 W frind, H frind. 431 H biær. 433 W brist. 436 W truu, H truu.

EY- 438 W dæ'i, C dæ'i, H dái. EY: 439 træst.

I- 440 W wik, C wiik. 444 W stæ'æl, H stæ'íl. 446 W næ'in and H, C næ'in. — W æn [him, acc.]. 448 H [(dhiez'ær, dhiiz'm) used].

I: 452 W and H ə'i, C ə'i. 455 H lə'o'i. 458 W nə'it, C nə'it. 459 H rho'it. 460 wá'it, H wə'it. 465 L sítj. 466 tʃə'íl, C tʃə'íld, H tʃə'íld. 467 H wə'íld. 468 H tʃíldərn. 469 ul [in the Vale of Blackmore (wul wai, wyl)]. — WL rhím [a rim]. 471 H tímber. 474 H rhə'índ. 475 H whénd. 477 H və'índ, H və'índ. 480 C dhíq. — W rhiq [a ring]. 481 H víggr. 484 C dhíez, H [(dhis-ir) used]. — W kríps [crisp]. — W zíks [six].

I'- 490 H bæ'o'i. 491 H sə'o'i. 492 H zə'íd. 493 L dræv, H drhə'ív. 494 WH tə'ím, C tə'ím. 496 H ə'íərn. 497 W ər'hə'íz. 499 L bit'l.

I: 500 W lə'íkl, C lə'íkl. 501 H wə'íd. 502 WL və'ív, H fə'ív. 503 H lə'íf. 504 H nə'íf. 505 H wə'íf. 506 WL umən, H ímən. 507 H wímín-vok. — W hái. 508 H mə'íl. 509 WH whə'íl, C wə'íl. 510 C mə'ín. 511 H wə'ín. 512 H spə'íə. 513 H wə'íə. 515 H wə'íz.

O- 519 W ʌʌvər, C oovər. 520 H bə'ou [see 643]. — W boərd [bored]. 524 W wərl, C wərl, H wərl, [(wərd'l) not known]. — W droot [throat].

O: — W gəspəl [gospel]. 525 C ɔf. 526 H kaaf. 531 W ɔʌtər, HC ɔʌtər. 534 W hoəl. 535 W vook. 536 WH guld. 537 W mūold. — W hoəm [a holm island]. — W hɔlə [hollow]. 541 C wə'nt, H ɔnt. 546 WC vər. — ɔrtjəd [orchard]. 547 būərd, H bərd. 548 H fərd. 550 CH wərd. 551 WH staarm. 552 WH kaarn. 553 WH haarn. 554 H kra's.

O'- 558 H luk, lú,ək. 559 WH mə'ədħər. 560 W skun'l. 561 [L (bluuth) used], H blú,əm. 562 H mə,ən. 564 H suun. 567 W t)ədħər C.

O': 569 W bək, H bú,ək. 570 W tuk, H tú,ək. 571 W gud. 572 W bləd. 575 H stú,əd. 576 W whenzdi. 579 WH ɔnəf. 586 WH duu [(doə)'nt, C do'nt] don't]. 587 W ɔ)dan. 588 WC nuun, H nə,ən. 589 H spú,ən. 590 H flú,ər. 591 H mə,ər. 592 W zúvər, C zov'r. 594 H bú,ət. 595 H fú,ət. 596 W rhuut.

U- 601 W və'ul. 603 W ɔ)kəmən [a-coming], H komən. 604 W zəmər. 605 W zən. 606 CW dúvər, H dɔvər. U: 609 C vəl, fuul. 610 H uul. 612 W zəm. 614 H hɔwə'nd. 616 W grə'un, C grə'un. 619 W və'un, C və'und. — W rhəq [rung of a ladder]. 625 C təq. 627 WC zəndi. 629 W sən, H zən. 630 W wən, H whən. — W həntsmen. 631 WC dhəzdi. 632 H ɔp. 633 H kəp. — W vəɔz [firs]. 634 WHC druu. 639 WL də'ust.

U'- 641 hə'u, C ə'u, [and] ə'usəm vər, C uuz)ı: vər [howsoever]. 642 [not used generally, except to children or when wrangling]. 643 nə'u, C nə'u, H nə'ou [the diphthong seemed to be made into a triphthong by beginning with the mouth open and the tongue in the position for (ə) and closing up to (u), this is what (ə'ou) implies; and so in all other cases; this triphthong was heard only from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour]. 646 H bə'ou. 647 H ə'ɔd. 648 H [(ə'ouərn) used]. 650 H bə'out. U': 655 W fə'ul, H fə'oul [see 643]. 656 rhuum and H. 658 W də'un, C də'un, H də'oun [see 643]. 663 W hə'us, C ə'us, H hə'ous [see 643]. 665 H mə'ous. 666 W həzben, C əzben. 667 W ə'ut. 671 H mə'outh. 672 H sə'outh.

Y- 673 W mətj. 674 W díd. 675 W drə'í, H drhə'í, C drə'í. 676 H lə'í. 679 W tʃətj, H tʃətj. 680 H bəzi. 682 WH lit'l, C lit'l. Y: 684 H brhí,dj. 685 W rədj, H rhi,dj. 686 H bæ'í. 687 H flə'ít. 688 W sítj. 693 H sən. 696 WH bərtħ. 698 WH mərtħ. 699 W rhə'ít. 700 uus, H wəs. — vəz vəz'n [furze]. 701 WL vəst. 704 W vıks'n [female fox]. Y- 705 WH skə'í. 706 WH whə'í, C wə'í. 707 W thərti:n. 708 H hə'í'r. Y': 709 H fə'í'r. 711 WH lə'ıs. 712 H mə'ıs.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 H læd. 718 W tríd. — W bə'ıəl [bail or bucket]. — rá'ıl [a rail]. — drá'ıl [the drail or iron for hitching on the horses to a plough]. — :ká'ın [Cain]. 725 zıəl. 726 tək, C taak. — H shəhəm. 732 W ha'p'md. — W haər, haərd'l, ha'xəl [to hurl, entangle]. — W klə'ps [clast]. 737 C mıt, H [not used, replaced by (mı zən) even when addressing an old man]. — W djee [jaw].

E. — W krıək [to creak]. — W tıəl [a teal]. 744 H məz'lız. 745 W tjeet. — W pıit [peat]. 746 W brıidħ. 747 H ındee vər. 748 flıdj.

— W *AAVBER* whelem [overwhelm]. 749 H *lhift*. 750 WL *ba'g*, H *bæg*.
 — WL *pa'g* [peg]. 752 *fretvul* [fretful], C *øvret'n* [a fretting].
 I. and Y. — W *:rhítjød* [Richard]. — W *smæ'íel* [a smile]. 758 H
gærl. — W *tüærd'l*, *tüærl* [twirl].
 O. 761 L *lúed*, H *lúed*. 765 W *:djon*, C *:djon*. 767 WL *ná'is*, H *næ'iz*.
 776 W *gud búæ'í*, C *gud búæ'í*. 778 W *aværd*. 781 C *bodhæ*. 791 W
búæ'í, C *búói*, H *bói*.
 U. 797 W *sküüki*, C *skæ'í'kin*. 798 W *küææ*, C *kwæ'r*. 799 L [(pool
 used)]. 801 and 802 *rhæm*. 804 *dræqk'q*, C *dræqk'n*, H *dræqkæn*. — W
kærl, *kærd'l*, *kærl* [curl]. — W *pærl*, *pærd'l*, *pærl* [purl]. 808 H *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W *fies*, H *faa's*. 811 W *plies*, H *plaa's* [pl. (plaa's'n) not heard].
 814 W *mies'n*. — W *bá'íel* [bail in law]. — W *má'íel*, [a mail or bag].
 — W *pá'íl* [pail]. — W *vlá'íl* [flail]. 819 H *rhæa'dj*. 820 W *gá'í*. 821
 W *dí'í*. 822 W *mái*. 823 W *bái*. — W *pá'í* [pay]. 824 W *tjæ'r*. 826
 W *iig'l*. 827 W *iigæ*. — W *trá'íl* [to trail]. — W *rhím*. 829 *gá'in*.
 830 H *tráin*. — W *á'íæ* [air]. 832 W *máiæ*. 833 H *pææ*. 835
 W *riiz'n*, H *rhæz'n*. 836 W *siiz'n*, H *siiz'n*. 837 W *liish*. 838 W
tríit. — W *píel* [pale]. 841 H *tjaas*. 847 H *deendjæ*. 849 H *sræendjæ*.
 — W *kíen* [cane]. 850 L *deens*, H *daans*. 851 H *aant*. — *píææ* [paper].
 — W *djá'íel* [gaol]. 852 H *eepæ*. — W *giærd'n* [garden]. — W
tjærm [charm]. — W *kíærd* [card]. 857 L *kíes*, H *kaa's*. 858 H *bræa's*.
 859 H *tjæa's*. 862 W *síef*, C *si'f*. 864 C *bikos*. 865 H *faa'lt*. 866 H *púæ*.
 — W *stá'í* [stay].
 E.. 867 WC *tii*. 868 WH *djá'í*. 869 W *viil*, H *viíel*. — W *siil*
 [to seal]. 874 W *rhá'in*, H *rhæen*. — W *pá'ínt* [paint]. 875 H *fáint*.
 — W *píil* [peal of bells]. 881 *sans*. 885 W *væri*. 886 H *fræ'í'r*. 887
 H *klærdj*. — H *tærb'l* [terrible, extremely]. — *væ* [verse]. 888 W *sa'ræn*,
 C *sært'n*. 889 *siis*. 890 W *bíæst*, C *bi's* [H pl. *bíæstæsis*]. 891 H *fi'st*.
 894 WH *disiiv*. 895 WH *risiiv*. 896 *biivæ*.
 I. and Y.. 899 W *níis*. 900 H *prái*. — W *níni* [nanny]. 904 HW
væ'ílet. 905 *rhæ'í'et*. — W *æ'íl* [isle]. 909 W *bræiz*. 910 H *djæ'íst*.
 912 H *rhæ'ís*.
 O.. 917 H *rhoog*. 920 W *püæ'ínt*, C *püóínt*. 922 H *bæshel*. 924 W
tjá'ís, H *tjæ'ís*. 925 W *vá'ís*, H *væ'ís*. 926 W *spüæ'íl*, H *spáil*. 929 W
kæukææ. 930 H *læ'in*. — W *fúoos* [force]. 938 WCH *kæææ*. 939
 W *klúes*, C *klú's*. 940 W *kútet*, *wæstket* [waistcoat], C *kuu't*, H *kí'et*. 941
 C *fuu'l*. 942 W *batjæ*. 947 *búæ'íl*, C *bó'íl*, H *báil*. — W *tüæ'íl* [to toil].
 950 W *zææ* C. 955 W *dæ'uts* C. — W *kææst* [crust]. — W *ræ'ut*
 [rut, route]. 957 H *emplái*. 959 W *kævá'í*.
 U.. 961 H *græul*. — W *wá'ít* [wait]. 963 H *kwæ'í'et*. 965 H *áil*.
 968 W *æ'ístæ*. 969 HC *shuu'r*. 970 *djæst*.

WESTERN DO.

A few words from *Whitchurch Canonicorum*, noted by N. W. Wyer, Esq.,
 originally written in *Glossic*. With the exception of (*kuut*) *cut*, the words
 are unimportant, but they serve to continue the Dorset dialect up to the
Axe-Yarty form, p. 87.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 *makín* [making]. 14 *draad* [drawed = drew]. 17 *láu*. A'- 67
góou. A': 110 *nat*. 122 *noon*. 124 *stóou*.
 Æ- 142 *snáil*, *sneel*, *sneel*. — *præti* [pretty]. Æ: 166 *máaid*.
 — *hæpsiz* [hasps]. 173 *wææz*. Æ': 209 *nææwan* [never a one].
 214 *nedhæ*.
 E- 243 *plái*. 251 *meæt*. E: 269 *mize-l*. EA: 324 *æ'ít*. 326 *wóold*,
wol, *wool*. 338 *kaal*. 346 *gjet*, *gjeet*, *gjeet*. EA'- 347 *hid*. EA':
 359 *næææ*, *næææ*. 363 *shiip* [cheap]. 371 *stræa*. EO: — *shært* [short].
 EO'- 411 *dræi*.

I- — in [hine, him acc. also for hit (*ái kán put in iin*) I can put it in].
 — bíet [bit]. I: 467 wíld. — iin [in]. — viniid [mouldy]. I-
 490 báimbái [by and bye]. 494 táimz. — shiin [shine]. — sá'ivz
 [scythes]. I: 502 vā'iv. — haa, hái, hee, haagh, háai [hay].
 O- — smóok [smoke]. 519 ovēr, avēr. O: tēp [top]. 551 staarm.
 — marnin [morning].
 U- 606 dor'. U: — wunēfēd [wonderful]. 631 vārzdēe. 632 æp æp.
 634 druu.
 Y: — hiil [hill]. — thiin [thin].

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gērl.
 O. — stakiq [stocking]. — kark [cork].
 U. — kuut [cut].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — æktā'iv. — fláil [flail]. — plaag [plague]. 820 gee [bright].
 822 máiv. — páai [pay]. 845 anshint.
 E.. 885 vāri. — tērb'l [terrible]. — saarvín [serving].
 I.. and Y.. 900 tū práiji.
 O.. — moov [move].

VAR. v. THE LAND OF UTCH FOR I, SM.

The Elizabethan English writers, when they want to indicate a S. peasant, continually use *ich*, *cham* = ich am, *chill* = ich will, *chud* = ich would (see *suprà*, Part I. p. 293 *b, c*). It is also found in D 1, p. 30*d*. For the existence of this form of the personal pronoun I, search was made in Sm., and at last it was found as (*atj etjii*) in a very small district, which I have therefore called 'the Land of Utch.' Through Prince L.-L. Bonaparte and the late Mr. Pulman, I found that *utch* was certainly used in Montacute (:mā'nkiú), (4 w-by-n. Yeovil, Sm.), and I was fortunate enough to be directed to Mr. George Mitchell, then a vestryman of Kensington, marble and stone mason, of 166, Brompton Road, S.W., with "manufactories in Belgium, France, Italy, and Walton Street, Brompton, estab. 1851," but a native of Montacute, and unable to read or write till he was 23 years old, together with Mr. Stephen Price, son of a dissenting minister and schoolmaster at Yeovil, Sm., where he was born, but who had lived at Montacute from 10 years old, and had acted formerly as Mr. Mitchell's secretary. On 17 Aug. 1880, both of them came to my house and gave me the following information. The Land of Utch occupied the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the b. of Do. The following villages were named as using *utch*, proceeding from Yeovil to the w., all distances measured from Yeovil Station. East Coker 2 ssw., East Chinnock 3 sw., Mid and West Chinnock 5 wsw., Merriott 7 wsw., Chisselborough 5 w-by-s., Montacute 4 w-by-n., Martock 6 nw., Norton 5 w., South Petherton 7 w-by-n., and possibly Kingsbury 8 nw. In the same region (*as*) is also employed, which Mr. Price thought to be a corruption of (*atj*); (*iis*) was not known except as meaning *yes*.

There was no knowledge of *ice* (æ'is?) mentioned by Jennings in his Glossary as "common." The *ice* in Shakspeare's King Lear 4, 6, 240 *ice try*, one of Edgar's Kentish speeches, is probably *I shall*, for which it is not an uncommon abbreviation.

Mr. Price gave me the following joke on (ætʃ) which passes current in the district. In the Montacute dt. however neither he nor Mr. Mitchell used (ætʃ) at all. Another version of this joke was given by Miss Ham, a native of Sm., in a letter (dated Clifton, 30 Jan. 1825) addressed to Jennings, who prints it in his glossary; this I interline in her orthography.

bred)n tʃiiz, ætʃ(əv)ə)ad
bread and cheese, 'c' have a had

'n)wət ætʃ)ad, ætʃ(əv)ə)eeet
that 'c' had, 'c' have a eat

'n muur ætʃ)u'd, if ætʃ)əd)ə)ə)əd
more 'ch wou'd, 'c' had it

Mr. Price's version seems more trustworthy and is certainly more intelligible. Observe the S. past part. (v)ad, v)eeet)=a-had, a-eaten. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard (ætʃi) from a man of 94 at Cannington (3 nw.Bridgewater, Sm.).

MONTACUTE, SM., dt.

Pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Messrs. Mitchell and Price.

1. zuu æ'i dɛ)zee, mæn, dhii də)zii nɛ'u dhət æ'i bi ræ'it ɛbæ'ut
dhik lɛd'l mɛɛ'id ɛkɔ'mɪn vrəm dhɪk)dhɛɛr skuul.

2. ær)z v)gweɛ'in dæ'ʌn dhɛ rhood dhɛɛr druu dhɛ rɛhəd grɛt
ɔn dhɛ lɛf an zæ'id v) dhɛ wái.

3. shuu'r ɛnɛ'f dhɛ tʃiil hav ɛgɔ'n stree'it ɛp tɛ dhɛ dooɛr v)
dhɛ rɔq hɛ'us,

4. wɛɛr ær)l mæ)bi vɛ'ind dhɪk dræqkɪn def skramd tuu'd bɛ)dhɛ
nɛɛm v) :tɔmɔs.

5. ɛs dɛ aal noo)n veri wɛl.

6. uu)nt dhɛ woold tʃap zuun tɛɛtʃ shii nɔt tɛ duu it ɛgii'n,
puu'r dhɪq!

7. lɔk)i! id)n it truu?

Notes.

1. *I* (æ'i) analysis adopted with hesitation. I seemed often to hear (æ'i) and it may have been (æ'i).—*say* (zái) also used.—*mates* (mɛɛ'its) according to Price, scarcely used, (*sooz*) hardly known, (tʃaps) common.—*now*, Price said (nɛ'u, dɪ'ʌn), but Mitchell would not hear of it; the diphthong was often (æ'u) to my hearing, and may have been (æ'u).—*right*, a strong tendency to

(rɪ) initial in all cases of *r*.—*that*, Barnes's distinctions of (dhɪz, dhɪk). =*received* this, that, "personal," that is, for things having a definite shape, and (dhɪs, dhæt) "impersonal," for other things (Dorset Grammar, p.21), was recognised, although never thought of before.—*maid*, (mɛɛ'id, mææ'id) both said at times, but (má'id) was not admitted; no distinction in meaning

recognised between *maid* and *girl* (gærl), which was (wæntj), not an insulting term.—*come* ultimately sounded (kóm), but I thought (kám) was meant.—*thick there*, (jænd'r, jænd'r) also used, but more Do.

2. *her's*, always (æ) before (z), but (shii bi) used.—*road*, the (rh) distinct, but a difference of opinion about (oo, óov, úov), (rhúvud) seems to me most correct, and Price said it would be used by the old people.—*there*, to say (dhæ) would be "bad."—*red*, (hærd) not admitted.—*gate*, (gæt) distinct, (gúet, gíet) not admitted.—*left*, (lif) also used.—*left hand* (left hand) also said, the vowel (a) throughout varied as (ah, a), but did not reach (æ); it was generally my (a).

3. *child*, (tjil) always used by old people, (tjæ'ild) "not so natural."—*gone*, (egwón) also used.—*straight*, (strææ'it stráit) also used.—*door*, (dúvør) not used in Montacute.—*wrong* (ræq) has been used.

4. *maybe*, *chance* is not used.—

drunken, there was a difference of opinion, as to ('n, in, 'q) in the last syllable.—*deaf*, (dáf) not used, M. preferred (v ærd v fúvæin túvud) a hard of hearing toad, but P. said (v fælør v z ærd v fúvæin) a fellow as is hard of hearing, would be more regular.—*name*, (næem) for (neem) was emphatic, (niem) was not admitted.—*Thomas* = (:tóməs) at Montacute, but (:táməs) at Bradford (3 wsw.Taunton, Sm.) in D 10.

6. *won't*, (wánt) also used.—*old chap* (woold vælør) also used, with (v) after (d) but (fælør) with (f) is the common form.—*teach*, this word is used, and not (lærn) as I expected; in Sunday schools (tættjær) is always used.

Notes on other words, dictated by the same: (s)noo, s)liar) doest thou know? doest thou hear? Alphabet, (xæ bii sii dii éei æf djii ætj djæa kxæ æl æm æn oo pii kiú aar æs tii jú vii dæb'l-ju eks wæ'i zad æ'mpas-sii). Names of places: Montacute (:mæn'ikiú), Tintin-hull (6 se.Langport, Sm.) (:tæ'qo).

MONTACUTE, SM., cwl.

From dict. of Mr. George Mitchell, native, and Mr. Stephen Price, as above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 hav. 21 næem [not (niem)]. A: 43 an. 51 man. A: or O: 58 vróm. 64 ræq. A'- 73 zuu. 76 túu'd. 84 muur. 94 noo. A': 104 rhood, rhóovd, rhúvud [(rhuu'd) from older people]. 110 not. 119 egwææ'in egwón eg'ón, [a-going, gone].

Æ- 144 egii'n. Æ: 166 mææ'id mææ'id [not (máid)]. 177 dhæt [weak form]. 179 wot. Æ'- 183 tættj. 197 tjiz. Æ': 223 dheer. 224 wær.

E- 231 dhæ [weak form]. — vjeet [have eaten]. E: 261 zee, zái. 262 wái. 265 strææ'it. 266 wæl.

EA: 326 woold. 335 aal. 346 gæt. EA': 352 rhed. 353 bræd. 355 dæf [not (dáf), but (ærd v ii'ræin) hard of hearing is used]. 364 tjap.

EO'- 412 shii. EO': 427 bi. 428 zii. 436 truu.

I- — en'n [him, acc. form]. 447 ær [her, for she]. I: 452 æ'i æ'i, ætj, ætjii. 459 ræ'it rha'it. 467 tjil. 477 væ'ind. 480 dhæq. 482 id'n [is'nt]. 484 (dhíæz) [this, for a shaped object]. I'- 490 bi [weak]. 492 zæ'id.

O: 525 v [weak form]. 538 ud. 541 uu)nt wánt. 543 on. O'- 556 tæ [weak form]. 558 loks)i [lookest thee?]. 560 skuul. 564 zuun. O': 579 v næf. 586 duu.

U- 603 vko'mæn [a-coming]. 606 doovær. U: 632 æp. 634 druu. U'- 642 [(dhii) used]. 643 næ'u næ'u næ'u, niæ'u. 650 vðæ'ut. U': 658 dæ'un, diæ'un [see 643]. 662 æs. 663 hæ'us.

Y- 682 lid'l.

II. ENGLISH.

E. 749 lif læf læft. I. and Y. — dhik (that, for a shaped object). O. 770 tòməs [(:táməs) at Bradford in D 10]. U. 804 dræqkín, —k'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 866 puur. E.. 885 vèri. U.. 969 shuu'r.

VAR. vi. THE SOUTH WESTERN OR SM. FORM.

The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman made a certain small portion of Sm., Dv., and Do., his own dialect ground. He called it the Axe-Yarty district in his "Rustic Sketches" (3rd ed. 1871) and his "Book of the Axe," because it is watered by the rivers Axe and Yarty, the latter flowing from n. to s. and joining the former about Axminster, Dv.

It forms a little subdistrict, which is not very clearly defined, except on the w. Beginning at the mouth of the Axe, it follows the w. b. of D 4 through Dv. to Buckland St. Mary, Sm. (7 sse.Taunton), and then turns e. to the n. of Yeovil, passing which it turns suddenly s. between Yeovil and Sherborne (5 e.Yeovil), in Do. and passes sw. between Mosterton (8 n-by-e.Bridport) and Beaminster (5 n.Bridport) to the sea just s. of Charnmouth (6 w.Bridport). This district was constantly perambulated by Mr. Pulman, who lived at Crewkerne, Sm., for fishing and archaeological purposes, and thus he learned to give great weight to a few peculiarities which do not seem to have the importance he attributed to them. Thus he distinguishes the district from the rest of Do. by its not having (uun, læg leeg, uup) one, leg, up, which he spells *oone*, *lag* or *laig*, and *oop*, of which Barnes gives (la'g, uun), but (uup) has not been found in any part of Do., the nearest approach to it being Mr. Wyer's (kuut) cut (p. 84, l. 13). Mr. P. seems, from his communications to me, to have heard the word specially from an ostler at Henstridge, Sm. (11 ene.Yeovil); and this may have been in saying (kùp) come up to horses, as I heard a farm labourer say in Bu. In going through the list of "chief peculiarities" of the district in *Rustic Sketches*, p. xxxiii, I find they represent general Sm. and have been localised in this district apparently because Mr. P. was familiar with it and wished to confine his information to the places to which he knew it applied. As I give specimens of this general dialect, I omit Mr. P.'s list of peculiarities.

Mr. Pulman was kind enough to give me a cs. and dt. for the Axe-Yarty district and cs. professedly for Merriott in the Land of Utch, Var. v., which was only 3 m. from his residence at Crewkerne (19 sse.Bridgwater). This Merriott cs. was full of *utch*, whereas the dt. given me from Montacute (p. 85) had none. All three were written in the orthography adopted in his *Rustic Sketches*, and unfortunately Mr. Pulman died (3rd Feb. 1880) before I was able to go over these versions with him. In this case I think it better to omit all three than merely to give my own conjectures. But Mr. P. had previously written me a wl. for Merriott which I had the advantage of correcting from his dict. (Nov. 1877), and this follows. Singularly enough it contains no (at̥) at all. Moreover Mr. P. said that in Merriott the final (r) became a mere vowel, while at Crewkerne it was distinct. In dictating, however, he pron. a genuine (r), as I also heard from Montacute. He also said that the intonation at Merriott was almost unintelligible beyond the parish itself. There was nothing of this in his dictation. Hence I attribute his wl. to the whole of his district, and thence practically to the whole of Sm., from which he gave no lines of demarcation.

AXE-YARTY cwl.

Representing e.Sm. generally, pal. by AJE. from dict. of G. P. R. Pulman, author of *Rustic Sketches*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tæk. 5 mæk. 6 meed. 8 hev. 12 zaa'. 13 naa'. 14 draa'. 17 laa'. 18 kek. 20 li'em. 21 ni'em. 22 ti'em. 23 si'em. 24 shem. 33 [(zundør) sooner, used]. 34 las. 37 klaa'. A: 39 [(kæm) bsd]. 40 kwæm. 41 (tha'qk). 43 an. 46 ka'n'l. 48 [(ziqd) used]. 54 wont. 55 eeshez [Crewkerne (ashez)]. 56 weesh. 57 a's. A: or O: 63 draq. 65 zoq. 66 dhaq.

A'- 67 guu. 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 zoo. 74 tuu. 75 streek. 76 too'd. 77 lard. 80 o'lædee. 81 li'en. 84 muur. 86 wats. 87 tlooz. 89 buu'th. 91 moo. 95 droo. 96 zoo. A': 101 wak. 102 aks. 107 loov. 111 laaf. 113 wul. 115 wam. 118 bóoen. 122 nóoen. 123 daart. 124 stóoen. 125 oni. 126 wær. 127 húuers. 130 bóost. 134 wath. 135 klaa'th.

Æ- 138 và'dhuu [sometimes with f]. 140 há'il. 141 ná'il. 142 sná il. 143 tá'il. 144 egen. 146 máa'ind. 148 fa'er. 150 leest. 152 waadør. 153 za'terdi. — partí [pretty]. Æ: 155 dha'tj. — stá'di [steady]. 158 a'l-dør. 160 ig. 161 dee. 163 lái. 164 [(mid) used]. 165 zed. 166 máa'id. 168 tá'lan. 169 wen. 170 harvis. 172 gra's. 173 wíz, woz [strong]. 181 pa'th. Æ'- 182 see. 183 teety. 185 reed. 187 læf. 189 wái. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 mi'ni. 196 weer. 199 bleek. 200 weet. 202 yet. Æ': — míad [mead, meadow]. 205 dræd. 207 niild. 213 edhør. 215 [(teety) used]. — jæl [eel]. 217 eety. 218 ship. 219 sleep. 221 fiær. 223 dheer. 224 weer. 226 maast. 228 zwet. 230 fa't.

E- 233 speek. 239 sá'il. 241 rá'in. 243 plói. 250 zweer. 252 kid'l. 253 nit'l. E: 260 zá'i [rhymes 262]. 262 wá'i. 265 stræw'it. 270 blá'is [bellows]. 273 meen. 280 læb'n. 281 liqkth. 282 striqkth. — gærn [grin]. 283 mæri. 284 dra'sh. 285 kriis. E'- 296 bliiv. 300 kíp. 301 hær. 303 swit [not (i)]. E': 306 hæ'ith. 311 teen. 312 hær. 314 jærd. 315 vit [not (i)]. 316 neks.

EA- 319 gææp. EA: 321 [(zid) used]. 322 laf. 324 eet. 325 wææk. 326 wál. 328 kúueld. 300 hool. 331 zwoold. 332 twæld. 333 kææv. 335 ææl [sometimes]. 336 vol. 337 wól. 343 wæærm. 346 gæt.

EA'- 347 heed. 349 viú. EA': 351 lid. 352 ærd. 355 dif. 358 næ'ist. 361 been. 366 gært. 367 dret. 370 raa'. 371 straa'.

EI- 372 eh'i. 373 ee. 375 ráiz. 376 bóit. EI: 377 steek. 378 week. EO- 383 zeb'n. EO: 388 m'l'k. 390 shuud. 393 biw'nd. 402 larn. 403 vær. 406 e'th [rhymes 696 and 698]. 407 vard'n. 498 [(nood) used].

EO'- 411 drii. 413 dèv'l. 414 vla'i. 417 tjaa. 420 væ'ur. 421 varti. EO': 425 láit [instead of (la'it) this exceptional pronunciation prevails for 3 or 4 miles from Crewkerne (19 sse. Bridgewater). It is properly Do.] 428 zei. 430 færnd. 433 bríst. 434 bi't.

EY- 438 da'i. EY: 439 tærst.

I- 440 wík. 441 zii'v. 442 ii'vi. 443 vræ'idi. 449 git. 451 zoo. I: 452 a'i. 460 wáit. 465 zítj. 466 tji'ld. 467 wi'ld. 474 ræ'in. 477 va'in. 478 gæ'in. 481 viqgør. — hærn [run]. 484 dhi'z. — hærs [a rush]. 485 dhis'l. 487 yesdee. 488 it.

I'- [is generally (a'i)]. 496 æ'ir. 499 bir'l. I': is generally (a'i). 502 væ'iv. 504 næ'iv. 505 wæ'iv. 506 amæn. 507 wimín. — lán [line, Crewkerne exceptional pr., otherwise (la'in)]. 513 wæ'ir.

O- 521 vol. 522 oop. 524 wærd'l. O: 531 dæætvør. 538 uud. — ærtjít [orchard]. 547 buurd. 549 wærd. 551 starm. 552 kærn. 553 hærn. O'- 559 maadhør. 564 zuun. 565 naaz. O': 592 [zweerd) used]. 593 mas.

U- 601 væ'ul. 602 zæ'u. 605 sín. U: 609 vuu'l. 610 uu'l. 611 bal'k. 612 zam. 615 pæ'un. 619 væ'un. 620 græ'un. 621 [(winded) used]. 629 sín [see 605]. 630 [(wind) used]. 631 dhæzdi. 634 dru. 636 værdør.

U'- 640 kæ'u. 646 bæ'u.i. 652 kuud. U': 670 buu.

Y- 674 dɪd dɛd. 675 dræ'u. 682 lɪd'l. Y: 684 bærdʒ. 685 ærdʒ.
690 kæ'in. 691 mæ'in. 696 bɛ'th [I think I heard (bɛ'ɪrth)]. 698 mɛ'th
[rhymes 696]. 700 wæs. 701 fæst. — dærsh [a thrush]. Y- 707
dhærti:n. Y': 709 vɑ'ɪr [but see 772].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 725 zææl. E. 744 mæz'lz. 745 tʃæt. 747 ɪndɪvɜr. 751 piɜrt.
I. and Y. — :ærtʃɪt [Richard]. 755 vɪlbɛd.
O. 761 lʊ'd. 772 bænfa'ɪr [but see 709]. 773 dæŋki. 778 ɛvuɜrd. 779
ɑrts. 790 gæ'und. 791 bʊ'oi.
U. — kærd'lz [curls]. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jæb'l. 818 æædʒ. 822 mææ'i. 824 tʃær. 827 eegær. 828
eegi. 835 ræez'n. 836 seez'n. 838 tɹæet. 840 tʃimvɜr. 842 plɑ'ntʃ [a
flooring, not a single plank]. 845 a'nshɛnt. 847 dɑ'ndʒvɜr. 848 tʃɑ'ndʒ. 849
strɑ'ndʒvɜr. 852 æp'ɹn. 853 bɑrgɪn. 855 kɑrt. — skes [scarce]. 856
peert. 862 sææf. 864 kɑɑz. 865 fɑɑt.
E.. 867 tæ. 868 dʒææ'i. 869 vœl. 874 rɑɑɪn. 878 sælɜri. 879 feemœl.
883 dændɪlɑ'i'ɛnt. 888 sɑrt'n. 890 beest bɪst [s. and pl. alike]. 891 feest.
892 nevi. 894 dœœv. 895 rœœv.
I.. and Y.. — 904 lɑ'i'ɑnt [lion]. 910 dʒɑ'ist.
O.. 916 ɑ'ɪnɹɛn. 920 pʊ'ɔɪnt. 923* mʊ'ɔɪsti. 926 spʊ'ɔɪl. 929 kʃɑ'ukœmɜr.
938 kɑrnɜr. 940 kʊu't. 942 buutʃvɜr. 943 tɪtʃ. 946 mʊ'ɔɪl. 947 bʊ'ɔɪl.
950 sɑpɜr. 952 kuus [coarse]. 954 kɑshɪn.
U.. 967 suut. 969 si'vɜr. 970 dʒɪst.

For the remainder of e.Sm. (excluding D 10), JGG. made a complete wl., from the dict. of a native of Wincanton (13 ne.Yeovil), who, however, had resided long in Cu. After many trials and much correspondence, I relectantly found his memory of the dialect not sufficiently accurate to be accepted in its details. The other contributions I have received were in io., but they are quite sufficient to shew that at Langport, Castle Carey (16 ene.Langport) and Wedmore (7 w-by-n.Wells), the pronunciation differs insensibly from the Axe-Yarty; while at Combe Down (2 s.Bath) it seems indistinguishable from Wl. The following examples from Wedmore shew the nature of the dialect in the m. of e.Sm.

WEDMORE, SM. (18 ssw.Bristol).

Specimens sent by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.

- (mɪstɜr, ɑ'i bɪnt ɛ-gwɑi'n druu dhɜ mak.) master, I be-not a-going through the muck.
- (tʃɑ'in dhɜ dʊvɜr, ut?) shut the door, wilt?
- (duus)ɛn dhi nɑɑ dhɜk dhɜr hɔs?) dost-not thou know that there horse?
- (cas)ɛn hɑ'ɪr?) canst-not hear.
- (dhɜ lɛm)z ɛ-vɑ'ɪr.) the chimney's on fire [I only knew lum as a N. or L. word].
- (dhɜ gæækomi tʊvɛd ɛv ɛ hɔs ɛ gælɪd ɑ'i, :gud)naa.) this frolicsome toad of a horse has frightened me, God-knows. [I do not know the word 'gaacomey' so spelled, see No. 18.]

7. (gii 'a'i dhə slə'is.) give me the fire-pan [or fire-shovel].
8. (dhə bæki krɔtʃ əz ɒn dhə klævi-tæk.) the tobacco jar is on the mantel-piece. [The last word is given as *clavel-tack* in Wright.]
9. (hæst dhi lukt ɪn dhə krɔk tə zii ɪf dhə teetiz bi dən?) hast thou looked in the pot to see if the potatoes be done?
10. (vædhər ʃiv)nt kəm whóəm ɪt.) father is)not come home yet. [I doubt (wh)].
11. (bæ'i ɒnə'n.) by and bye.
12. (dhii)z nAA dhæt s)lɑ'ik.) thou) dost know that, (it) is like [probably].
13. (t)wær dhɪ zɪstər, t)wærd)ən :zæl.) it)were thy sister, it)were) not Sall.
14. (a'ɪ)l zii ɪf shæd)ən duu ət; ut)ən?) I'll see if (thou) shalt)not do it; wilt)not?
15. (iiz, a'ɪ ul, mææ-bi.) yes, I will, may-be.
16. (wæ'i duus)ən dɔf dhɪ klAAdz ɒn mɛnd dhɪk lɪrəp?) why dost)not doff (take off) thy clothes and mend this tear.
17. (lAA! wæt ɜ lɑmpər!) law! what a stumble [or noise of falling, also (lɑmbər)].
18. (gɪt ʌp, ʃi dræækɒmɪ ʌld gæækəm.) get up you stupid old frolicker [to a horse, but the words 'dracomey, gacome' are unknown].
19. (duu)ənt i tææk ɒn zoo, zoos.) don't ye take on [trouble yourselves] so, companions.

WORLE (:wær'l, :wærd'l), 16 w.Bath, cwl.

Written by Rev. W. F. Rose, vicar in io. and subsequently pal. by AJE., serves to show how the dialect is preserved to the Bristol Channel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3. biək. 5 miək. 6 miəd. 8 eev. 14 draa. — stag [stack]. 21 niəm. 22 tiəm. 23 siəm, seem. 24 shiəm. 25 miən. 28 iɪr. 32 biəd. 33 reədhər. A: 43 han. 44 lan. A'- 77 lard. 81 liən. 84 miər. 93 tɜ snoojɪ. 95 droo. A': 101 wok. 104 rɔəd. 128 dhóez. 130 boot. Æ- — jek [ache]. — lædhər [ladder]. — blædhər [bladder]. 144 egien. 146 meen. 149 bliɜz. 150 liəs. 152 wAADər. — partɪ [pretty]. Æ: 155 dhɛtʃ. 166 miəd [probably confused with *made*]. 170 hærest. 172 grææs. 181 pæəth. Æ'- — hɑrdɪ [ready]. 187 lɛf. 192 miən. 193 klɪn. 200 wɪt. Æ': — bliit [bleak]. 207 mi'd'l. — jɛl [eel]. 218 ship. 224 wɪr.

É- — liit [leak]. 248 miər. 252 kit'l. E: 261 zee. 284 dræsh. E'- 298 viil. 301 hɑ'ɪr. EA: 326 ool. 327 bool. 333 keef. 334 hæf. 335 æəl. 336 væəl. 342 jɑm. 343 wɑm. 346 gɛt. EA'- 347 hiid. EA': 355 diif. 363 tʃɪp. 366 gɛrt. EI: 378 wiək. EO- 383 zɛv'n. 385 biɪn'th. EO: — smɛrt [smart]. 407 vɑd'n. EO'- 411 drii. EO': 423 dhɑ'i. 428 zii.

I: 477 vɑ'in. — behɑ'in [behind]. 485 dis'l. I'- — strik [strike]. I': 502 vɑ'iv.

O: 534 hɑal. 547 búrɔd. 551 stɑm. 552 kɑrn. 553 hɑrn. 554 kɑras. O'- 564 zuunder [sooner]. O': 579 ɪnɑ'u.

U- 605 zɔn. U: 610 ɪl. 612 zɑm. 629 zɑn. 631 dhæzdi. 634 druu. 635 wath.

Y- — piil [pillow]. 682 lid'l. Y: 685 rhādȝ. 686 bārdȝ. 691 ma'in. 700 was. 701 fāst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 tried. 741 mīez. E. — zim [seem]. O. — soog [soak].
— lart [a loft]. — poog [poke]. U. — küiid [cud, compare a *quid* of tobacco]. 805 kradz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 plies. — fæket [faggot]. 833 píer. — mænder [manner].
852 jæpørn. — kar [carry]. — kûar [quarry]. E.. 888 sart'n. —
sar [serve]. 890 bīs. I.. and Y.. — hærver [river]. O.. 938
karnær. U.. — stād [study].

D 5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern.

Boundaries. Beginning at the w. b. of Ox. just opposite Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e.Tewkesbury) and go along the w. b. of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w.-by-s.Reading) and then continue in a n. to s. line through Ha. passing just w. of Andover, to Nursling at the n. point of Southampton Water and then to the sea by Lymington (10 e.Christchurch). Cross the Solent to the nw. corner of Wi. (and not just e. of it as appears on the map). Run along the coast of Wi. to the ne. corner of it. Then again cross the sea to Selsey Bill, s.Ss. and continue along the s. coast of Ss. to the mouth of the R. Adur. Then sweep ne. through m.Ss., e. of Bolney (8 se.Horsham) and w. of Cuckfield (9 ese.Horsham) through East Grinstead (15 ene.Horsham). Then pass through the extreme se. corner of Sr. and proceed in a ne. direction to Knockholt (14 s.Woolwich), which is a conjectural point from which no information has been obtained. Dialect speaking now ceases on approaching D 8 in the Metropolitan Area, but we may sweep sw. w. and nw. through n.Sr. keeping probably s. of Croydon and Leatherhead (12 ne.Guildford), n. of Stoke (1 n.Guildford), w. of Sandhurst (10 se.Reading) to Reading. Then proceed along the w. b. of Ox. to the projection of Be. into Ox., which cut off, passing s. of Cumnor (3 wsw.Oxford) and n. of Appleton (5 sw.Oxford). Then enter Ox. and pass w. of Ensham (4 nw.Oxford) and of Handborough (6 nw.Oxford) and then go nearly n. to the e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton (12 nw. and 17 nnw.Oxford) to a point just e. of Moreton-on-Marsh, the starting-point, to which proceed.

Much of this line is very uncertain for at least a few miles on each side of it. The division between Be. and Ox. is altogether uncertain. The sweep through n.Sr. may be considered almost conjectural, so great was the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory evidence of native dialect. The population is shifting and seldom native. But Stoke (1 n.Guildford) was well marked. The e. b. through Ke. presented insuperable difficulties, but the line between the mouth of the Adur and East Grinstead is tolerably clearly defined. If in the most uncertain parts the line be taken 5 to at most 10 miles wide, it may be accepted as a very fair boundary.

Area. Most of Ha. and all Wi., much of Be., s.Sr. and w.Ss., and a small portion of w.Ox.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List for the following places where prefixed marks show * vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Be. °Bucklebury, °Cholsey, °Coleshill, °Denchworth, °East Henedred, ‖Hampstead Norris, °Kintbury, °Shefford, ‖Stanford in the Vale, ‖Steventon, °Streatley, °Wantage.

Ha. ‖°Andover, °Corhampton, °East Stratton, °West Stratton, *Winchester to Southampton.

Ke. No information.

Ox. °Alvescot, °Charlbury, °Chastleton, †Ducklington, †Leafield, †Lew, †Milton, 5 †Witney.

Sr. °Charlwood, °Elstead, °Ewhurst, °Godalming, °Godstone, °Haslemere, °Leatherhead, *°Ockley, *°Stoke, °Weald of Sr.
Ss. °Bolney, °Compton, °Ertham, °Kirdford, °Twineham, °West Wittering, °Wisborough Green.
Wi. °Northwood, °Shorwell, °whole Isle.

The district is not so well represented as the last. The greater number of notes are meagre and imperfect. There were only three vv., from Winchester Ha., Ockley and Stoke Sr., a pal. transcription of part of a cs. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from Hampstead Norris, Be., a pal. specimen and cwl. from Andover by Prof. Arnold Schröer, a few notes by TH. in Ox., and some in Glossic by Mrs. Parker in Be. and Ox. But these are sufficient to understand the notes of the other informants.

Character. The (r) remains generally quite distinct, the (z, v) for (s, f) initial die out eastward, the (ái) for ÆG, EG is uncertain, *I be* remains, but the *a-* before the past participle becomes lost. It will be most convenient to consider four varieties or forms, V i. w.Ox., V ii. Be., V iii. Ha. and Wi., and V iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss. There is no special information from the very small portion of Ke. involved, the dial. of which, being so near to the metropolitan area, is probably very slightly marked indeed, but does not shew the characteristics of D 9. These different varieties cannot be distinctly defined by any clear characters, but still there is some amount of local distinction.

VAR. i. OX. FORM.

WITNEY, dt.

Originally written in gl. by Mrs. Angelina Parker, then pal. by TH. from her dict. and finally corrected by TH. from information obtained by him at Witney Sept. 1884. As the pronunciation of this district is thought very strange at Oxford, great pains have been taken to represent it correctly. See the following cwl. embracing words from Witney, Ducklington, and Leafield, another primitive place, all of which were well examined by TH. This form of D 5 shews the transition from D 4 very clearly. The reverted (r) was distinctly noticed by TH. after a vowel, but before a vowel he seems not to have felt its difference from common English (r, r_o), and he also did not notice its assimilating effect on adjacent (t d n l), which is inevitable when (r) is used. But he noted how much more marked the reversion was in w. than in m. and s.Ox. I have therefore retained his notation. There is a great peculiarity in this district. As far s. as Witney there is a plentiful sprinkling of (u_o, o) in place of (a), but at Ducklington (:dak'ltən) only 1 s. Witney, this entirely ceases, (a) alone being heard. In other respects the dialect at Ducklington is identical with that at Witney. This shews that the incursion of (u_o) into the n. part of S. should not be considered to affect the dialect district. (See also D 4, Var. ii., Gl. Form, p. 60. The symbol (u_o), a variety of (u), is especially considered in the introduction to the M. div.)

1. sð [sáu] ə'i sâi, meets, jə siz nə'u vɜ ə'i bi rə'it vɜə'ut dhat dhæɪ lət'l gjærl [gjal'] əkæ'mɪn fram dhə skuu'l jændæɪ.

2. æɪz ɛgwə'in [ɛgwè'in] də'un dhə rood [râud] dhæɪ [dhæɪ'] thruu dhə rəd gjæt [gjæt'] ɜ)dhə [an)dhə] lift and sɑ'id ɜ)dhə wâi.

3. shûer vnu_of dhe tʃɪ'ɪ'l)z gaan stráit u_op tɔ)dhe dûer v)dhe rɔq' ɹ'us,
 4. wer ɹɹ)l mwast lɹ'ɪklɪ fɹ'ɪnd dhat dher' dru_oqk'n def' sríveld felv v)dhe neem v :təmʊs.
 5. wɪ aal nooz [náuʒ] ɪ veri [ʔ varɪ] wɛ'l.
 6. wənt dhe ɔuld [áuld] tʃap' sən lærn ɹɹ nat tɔ dɹ) t vɟjɛ'n, pûer thɪq!
 7. lak' ! jent ɪt truʊ ?

WEST Ox. cwl.

From the following sources :

- B. wn. by TH. from Mr. James Brain, native of Ducklington, aged 81.
 M. words given in io. by Rev. W. D. Macray, rector of Ducklington, also chiefly taken from Mr. Brain, and pal. rather conjecturally by A.JE.
 L. Leafield, wn. by TH. from natives of 87, 84, and 74 years old.
 W. Witney, wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 12 M saa. 14 M draa. 21 BLW neem. 23 BL seem. 24 M shem, shíem. 33 L rædhær. 37 M thaa. A: 39 M [(kɹm) used]. A: or O: 58 B frəm, W fram. 64 BL rɔq', W rɔ'q. A'- 73 W sò sáu. 81 L leen [so all his life, 84 years old]. 84 L mùer. 85 M suur. 86 W wats. 89 M bóedh. 92 L náhu. A': 104 B rood, W rood, ráud. 115 BL oom. 118 W bwán. 124 M stó'en, stan. 130 M b'ót.

Æ- 138 LW faadhær. Æ: 154 B bak'. 155 M thatɪ. 158 L aa'ter-nun. 161 B dái, LW dee. 171 W bærli. — L kjáht. Æ'- 192 L meen. 197 L tjiiz. 200 LW weet. Æ': 223 L dhíer. 226 BW mwast, M móst.

E- 233 B speak, dhe spæks [they speaks], W speekin. 241 L reem, W ráin. — B líe-zín [leasing = gleaming], L leezín, líezín. 252 L kjít'l. E: 261 BW sái, L sái, sái [new form (séi)]. — L leg [leg]. 262 WL wái wái'í, B wái wái. 265 L stre'it [old form (stráit)], W stráit. 266 Wwɛ'l. — W fí'ld [field]. 276 W thiq'. 278 L wentɪ [used when young, now (gjørl)]. E'- 299 L grín. E': 314 L íerd. EA- 319 M giep. EA: 324 L ástíin, W ástí. 326 BW ɔuld, W also áuld. 328 M kóuld. 329 M fóuld. 335 W aal. 346 W gjæt, L gjɹ't, M. gívt. EA': 350 L dɹɹ'd. 352 W red. 355 W dɹf. 359 náí'bær. — B bjɹ'm [beam]. 361 W bján. 363 L tʃap. 364 W tʃap. 371 B straa, L straa [old form (straa)]. EÍ- 373 L dhái, W dhái. EÓ- 383 W sev'm. EÓ: 394 W jander. 395 W ɹəq. 396 B wærk. 402 W lærn. EÓ'- 420 W fôer. 421 W fà'rtí. EÓ': 423 W sí. EY- 438 L dɹ'í.

I- 440 B wík. 446 nɹ'in. — W peez [pease]. I: 452 W ɹ'í. 458 nɹ'it. 459 BW rɹ'it. 465 sítɹ. 466 B tʃɹ'ild. 468 B tʃildɹn. 477 W fɹ'ɪnd. 488 B jít. I'- 492 W sɹ'id. 494 L tɔ'im. I': 500 B læ'a-klí.

O- — L dráp [drop]. 524 B wæuld. O: 531 BL daa'tær, W daatær. 538 B ɹd. 543 BLW an'. — W krapɹ [crops]. 551 L stá'rm. — B ás' [horse]. O'- 559 W madhær. 560 W skuul. 562 B muun. 564 B sun. 568 W bradhær. O': 578 L plá'u. 579 W vnu_of. 586 L dwant [don't].

U- — L úd [wood]. 603 B kɹm, W vka'mín. 604 W su_omær. 605 B sɹ'n, L su_on, W sɹ'n. 606 BW dûer. U: 612 W su_om, som. 613 L dru_oqk. 619 L fu_on. 629 B sɹn' [compare 605], W su_on. 632 LW u_op, ɹp. 633 ku_op, kap. 634 W thruu. 636 L færdær. U'- 643 WB nɹ'u. 650 L [between (vbe'ut) and (vbdut)] W vba'ut. U': 658 W dɹ'un. 659 W tɹ'un. 663 BW ɹ'us. 667 L ɹ'ut.

Y- W lí'tl.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W meet. E. 749 W lift. I. and Y. 758 W gjærl, gjal'.
O. 761 M lóð. — L :lu_næn [new form (:lu_ndæn)]. — W la'st. 791 L
bwa'i, W bói. U. — W tu_b, tob [tub]. — W dak [a duck]. 794
W dju_g, djog. 803 W dju_mp, djomp. — W gæn [a gun]. 804 W dru_qk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 828 M eegær. — L plá'in [plain, unadorned]. — W pleez [please].
— W saasær. 862 BW seef. E.. 867 W tee. 885 B vari, W vari, vari.
890 L bjést [now (bést)]. 891 L fjést. O.. — W pomp, pu_mp [pump].
— mu_ni [money]. 935 L ku_entrí. 938 BL ka'_rær. — W impáhsub'l
[impossible]. 947 L bwó'i'l. — W kælær [colour]. U.. 970 W dju_st.

Examples.—B (ə'i si dhə)óuld tʃap' i'stərde, I saw the old chap yesterday.
L (ə'i bi egwə'in oom tɛ)ɛ' mi su_pær. W (am', am', biütifəl am'! dhɛm
ɛs)kánt iit it A't tɛ klam' [ham, ham, beautiful ham! them as can't eat it ought
to clam (starve)].

VAR. ii. THE BE. FORM.

Although I have been quite unable to obtain vv. communications from Be., and the information I have received leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to shew the continuation of practically the same dial. as in w.Ox. throughout Be.

Beginning in the n. I have a dial. test obtained by Mrs. Parker for Steventon (5 ne.Wantage), and I had others from Stanford in the Vale (5 nw.Wantage), which I could not sufficiently trust. The short list of words from Wantage, corroborated by those from Denchworth (3 n-by-w.Wantage), and Cholsey (11 e.Wantage), continues the information through the n. of Be. From Hampstead Norris (11 se.Wantage) I have a considerable portion of the es. written from dict. by Prince L.-L Bonaparte, from which the general character of the dial. can be safely inferred. It will suffice to give the Steventon, Wantage and Hampstead Norris specimens.

a. STEVENTON (5 ne.Wantage, Be.) dt.

Written in gl. by Mrs. Parker from the dict. of Mr. Leonard, both of Ox., and pal. by AJE. Mrs. Parker has not marked the reverted, or, as she considers it, retracted (r), but I have supplied it to the same extent as before.

1. Soo ə'i sái, (a:l)æn)i, ʃɛ siz nɛ'u ə'i bi rə'it ɛbɛ'ut dhæt ɛr lét'l
gʃæl ɛkə'mɪn frəm dhɛ skuuld jændɔr.

2. shii)z egwaa'in dɛ'un dhɛ raaəd dhær thruu dhɛ red gɪt a
dhɛ léft and sɛ'id ɛ dhɛ waa'i.

3. shuur ɛnɛf dhɛ tʃɛ'ild ɛv gaan stráit ɛp tɛ dhɛ duur ɛ dhɛ
rɔq ə'us.

4. wɛr shii)l tʃɛnts tɛ fɛ'ind dhæt ɛr drɛqk'n def, sriv'ld felɛ ɛ
dhɛ neem ɛ :tomɔs.

5. wii aal naa'uz)n veri wɛl.

6. wɛnt dh)aa'ild tʃap sɛn lærn ɛr nɛt tɛ duu)t egja'n, puur thiq.

7. læk! jɛnt it truu?

b. HAMPSTEAD NORRIS, BE., part of es.

Written by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in his own letters from the dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., hon. sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by whom it was approved when read out; translated into pal. by A.J.E. Most probably I should have appreciated some sounds differently, as shewn by the notes, but I have thought it right to retain the Prince's own spelling, translated into pal. It shews a strong D 5 dialect.

0. wə'i :dʒən æz nuu dáuts.
 1. wəl, náai'bat, jə'j' and hii máai' bəv'u'th laa'f æt dhís nuuz
 əΔ m'e'in. hə' ki'is? dhæt iz nəd'h'ɪ h'h'ɪ nAAI dhɪt.
 2. fɪuu men də'i kəs dháai bi laa'ft æt, wii nəv'u, də)nt wii? waat
 shə'd meek əm? t-ənt vee'ri l'e'klɪ, iz ət?
 3. áu'səmdə'vəɪ dhi's aar dhaaɪ væks ə dhaaɪ ki's, zoo dʒest
 h'h'ə'uld jər nə'iz, frend, and hii kwə'i't tɪl v'i aa dən. aar'kn!
 4. v'i bii zər'tɪn v'i hə'ɪd əm zaa'i—zəm əv dhem vək ə' went thrə'
 dhaaɪ uu'l dhɪq vɪəm dhaaɪ vəst dhæsel'z,—dhæt dɪd v'i zɪ'f enəf.
 5. dhæt dhaaɪ jəq'gest zən ɪssel'f, ə gɪt b'wə'i ə nə'ɪn, nəv'ud
 iz fee'dhə'ɪz və'is æt wəns, dhəv'u et wəz zoo kwəɪ and skwək'ən,
 and v'i wəd drəst en tə' speak dhaaɪ druuth en'i dáai, aa, v'i wəd.
 6. ə'nd dhaaɪ v'ul-d-um'æn h'h'ə'ɪsel' wəl tel eni ə-n-i dhæt laa'f
 náu, and tel ii stráait v'ə'f, tə', wɪ)áut' mətɪ bədh'vɪ, ɪf jə'l ə'n'li
 æks əɪ, ə'! wənt shii?
 7. li'stwə'ɪz shii t'e'uld ət mee, wen v'i æksd əɪ, tə' AAɪ drii t'e'imz
 əv'vɪ, dɪd shii, and shii dɪd'nt AAɪ tə' bii rəq ən sɪk aar pə'ɪnt
 æz dhís, waat də' ii dhɪqk?
 8. wəl æz v'i wəz ə zaa'v'n, shii əd tel ii, v'ə', wəɪ and wen
 shii v'e'ə'nd dhaaɪ drəqk'n bi'st shii kAAɪz əɪ əz'bæn.

Notes to Hampstead Norris.

0. *why*, the usual MS. diphthong, differently appreciated as (a'i ə'i ə'i əi). Mr. Banting wrote *whoy*, as usual.—*has*, this is the strong form.—*doubts*, analogy would have required (d'v'uts), see 8 (v'e'nd).

1. *neighbour*, the final (ɪ) or glottal r, which is sometimes written (ɪ) or (r_g), followed by permissive r, was evidently at that time the Prince's appreciation of (w), the only real r of this district.—*you*, the appreciation (jə'j) is very doubtful. Mr. B. wrote *yough*, perhaps (jə'u).—*both*, Mr. Banting writes *boweth* perhaps (b'ədh) was intended. I do not attribute much importance to Mr. Banting's approval of the Prince's reading, for as Mr. Banting was not used to phonetic appreciation, and the Prince was a foreigner, Mr. Banting would be easily satisfied with a rough approximation to his own sounds.—*who*, the appreciation (hə') is very doubtful,

Mr. B. has *whoo*.—*neither*, here again (ə) is doubtful, Mr. B. has *nūther*.

2. *should*, (ə') doubtful.

3. *these*, the final (s) probably an error for (z).—*the*, this (dhaaɪ) is difficult to understand, Mr. B. writes *th'ə thə væks əv th'ə keas*, which is equally puzzling.—*noise*, Mr. B. *nais*.

4. *heard-who-through*, Mr. B. *hurd-oo-throo*, the (ə) is doubtful.

5. *trust, truth*, Mr. B. writes *dtrust, dtruth*, which were probably his errors, (trəst trauθ) might have been expected.

8. *how-found* by the appreciation (v'ə') the diphthong in these words is made to resemble the Dv. diphthong. Mr. B. writes simply *ow*. If the Prince heard him correctly, he must have had a very peculiar pron. of (uu, oo, ə'u) not belonging to the district. The Prince was not able to finish writing the whole es. from dictation.

c. WANTAGE, BE., cwl.

Written by Mr. Davey i.o., rather conjecturally pal. by A.J.E. The reverted (æ) not before a vowel has been supplied, as it was certainly pronounced. I had also a considerable number of words from the Vicar of Denchworth (3 n.w. Wantage), which so far as they go confirm this list, and a dt. from the schoolmaster of Cholsey (12 e. Wantage), which has a suspicious number of initial (z) and other doubtful points, hence I can only use these as confirmations on the whole.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 92 náu. A': 118 búrn.
 Æ- 148 fáir. Æ: 158 eeftær aater. — wops [wasp]. Æ': 208 ær
 v- [e'er a, any]. 209 næk v- [ne'er a-]. 218 shíp. 223 dhær.
 E: 261 zái. 263 wáí. 265 stráit. — ethært [athwart]. E': 312
 jær. EA: 324 áit háit. EA': 366 gært græt. EO: — em [them].
 — shart [short]. 407 fardhiq.
 I' — gii [give]. I': — hái [hay]. O: 538 ud. 552 kærn. —
 marnen [morning]. O': 586 duu't [do it], dun)náu [don't know]. U:
 612 zam)et [somewhat, something].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — ráilz [rails]. — market [market].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — pái [pay]. 890 bíest. — puurter [porter].

Sentences: (dóunt)i don't you, (wæt)s wænt ts gra'ind ii fœr? what dost want to grind he (=it?) for? (æ)nt it, (b)nt it) is not it, be not it, (ænkid) dreadful.

VAR. iii. HA. AND WI. FORMS.

The dialect at the north of Hampshire cannot differ much from that of Hampstead Norris, Be. The late Dr. Burnell, a native, writing from West Stratton (7 ne. Winchester), says that the *r* final is fully reverted, that (*z*) for *s* initial is very rare, (*v*) for *f* he had heard in 535 (*vooks*) folks; (*h*, *wh*) initial were used, 553 *morning*, 87 *clothes*, were (*marnén*, *klaaz*), and 304 *beetle* a mallet, was (*báit'l*), which is singular, 394 *yonder* (*jandex*). In grammar *I be*, *he be*, *we am*, *they am*, are heard, not *I are*. *I lives* not *I do live*, *he live*, *we lives*. The dialect seemed already (1879) much altered, and so many inhabitants had been in service in London and elsewhere, or at sea and about, that Dr. B. doubted the value of what they told him. The man he had reckoned on as his principal authority was ill.

From East Stratton, which is close by, I got (*gwín*, *enuu*; *gfæt*) going, enough, gate; Dr. Burnell repudiated the last.

Towards the s. of Ha. the great towns of Winchester, Southampton, and Portsmouth have acted seriously on the dialect, which however crops up again in Wi.

The Rev. T. Burningham, when Rector of Charlwood, Sr. (6 ssw. Reigate), a Hampshire man, said that in his younger days (b. 1808) the labourer always put *v* for *f*, and *s* for *s*; a *fallow* would be a *voller* (*vólø?*), and gives the following examples of Ha. at that time (I preserve the spelling), "I was a *gwáin* (*gwáin*) *hoh-um* (*hóovm*) to git my *kāwfee*, but set down under the *hullumun* (*hæ'læmæn*=elm) tree to git out o' th' *rah-in* (*ráin*). Terrable watchet (*tærøb'l watjet*) a *gwine* across that air *veeyuld* (*víiuld*)." [1528]

Here *watchet* is *wetshod*, wet for the feet. He notes *waps wapsen* = wasp wasps, *een amoast* = even almost, *on-emp* = un-empty, = empty "on-emp that air payul," *leer* = hungry, empty, = German *leer*, but not derived from it, mid. Eng. lær. (See D 4, p. 52, *Hornet*, l. 23.)

SOUTHAMPTON TO WINCHESTER.

This es. was written from the dictation of Mr. Percival Leigh, 22 March, 1876, who was born in Scotland in 1813, but was taken to Hampshire when a month old and had been there constantly since, so that he had known the dialect all his life. Mr. Leigh did not use (r), but pronounced in the usual received manner, initial (r), final as (ə). I have used final (r), because from other sources I know that it prevails in Hampshire. Mr. Leigh was also strict in not leaving out (h), but admitted that it was sometimes put in. Altogether it seems that this version gives rather a refined form of speech, with occasional outbursts of real dialect. Towards Portsmouth Mr. Leigh considered the speech as finer still.

0. wə'ɪ :dʒən hæənt got noo də'uts.

1. wɛl, nái'bɛr, dhii ɛn hím med buu'th laa'f ət dhís hii'r níuz o mə'ín. huu kee'rz ? dhæt eent nǝdhɛr hii'r nɛr dhee'r.

2. fiú tʁæps də'iz kAAZ dheɛ bi læəft ət, wii nooz, duu'nt)əs ? wɔt shud mi'k ɛm ? ət beent vɛri læ'ikli, bi)ət ?

3. hæ'usɛmdeɪvɛr dhiiɪz hii'r bi dhɛ rə'its o dhɛ stoo'rii, zoo dʒɛst dhii hoold dhɪ nə'iz, vɛnd, ɛn bæ'id kwə'i'ət tɪl ə'i)v ɔdɛn. dhii lɛs'n tɔ mi.

4. ə'i bi saart'n ə'i hii'rd ɛm zee zɛm o dhɛm fooks ɛz went druu dhɛ hoold dhɪq frɛm dhɛ vɛst dhɛrzel'vz—dhæt did ə'i zeef ɛnɛf—

5. dhɛt dhɛ ʒəq gɛst zɛn hɛsɛl'f, v gɛrt bʊ'ɪ o nə'ín nood hɪz vi'dhɛrɪz və'is ət wɛns, thɔf twɛz zoo kwɛɛ'r ɛn skweɛk'ɛn, ɛnd ə'i ʊd trɛst 'hii tɛ spɛk dhɛ truuth ɛn'i dái, iis, 'dhæt ə'i 'ʊd.

6. ɛn dh)ool'd)ɛm'ɛn hɛrzel'f 'l)ɛl ɛn'i ɔn)i ɛz læəfs nə'ʊ, ɛn tel)i stráit ɔf, tuu, widhə'ut mətʃ fɛs, íf juu)l wɛn'li æəsk ɛr, oo, wɛnt shi ?

7. leestwáiz shi toold ət 'mii, wɛn ə'i æəst ɛr, tuu ɛr drii tɔ'ímz wɛɛvɛr, díd)shii, ɛn 'shii díd'n't ɛt tɛ bi rɔq ɔn sítʃ v pə'ínt ɛz dhɛs, wɔt dəst 'dhii thɪqk ?

8. wɛl ɛz ə'i wɛz v zái'ɛn 'shii ʊd tel)i, hæ'ʊ, wɛɛ'r ɛn wɛn shi vɔ'und dhi drɛqk'ɛn bi'ist shi kAAZ hɛr hæz'bɛnd.

9. shi soor shi sAA ɛn wɪ ɛr ɔɔn ə'iz, v-lái'ɛn strɛtʃt ət ful lɛqkth ɔn dhɛ grə'ʊnd, in iz gud zɛn'di kwuu't kloos bi dhɛ duu'r o dhɛ hæ'ʊs, də'ʊn ət dhɛ kɛəɛnɛr o dhɛ leen jæəndɛr.

10. ɛr wɛz skwɪn'ɛn ɔwái, sez shii, fɛr ɛl dhɛ wɛrd'l læ'ik v zɪk tʃə'ild, ɛr v lɪ'tl gɛrl vɛrɛn.

11. ɛn dhæt hæp'nd ɛz shii ɛn hɛr dəə'tɛr ín ɛl kɛm druu dhɛ bæk kuu'rt frɛm hæq'ɛn ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz tɔ drə'i ɔn v wɔsh'ɛn dái.

12. wə'ɪl dhɛ kit'l wɔz ɛbə'ílɛn fɛr tee wɛn brə'it zɛm'ɛr æətɛrnuun wɛn'li v weɛk ɛguu' kɛm nɛks dhɛrɪz'di.

13. ɛnd dəst 'dhii noo ? ə'i nɛv'ɛr læənt noo muu'r nɛr dhɛs hii'r v 'dhæt bɪz'nɛs ɛp tɛ tɛ-dái, ɛz shuu'r ɛz mə'ɪ nii'mz :dʒɔn :shɛp'ɛrd ɛn ə'i duu'nt wAAnt tɛ, eedhɛr, zoo dhee'r !

14. ɛn zoo ə'i bi gwə'ɪ'ɛn whoo'm tɛ zɛp'ɛr. gud nə'it, ɛn

duu'nt bii zo kwick tɛ kroo wæævɛr ɛ tʃæp ɛgɪn, wɛn ɛ tAAks o dhɪs dhæt ɛr tædhɛr.

15. ɛt)s ə week fuul ɛz sez muu'r nɛr i niid. ən dhæt-s mæ'ɪ last wærd. gud bæ'ɪ.

Notes.

0. *hasn't got no doubts*, or simply *has no* (ɛ noo) or *has not got* (ɛ nɔt gɔt). The vowel (ɔ) was Mr. Leigh's ordinary (ɔ) and was not (o).

1. *neighbour*, Mr. L. gave both (nái-) and (nái-).—*thee-him*; *thee* is used for both nom. and acc.; *him* is nom. and (hii) emphatic, (ɛn) regular unemphatic S. acc.

2. *ain't* is most natural, but (beent) is also used.—*few* with (f) not (v).—*chaps*, Mr. L. varied, apparently unconsciously, from (æ) to (a¹) wherever the short sound occurs.—*what*, simple (w) no (wh).—*bain't* or (bii'nt). The use of *be* in the third singular here and elsewhere is doubtful.

3. *rights of the story*, for *facts of the case*, which is not a dialectal expression.—*thy* (dhæ'ɪ) emphatic, (dhi) unemphatic.—*friend*, the (v) is doubtful.—*adone*, the use of (ɛ) before the past participle is more frequent than not, among the regular old-fashioned people.

4. *say* sometimes (zái).—*through* as dictated, but this change of *thr-* to *dr-* implies that the real change is into (dr-) and this is doubtful in Ha.—*thing* (dhiq) is only occasionally used for (thiq) —*from* is more naturally pronounced with (f).

5. *voice* is not a regular term, perhaps (váis) would be said.—*though* (thɔf) was so dictated, but the (th) is doubtful. The word was said to be not common but still used.—*he*, emphatic form of acc., (ɛn) unemphatic.—*any* (ɛni), never

(æn'i).—*day* (dáɪ) is heard, but not so often as (dee).—*yes* (iis) is the regular form, but (yɛs) is also used.

6. *old woman*, the (d) of (ool) is perceptibly made the beginning of the word (ɔm'ɛn), as common in S.—*on-ye*, *tell ye*, sometimes (ɔv) is used in place of (-i), but this must be a modernism.—*fuss* is the common word, not *bother*.—*only* (oo'ni) is also used, but (wɔn'li) is more frequent.

7 and 14. *over* (wæævɛr).

8. *saying*, also pronounced (see'ɛn) or (seen).—*found* generally with (v), (f) sometimes among the younger.—*beast* or (beest), plural (bii'stiz).—*husband* or (ɛz'bænd, ɛzbænd), not *man*.

9. *saw* or else (sææ, zææ, sid, sin, sii) might be used.—*a-laying*, a general error for *a-lying*, which would be (ə-læ'i'ɛn).

10. *world*, this pronunciation is not very common now.—*girl* or else (máid).

11. *law* is generally (lææ), but in this connection may be (lAA).

12. *week* uncertain, Mr. Leigh at first wrote *week* (wiik), I expected (wik, wik), but both *wicu* and *wuce* are found in Ws.

13. *name's*, or (nææmz).—*shepherd*, (shíp) is used for *sheep*.

14. *a-going* (gəb'i'ɛn) is probably an error for (ɛgwáɪ'an).—*this*, no (dhik) is used in Hampshire, but (dhik'ɛn) is said in the plural.

15. *says*, the word *prates* is not used, (reez'n) is said.

ANDOVER, HA., specimen and cwl. s

Prof. Dr. M. M. Arnold Schröer, from Vienna, of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, Germany, who had studied phonetics under Dr. Sweet, and had had much experience in observing, analysing, and criticising differences of speech in various parts of Germany, and speaks English with an excellent pronunciation, having spent the summer of 1887 near Andover, Ha., exercised himself in writing Ha. speech from dictation. His two chief authorities were Mr. Benjamin Manning, of Appleshaw (4 wnw.Andover), between 40 and 50 years old, who had lived all his life in the county and been in constant communication with farm-labourers,

and Mr. Archard, a native of Ha., educated at Winchester, then national schoolmaster at Andover, and consequently in the constant habit of hearing dialect, to whom Prof. S. had been recommended by Canon Collier, the vicar, as the very man he wanted. Of these Prof. S. considered Mr. M. as his chief authority. The number of points, however, in which he differed from Mr. A. is considerable. Prof. Schröer selected as an example a letter originally published in *Punch* (vol. ix. p. 264, 1845) and reprinted in the Rev. Sir William H. Cope's *Ha. Glossary*, p. xii. This was read to him by both Messrs. M. and A., and their pronunciation most carefully analysed in Dr. Sweet's revised Romic spelling (*Sound Notation*, Trans. of the Philological Society, 1880-1, pp. 177-235), with which Prof. S. is perfectly familiar. These versions, transliterated into pal. from the references to Mr. Melville Bell's notation and other indications given in the paper cited, are here annexed, with a translation. In the cwl. Mr. M. has been generally followed, and some words in his own orthography have been added. In a few cases Mr. A.'s pron. is specially noted.

Prof. S. considers that the Ha. dialect

"is rapidly dying out, and has been so for the last two generations. Even the oldest farm-labourers are so much accustomed to educated (London) pronunciation, that this certainly influences their natural speech. I attended," he adds, "a harvest-home festival at Longstock House, Fullerton (4 s. Andover), and waited upon a poor blind old man of 80, who, owing to his blindness, could not always know that I was near him or within hearing. Still, though I spent almost the whole afternoon in his company, always listening and secretly taking notes, I did not find more than a very few peculiar pronunciations, except the general tendency of influencing vowels by the reverted *r*."

There are several points which will strike the reader in the following spec. Prof. Schröer having been, as already stated, a phonetic pupil of Dr. Sweet, his appreciation of sounds, as referred to Mr. Melville Bell's scheme, seems to differ in some respects from mine. He has been before all things anxious to make the most accurate transcription possible of the speech actually under consideration. Mr. M.'s own spelling in the cwl. will shew that the speaker evidently thought he was saying (ii, ee), while Prof. S. heard only (yy, ee). The (æ) which constantly occurs corresponds in unaccented syllables to my (e), from which, and also from (oh), which sometimes occurs, the audible difference is small, though the difference of the position of tongue and lips, which determines the symbol, is often considerable. Probably most of the words written with (yy/æ), I should have heard with (iv, iv, ivv). Those written with (oh), considered as Fr. *o* in *homme* and answering to short *u*, I should probably have heard as (o), but both Mr. M.'s (oh) and Mr. A.'s (u) in (pohntj, püntj), punch, in place of (æ), are extremely strange to me. As regards I' words having (áy), I may refer to JGG.'s use of the same symbol at Chippenham (suprà p. 51), which I then thought very remarkable. The symbol (æ'oh), which is the pal. rendering of Dr. Sweet's sign for received London *ow*, is intended to imply that in Ha. Mr. M. used that sound, beginning with (æ) and ending with the rounded form of the same vowel, that is, not coming up to (u) or altering the position of the tongue at all, but merely partly closing the lips while saying (æ). I am accustomed to analyse my own utterance of this sound as (á'u), and do not hear (æ) at all; in fact, when I first heard initial (æ) from Mr. Trotter (suprà p. 60d), it had an extremely strange provincial effect to my ears. This (æ'oh) is, however, not universal. In *count* both M. and A. give (kiánt), which I might have heard as (k'ént), a very singular form. This (úa, úua) is the common form of what I, perhaps, should have written (úv, úv, úuv), as (búuak, stúuad) book, stood, which I should probably have heard and therefore written (búek, stúed). Some other usages

also seem strange, as the diphthong in (næ'a'z), noise, the advanced high (æ) in (væ'a'ʀ), for, the accented use of (æ) in (pægz, :y'æmzh'r, hæst, yæ'bl), pigs, Hampshire, hast, able, the use of (æ) in (zæns), sense, the double form of (æ'a'l, æa-a'l), oil, where (æa-a'l) seemed to be an advanced (aa) ending with a slight motion of the tongue into the position for (a'); the hyphen merely separates symbols, so as to form a kind of (a'i) diphthong.

These observations of Prof. Schröer are, I think, very valuable as shewing almost personal varieties of nw.Ha. pron. differing so widely as Mr. M.'s and Mr. A.'s, and analysed with the greatest minuteness and conscientiousness. I feel greatly indebted to him for his kindness in sending them, with long explanations, although it was extremely inconvenient for him to do so in time to appear in this place.

TWO ANDOVER PRONUNCIATIONS OF HAMPSHIRE FARMER'S LETTER.

Written in Dr. Sweet's Romic by Prof. Arnold Schröer and translated into pal. by A.J.E. All the (t, d, l, n, r) both here and in the sentences and cwl. on p. 104 should be (t, d, l, n, r), and hence (tj, dj) should be (tj, dj, =rsh, dzh) as at Chippenham (p. 51), but as this was not known till the proof was corrected, I considered it safer to let them remain as they are with this intimation.

M. From the dictation of Mr. Manning.

A. From the dictation of Mr. Archard, when the same for any word as in M., only (,,) is written.

T. Literal translation, *not* the original in *Punch*.

1. M *myst'r* :pohntj, z'r, yf jəh'r [jə'oh] pljy'əoz, z'r, əy by)ə
 A ,, pəntj, ,, yf j'r
 T Mr. Punch, sir, if you please, sir, I be a

M :y'æmzh'r væ'a'rməh.
 A ,, væ'a'rm'r.
 T Hampshire farmer.

2. M *əy rəyts tə jə'oh kəz əy nə'əhz jə'oh úant məynd məy*
 A ,, ,, tu júa kə'az ,, núaz ju wənt ,, ,,
 T I write to you because I know you won't mind my

M *núat by'əon ə zgələ'rd ən u'l a'kskéiz byy'əd zbcələon*
 A ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, óal [u'l] ykskjuuz ,, ,,
 T not being a scholar[d] and will excuse bad spelling

M *əon æ'l dhæ'ət [dhy'ət].*
 A ,, æ'al dhyy'ət.
 T and all that.

3. M *lúakəon ə'əhvə dhə py'əpə tədh'r myy'ərkət dáay*
 A lúkəon úavə ,, ,, túadhə ,, dyy'ə
 T Looking over the paper t'other market day

M *ət :wəntjyst'r əy zyysd [zyd] ə kúant ə dhə práyz*
 A ,, :wəntjystə'r ,, zyy ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 T at Winchester I see'd a count of the prize

- M *kyy'ət'l)zhjə'əh úap yn :lɔnəən* [:lɔhnəən].
 A ,, *zhúa* ,, *yn :lɔhnəən*.
 T cattle show up in London.
4. M *áy wEE'əntyd tə núa wEE'ət ə zəd əbúat ə pəgz* ;
 A ,, *wúantyd* ,, *núa wúat* ə zed əbúat ə *pygz* ;
 T I wanted to know what he said about the pigs ;
- M *úaz dhə wEE'əz ən wEE'R dhə kúəm vrəm*.
 A ,, ,, *wúaz* ,, *wəh'r* ,, *kohm vrəm*.
 T whose they was and where they come from.
5. M *áy və'əhənd əz ə'əh dhEE'R w,æ'rnt ə ziqg'l pəgz vrəm*
 A *áy və'əhnd* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *úag vrəm*
 T I found as how there were'nt a single pig [hog] from
- M *:y'əmzh'r* [:jəmzh'r] *məq dhə lət*.
 A ,, ,, *əməq* ,, *lúat*.
 T Hampshire among the lot.
6. M *jə'əh núaaz dhEE'ət, dy'd'r zEE'a¹, əz wə'l əz dy*
 A *júa núaaz dhyy'ət, ,, dyj'ə'r zyy'əz, əz wel* ,, ,,
 T You knows that, I dare say, as well as I
- M *dúa, ən vəh'r láyk jə'əh béey zdoná'ysht yy'ət)ət*
 A ,, ,, *vəRRy* ,, *júa byz əzdənyzhd ət)yt*
 T do, and very like you be astonished at it
- M [jət)ət] *zohmət. tə'l áa¹ ə'əh)ət)əz)z'r*.
 A *zohm't. tel jz ə'əh[əu] tyz)z'r*.
 T somewhat. Tell you how it is, sir.
7. M *wá'y və'əhks ən :y'əmzh'r bree'ədz [bryy'ədz] pəgz əz*
 A *wy vúaks yn ,, bryy'ədz pygz)əz)*
 T We folks in Hampshire breeds pigs as
- M *pəgz ə'əht)ə báy, ən dúant gúa vətəən ən əm úap*
 A *pygz úat)ə by, ,, ,, ən ,, ,,*
 T pigs ought)to be, and don't go fattening on them up
- M *ty'l dhə kyy'ənt wEE'əg*.
 A *tyl ,, ,, wyy'əg*.
 T till they can't wag.
8. M *wá'y zəz pə'əh'rk ə'əht)tə hEE'əv lyy'əən əz wə'l əz*
 A *wy sez púark úat tu* ,, ,, *wel* ,,
 T We says pork ought to have lean as well as
- M *vyy'ət, ən wá¹ láyks úar byj'əkn stryy'əkjd. zyy'əm*
 A ,, ,, *wy* ,, ,, *stryy'əkj*.
 T fat, and we likes our bacon streaky. Same

M wy kyy'əotl.

A " "
T with cattle.

9. M wæ'ɹ)z) dhə zəns æ'ɹ REE'əzn ə stɔfəən ən kɹáəmɪn
A wæ'ɹ)z " " " ɹæ'zn a stɔf'n " kɹæmɪn
T Where's the sense or reason of stuffing and cramming

M ə bulɪk tɪ'l yy byy'ənt yə'bl tə zyy jə'əht? [out
A ə hɔks tɪ'l ə " yy'əbl " " úat
T an ox [bullock] til he be not able to see out [out

M of his eyes, not used]

A a yz əyz?
T of his eyes]?

10. M wee'əot jəz dhə jə'əhs ə ee'l dhe'e'əot ee'əor vyy'əot
A wə'ət iz " juuz a ee'l dhyy'əot yy'əor "
T What is the use of all that ere fat

M [vee'əot] áy wee'əonts tə nə'əh? úa jəz dhəəh'r əz
A " wúants tu núa? " iz " "
T I wants to know? Who is there as

M jəts)əot?

A yy'əots)yt?
T eats it?

11. M dhə æ'a'l kyy'ək, t'ɹməts, məqg'lz[w'ɹzlz) ən ky'əbydɪ
A " áa-a'l " " " məqg'lw'ɹz'l ən kəbydɪ
T The oilcake, turnips, mangelwurz, and cabbage

M əz)əz wee'əostyd ən mee'əkəən wɪn bulɪk ə [monster]
A əz)yz wyy'əostyd ɪn myy'əkəən wúan " " monst'r
T as is wasted in making one bullock a monster

M ohd gúa tə kee'əp drá'y æ' və'əh'r váyɪn ky'əotl ɪn
A ud " tu " dry " və'ə " hɔks'n ɪn
T would go to keep three or four fine oxen [cattle] in

M gúad kondysh'n.

A " "
T good condition.

12. M uáy, z'ɹ, dháa-a' med dɪyst)əz wə'l vət)əhp
A " " dhá-a' máyt dɪúast)əz wə'l vyy'əot "
T Why, sir, they might just)as well fat up

M zdəgz)əən yy'əəh'ɹz) ən REE'əbohts, áy ən vEE'əz'nz) ən
A " " EE'əRZ " Rəbohts, " " vəz'nz "
T stags and hares, and rabbits, aye and pheasants and

- M pEE'ærdra'djyz væ'r dhæ mEE'ætæR æ)dHEE'æt.
 A pæE'rdrjdz " " mæt'R ɔ dhyy'æt.
 T partridges, for the matter of that.
13. M tæ'l aa' wEE'æt [tæz] :myy'æst'r :pohntj, yf zda'd æ vlyqæon
 A tæ'l yy úat, " " pntj yf zded ɔ "
 T Tell you what [it is], Master Punch, if stead of finging
- M æwáa-a' gúad prævnd'R tæ t'rn æ'rnd yæææom'lz y'ntu
 A æwáy " prævænd'r tu " " ænææmæ'lz æntu
 T away good provender to turn horned animals into
- M :dæææl :læmb'rts, dháa-a' wúaz tæ gyy bryy'æd æn maa'y
 A " :læmb'rts dháy úaz tu byy'æstúa " " myy'æt
 T Daniel Lamberts they was to give [bestow] bread and meat
- M æn t'rmohs tæ :krystænz æn myy'æk zohm æn)æm
 A " " æn :krystænz " " " æ)dhohm
 T and turnips on Christians, and make some of them
- M æ byt væt'R dhæn dháa-a' bá'y dháa)a'd dúu múu
 A æ lyt'l vyy'æt'R dháæon dháy byy dháyy)d dúua múua
 T a little fatter than they be, they'd do more
- M gúad æ práa'yshæos záyt, æn áy)m bæ'ðhn jæ'ðh bá'y
 A gúuad æ præ'æshæos záyt, " " báund jáua byy
 T good a precious sight, and I'm bound you be
- M dhæ zyy'æm pynæon.
 A ɔ dhæ " æbrynæon.
 T of the same opinion.
14. M áy ba', z'R, jæ'ðh'R báa'ydjæont zæ'rævnt :djúan :græ'øhts.
 A " byy, " ju'r byydjæont " " :gráuts.
 T I be, sir, your obedient servant, John Grouts.

Notes to the above Letter.

1. *knows*, M. writes (*áy næ'ðhz*) and says *not* (*núaz*) which is what A. gives; but M. says that 'to know' is (*tæ núu*).

3. *looking*, an octogenarian at Redenham (5 nw. Andover and 1 nw. Appleshaw) agreed with A. here.

5. *found* or (*væ'ðhd*).—M. says "hog not used," that is in the sense of a male pig; but as a young and as yet unshorn sheep, the word is common in Ha., so that a *Hampshire Hog* means a country simpleton. There is a 'Hampshire-Hog Lane' at Hammer-smith, London, W.

6. *very*, M. says the final *y* is frequently omitted.

9. *bullock*, M. says *ox* is not used in Ha., but A. gives it.

11. *oil* (*ææ'yjlj*) in cwl.—*making* not (*myy'ækæon*) says M., as A. has, it is only the infinitive which is (*myy'æk*). M. says *monster* is not used, and Prof. S. put a ? against (*mEE'ænst'R*) as a possible pron.—*four* is (*væ'ðh'r*), but *fourteen* is (*væ'rtin*).—*cattle* was *ææn* in the original, but M. says the word is not used, though A. has it.

13. *tell you what*, according to M. should have had 'tis appended.—*a bit*, M. says *not* a little, which A. uses.—*bestow* is not used says M., but it is given by A.—*you be* [*of*, to be omitted according to M.] *the same opinion*.

ANDOVER COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

Written by Prof. Schröer from dictation of Mr. B. Manning. See p. 100.

1. (dhæt háyv wæoz níua dhøon heef brúuad), that hive was more than half brood.
2. (t)yy'ænt láyk dhyy'æot), it [=the thing said] is not like that, [=is not so].
3. (y yy'ænt níua gúuad), it [referring to a rake] is-not no good.
4. (yy'is dhyy hæst, dhyy)st stóulst my mee'æ), yes thou hast, thee hast stol'st my maw=heart. [The phrase is said to belong to a well-known anecdote, using stol'st for stolen.]
5. (gymy dhýk zee'æ. uy'tjn? dhýk)n), give me this saw. which one? this one.
6. (dhyy'æ byy'æost æ bee'æod bóoe), thou be'st a bad boy.
7. (dhyy'ædst [dhyy'æoldst] nee'æ byy níua gud)an), thee'dst [thee'ldst] never be no good one.
8. (tyz máyn bee'æod, z'r), it)is main [=very] bad, sir.
9. (áy kyy'ænt kæ'æhnt)æm dhæe'æ æe'a'l æmæoq), I can't count them there all among [mixed up together].
10. (údy dúuant júua gúua húuam [wúuam]), why don't you go home?
11. (dúuant mee'ahk sytj)æ nee'a'z), don't make such a noise.
12. (áy tæ'l dhý úd)t)yz, man!), I tell you what [it] is, man!
13. (wææ'r byy'æost [byst] dhyy gwáuh,n?), where be'st thee going? [In (gwáuh₁) "the first element low-back-wide, the second rather mid-mixed-wide, but certainly labialised by the (a). I [Schröer] make it (uh₁) lower, between (oh) and (uh), but more (y) than (oh)."]
14. (wee'æot byst gwáyn vææ'r?), what be'st thou going for? [=why are you going?]
15. (údt)s dhyy wee'æont?), what)is [it that] thee want?
16. (máyn smyytjy, máyn smyy'rt), main (=very) dusty, main smart.
17. (áy wynt. áy úant gúu úæm tændyt), I will)not. I won't go home to-night.
18. (luakyy yy'r; y túald my túadhæo dáay), look ye here; he told me the other day.
19. (yf dhyy wast gwáuh,n tæ :æksf'rd, wytj wáy wudst gúua?), if thee wast going to Oxford, which way wouldst [thou] go?
20. (wytj wáy udst æv)yt; æ'ot æ kúu'ld [kæ'æhæ'ld]?), which way wouldst [thou] have it; hot or cold?
21. (myy'æot dháy mee'æot), meet thy mate.

ANDOVER cwl.

from the phonetic observations of Prof. Arnold Schröer, chiefly on Mr. Manning and Mr. Archard, who are sometimes distinguished as M and A. Mr. Manning also gave Prof. S. a list of many words in the cwl. in his own orthography, which I annex in Italics because it serves to shew his own appreciation of his own sounds. I preserve even Mr. M.'s division of a word into two. See p. 100.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zúa. 3 byy'æk. 4 tyj'æk. 5 myy'æk, mee'ahk. 6 myy'æd. 8 hee'æv. 9 byyy'æv. 11 mee'æ. 12 zee'æ. 14 dree'æ, drææ'.

[('æ'aful, e'e'aful) awful]. 17 M l'e'e'ə, A l'æ'ɪ. 18 kyy'ək. 19 tyy'əl, tyy'ɪ. 20 lyy'əm [more decided dialect], l'e'e'əm [less broad]. 21 nyy'əm, n'e'e'əm. 24 zhyy'əm, shyy'əm. 30 kyy'ə'r, kyy'r'. 33 ryy'ədhə.

A: 39 kyy'əm, kəym, keeam [not much used. M.]. 40 kūuam. 41 dhəqk. 43 hyy'ənd. 44 lyy'ənd. 45 w'e'e'ənt. 46 kyy'əndl. 47 wyy'ənd'r. 48 zyy'əq, zohq. 49 yy'əq. 50 təqz [doubtful whether ever (tyy'əqz)]. 51 mən. 55 M e'e'əshyz [never (yy'ə-)], A yy'əshyz. 56 w'e'e'əsh [very seldom (wyy'əsh)]. A: or O: 58 vrəm, vrohm. 60 ləq. 64 r'e'e'əq.

A'- 67 gūua, gu. 69 nūua. 70 tūua, tūua, tūua'p. 72 ūua, hyy'u, hūua. 73 zūua. 74 rūua, tūua. 76 tūuad. 77 l'æ'ɪ'rd. 78 ūua. 79 ūuan. 80 ol'rdə'ɪ, əl'rdə. 82 wons, wūuans. 84 mūua. 85 zūuə'r, zə'əhə. 86 ūuats, [usually (wūats)]. 87 kl'æ'az, kl'e'e'əz. 89 būuath, b'e'e'əth. 91 mə'əh. 92 nūua, nə'əh. 96 zūua [but mostly (zə'əh, zə'əhd, zə'əh'ən) sow, sowed, sowing]. 97 zūu'l. 98 M n'e'e'əd [knowned], A nūuan [known]. 99 drə'əhd. 100 zə'əhd [but the (z) is gradually giving way to (s)].

A': 101 wūuak. 102 əks, əx. 103 əkst, e'e'əkst, ēykst, əxt. 104 rūuad. 106 brūuad. 113 ūua'l. 115 ūuam. 117 ūuan. 118 būuan. 122 i. nūuan, ii. nūua. 124 stūuan. 127 haa'rz. 133 rūuat.

Æ- 138 (v)fy'ədh'r. 140 e'e'əjl. 141 n'e'e'əjl. 142 sn'e'e'əjl. 143 t'e'e'əjl. 144 əgy'ən əg'e'e'ən. 146 mən [rarely (my'ən, m'e'e'yn)]. 147 bryy'ən. 148 v'e'e'ə'r. 149 bly'əz. 152 ūatə, wootə ["with voiceless d, 'Stimmlose lenis,' the pron. (ūatə) apparently dialect, (wootə) influenced by educated pron., heard both from old country people." AS.] 153 zə't'rdāy.

Æ: 154 by'ək. 158 əh ter. 159 e'e'əz, əz. 161 dāy. 162 tudāy. 163 lāy. 164 māy. 165 zed. 166 m'e'e'əd. — waps [wasp]. Æ'- 184 l'e'e'əd, lee ad. 187 l'e'e'əv. 189 woy. 190 kəy. 194 e'e'əni [occ., but oftener (əny)]. 195 m'e'e'əni, mən'y. 197 dje'e'əz. 198 lət. 199 ble'e'ət. 200 w'e'e'ət. 202 e'e'ət.

Æ': 203 zb'e'e'ət'ɪ. 204 ynd'e'e'əd [indeed]. 205 dhæd. 208 M eev'r, A əv'r. 209 M neev'r, A nəv'r. 210 klāy. 211 grāy. 212 wāy. 213 əydh'r, e'e'ədh'r. 214 nəydh'r, n'e'e'ədh'r. 215 tūuat. 216 d'e'e'əl. 217 e'e'ət'ɪ. 218 M zhyy'əp, A zhe'e'əp. 220 M zhyy'əb'rd, A zhe'e'əp'rd, zhəp'rd ["the latter rather confirming the pronunciation of M.']. 223 dhəh'r, dh'æ'ɪ'r. 224 u'æ'ɪ'r, A wəh'r. 226 mūuast. 227 wət. 228 zwət, zw'e'e'ət.

E- 231 dhə. 232 br'e'e'ək. 233 spy'ək, A sp'e'e'ək, [M makes (sp'e'e'ək) he spoke]. 234 n'e'e'əd. 235 w'e'e'əv. 236 v'e'e'əv'r. 238 e'e'əd'ɪ. 239 zāa-a'l. 241 r'aa-a n. 243 pl'aa-a'l. 244 waa'l. 246 M kw'e'e'ən, A kw'aa-a'n. 248 m'e'e'ə'r. 249 w'e'e'ə'r. 250 zw'e'e'ə'r. 251 M māa'yt, A my'ət. 252 kytl.

E: 256 zdryy'ət'ɪ, stree'ət'ɪ. 257 e'e'əd'ɪ. 260 lāa-a'l. 261 zāa-a'l. 262 w'āa-a'l. 263 əw'āa-a'l, waa'a'l. 265 zdree'ət, zdraa'a't. 266 waa'l. 269 z'aa'lf. 271 taa'l, tyy'l. 272 aa'lm. 273 my'ən. 274 by'ənt'ɪ. 275 zdyy'ənt'ɪ, stee'ənt'ɪ. 276 dhyqk. 279 w'e'e'ənt. 286 a'rəh'r. 288 lət.

È'- 289 jee'ə and jyy'ə. 290 hyy. 291 dhyy. 292 m'e'e'ə [not much used. M.]. 293 M wāa'y, A w'e'e'ə, wy. 294 v'e'e'əd, véad. 296 byl'e'e'əv. 297 vəl'r. 298 v'e'e'al'ɪ. 299 gtee'ən. 300 ke'e'əp, kéeyp. 301 hyy'r. 302 M my'ət, A m'e'e'ət, méeyt. 303 zw'e'e'ət, zwéeyt. È': 305 hāy. 306 hoight. 307 nāy. 308 naid. 311 tin. 312 hé ere. 314 hyy'rd. — bləsn [blessing]. 315 véate.

EA- 318 leeft. 320 kyy'ə'r. EA: 321 [(zyd) see'd, used]. 322 lááfe. 324 əyty [eighty]. 326 ūua'ld, ə'əhd. 330 hūua'ld, h'ə'əhd. 332 tūua'ld, t'ə'əhd. 333 k'ə'af. 334 heef. 335 e'e'a'l ee'l. 338 ke'e'a'l. 339 [(hyy) used]. 340 yy'ə'r'd, jyy'rd [orchard is (e'e'ə'r'tjəd, -ət)]. 342 yarm. 343 wayarm. 344 tyy'ld. 346 gee ate. EA'- 347 hé áde. 348 əy [pl. (e'e'a'z)]. 349 fy'ə'əh. EA': déade. 351 lid. 352 r'e'e'əd. 353 bryy'əd. 355 dyf. 357 dhə'əh. 359 nāy'b'r. 360 tee am. 261 bee an. 363 tyy'əp, tje'e'əp, tje. 366 gry'ət. 368 d'ath. 371 strád.

EI- 373 dháy ["of course not genuine instead of (hyy) the old Southern form"]. EI: 380 dhəm, əm ["in (əem) perhaps the old genuine Southern form Anglo-Saxon heom, him"].

EO- 384 *heb n.* 386 *yow.* 387 *nee'u.* EO: 388 *mu'lk.* 390 *shohd,*
shjud. 392 *ʒəŋ.* 394 *ʒənd'r.* 396 *wurk,* [(w)urked] worked]. 399 *bráyt.*
 402 *læa'rn.* — *smgy'rt* [to smart]. 406 [“never heard it used” M].
 EO'- 409 *báy.* 412 *shy, hy.* 419 *ʒə'oh'r.* 420 *və'oh'r.* 421 *væa'ty.*
 EO': 422 *zyk.* 427 *baa'y* [been (bæ'n)]. 428 *zaa'y, zy.* 430 *vreend.* 433
bre'ast. 435 *ʒə'oh.* 436 *drə'oh, druu.* EY- 438 *dáy* [and (dúua) ?
 died (dáy, dæa'y)].

I- 440 *M wáyk, A wee'ok.* 446 *noine.* 449 *gyt* [forget (f'rgyt)].
 I: 452 *dý.* 455 *láy.* 458 *náy, nyy'ot* [the latter “most decided dialect”].
 459 *náy.* 465 *syty.* 466 *ty'ld, ty'ld.* 469 [(dý uu'l) I will]. 475 *woind.*
 484 *dhyk* [(dhyk'n) this one]. 485 *thee'sels.* — *sohns* [since]. I'- 490 *by.*
 492 *záy.* 494 *táym.* 496 *dý'rn.* 498 *náy.* I': 500 *láy.* 506 [w)aman.
 507 *wum'en.*

O- — *smæa'ak, smúuak* [smoke]. 519 *ə'ohvə.* 521 *vov'el.* 522 *oop'un.*
 524 *warld.* O: 527 *bowt.* 528 *thowt.* 529 *browt.* 531 *dæetə.* 532
ko'al. 534 *ho'al.* 535 *və'ohk.* 536 *goo uld.* 541 *wynt, úant.* 550 *wárd.*
 552 *kæa'rn.* 553 [hæa'rn. O'- 555 *zhoo.* 558 *luak.* 559 *mooth.*
 562 *mo'um.* — *month* [month]. 564 *zúuan, zun.* 565 *núuaz.* 566 *ohdh'r*
 [“but usually (to)hdhə, túadhə, tə'ohdhə]; I heard an old farm-labourer,
 80 years old, at Longstock (9 nw. Winchester), say (mády tohdh'rz) = my others.”
 AS.] 568 *braadh'r.*

O': 570 *búuak.* 570 *túuak.* 571 *gúuad.* 572 *blúuad.* 574 *brúuad.* 575
stúuad. 576 *wúuanzdə, wohndə.* 578 *plaa, plə'oh.* 579 *M inə'oh, A nohf*
 [which M doubts]. 580 *tə'oh.* 583 *túuəl.* 584 *stúuəl* [“that is inverted
 (t) almost like (tə); this sound is said to be frequent, though M does not admit
 it in (tu), two, where I heard it distinctly myself, though not always.” AS.]
 585 *brúuam.* 586 *dúua.* 587 *dohn.* 593 *mist.* 595 *vo'ut.*

U- 599 *ah'boone.* 601 *vowul.* 602 *zow, plu. zows.* 603 *kohm, kooam.*
 604 *zohm'r.* 605 *zohn* [see 629]. 606 *d'er.* — *uud* [wood]. U: 609
vu'l. 612 *zohm.* 613 *drə'ohk.* 615 *pə'ohnd.* 616 *grə'ohənd.* 623 *və'ohənd.*
 625 *too'ung.* 626 [not used, I be'a mbin hunger'd, M]. 629 *zohn* [see 605].
 632 *ohp.* 634 *M drə'oh, A druu.* 639 *dowst.*

U'- 640 *kow hu, pl. kow'hoos.* 641 [hə'oh. 644 *zohk, zuk.* 645 *dúuav.*
 — *dhúuam* [thumb]. U': 658 *də'ohn.* 663 [hə'ohs.

Y- 673 *mohtj.* 675 *dráy.* 680 *byzy.* 682 *lee'dle.* Y: 684 *breed'edge.*
 685 *ru'dge.* 688 *zohtj.* 692 *rohqəst.* 694 *wurk.* 695 *æa'rkn, hy'rkn.*
 700 *wos'er, wuss.* 701 *væa'rst.* 702 *wy.* Y- 706 *uáy.* Y': 709
vy'er, voy'er.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bæe'əd, bæad.* 714 *læe'əd.* 732 *əpn.* — *əpy* [happy]. 736
læes, læəs. 737 *myy'ot, mee'ot.* E. 745 *tjæe'a't.* 749 *M lyft* [“which
 I myself heard,” AS.], A *læe'əft.* I. and Y. 758 *gæe'l.* 759 *vyt.* 760
zhryv'ld. O. 761 *loo'ud.* 765 *djúuan.* 766 [I believe this word *moidered*
 to be purely Irish, I never heard it in Ha., M.]. 767 *næe'yz, næe'a'z.* 769
mo'e'l, waant. 773 *dəqky.* 774 *púuani.* 776 *gúuad báay.* 783 [poultry is
 not used or they would say *powel try, M.*]. 791 *bæe'y, bóoe.* U. 796
bloo'u. 801 *rum.* 802 *roh.* 804 *druqkn* [compare 613]. 808 *poht.*

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *ve'ass.* 811 *pl'e'ass.* 813 *byy'əkn.* 818 *æe'ədj.* 822 *maay,*
moj. 826 *æe'əgl.* 828 *eegy.* — *kəmpl'əynyn* [complaining]. 833 *pyy'ə'r.*
 — *plaa'yz* [“(ply)əz is probably not genuine dialect”]. 835 *r.æa-a'zn.* 836
zyy'əzn. — *myy'əst'r.* 849 *chaimber.* 841 *tjyy'əns.* 847 *dainger, doinger.*
 849 *zdrəond'r.* 850 *dyy'əns.* 851 *æe'nt.* 852 *æe'əp'rn.* 854 *bəə'r'l.*
 855 *kæe'rohts.* 856 *pæe'ə'rt.* 857 *kyy'əns.* 862 *zyy'əf.* 864 *kæa'əns,*
 [shorter (kəəs)]. 865 *væe'lt.* 866 *pə'r.*

E.. 867 *tæe'a't.* 869 *væe'əjl.* 874 *ryy'əon.* 875 *væe'ənt.* 876 *dæe'ənty.*
 877 [not used, M.]. 885 *vəh'r, və'ri* [“an old man of 80 in Redenham (5 nw.

Andover), apparently eager to avoid the dialectal change of (f) to (v), said (*fery*),” AS.]. 888 *sartun* [often it is *zartun zure*, M.]. 890 *byy'aost*. 893 *vla'oh'r*. I.. and Y.. 897 *dyláyt*. 898 *náys*. 900 *pr,æa'y*. 901 *váyn*. 903 *dáyn* [not vulgar]. 904 *váylæt*. 912 *ráys*. O.. 913 *kúatj*. 915 *zдохf*. 916 *ænxæn*. 918 *fay'ble*. 920 *pæ'ynt*. 922 *bohshl*, *bushl*. 923 *maist*, *moin dé'amp*. 924 *choy'iss*. 925 *v,æa'ys*, *vææ'ys*. 926 *zb,æa'yjl*, *zbææ'yj*. 929 *kæ'ohkæomb'r*. 930 *lææ'yn*. 935 *kohntri*. 939 *klúas*. 940 *kúat*. 941 *vo'ul*. 942 *bohtj'r*. 943 *titch*. 950 *zohp'r*. 951 *kohpl*. 952 *koo'us*. U.. 965 *ææ'yjl*. — *pohnish* [punish]. 969 *zhu'r*. 970 *djúast*.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

The *Isle of Wight* may be regarded as part of Ha. dialectally as it is politically. Owing to its separation from the mainland, and the absence of commercial ports, it has not been so much exposed to the influence of great towns as the county generally. The MS. form of dial. is strongly marked. The reverted (R) is well recognised when final. My information, independent of books, is derived from Rev. C. E. Seaman, the vicar of Northwood (2 s. Cowes), for the n. of the island, and Mr. Titmouse, schoolmaster of Shorwell (5 sw. Newport), for the s. The latter says that initial (z) is not frequent, but occurs in (*zæmæt*) somewhat, and there is a tendency that way in many other words, and also that the tendency is generally to use initial (v) for *f*, as (*værløq*, *vøg*) furlong, fog. Mr. T. says that *thr-* does take the sound of *dr-* in a very pronounced manner, and points to *dresher* for *thresher*, but Mr. Seaman does not admit this, but introduces an auxiliary vowel, as (*th'ru*) through. The transposition of (R) has not been noticed. *I be, we'm going, don't us, I've a walked, I do know*, are general. Mr. T. (a native of Hu.) had been previously a schoolmaster for six years in n.Sm., and the Wi. speech struck him as bearing a very strong general resemblance to n.Sm. speech. Having some difficulty in interpreting some of Mr. Seaman's spellings, I confine myself to giving those words which Mr. Titmouse has re-spelled.

SHORWELL (:shør'l), 5 sw. Newport, Wi.

cwl. furnished by Mr. Titmouse, 14 years schoolmaster, pal. conjecturally by A.JE. The diphthong (æ'i) may be (æ'i), but is not (ái). The MS. character is very evident from this list.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bæk*. 4 *tæk*. 5 *mæk*. 7 *stæk*. 8 *hee*. 12 *saal* [part. (*saaliq*) perhaps (r)]. 14 *draal*. 19 *tiel*. 20 *liem*. 21 *míem*. 24 *shíem*. 31 *liet*. A: 41 *thæqk*. A'- 70 *tuu*. 74 *ty₁* [written *tue*, and Mr. Seaman said that it approached Dv. (*y₁*), possibly (*tæ'u*)]. 86 *whats*. A': 102 *aast* [asked]. 108 *doo*. 115 *whóem*. 118 *bóen*. Æ- 138 *veedher*. Æ: 155 *dha'tj*. 158 *aatær*. 166 *míed* [the common word, but apparently confused with *made*]. 172 *graas*. 179 *wot*. 181 *paath*. Æ'- 182 *see*. 183 *teetj*. 190 *kee*. 196 *weer*. Æ': 224 *weer*. E- 232 *briik*. 236 *feever*. 252 *kit'l*. E: 265 *street*. 272 *elém*. 284 *dra'sh*. EA: 323 *fa'ut*. 342 *jíerm*. 343 *warm*. EA'- 349 [“f more like v”]. EA': 359 *næbær*. EO- 386 *joo*. EO: 393 *bíj'nt*. 399 *bræ'it*. 407 *fard'n*. EO'- 411 *drii*. 420 [f as v]. 421 *varti*. EO': 425 *læ'it*. 426 *fæ'it*.

I- 449 gít. I: 458 nœ'it. 459 rœ'it. 462 sæ'it. 484 [(dhik) used].
 488 jæt. I': 505 [*my wife* (mœ'i mîsis, mœ'i ool)d)umœn]. 506 umœn.
 O- 521 fœl. 524 wær'ld. O': 597 sat.
 U- 606 door [Mr. Seaman (dAAER)].
 Y: 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 mîst. E. 750 ba'g. O. 767 nœ'iz. 772 bonœfœ'ir. 773
 dæqki.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fîs. 811 plîs. 824 tîvœr. 851 naant. 852 eepœrn. 853
 bargœn. 854 bar'l. 866 poor. E.. 890 biœst [pl. (biœstiz)]. 891 fiœst.
 I.. and Y.. 899 nœs. 904 vœ'ilt. 910 dœ'ist. O.. 923 mœ'ist. 926
 spœ'il. 930 lœ'in. 942 batvœr. 944 [I allows it will rain=I think, admit,
 etc.]. 947 bæ'il. U.. 965 œ'il. 968 œ'istœr.

VAR. iv. SR. AND Ss. FORM.

The n. of Sr. will be treated under D 8. The s. of Sr. and w.Ss. vary but slightly from the Ha. var. iii. of D 5, but the dialect is manifestly dying out. The initial (z, v) have vanished. The (ái) for AEG, EG, scarcely appear, having become (ee', ee, ee), as frequently even in D 4. The A- fractures remain generally. The I' remains (æ'i) or nearly so, but as we go eastward becomes more confounded with (á'i, ó'i). This last diphthong has been constantly given me from other districts, when subsequent vivâ voce information has shewn it to be (æ'i, ái) or even (ái). Here Rev. T. Burningham, then Rector of Charlwood (6 ssw.Reigate), wrote *av-i*, and hence I give his words with (á'i). In e.Ss. and in Ke. most informants give *oi*, but I have found (æ'i) in n.Ke. At the same time (æ'i) so often simulates (ó'i) that an unaccustomed ear would unhesitatingly give the latter. Mr. Burningham finds s Sr. and n.Ss. more mincing than the s.Ss. He says: "It is difficult to give a notion of the close, mincing, squeezed-in pronunciation of the s.Sr. and n.Ss.: '*haaow* much a *paaround* is that *raaround* of beef?' as also to give the *burr* of the *r's*." The *aa* is explained by *hay*, and the italicised words are closely (héu, péund, réund) common in London and n.Ke. "A Sr. man would say 'rebbit,' a s.Ss. man 'rahbut,' e.g. 'eve a'-got a rahbut in ees pawkut' (ii)v egot v rabet in iiz pAAket). I speak of the pronunciation of 50 years ago. It still prevails among the old, but is polished off a good deal among the rising generation by 'education.'" My information from w.Ss. is very meagre, but there can be no doubt that it continues Ha. speech with a still further falling off of the dialect in the direction of Ke. The separation between e. and w.Ss. depends on the use of (d) for (dh) in certain words. This is unknown even at Bolney (12 nnw.Lewes) in w.Ss., but has been heard from old people at Cuckfield (3 ne.Bolney). The commencement of the line at the mouth of the Adur is due to the late Mark Antony Lower. In these districts *I be* remains, but

I are is found in Ke. The cwl. on which I rely are those obtained vivâ voce from students at Whitelands, and these I annex, including some other words.

SOUTH SURREY AND WEST SUSSEX cwl.

Pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, native of Ockley (8 sw.Reigate), where she had lived all her life; Miss M. A. Forth, not a native, but who had been always resident at Ockley and had spoken Sr. talk when a child; and Miss Alice Slyfield, native of Reading, who had lived 7 years at Stoke (1 n.Guildford), all in Nov. 1877 students at Whitelands. The reverted (R) of Miss Sayers was perfect. The C, G, W were pal. by AJE. from indications.

C Charlwood (:tjælð) (6 ssw.Reigate) from Rev. T. Burningham.

G words from Dr. Grece's dt. for Weald of Sr. Since Dr. G. marked numerous words in his wl. as having the vowels in rs., I have given some of them in ro. and in Italics.

O Ockley only } unmarked, both O and S.
S Stoke only }

W Wisborough, Ss. (8 sw.Horsham) from Rev. W. A. Bartlett.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bake* [no (ee'j) vanish]. 5 *make* [no (ee'j) vanish]. 12 *saa* [no euphonic (R)]. 13 C *naa*. 17 *laa* [no euphonic (R)] and C. 20 *léem*. 21 *néem* and G. 23 *séem*. 24 *shéem* and C. 33 *raadher*, O *reedher*. 36 C *thaa*. 37 *klaa*. A: 41 C *thæqk*. 43 *a'n* [h always omitted], W *haand*, G *haand*. 51 *man*. 64 *waant*.

A: or O: 58 *from*. 60 *long*. 61 O *smæq*. 64 *wrong*.

A'- 67 *guu* and C [(:gwee'n) a-going O, not S]. 69 *noou*. 70 *tóou*. 73 *sóou*. 74 *two*. 76 *too'd*. 77 C *lærd*. 79 *oo'n*. 85 C *sóover*. 86 *wats* and C. 87 *tlooz* [(tl, dl) for initial *cl- gl-* general]. 92 *nóou*. A': 101 *oo'k*. 104 *róoud* and G. 106 *broo'd*, C *braad*. 107 *loo'f*. 108 *dóou*, C *doo*. 111 *ought*. 115 O *oo'm* and C, S *oom*. 122 *nan*. 123 W *naathæn*. 124 *stoo'n* and C, *stæn* [as a weight]. 131 *goout*.

Æ- 140 *ee'l*. 141 *nee'l*. 142 *snee'l*. 147 *bree'n*. 152 *water*. 153 *sa'durdee*. Æ: 155 *thæt* and W. 166 *mee'd* [(gæ'l) usual, quite London]. 170 *arvist* [no change of (v) into (w)]. 171 *barley*. 172 *graas* and C. 174 *eesh*. Æ'- 182 *sea*. 183 *teach*. 184 *lead*. 190 *kee*. 193 *clean*. 194 *eni*. 197 *cheese*. 200 *wiit*. Æ': C *eedher*. 215 C *taat*. 218 *ship* and C. 219 C *slip*. 224 G *wéever*. 226 C *móoust*. 227 S *wet*.

E- 233 *speak*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 241 C *ráin*. 246 i. *queen*. 250 *swíer*. 251 *meat*, W *meet*. 252 *kid'l* [common], C *kit'l*. 254 [C (*liðer*) old Sr.]. E: 261 *say*. 265 *strá'it*, G *street*. 272 *elem*. 278 [a term of depreciation]. 280 *leeb'n*. 282 C *strenth*. 284 *thresh* and W.

E'- 296 C *bliv*. 299 *green*. E': 310 C *hiel*. 312 C *iíer*. 314 C *hiíerd*. 315 *fit*. 316 *níkst*.

EA- 319 *gee'p*. 320 *kéever*. EA: 322 C *laaf*. 323 *fa'ut* and C and W. 324 [tendency to (*áit*)]. 326 O *ood*. 330 *ood* [same as 326]. 333 *caif*. 334 *half* [no h]. 340 *jíerd*. 343 *waarm*, C *waarm*. 346 *gee't* and G.

EA'- 347 *ed*. 348 *ái*. 349 *few* and C. EA': 355 *deaf*. 357 *though*. 358 S *níist* [níghest, heard in use]. 360 C *tíiem*. 361 C *bíien*. 368 *death* and C. 371 *straw*, C *straa*.

EI- 373 *they* [no (d) for (dh) as in D 9]. EI: 377 *steak*, C *stiik*. 378 *weak*.

EO- 383 *seb'n*. 386 *joo*. 387 *new*. EO: 393 *beyond*, C *bíe'nd*. 394 G *render*. 397 *soo'rd*, C *súu'rd*. 399 O *bráit*, S *brá'it*. 405 *arth*. 406 *earth*. EO'- 412 *she*. 413 *devil*. 414 *fly*. 417 *tjoo*. 420 *fóover*. EO': 423 *thigh*. 424 *roof*. 425 *láit*. 426 *fáit*. 433 C *briist*. 435 *you*. 436 S *tráiu*, O *troo*, C *tráiu*. 437 C *tráuth*.

EY- 438 dáí [once O said (dái)].
 I- 440 O wík, S wíik. 442 C A'ívi. 444 stáil. 446 náin. 448 *these*.
 449 git. 450 *Tuesday*. I: 452 ái, á'i, C A'í [often]. 457 C ma'ít. 458
 O náit, S ná'it. 459 O ráit, S rá it [and so for I']. 465 sitj. 467 tjái'ld
 and C. 469 tǵilǵr, -ǵrn. 472 sraǵk. 475 *wind*. 484 *this*. 487 O risterdee.
 488 jít.
 I'- 494 táim [C (A'í) for I']. I': — dik [ditch]. 503 láif. 505 wáif.
 507 umen. 508 máil. 509 wáil.
 O- 521 foal, C íóovl. 522 open. 524 wǵrld. O: 526 kaaf. 527
bought. 528 *thought*. 529 brought. 530 wrought. 531 daughter, C daatǵr.
 532 coal, C kóovl. 533 O dǵl. 536 gold. 546 C fúvǵrd. 549 úvǵrd. 550
 wǵrd and C. 551 C starm. 552 corn, C karn. 553 horn, C harn.
 O'- 555 shoe. 559 mother. 562 moon. 564 sun. 566 adǵer. O': 569
book. 570 took. 573 flood. 575 stood. 578 ple'u. 579 enough [never heard
 (ǵnǵ'u)]. 580 tough. 586 do. 587 done. 588 noon. 589 spoon. 592 soor.
 594 [*shoes* always said even for boots]. 596 rut, rat. 597 sat.
 U- 605 son. 606 dáuvǵr and G. 607 butter. U: 611 bullock. 613
drunk. 615 S tuu pǵn [two pounds]. 618 wun. 619 fun. 620 grǵn. 625
tongue. 629 sun. 631 thǵǵzdee. 632 up. 633 cup. 634 through. 636
 fǵrdher.
 U'- 640 ke'u [all U' like this]. 641 C hǵ'u [and all U' like this]. 649
 the'uzend. 653 but. U': 656 rum. 662 us. 663 e'us, C hǵeus. 665
 me'us. 666 uzben [O (ǵaǵer) commonly used]. 671 me'uth.
 Y- 676 láí. Y: 689 build. 691 C ma'ind. 700 was and C. 701 fast.
 Y': 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 dréin. 737 WG méest. E. 743 C skreem. I. and Y. 758
 G gǵel. O. 761 hu'd, C lóovd. 769 móovl. 790 ǵǵ'un, C ǵǵ'umd.
 U. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 able. 810 fee's. 811 plee's. 813 *bacon*. 840 *chamber*. 843
 breush. 850 dens. 852 apron. 854 C barl. 861 tee'st.
 E.. 868 C djái. I.. and Y.. 899 niece. 906 C va'ípǵr.
 O.. 913 kúetj. 916 iq'n. 919 a'intment. 920 pa'int. 926 spa'il.
 929 ke'ukembǵr. 930 C le'in. 934 C br'anti. 938 C karnǵr. 940 koo't
 and C. 947 br'íl. 948 br'íl.
 U.. 961 ǵraul. 965 ǵ'il. 968 ǵ'ister. 969 C shíuvǵr. 971 fiut.

D 6, 7, 8 = BS. or border of S. as against M. and E.,
 forming the Border Southern Group.

Boundary. This cannot be determined with great accuracy, and
 will be given for each district separately.

Area. Extreme n.Gl., most of Wo., sw. Wa., most of Ox., extr.
 se.Be., n.Sr., and extr. nw.Ke. This was an area of continual
 conflict and mixture of the S., W., M., and E. populations.

Character. A mutilated S, which is strongest in the w. and
 gradually fades towards the e. and s., becoming finally scarcely
 perceptible in D 8.

D 6 = n.BS. = northern Border Southern.

Boundary. Begin at Bewdley, Wo. (2 w-by-s. Kidderminster), and go along the reverted *ur* line 3 (see p. 17) through Wo., Wa., and Np. to the b. of Np., which pursue as far as its sw. angle (6 sw. Banbury), and then cut across the projection of Ox. and proceed w. to Moreton-in-Marsh, Gl. (17 ne. Cheltenham). Then continue direct w. to the s. of Tewkesbury, Gl., and of Eldersfield, Wo., and n. of Staunton along the n. b. of D 4. Here turn n. and pass over Red Hill and the Malvern Hills and their n. continuation to the starting-point, Bewdley. Although this b. is laid down with much minuteness, it is often uncertain, and must be considered to be at least six miles broad.

Area. The extreme n. of Gl., most of Wo. and s. of Wa., the extreme n. of Ox. and sw. of Np.

Authorities. See the following places in the Alphabetical County List, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Gl. °†Ashchurch, †Buckland, †Ebrington, †Fairford, °Kemerton, *†Shenington (locally in Ox.), †Long Marston, †Tewkesbury.

Np. †Ashby St. Legers, †Badby, °†Byfield.

Ox. °†Banbury (part locally in Np.).

Wa. °Butler's Marston, †Claverdon, †Kineton, †Knowle, †Pillerton Priors, †||Stratford-on-Avon, °†Tysoe.

Wo. †Abberley, †Bengeworth, †Bewdley, †Birt's Morton, †Droitwich, †Dunley, †Eldersfield, †Evesham, †Great Malvern, †Great Witley, *Hanbury, °Hartlebury, †Kidderminster, †Malvern Wells, †Saleway, †Stourport, °Upton Snodbury, †Worcester.

Character. This complicated district, containing the transition from S. to M., is naturally by no means well marked. Except at Eldersfield, the use of initial (z, v) for (s, f) seems lost; the (r) is inclined to approach (r) when initial, at least all my informants so hear it, and Mr. Hallam generally writes (r) only, even when final; and finds only traces of (r) in parts, which fail especially towards the e. *I be* remains, with *her* for *she*, and *I, she, we*, as emphatic forms of the object. It is convenient to distinguish four geographical varieties, though the differences between them are small. These are Var. i. s. Wo., Var. ii. s. Wa., Var. iii. Banbury, Var. iv. sw. Np. The general character of all is A- (éu) as (néum) name. A'=(oo, wā) as (road, wām, stwām), road, home, stone. Æ:=(ái, éi, ee), as (dái, déi, dee), day. EG:=(ái, éi, ee), as (ràin, réin, reén), rain. EA'=(iè, êè, éi, ee), as (biènz, béunz, gréit, greet), beans, great. O=(a) occ., as (drap, starm, kras), drop storm, cross. U=(x, u_o), as (kām, su_om), come, some. U'=(é'u, æ'u, áu), as (é'u, nā'u, dáum), how, now, down. The variations from these normal forms are so slight and probably individual that they cannot be formulated, but they must be collected from the following cwl. The whole district lies in the mixed *sum, sōdm* or *som* region, and *sōdm* prevails more and more as we approach the Midlands.

Illustrations. A cwl. derived from numerous places for each variety, dt. for Worcester, Hanbury, Claverdon, and Shenington; cs. for Banbury.

VAR. i. Wo. FORM.

WORCESTER.

dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. W. Brown, native, about 42, who had gone to Wolverhampton 9 years previously.

1. *di sêi, tjaps, jə)si di)m rə'it' vɒ'ut* dhat lɪ'tl wɛnʃ kəmɪn frɛm dhɛ skuul.
2. *ɛr)z gu'in də'um dhɛ rood* dhær thruu dhɛ rɛd gʒɛit ɔn dhɛ left and sə'id v dhɛ rood.
3. luk dhær ! *ɛr)z gə'n strɛ'it u_op' tɛ dhɛ dɔɛr v)dhɛ roq ə'us'.*
4. *wɛr ɛr)l vɛrɪ lɔ'kli* drɒp ɔlt [=hold] v dhat ɔuld dru_oqk'n def rɪqk'ld :tɔm.
5. *ju aal noo)im vɛrɪ wɛl.*
6. wɔ)nt dhɛ ɔld tjap sùn tel)ɛr nɔt tɛ)kɛm ɛgʒɛn, púɛ thɪq !
7. luk dhær ! ɛ)nt ɪt truɪ ?

Notes.

Words omitted : *yonder* jɔndɛr, *girl* gɜrl, *so soo, now* nɔ'u, *way* wɛi, *sure* shúr. *enough* shúr ɛnʊf, *child* tʃáild, *fellow* fele, *name* neem, *shrivelled up* srɪv'ld u_op, [with (srimps, srɛ'ud)] shrimps, shroud.

HANBURY (6 wsw.Redditch).

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, then a student at Whitelands Training College.

1. *soo ə'i sái, méets, jɛ sii nɔ'u* dhɛt ə'i bi rə'ɪt vɒ'ut dhat lɪ'tl gʒɛrl ɛkəmɪn frɛm dhɛ skuul jændɛ.
2. *ɛr)z v gu'in də'um dhɛ róod* dhær thruu dhɛ rɛd gɛɛst ɔn dhɛ left a'nd sə'id ɛv dhɛ wái.
3. *shúr ɛnɔ'u dhɛ tʃə'ild)z* gən stráit ɛp tɛ dhɛ dúer ɛv dhɛ rɛq ə'us,
4. *wɛr ɛr)l lə'kli fə'ind* dhat tɪpsɪ def feleɛ ɛv dhɛ néem v :tɔmɛs.
5. *wi aal nooz)im vɛrɪ wɛlɛ.*
6. wɛnt dhi ɔ'uld tjə'p sɛn teetj ɛr nɔt tɛ duɪ ɪt ɛgɛn, púuɛr thɪq !
7. *luke ! bɛɛnt ɪt trúuɛ.*

Principal variants in the dt. from Hartlebury (4 s-by-e.Kidderminster), sent by the Misses Haviland, daughters of the then Rector :

1. *so su, say* sɔz, *see* siiz, *girl* wɛntj, *where* wéɛr, *chance to mebi* ap'n, *school* yɔndɛr skúul jændɛ. 2. *there* dhéɛr, *through* thru, *gate* gʒɛt, *way* wɛi. 3. *enough* ɛnɔf, *is* bi, *straight* stréɛt, *door* dɔɛr, *wrong* rɔq. 4. *Thomas* :tɔmɛs. 6. *old* ɔld, *soon* súuɛn. 7. *is not, bɛnt, true* truɪ.

S. WORCESTERSHIRE CWL.

Made up from the following sources:

- A Abberley wn. by TH. (r-, -r), doubtful if one (u_0), no (z-, v-, h-).
 B Bewdley wn. by TH. mostly from Mrs. Ashcroft, a centenarian, one (z-), (u_0) frequent, occ. verbal pl. in *en* as (du_n - rs , *wi tu_k*'n, *wi*)n do you, we took, we have, with the He. form ($\text{v}dh \text{v}dh\text{'ut}$) of 'with without.'
 Bg Bengeworth, a suburb of Evesham, Wo., wn. by TH.
 Bu Buckland, Gl. (11 ene.Tewkesbury), wn. by TH.
 D Droitwich wn. by TH.
 E Eldersfield, Wo. (9 s.Great Malvern), wn. by TH. from Mrs. Knowles, aged 79, native, ($dh\acute{a}'i$ *kiip*'n) they keep, ($k\acute{a}m$ *wi* $\acute{o}'i$ *t\acute{s}* *pl\acute{a}i*) come with I to play, many (z-).
 Eb Ebrington, Gl. (18 ne.Cheltenham), wn. by TH.
 G Great Witley, wn. by TH.
 H Hanbury, vv. to AJE., the dt. is not included in this cwl.
 M Gt. Malvern and Malvern Hills wn. by TH.
 P from 'quaint words' by 'A PARSON,' that is a *parson*, in s.Wo. from Worcester on n. to Chacely on s. and Evesham on e. to Great Malvern on w., pal. as well as he could do it by AJE.
 S Saleway (7 sw.Redditch) wn. by TH., no (z-, v-), but (r-, -r), ($\text{v}r$)z, (*wi*)z her is, we has, ($\text{j\acute{o}nt}$) ain't.
 W Worcester wn. by TH., no (z-, v-).

** For brevity, when several places are grouped, the medial length of vowels has not been distinguished from the short.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 BSBU *teek*, H *t\acute{e}k*, E *t\acute{e}k*. 5 H *m\acute{e}k* *\acute{a}i* [make hay]. 20 AE *l\acute{e}um*, S *l\acute{e}um*, BBu *l\acute{e}m*. 21 ABSWBu *neem*, W *n\acute{e}im*d [as well as (*neem*)]. Eb *n\acute{ia}m*. 23 *seem*. — P $\acute{o}m\acute{e}r$ [hammer], A $\acute{o}m\acute{e}r$ [compare inserted \acute{o} in *number*, *timber*], S $\acute{o}m\acute{e}r$. — P *feer* [to fare, a fare]. 33 D *raadher*. A: — P *kr\acute{o}b* [a crab]. 51 P *man*, BW *m\acute{a}'n*. A: or O: 60 SD *l\acute{u}_0q*. 64 D *ru_0q*.
 A'- 67 AD *gw\acute{a}in*, W *gw\acute{e}in*. 77 P *lard*. 81 E *leen*. 92 AD *n\acute{o}u*. A': 104 Bu *rood*. 115 PAWH *w\acute{a}m*, D *w\acute{o}m*, Bu *oom*, W $\acute{o}m$ [also *home*, refined], — S *vloon* [alone]. 117 AEM *w\acute{a}n*, W *w\acute{a}n*. 118 P *bw\acute{a}n*. 120 D *\acute{i}erz* *\acute{e}guu* [years ago]. 122 Bu *n\acute{a}'n*, H *n\acute{a}n*. 124 P *st\acute{w}an*, AD *stoon*. 130 P *bwat*.
 \AE- 138 A *f\acute{i}rdher*, B *f\acute{i}rdher*, S *feerdher*, D *f\acute{i}rdher*. 141 B *n\acute{a}'ilz*. 147 H *br\acute{a}in*. — W *st\acute{a}rz* [stairs]. 152 S *w\acute{e}ter*, D *w\acute{i}ter*. \AE: 161 PAD *d\acute{a}i*, S *l\acute{a}'i*, W *d\acute{a}i*, [in city] *d\acute{e}i*, *dee*, Bu *dee*. — P *op'l* [apple]. — P *k\acute{o}rt* [cart].
 \AE'- 182 W *sii*. 192 P *meen*. \AE': 210 P *kl\acute{a}i* [clay]. 211 AS *gr\acute{a}i*, B *gr\acute{e}i*. 213 H *iidher*. 218 PD *ship*. 223 Bu *dh\acute{e}er*, BDS *dh\acute{e}er*, Bu *dh\acute{e}er*. 224 B *w\acute{e}'r*, S *w\acute{i}er*, BuW *w\acute{a}r*.
 E- 233 BW *speek*. 241 AB *r\acute{a}in*. 243 ABESH *pl\acute{a}i*. — P *beer* [to bear]. 248 P *meer*. 252 A *kj\acute{e}t'l*. E: 260 ABBu *l\acute{a}i*. 261 PABSD *s\acute{a}i*, Bu *s\acute{a}'i*, AE *z\acute{e}i*, W *s\acute{a}i*. 262 B *w\acute{a}i*, W *w\acute{e}i*, D *w\acute{a}i*, [foundations] AAL *gjin* *w\acute{a}'i* [all given way]. 263 ABESBu *\acute{a}w\acute{a}i*, M *\acute{a}w\acute{e}i*. 265 W *str\acute{a}it*. E': 315 PH *f\acute{i}t*.
 EA- 320 P *keer*. EA: 324 BESH *\acute{a}it* [Mrs. A. said (*\acute{a}i* *s\acute{a}i* *\acute{a}it* *er* *n\acute{a}'in*)]. 326 BS *\acute{o}ud*, EBu *\acute{o}uld*. 328 B *k\acute{o}ud*. 333 KAAL. 335 Bu *aal*, AAL. 346 W *g\acute{j}eit* [in the city] *g\acute{j}e't* [in the country]. EA'- 347 SD *\acute{a}d*, BuW *\acute{e}d*, *\acute{r}\acute{e}d*. EA': 350 B *d\acute{r}\acute{e}'d*. 353 S *br\acute{e}'d*. — A *kr\acute{a}im* [cream]. 360 S *tiim*. 361 P *beenz* [beans]. 366 A *greet*.
 EI- 372 B *\acute{a}i*. 373 ABS *dh\acute{a}i*, ED *dh\acute{a}'i*, Bu *dh\acute{a}'i*, D *dh\acute{e}'i*, *dhe*. EI: 378 B *week*. EO- 383 E *z\acute{e}v'n*. EO: 393 BuD *j\acute{a}nd\acute{e}r*. 395 S *\acute{r}\acute{u}_0q*. — P *b\acute{o}rm* [barm]. EO'- 409 P *beez* [bees]. 411 AB *thrii*, E *drii*. — H *trii* [tree]. EO': 426 B *f\acute{e}it*. 428 E *zii*, S *sii*. EY- 438 W *d\acute{a}i*, D *da'i*.
 I- 446 E *n\acute{a}'in*. — G *\acute{r}is* [yes]. I: 452 A $\acute{o}'i$, D $\acute{a}'i$, W *\acute{a}i*. 458 W *n\acute{a}it*. 459 WD *r\acute{o}'it*. 469 W *wu_0nt* [won't], Bu *ut* [wilt]. — *sp\acute{e}l* [to spill]. — A *r\acute{o}n* [run], S *ru_0n* [H added "donkey boys say (*ru_0n*)"]. — P *set* [to sit]. — E *ziks*. I'- 490 G *b\acute{a}'i*. 494 A *ts'im*. I': — BW *ts'\acute{a}di* [tidy]. 502 E *v\acute{o}'iv*. 506 W *um\acute{e}n*, H $\acute{a}'ul$)*d\acute{a}m\acute{e}n*, [a woman, old woman]. 510 W *m\acute{a}i*. — D *l\acute{a}'in* [line].

O- — S *shu*v'l. — D *drap* [drop]. O: 525, ii. *áf.* 531 D *daater*. — D *krap* [crop]. 551 Bu *stànm.* 552 Bu *kàrn.* — BS *a's* [horse]. — GS *màrnin* [morning]. 554 M *èkràs* [across]. — P *pwàst* [post]. O': 555 W *shæ'u.* 559 GW *mædher.* 564 D *sun,* H *sæn.* 568 B *brædher.* O': 573 D *flu*d. 575 H *stæd.* 579 D *væf.* 586 S *du*s *dhii* [dost thou]. 587 AH *dan,* S *du*n. 588 H *næn.* 589 H *spæn.* 594 H [has no (buuts) only (*shuuz*)]. 595 PH *fat.* 596 H *rat.* 597 H *sæt.*

U- 601 ASB *fæ'ul.* 603 M *èkamìn* [a-coming], H *kam* *æp* [come up]. — M *thu*nder. 605 S *sù*n, D *sæ'n,* ABu *sæn,* BD *sòn,* D [between] *sòn,* *sù*n. 606 WD *dæ*r, Eb. *dæ*r. 607 B *bu*tæ. U: 612 S *su*m. 613 B *dru*qk. — M *u*nderd [hundred]. — Bu *ægræ* [hungry]. 632 BW *u*p, M *æp* *æp.* U'- 643 G *næ'u,* D *næ'u.* 650 E *væ*'ut. U': 656 G *rùm.* 658 ABESW *dæ'm,* Bu *dæ'un.* 663 SW *æ'us,* D *æ'us,* *æ'uz'n* [pl.]. 667 D *æ'ut.*

Y- D *mæ*tæ. 675 *dæ*'i. 679 D *tjæ*tæ. Y: 691 ES *mæ'ind.* — P *hæ*rnæt [hornet].

II. ENGLISH.

— P *wæ*gín [wagging]. O. 767 A *náiz.* 791 H *bæ*'i. U. — B *mæ*k [muck]. 803 M [between] *dju*mp, *djæ*mp. — M *ku*t. 808 Bu *put,* D *put.*

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 D *plæ*ss. 820 P *gái.* — PD *pái* [pay]. — G *fáil* [fail]. — Bu *táiler.* 830 Bu *tráin.* 833 A *pær.* — PS *plæ*z [please]. 847 D *dáindjær.* 851 W *nánt.*

E.. 867 P *tæ.* — B *preetj* [preach]. 878 P *sæ*læri. — P *pors'n,* B *passun.* I.. and Y.. 898 Bu *næ'is.* 900 P *prái.* — P *sperit* [spirit]. 910 P *djæ'ist.* — B *bif* [beef]. — P *djæ'int* [joint]. 923 P *mæ'ist.* — B *næ*qk'l. 930 P *læ'in.* — P *kæ*rps [corps]. — EG *sært* [sort]. 940 P *kwat.* 947 A *hwóil.*

U.. 970 M *djæ*st, D [between] *djæ*st, *dju*st.

VAR. ii. s.WA. FORM.

CLAVERDON, WA. (5 e. Warwick) dt.

pal. by TH. from the dictation of S. Job, farm-labourer, b. 1824, native.

1. *æ'i* *sæ'i,* ju *tjæ*ps, ju *síi* *æ'i*)m *ræ'it'* *næ'u* *væ*'ut *dhat* *lét'l* *wensh* *kæmín* *frem* *s' skuu*l *jænder.*
2. *æ*)z *ægu'in* *dæ'm* *dhe* *rood* [*rúud*] *dhíer* *thruu* *dhe* *ræd* *gjæet* *æn* *dhe* *læft* *and* *sæ'id* [inclining to (*sáid*)] *v* *dhe* *rood.*
3. *lu* k *jæ!* *dhe* *tjæ'ild*)z *gæ'n* *stre'it'* *u*oP' *tæ* *dhe* *roq* *æ'us'* [*dûer*].
4. *wíer* *æ*)l *præ*ps *fæ'ind* *dhat* *dru*qk'n, *dæf,* *thín* *æn* *ægið* [haggard] *fæ*le [*kæ*'itæ] *væ* *dhe* *kæal* :tøm.
5. *wi* *æal* *nou* *ím* *væ*'i *wæ'l.*
6. *wu*o_{nt} *dhe* *óuld* *tjæ*p *mæ'ik* *æ*r *nou* *bæ*tæ *næ*r *gù* *dhíer* *væ*gjæ'n, *púer* *thiq.*
7. *lu* k *jæ!* *jænt* *it* *træ'u.*

Note.

This has a very neutral character. I find among the wn. from the same person (jænder) old, (jænder) new, etc., and as the latter appears in the dt., it is possible that Job was sometimes "speaking pretty." I find, also (*næ*m, *tæ*b'l), name, table, old, and (*næ*m, *tæ*b'l) new. Compare following owl. Job used (srimps, *sæ*'ud) shrimps, shroud, (shr-) being a difficulty.

SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- B Butler's Marston (10 s. Warwick), pal. by A.J.E. from a nwl. sent by Rev. E. Miller, Vicar in 1877, helped out in parts by K. below. Mr. M. considers that the speech extends for 6 m. round. This would include Kineton. Stratford is only 7 or 8 m. off. As reverted (r) is heard both at Stratford and Banbury, I conclude it must exist here and have introduced it. As exceptional pron. only were marked, the other pron. in the original wl. must be taken as practically in rs. In this case (*u*_o) would occur only in the words so marked. *I be* is used.
- K wn. at Kineton (9 s-by-e. Warwick) in 1880 by T.H. from a native of 58, who had, however, resided many years at Warwick as keeper of the gate at the entrance to the common. Only principal words are given. T.H. had not noted the reverted (r), but as it was strong in Stratford, I have introduced it. *I am* used. The pron. seems to have been tainted by Warwick. Also from Mrs. Pheasey, lived there 50 years from childhood.
- P Pillerton Priors (8 se. Stratford) wn. by T.H., in 1886 from a native b. 1819.
- S wn. at Stratford-on-Avon in 1880 by T.H. from an errand boy, native, and G. Phipps, a labourer, 20, native, only absent 1½ years. But both had so marked a town pron. that I give very few words. The errand boy had not even reverted (r), but the labourer and the other people in the town had it strongly. The labourer used *we am*. The (*u*_o) was frequent.
- T Tysoe (11 se. Stratford) wn. by T.H. in 1886, from natives b. 1802 and 1809. *I be* used.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 BP *bæk*. 4 BP *tæk*, K *teek*, S *téik*. 5 BP *mæk*, T *mèuk*. 6 B *méud*. 7 B *séuk*. 10 B *haa*. 12 B *saa*. 13 B *naa*. 14 B *draa*. 17 B *laa*. 18 T *kiuk*. 19 B *téel*. 20 BKPT *léum*, S *léim*. 21 BP *néum*, K *neem*, *néum* *néum*. — K *amær* [hammer]. 23 BP *séum*. 24 B *shéum*, T *shéum*. 25 B *méun*. — *spiir* [to spare]. 31 B *léut*. 35 T *aal*. 36 B *thaa*. A: 39 B *kéum*. 40 B *kuum* [? confused with *combe* a hill]. 43 B *ànd*. 44 B *lànd*. 51 B *màn*. 57 B *aa*s.
- A: or O: 59 B *là*m. 60 T *loq*, *luq*. 61 T *emækst*. 64 P *roq*, T *roq*. A'- 67 B *guu*, K *egù*. in. 75 B *struuk*. 76 BT *táud*. 77 B *lærd*. 81 B *léun*. 84 B *múer*. 85 B *súer*. 86 T *úets*. 90 T *bloo*. 92 S *nóu*. 93 P *snoo*. A': 101 B *úek*. 102 T *eks*. 104 T *rood*. 110 P *nat*. 111 B *aat*. 113 B *húul*, T *wool*. 115 B *húem*, K *òm*, T *wòm*. 117 S *wa'n*, T *wèn*. 118 T *bwèn*. 120 PT *eguu*. 121 P *ga'n*. 122 T *nə'n*. 123 B *nuq*. 124 K *stoon*, PT *stwèn*. 135 B *klath*.
- Æ- 138 B *fædhen* [or (éu)], SK *faadhen*. 144 B *egin*. — S *pru_oti* [pretty].
- Æ: 158 P *àfter*. 161 KP *dee*. 165 B *síd*. 169 *wèn*. 172 B *graas*. 174 B *áish* [? (e'ish)]. Æ'- 182 B *séi*. 183 B *teety*. 185 BT *reed*. 187 P *liuv*. 192 PT *míen*. 193 T *kleen*. 195 T *meni*. 196 B *wee'r*. 200 K *wiit*, TP *weet*. 202 B *heet*. Æ': 215 B *taat* (?). 216 B *diel*, T *dj'e'l*. 218 T *ship'*. 223 B *dhíer*, KPT *dhíer*. 224 B *wíer*. 226 B *muust*. 228 T *swet*.
- E- 232 *briik* [but only very partially]. 233 BKPT *speek*. 237 *fæver*. 241 K *re'in*, T *râin*. 243 KT *plee*. 251 BT *meet*. 252 B *kit'l*, T *kjést'l*. 253 B *et'l*. E: 260 K *lee*. 261 KT *see*. 262 PT *wee*. 263 KT *wwee*. 268 K *eldist*. 270 B *i. bæləs*. 272 B *eləm*. 279 T *went*. 286 B *harə*.
- E'- 294 T *fiid*. 299 KT *griin*. 300 PT *kiip*. 301 B *riier*, P *iir*. E': 307 T *nái*. 312 B *iier*. 314 K *iærd*, T *ærd*.
- EA: 321 B *saa*. 322 T *làf'*. 324 T *á'it*, *e'it*. 326 F *òld*. 345 T *de'r*. 346 B *gèut* *gèut*. EA'- 347 B *ied*, K *éd*. EA': 350 B *died*. 360 P *tiim*. 361 K *beenz*, P *bièn*. 363 T [between] *tjæp* *tjop*, KP *tjæp*. 370 B *raa*. EL: 378 *week*.
- EO- 383 T. *sev'm*. 315 B *beneeth*. 386 BT *joo*. EO: 388 T *milk*. 393 B *biæ'nd*. 394 SP *jænder*. 395 PT *ju_oq*. 397 B *súerd*. 402 BP *làrn*, T *læ_{rn}*, K *lò'rn*. EO'- 411 KT *thrii*, T *thrii*. — K *trii*. 420 B

foor. 421 B farti. EO': 423 T tha'ii. 425 B láit. 426 B fáit. 432 foerth. 433 T brést. 434 B beet. 438 K dá,i [marked as lying between (a', a)].
 I- 443 S frə'idi. 446 T nə'in. I: 452 K ái, P ə'i, T ə'i. 458 B náit, K [the (a) marked as lying between (a, ə)], P nə'it, T [between] nə'it, ná'it. 469 B ul. 480 T thiq'. — KS ru.n. I'- 490 B báí. 492 K sá'id. 494 K táim, T ts'im. 496 K áivern. 498 B ráit. I': 502 B fáiv. 503 T lə'if. 505 T wə'if. 506 KT umən. — T ee [hay].
 O: 526 B kaaf. 527 B baat. 528 B thaat. 529 B braat. 531 B daater, KP daater. 547 B búverd. 551 B starm. 552 B karn. 553 B harn. — marnin [morning]. 554 P vkràs. O'- 559 S modhər, K mædhər. 562 T muun. 564 KP sùn. 568 S bru,dhər. O': 569 T buk. 579 B vndu, T vnu,f, [plural] vna'u. 581 B saat. 586 P dún. 587 KP dón [marked as lying between (ò, ə)], another time merely (dà'n)], S dún. 588 TKP nuun. 589 T spuun. 595 B fat. 597 B sat.
 U- 601 K fə'ul. 603 B ku,m, KP kəm, PS kəm. 604 K su,mər. — S thu,ndər [thunder]. 605 K sòn [as in 587] sùn, TPS sùn. 606 B dóover. U: 610 T ul. 612 SP sù,m. 632 BKT u,p. 633 BK ku,p. 635 wath. 636 B fænder. 639 T du,st. U'- 640 T kja'u, P kja'u. 641 K ə'u au, T ə'u ha'u. 648 KT ə'vər. 650 T vba'ut (ə'u). U': 658 KT də'un. 659 TSP tə'un. 663 K ə'us, T [between] ə'us, éus. 666 T u,zbən.
 Y- 677 T drə'i. 679 S tjartj. Y: 689 B bild. 690 B káind. 691 BHK máind. 700 B wás. 701 B fás. 705 B skái. 706 B wái. Y': 709 B fáiv, ST fə'ivər. 711 B láis. 712 B máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A- 718 B tréd. E. 743 B skriem. 744 B meez'lz. 751 B púvər. O. 761 B lúvd. 767 B náis. 778 B vfuverd.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 B fəb'l. 810 B féus. 811 B pléus. 813 B bék'n, T bék'n. 814 B mées'n. 824 B tjeen. 829 B géen. 833 B peer. — Kpliiz [please]. 835 BT reez'n. 836 BT seez'n. 837 B leesh. 852 B vppurn. 860 T péal'st. 861 T téust. 862 B séuf. 865 B faat.
 E.. 867 BT tee. 869 B veel. 888 T sàntin. 889 B sees. 890 B beest. 891 B feest. 894 B diseev. 895 B riseev. I.. and Y.. 898 B náis. 910 B dja'ist.
 O.. 916 T ə'inen. 919 B ə'intment [the distinctions (ə'i ə'i di) were not indicated with sufficient precision in 919, 920, 924, 925, 926, 947, but distinctions of a similar kind at least were intended, AJE.]. 920 pə'int. 924 B tjə'is. 925 B váis. 926 B spə'il. 938 B karnər. 947 B bə'il. 948 B bə'ul. 952 B kúvər. U.. 965 B áil. 969 S shúvər.

VAR. iii. BANBURY FORM.

os. translated in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., F.C.S., native and resident, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and from TH.'s wn. The lw. which Mr. Beesley sent me was made 40 years previously by his uncle, and he had purposely abstained from consulting it, so that this is altogether an independent testimony. Mr. B. considers the dialect to extend for about 6 miles round Banbury, and names the following villages as using the same speech: in Ox., Copredy, Wardington, Adderbury, Bloxham, Swalcliff, Tadmarton, Sibford, Shutford, Horley, and Hornton; in Gl. (but locally in Ox.), Shenington; in Np., Middleton Cheney and King's Sutton. Mr. B. does not mark the reverted (x), but from TH.'s observations I have introduced it. Mr. B.'s letters shew that he used (x) for short U, but TH. heard nothing but (u) at Banbury.

O. wə'i :dʒən aa)nt noo də'uts.

1. wəl, nebər, ʒau ən ii mə boo'th laaf ət dhɪs ii'r niuuz ə mə'in, huu ki'i'rz ? (dhat)s neədħər ii'r nər dhee'r.

2. fīuu [fīAA'u] fook də'iz, kəz dhə bii laaft ət; hæs nooz, doo'nt)əs? wat shud mīk)am? t'ent veri lə'ikli, his)it?

3. hə'usəmə'ver dhiiz bii dhə faks v dhə kīus, soo djest oold jər bədhər, frend, ən kiip kwə'ist təl ə'i bi [ə'i)v] dən. harki!

4. ə'i bi sartin shīuu'r, ɛz ə'i ii'rd ən see—səm v dheə fooks ɛz went thruu dhi whal thiq bə'i dhərse'lvz—dhat ə'i did shīuu'r ɛnaf.

5. dhet dhə jəqest sən hīzself, v gret būs'i v nə'in, nood iz fīdhərz vóis ət wəns, dhoo it wər soo kwīer ən skwee'kin-lə'ik, ən ə'i)d trəst hii tɛ spēk dhə truuth hani [hɛni, heeni] deə, ái, dhat ə'i hūd.

6. ən dhə oold hūmən ɛrse'lf ɛl tɛl hani on)i ɛz laafs nə'u, ən tel)i street off, tuu, wi)ə'ut mətj, bədhər if ju onə haks)ɛr—wənt)shi [wəntjɛr], dhat)s ʌʌl.

7. leest wə'iz ɛr teld it, mii wen ə'i hakst ɛr, tuu ɛr thrii tə'imz oo'ver shi did, ən ɛr had)nt ʌʌt tɛ bi rəq in sətj v pūə'int ɛz dhis'n [dhat-eer], wət də juu thiqk?

8. wɛl, ɛz ə'i wɛr ɛsee'in—ɛr)d teljɛ, hə'u, weer ən wen shi fūnd dhə drəqk'n bīst shi kʌʌlz ɛr ɛzbənd [man].

9. shi swee'rd ɛr sɪn im wi ɛr oon ə'iz, lee'in stretjt ət fəl leqkth on dhə grə'und in iz gud sənde kúust, kloos bə'i dhə dúuər v dhə hə'us, də'un ət dhə kʌʌrnɛr v dhat ee'r leen.

10. hii wɛr v wə'inin ɛr sez, fər ʌʌl dhə wɛrld lə'ik v sɪk tʃə'ild ɛr v lit'l gal [lii'tl wɛntj] in v frɛt [in ɛr tantɾəmz].

11. ən dhat ap'nd ɛz ɛr an ɛr daa'tɛr in laa, kəm thruu dhə bak jərd frəm aqin ə'ut dhə wɛt klóovz,

12. wə'il dhə ket'l wɛz v būs'i'lín fər tee, wən fə'in brə'it sɛmɛr aatɛrnun, ooni v wɪk ɛguu', kəm nekst thəzdi.

13. ən, djə noo? ə'i nəvɛr lənt noo moo'r nɛr dhis v dhat biznɛs ɛp tɛ tɛdeə, ɛz shīuu'r)z mə'i nɛm)z :dʃɔn :shɛpɛrd, ən ə'i duu)nt wənt tu needhər, dhii'r nə'u!

14. ən soo ə'i bi ɛguu'in [gweenin] wɛm tɛ sɛpɛr. gud nə'it, ən duunt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo oo'ver v bədi ɛgɛ'n, wɛn i tʌʌks v dhis dhat ɛr t)ɛdhɛr.

15. it)s v week fuul ɛz preets [tʌʌks] wi)ə'u't reez'n. ən dhat)s mə'i last wɛrd. gud bə'i.

SHENINGTON dt.

6½ w.Banbury, politically in Gl., locally in Ox., pal. in 1881 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Harris, native, then a student at Whitelands Training College, who knew of Wykes, the policeman, that furnished the lw. to TH., mentioned on p. 118. Observe that here (u) was used for short U.

1. soo ɔ'i sɛ'i, bu,tiz, jɛ sɛ' nɔ'u dhet ɔ'i bi rɔ'it ɛb'at dha't lit'l gɛrl v-ku,mɪn frəm dhə skuul jə'ndɛr.

2. shii)z v-gu'in də'un dhə ruu'd dhɛr thruu dhə rɛd ge't on dhə left a'nd sɔ'id v dhə wɛ'i.

3. shuur ɛnə'u dhə tʃə'ild)z gon strə'it u)p tɛ dhə duu'r v dhə rəq ɔ'us.

4. wi'r shii)'l a'p'n tɛ fɑ'ind dha't dru_oqk'n dɛf fɛlɛr ɛ dha n'fɛm
ɛ :tu_oməs.
5. wi AAl noo)ɛn vɛr'i wɛl.
6. wu_o)nt dhɛ ool tɛ'p sun laARN ɛr na't tɛ duu)t ɛgen, puu'r
thi'q!
7. luk jii'r! ee)nt it tru'u ?

Notes.

1. *so*, never (*zoo*), no *z* for *s* or *v* for *f*.—*mates* not used.—*I be* more frequent than *I am*.—*right*, not heard initial (rh, rh).—*girl* the regular word, though (*went*) is used. The (r) usual. Wykes rejected *girl* and only admitted *wench*.
2. *she's agoing*, *her's* not used, it is quite foreign to the dial. *we*, *you*, *they be*, in general use.—Miss H. never heard *I are*.—*hand*, *h* always omitted, *w* used for *wh*.
3. *sure enow*, they never use (ɛnu_of), does not know the distinction of meaning between *enough* and *enow*.
4. *shrivelled* not used, they say (shru_obz), so that (shr-) is used.
5. *know him*, (ɛn) is used, especially among the elder people.
6. *old chap*, old without *d*, but in (ool)d_umɛn old woman, the *d* is disjoined from *l* and run on to the following vowel.

BANBURY wl.

From the following sources :

- B Banbury vocabulary by the late Mr. Beesley, uncle of the Mr. Beesley who wrote the cs. on p. 116. It is not quite certain that all the words belong to Banbury. There were many repetitions in the list, and sometimes the repeated words were not spelled in the same way the second time they occurred as they had been the first time. Of course the pron. assigned is greatly conjectural. From HB (below) I adopt (ə'i, ə'u, u, r). Words not inserted are (eent, ent, jent, bient, eern), aint, baint, e'er a one, (hiz'n, hARN, twARDɛnt), his, hers, *it were not*.
HB Some of the wn. in Banbury by TH. in 1881 from natives. Some of these seem to be rather refined.
S wn. by TH. in 1875 from Wykes, a London policeman, but native of Shenington, confirmed by Miss Harris, a native, in 1881, p. 117.
ES words from the dt. on p. 117, dict. to AJE. in 1881 by Miss Harris, native of Shenington. This village was admitted by Mr. T. Beesley, who wrote the cs. for Banbury given above, to be in the Banbury district. I do not give the words from the cs., considering his uncle's lw. sufficient.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — S wék [a wake or feast]. 21 HB nêim, ES níɛm. — B homɛr [hammer]. — B pib'l [pebble]. A: — B rom [ram]. 43 B hanstɔf [handstaff or handle of a flail, (swiq'l) the other end]. 45 B want. 51 S mán. 56 S wash. A: or O: 64 HB roq, ES roq. A': 67 B guu [(gweenin gween) going], HB gôu ɛgù'in, S gwɛ'in. 74 S tæ'u. 76 B túɛd. 79 HB ôun. 81 S lév. 84 HB mûɛn. 86 S úets. A': 101 S óek [Miss Harris (ók)]. 102 B aks eks. 104 ES ruu'd. — B dræv [a drove]. 110 B nat. 111 S át. 113 B whal. 115 B wham, S wa'm, ó'ɛm [Miss Harris did not know the last form]. — B wops [wasp]. 118 B buɛn. 123 B nathiqk, HB nu_othiqk. 124 B stwan, HB stóun, S stúen. — B loft [loath].
Æ- 138 B fiaadhɛr [spelled *feah'ther*], S fívdhɛr. — S jɛ'kɛr [acre]. — B ladhɛr [ladder]. — B bladhɛr [bladder]. 144 B ɛgɛ'n. 149 B blizi bl'iz [is (blizi), one of the S. infinitives in -y?]. 152 S wíɛtɛr. Æ: — B stídi [steady]. — B stom [stem of a tree]. 158 S aɛrtɛr. 161 HB dɛi. — B stɛl [handle]. — B haps [hasp]. 172 S graas. — S dlaas [glass]. — HBS kjà'rt. [cart]. — B rot [rat]. Æ'- 190 B kee. 200 B weet, HB wit. — B heth [heath]. Æ': 205 B thrid. — B sid [seed]. 218 BS ship. 223 ES dhAR. 224 B wiir [where], noo'ɛr [no-where]. — B strit [street].

E- 233 S *əspə'ikin* [a-speaking]. 243 HB *plèi*. 246 S *kwiin*. — B *eet* [eat]. 251 B *meet*, S *míst*, *meet* [Miss Harris says the last is more usual]. 253 B *et'l*. E: — B *fət fotj* [fetch]. 261 HB *séi*, S *see*, ES *sæ'i*. 262 ES *wæ'i*. 263 HB *ewéi*. 265 ES *stræ'it*. — *fiLD* [field]. 272 S *klum* [Wykes, (elm) Miss Harris]. — B *hoop hoopt* [help, helped]. 278 S *wəntj*. — B *ind*, *ind* [end]. — B *níst* [nest]. E'- — B *iitj* [to eke]. 299 HB *griin*. E': 306 B *həkth* [this form is not found in other words, compare *Havelock* *knicht*, *suprà* Part II. p. 477, see below p. 127, No. 306]. 312 ES *jiir*. 314 B *hiir*, HB *ierd*.

EA: — B *tjAaf* [chaff], *tjaa·fin* [chaffing]. — B *tjAalz* [jowls]. 323 B *fə'ut*. — B *tjook* [chalk]. 326 ES *ool*. 334 *haapni*, *haapth* [halfpenny, -worth], S *aap'ni*. — B *əmúv'st* [almost]. — B *AAles* [always]. — S *hà'rd* [hard]. 346 B *jéert*, ES *ge't*. EA'- 347 B *hadlënd* [headland], *jed*, BH *èd*. EA': 350 B *djadli* [deadly, extremely]. 352 ES *ræd*. 355 ES *dæf*. — S *bívm* [beam]. — B *krem* [cream]. — B *sem* [seam]. 360 S *tíem*. 361 S *bíem*. 363 B *tjæp tjæp*. — B *jæp*, *jæpt* [heap, heaped]. 364 ES *tja'p*. — S *iur* [year]. — B *est* [east]. 366 B *græt*. — B *eezi* [easy]. — B *díoo*, *díAA'u* [dew]. 370 B *raa*.

EI- 373 HB *dhéi*. EO- 386 S *jou*. EO: 394 S *jander*. — B *hærd* [herd]. 397 B *swærd*. 402 BES *larn*. 404 B *star'* ['with a rough burring sound']. 406 B *jeth*. EO'- 411 HB *thrii*. 413 B *div'l*. EO': — B *liv* [lie]. 425 HB *lâit*. 428 ES *se'l*. 436 ES *truu*. EY- 438 HB *də'i*.

I- 440 B *wik*. — B *hiis* [yes]. — B *síns* [sinew]. 447 S *æx*. — B *peez*, S *pé'iz* [pease]. 450 B *tjuuzdi*. I: 452 HB *ə'i & A* [unemphatic], ES *ə'i*. — B *bærd*, S *bærd* [bird], *bí·diz* [birdies]. 458 HB *nâit'*. 459 HB *rə'it*, ES *ra'it*. 465 B *sitj*. — B *filer* [thiller or shaft horse]. 469 B *hul* [will, 'rhyming *wool*'] *hut* [wilt, 'rhyming with *put*'], S *u_ol*. 470 ES *en* [weak, old people = *hine*]. 477 ES *fə'in*. — HB *ru_n* [run]. — B *bəshəp* [bishop] — B *spet* [spit]. I'- 492 HB *sə'id*, ES *sə'id*. — *gii gin giz* [give, gave or given, gives], *gíftæ* [gift]. — B *bríif* [rife, a remnant of (ii) in *n* (*ríif*), confused with *brief* and so preserved?] — HB *thæti*. I': 502 HB *fə'iv*. 506 B *umæn*. — B *hæ·mekin*, *hæ·ríkærd* [haymaking, hayrickyard]. 508 S *má'i'l*.

O- — B *shə'ul* [shovel]. — B *rat'n* [rotten]. O: 529 S *brát'*. 531 S *daa'rtæx*. 538 B *hud*. 543 B *an*. 549 B *wærd*. — B *hos* [horse]. 554 B *kras*, S *kraas*. — B *púvstiz* [posts]. — B *moots* [moths]. O'- 555 HB *shæ'u*. 557 S *tæ'u*. — B *fodhæx* [fodder]. 559 S *madhæx* [not with *u_o*]. 560 ES *skuul*. — B *guumz gumz* [gums]. 564 S *sun'*, ES *sun*. 566 HB *u_odhæx*. — B *blə'uz* [blows = blossoms]. O': 571 S *gu_od*. — B *had* [hood, peascods (bii *dhæ peez* *hæd* ?)]. — B *rad* [rod]. 579 HB *un_uf*, ES *en_u'u* [not with *f*]. 587 HBS *du_on*. 588 HB *næ'un*, S *nun*. 595 B *fat*.

U- 599 HB *əbu_ov*. — B *hud* [wood]. — B *drə'uth* [drought]. 603 S *kæmin*, ES *ku_omín*. 605 HBS *sú_on*. 606 HB *dóuvæx*, ES *duu'r*. U: 612 HB *su_om*. 619 B *fænd* [*f_und*]. — B *anfeer*, *ansartín* [unfair, uncertain], *anka·qg'ld* *impo·səb'l* [untangled, impossible]. 626 HB *u_oqgrí* [hungry]. 631 S *thazde*. 632 HBES *u_op*. 634 ES *thruu*. 636 B *færdæx*. — B *rə'ustí* [rusty]. U'- 640 B *kjə'u*, S *kjə'u*. 641 B *has'mjævæx* *hə'usəmjævæx* [however]. 643 ES *nə'u*. 650 HB *əbə'ut*, ES *əbə'ut*. U': 658 S *də'un*. 663 HBES *ə'us'*, S *əuz'n* [houses]. 666 S *u_ozbæn*.

Y: 684 B *bærdj*. 685 B *radj*. 689 B *báldín* *bwə'íldín*. — B *shilf* [shelf]. — B *fæz* [furze]. 701 B *fast*. Y- — B *ədramd* [a-dreamt]. 707 HB *thærti'n*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 B *djəm*. — B *tjæx* [a chare]. 737 B *míst*. — B *ə·kærd* *həkærd*, S *əkærd* [awkward]. E. — B *zəd* [letter z]. 751 B *piirt* [as (*ærluks* *múer* *piirtæx* *næx* *er* *díd*) she looks *perter* = in better health, nor = than she did]. I and Y. 758 ES *gærl*. O. 772 B *boonfə'in*. — B *sə'und* [swoon]. — B *mórt* [mort = many]. 791 S *bói*. U. — B *də'uk* [to duck]. — B *pædín* [pudding]. — B *tjuun* [tune]. 804 ES *dr_uqk'n*.

805 B kærðz. — B shæt shætærz [shut, shutters]. — ES bu_oti [butty, companion].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. —S tíabl [table]. 811 B pléess, HB pléis. 813 S biék'n. — B threel [flail]. 824 B tpiir. — B pleez [please]. — B eezi. — B mæstær [mister]. — B koor [quarry, (æs got dhæ stwanz from :hørntøn koor) we got the stones from Hornton quarry]. — B marvilz [marbles]. — ES tlaas [class]. — B slat, S slát [slate]. — B saas [sauce]. 865 B f_{AA}t.

E.. 867 BS tee, S tee₁. — B fitz [vetch]]. 878 B salæri. — B fænem [venom]. — B tpxri [cherry]. 888 B sartin. — B sarv [serve]. — B mizær. 892 B nævi.

I and Y.. — B wedth [width]. 901 S fáin [Wykes, (fæ'in) Miss Harris]. 910 B dpx'is.

O.. 916 B ø'inæn ø'inæn. — B kwæ'in [quoin=coin]. — B næ'int [anoint, thrash]. — B dpx'in [join]. 929 B kjæ'ukembær. 930 B læ'in. — B kjæ'unt [to count]. — B kjæ'unti [county]. — B :hør'is [Horace, 'with a rough burring sound']. — S túst [toast]. 940 HB kóat. 947 B bæ'il bwæ'il, S bóil. — B ræ'ut [rut of a wheel]. 956 B kiver. U.. — B dpx'iti [duty]. — B trivent [truant]. — B tjuulæp [tulip]. — B pilpit [pulpit]. 970 B dpxst.

VAR. iv. SW.NORTHAMPTONSHIRE cwl.

From the following sources:—

A Ashby St. Legers (3 n.Daventry).

Ba. Badby (2 ssw.Daventry) including Daventry and Woodford (6 ssw.D.). Ex. (shænt, ødhat'n, wæt)s i sæi? shan't, of that kind, what does he say? (æi du_n dhæt kwæ'it røq) I [have] done that quite wrong, (just to sæ æemæn en náu it)s æa'mæn) used to say a-men and now its ah-men.

By. Byfield (7 sw.D.). Ex. (in mi sæv'mti tæu) in my 72nd year, (a' bi)æ? bi)æ in priti gud ælth?) how are you? are you in pretty good health?

T. Towcester (11 sse.D.) including Helmedon (7 sw.T.), Syersham (6 ssw.T.). A man of 60 says when he was a boy, say 1830, A was called (æe).

W. Watford (4 nne.Da.) and Weedon (4 se.D.). A man of 60 who attended school at Whilton (3 sse.Watford) was taught to call A, E (æa, æe). One person examined at Watford had (æ æ) strong.

All from wn. by TH. from natives in 1881 and 1886. The variants were probably due to individual habits, and did not extend over districts.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W béikt, A beek bæ'ik [new], bakæs [bakehouse old], By biæk. 4 A tæk, By tæk. 5 A mæk, Ba mæk. 6 By mæud. 18 W kjæk, By kjæk. 20 Ba læm. 21 T næim [villages about Towcester say (næum)] ABA næim næim [new]. 23 A sæim sæim, By sæm. 31 By læst. A: 39 Ba ka'm. 56 A wash. A: or O: 60 A luq. 64 TBaBy røq, W ruq.

A'- 67 TWBBy gu'in gðu'in, ABA gðu, By gwëin. 69 Ba nõu. 74 T tæ'u, W tiu. 76 ABABy túud. 81 A læ'in læm. 82 W wu_{ns}. 84 W múæ_r. 86 A øuts øuts [new] By wuts. 92 W nõu, A nõo. 95 By throo. A': 104 A rood røud [new] røud, By rood. — W [between] læidi læ'idi [lady]. 115 AT øum, TABaBy øm, Ba øum [new], By øom. 117 T wæn, A wøn. 120 By øguu. 121 T gæ'n. 123 T [between] nothiqk nu_othiqk, W nu_othiqk. 124 A støn', BaBy stæn, By stæon. 125 W øumli.

Æ- 138 TWBaBy faadher. — By ladher [ladder]. 142 By sneel. — By sæet [a seat]. 152 By wæatær. Æ: 158 W æ'ææ_r, A æær, Ba æær. 161 TW dæi, W dá'i, A dæ'i dii [the last evidently an importation from Le.], Ba dæi, By dæe. 172 Ba græs'. Æ'- 190 W kii. 197 ABA tpiiz. 200 TW wiit [villagers], wéit, ABA wist, By weet. Æ': 216 A dil, By dæ'l. 218 Ba shíp. 223 A dhær dhæær, Ba dhæær dhæær, By dhæær. 224 By wiær.

E- 233 T spæik [villages about (spæik)], WABBy speek. 241 W rà'in, A ræ'in, Ba

rèn, By reën. 243 W plæ'i plèi. 250 W swææ'ær. 251 Ba mèit. E: 260 W léirz [layers]. 261 A sæ'i, BaBy see. 262 TW wèi, W wá'i, A wæ'i, Ba wè, By wee. 263 W ewèi, Ba awee. 278 W wentj [an offensive term]. 280 A læv'm. E'- 299 TBy gráin, W griin. 300 ABa kiip. 302 By máit. E': 305 By é'i. 312 T iær, By iær. 314 W iærd, TW ærd, By iærd. EA: 324 T á'it, ABa æ'it. 326 T ôud ôul, BaByW ôuld. 334 W áf. 335 W aal. 346 Ba gjêut. EA'- 347 T ë'd, WBy ëd. EA': 350 W dæ'd. 353 By bræ'd. 360 ABy tiem. 361 BaBy biæn, Ba béæn. 363 ABa tjep. 366 TA gréit, By greet græt. EI- 373 W dhéi dhè. EO- 383 T sæv'n, ABaBy sæv'm. EO: 395 ByWA ju,q. 396 Ba wark. 402 W lærn, By lærn. EO'- 411 T thrii, Ba thrii. — Ba trii [tree]. 420 T fôv, By fôv. EO': 425 A [between] láit lóit, By lóit. 431 TBa biær. 437 TBy træ'uth. EY- 438 T dæ'i, Á dái, By dá'i dæ'i. EY: 439 W tru,s)mi [trust)me]. I- 440 W wáik. 444 A [between] stæ'il sto'il. 446 T næ'in náin. I: 452 TBa ái, By é'i. 458 TBy næ'it, W náit, A [between], náit nóit, Ba [between] næ'it náit. 459 A [between] ræ'it róit, By róit. 466 By tjæ'i'ld. 469 Ba wil wèl [will]. — W ru,n [run]. — W dært. I'- — [long i Ba (æ'i, ai), Daventry (æ'i)]. 492 A [between] sæ'id sæ'id, Ba sáid. 494 TBy tæ'im, A [between] tá'im táim, Ba [between] táim tæ'im. I': 500 TBy ló'ik. 502 W [between] fæ'iv fôiv, By fô'iv. 503 T ló'if. O: 527 Ba bæt. 529 ABaBy bra't, By bróut. 531 ABaBy dææ'tær. 532 W kôul, A kœ'ul. 543 By a'n. — By á's [horse]. O'- 555 W shun, By shún. 558 By luk. 559 By madher. 560 A skuul. 562 A múun, BaBy muun. 566 A u,dher. 567 By tu,dher. 568 ABaBy bru,dher. O': 569 BaBy buk. 571 A gud. 586 T dæ'u, W dôunt [don't]. 587 W dôn, Ba du,n. 588 A núun, Ba nuun. 594 W bæ'ut [occ.]. U- 603 TBy kam. 604 A su,mær. 605 T sæ'n [and between that and (søn)] WABY sæ,n, Ba [between] sonz senz. 606 T dæ'ær dæ'ær, ByW dæær. U: 612 WBy su,m. — T [between] tomb'l, tæmb'l [tumble]. 615 W pæ'umd. 622 Ba u,dær. 629 By su,n. 632 By u,p. 633 T kop', WA ku,p, Ba kop ku,p. 636 ABy færdær. 639 A du,st. U'- 640 Ba kjæ'uz. 641 A é'u. 643 TBYW næ'u. 648 T é'uær, W [between], æ'uær, é'uær. 650 TWBY bæ'ut. U': 658 TWBY dæ'um, W dá'un, A dâ'un, Ba dáun. 659 Ba tæ'un. 661 A [between] shá'uær shá'uær. 663 TABY é'us, Ba áuzæz é'uziz, By é'uz'n. 666 Ba u,zben. 667 T é'ut, A [between] é'ut æ'ut. 668 By præ'ud. 671 W mææ'uth. Y- 677 By dræ'i. 679 Ba tjærtj. 682 T lit'l. Y- 707 T thær'tii'n. Y': 712 By mæ'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 ABa tæak. I. and Y. 758 T gjal, gjæ'rl [refined]. O. 761 By lûud. 767 T nóiz. 791 By bói. U. 803 A dju,mp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W léiber [labour, (r) rather strong]. 811 A plèiziz plééz. 822 Ba mái. — Ba pæ'i peed. — W pléin [plain]. — A mu,stær [master, Mr.]. 848 W tjéindj. 849 T ju)m)æ stréindjær [you are a stranger]. 851 TW ænt. — W plect [plate]. E.. 867 W tii tæi, Á tii, By tee. 885 By væri. — Ba paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 W næ'is, By næ'is. 901 T fáin fé'in. O.. — bif [beef]. — T u,qk'l [uncle]. 933 A fru,nt. 940 By kûet. 947 By bóil. U.. 963 By kwæ'it. 970 Á dju,s.

D. 7 = m.BS. = mid Border Southern.

Boundary. Start from Little Rollwright, Ox. (19 nw.Oxford). Proceed to the e. to the sw. corner of Np. and continue by the b. of Np. to the b. of Ox., go se., s. and n. by the b. of Ox. round to Iffley (2 s.Ox.). Then pass through Be. to the w. by Kennington,

Wootton, and Appleton to the b. of Ox. Proceed n. by the b. of D 5 through Ox., e. of Witney, w. of Handborough, e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton, to the starting-point.

At the s. part of the peninsula of Ox. the dialect, however, has become so worn out that no b. can be assigned with certainty, as the district abuts on the metropolitan area.

Area. Most of Ox., with a small portion of Be., included in a bay of Ox. This is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are uncertain, and become practically lost at the s. part.

Authorities. See the Alfabetic County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ in so., ° in io.

Ox. †Blackthorn, ‡‡Ensham, †Freeland, °Fringford, °Greys, ‡‡Handborough, ‡‡Holton, °‡Islip, °‡Oxford, °Sonning, †Stonesfield, †Tiddington.

Character. In contradistinction to D 6, D 7 is very homogeneous. Mrs. Parker (author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement published by the English Dialect Society) divides D 7 into three principal parts. The first two might be called the Handborough (9 nnw.-Oxford) and the Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford) varieties, forming mid Ox., bounded on the n. by the n. b. of D 7, and on the s. approximately by a line through Sandford (3 s-by-e.Oxford) and Thame (12 e.Oxford). With these two varieties she was personally well acquainted, being a native of Handborough. Mrs. Parker was kind enough to acquire the use of Glossic, in order to furnish me with information, and to allow T.H. to "interview" her, by which means I was able to substantiate the accuracy of her phonetic spelling. T.H. also visited Freeland (close to Handborough), and obtained supplementary illustration and confirmation. I give below the cs. and dt. and a number of sentences, evidently recollections of actual speeches heard by Mrs. Parker (sent me in MS., but subsequently printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary), several of which I add in pal. Mrs. P. considers that the chief differences between these varieties are that Handborough says (bjent, gween, wats, bjenz, kwat, dwent) ben't, going, oats, beans, coat, don't, and Blackthorn has (bʌnt, gu'in, ūts, bienz, kūt, dūnt). Now these are only constantly interchangeable forms of the same original for each pair. Ws. áte, oats, becomes regularly (úáts), whence by putting the stress on the first element only (úts), and by putting it on the second only (ŭats, ŭts, wats). And so for the other forms. Hence the difference is a trifling variety, often found, while there is a substantial identity in this respect, and a real identity in others. The third or s.Ox. variety embraces all the s. peninsula of Ox. between Be. and Bu., with which Mrs. P. was personally unacquainted, but she procured me a dt. from Miss Slade, a schoolmistress at Sonning (4 sw.Henley-on-Thames), and I obtained another from Rev. N. Pinder, rector of Greys (or Rotherfield Grays, 2 w.Henley-on-Thames), neither of which I can fully interpret, but they are sufficient to shew that the speech is a mere variety, differing from the other two mainly in indicating a still further degradation, but

still having an unmistakable S. character. Thus Miss Slade says that in 1880 there might be commonly heard (*və'ut*) without, (*pʊst pʊstɪz*) post-s, (*neer'n*) ne'er a one, (*aatənuun*) afternoon, (*aast*) asks, (*dhiiz iir_o*, *dhat eer_o*) these here, that there, (*hant*) have not, (*ship*) sheep, (*həs*) horse, etc., of which the first three, at least, are distinctive S. forms, though the rest are familiar in the metropolitan area. And in Miss Slade's dt. she uses (*méets*, *skuuld*, *jendər*, *róed*, *giət*, *strét*, *múst*, *nêem*, *wənt*) mates, school, yonder, road, gate, straight, most, name, won't, which have the same character. Whether (*x*) is used I could not determine, but probably it has faded to (*x_o*) or been entirely vocalised. The analysis of (*a'i*, *a'u*) could also not be determined. Mr. Pinder wrote *oy*, but as writers of dialect constantly use *oy* for (*ái*, *ái*, *ɛ'í*), I am very sceptical when I see it. Even in Aylesbury, Bu. (see E div. D 15), where Mr. Fowler said (*ái*), I heard it once only from labourers. The whole e. side of Ox. and w. side of Bu. seem inextricably mixed up, and I have marked the e. b. of Ox. as the b. of the district and group. simply from inability to determine where any change takes place. Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury, considered the part of Ox. from Deddington (15 n.Oxford) to just e. of Charlton (7 nne.Oxford) to belong to Bu., but the pron. to change at Thame (12 e.Oxford), and the s. peninsula of Ox. to be quite different. It was only an impression, and he was unable to assign his reasons, but this would give Mrs. Parker's Blackthorn variety to Bu. and too much of a S. character to the s. peninsula. It is, however, provoking not to be able to draw a boundary with certainty between dialects so distinct in their development as the S. and E. But it certainly lies between a line on the w. connecting Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford), Islip (4 n-by-e.Oxford), Holton (5 e.Oxford), and Henley-on-Thames, and a line on the e. connecting Buckingham, Aylesbury, and High Wycombe. From Aylesbury to Islip, the greatest width, is 18m. Rev. C. Coker, of Fringford (16 nne. Oxford), says that he does not consider the difference between Ox. and Bu. at that place sufficient to constitute a different dialect, and certainly the whole e. side of Ox. is much affected by Bu. There is no natural barrier between Ox. and Bu., and the Chiltern Hills pass through both.

Illustrations. A cs. and a dt., both from Mrs. Parker, a series of observed sentences written by the same, bringing out the southern character of the dialect very conspicuously, and finally a cwl. furnished by the same lady, with some words noted by TH.

a. HANDBOROUGH CS.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's systematic spelling, assisted by notes, and TH.'s observations.

0. wə'i :dʒən aant got noo də'uts.

1. wɛl, maa'stər, dhii ən ii mɛd bwath ən i laaf ət dhis-jər niúuz
v mə'in, uu kii'rz ? dha)s nə'i'dhər jər nər dhaar.

2. tʃent mɛn'i mɛn ɛz də'iz kAAZ dhɛ bi laaft ɛt, ɛs nooz, dwant)əs, mɛn? waat shuud meek)əm? tʃent var lə'ik'li, iz it?
3. awev'ɛr dhɪs iz ə'u t)wɛz, soo dʒest oold dhii nə'iz, ut? maa'stɔr, ɛn bi kwə'i'ɛt, tɪl ə'i ɛ dæn. lɪs'ɛn
4. ə'i bii saar'tɔn shuu'r ə'i jɛrd)əm see—sɛm ɛ dheɛ fooks uz went thruu ɛv'ri mɔs'əl an)t frəm dhə fɛst dhɛrsɛ'lvz—dhat)i)dɪd, seef ɛuɛf—
5. dhɛt dhɛ lɪt'ɛlest bwa'i izsɛ'lf, ɛ gret bwa'i ɛ nə'in, nood iz faa'dhɛrɛz vwa'is dhɛrɛk'li, dhoo t)wɛz sɛ kwii'r ɛn skwiik'in, ɛn ə'i)d trɛst ii tɛ spɛk dhɛ truuth [truuf] ɛni deɛ, aa, 'dhat)i 'ud, mɛn.
6. ɛn dhɛ ool)d)əm'ɛn ɛrsɛ'lf ul tel ɛni)ɛn)i ɛz laafs nə'u, ɛn tel)i strɛet aaf tuu, mɛn, ɛdhə'ut' matɪ tɔ-duu, if juu)l ɛnli aks)ɛr, dʒest want)ɛr?
7. ɛni)ə'u ɛr tɛld ə'i it wen ə'i akst)ɛr, oo'vɛr ɛn oo'vɔ'r ɛgɛn, ɛr 'dɪd, ɛn 'ɛr dɪd)'nt aat tu be rɔq ɛn sɪtɪ ɛ pɔw'ɪnt ɛz dhɪs-jɛr, waat dɛst 'dhii thɪqk?
8. wɛl, ɛz ə'i wɛz ɛ seɛ'in, 'ɛr)d tel)dhɛ, waar, wɛn, ɛn ə'u ɛr fə'und dhat dhaar drɛqk'n bɪst ɛz ɛr kalz ɛr ɛz'bɛn.
9. ɛr swaa'rd ɛr sɪn i wi ɛr oon ə'iz, lee'in spraaled aal ɛlɔq', in iz gud sɛn'di kwɛt, kloos bə'i dhɛ ə'us duu'r, də'um ɛt dhɛ kaar-nɛr ɛ dhat leen jan'dɔr.
10. ii wɛz ɛ wɪn'ɛkɪn ɛweɛ' ɛr seɛz, mɛn, fɛr aal dhɛ wɔrld lə'ik ɛ sɪk tʃə'ɪld [tʃə'ɪld], ɛr ɛ lɪt'l gʒal ɛn dhɛ grɪz'ɪl.
11. ɛn 'dhat ap'nd əz 'ɛr ɛn ɛr :tɔmz wə'ɪf kɛm thruu dhɛ bak jaard frəm aq'in ə'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz tɛ drə'i, ɛn ɛ wɔsh'n deɛ,
12. wə'ɪl dhɛ kjɪt'l wɛz ɛ bwə'ɪlɪn fɛr tee, wɛn fə'in sɛni sɛm'ɛr aartɔrnɛn ɛnli ɛ wɪk ɛgoo kɛm nakst thɛrɛzdi [thɛz'di].
13. ɛn, dust noo? ə'i nɛv'ɛr jɛrd nɛ muu'r nɛr dhɪs ɛ dhat bɪz'nɛs ɛp tɛ tɔdeɛ, mɛn, ɛz shuu'r ɛz mə'i nɛmz :dʒɔn :shɛp'ɛrd, ɛn ə'i dwant waant tu niidhɛr, sɛ dhaar!
14. ɛn nə'u ə'i bi ɛ gweɛin oom tɛ aa mə'i sɛp'ɛr. gud nə'it, ɛn dwant bi in sɪtɪ ɛ gʒal'ɛpɪn ɛri tɛ kɔk-kroo oo'vɛr ɛ bɔdi ɛgʒɛ'n, mɛn, wɛn ɛ tAAks ɛ dhɪs dhat ɛr t)ɛdh'ɛr.
15. t)iz ɛ week fuul ɛz pɛrts ɛdhə'ut' rɛɛz'n. ɛn dha)s mə'i laast wɛrd. gud deɛ.

Notes.

1. *master*, all the *r*'s not preceding a vowel are marked (ɹ), for, although in Mrs. Parker's own pron. to TH. they were nearly evanescent, their existence was clear close to Handborough. Before a vowel TH. observed no cases, nor did he observe any assimilating effect on *i*, *d*, *n*, *l*, producing (ɹ, ɹ, n, l). Like JGG. in D 4 at Chippenham, Mrs. Parker considered the (ɹ) to be rather retracted than reverted, and always untrilled, that is, (r_o).

b. HANDBOROUGH dt.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's Glossic.

1. soo ə'i see, meets, ɹɛ siz nə'u ɛz ə'i bi rə'it ɛbə'ut' dhat dhaar lɪt'l gʒal ɔkɛm'in frəm dhɛ skuuəl jan'dɔr.
2. ɛr-z ɛgweɛ'n də'um dhɛ rood dhaar thruu dhɛ rɛd'gɛt ɛ dhɛ lɪft aand sə'ɪd ɛ dhɛ rood.

3. seef vnaef dhs tʃə'v'ld)z GAAN street ep tɛ dhs dūuɐɐ v dhs ɛəq ə'us,
 4. wɛɐ ɛɐ)L vaar lə'ik fə'ind dhat dhii'r drɛqk'n def sriveld fel'v v dhs neem v :təm'əs.
 5. ɛs AAL nooz 'ii vɛl'ɛi wɛl.
 6. wɛnt dh)ool tʃap sɛn laarn ɛɐ nat tɛ du)t ɛgʃɛn', puu'r thiɔ.
 7. Jalak ! JENT it truu ?

Notes.

1. *mate* is often *boy* (bwa'i) in the singular, in calling out to several men they would say (ə'i see jiu), and not the usual (ʃoo).—*as* and not *that* would be used here, compare the mummings rhyme, where (it) means *yet*, and (ɛd) *head*—

(hii'r kɛmz ə'i, ɛz aant bin it,
 here come I that hasn't been yet,
 wi mə'i grɛt ɛd ɛn lit'l wit.)
 with my great head and my little wit.

—*be* becomes in the negative (bɛnt, bent).—*that, th* is sometimes omitted from this word, as (at i ul) = that he will.—*little* (lii't'l) = very small.—*girl*, "my wench" is a usual term of affection, "wench," by itself would be offensive.—*yonder, yon* is not used.

2. *her*, the (ɐ) is always felt; (shii) is used only as an emphatic objective case.—*going*, (ɛgweɛn'in) is also common, especially at Combe and Wood-

stock, in this district.—*there*, (dhaan, dhɛɐ, dhii'r) are all used, and similarly (waan, wɛɐ, wi'r), for *where*.—*the child's gone, 's* means *is, has* is not used in the dialect; they say, "is gone, is come, had went or a-went," this a-(v) is used after *had*, but not after *have*.

3. *been and gone* is frequently used.

4. *shrivelled*, initial (shr-) unknown in this part of the country.—*fellow*, with a strong (ɐ), as (fɛlɛɐ), is used a little further north and north-east.

5. *we* for *us*, and *us* for *we*, is the rule.—*he*, (ɛn) for *him* and *it* when unemphatic.—*learn*, but (teɛtɛɐ) with distinct (ɐ).

6. *thing*, (sɛm'et, nath'n, nath'in, nɛth'iqk), etc., are all heard for *something* and *nothing*.

7. (lak, al'ak, dhal'ak, lɛk) as exclamations for *look there!* but *look* is otherwise (luk).—*is not*, (ɛnt) is more refined than (ɛnt).

c. HANDBOROUGH PHRASES.

All these phrases and many others were printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary after having been supplied to me in MS.

- (ə'i never went nuuɐɐ ɛnə'ist)ɛn), I never went no-where near him.
- (twɛd ɛndɛɐ v ɛɐ), toad under a harrow.
- (dhɛs biɛr)z dasht, ɛn ɛɐ AALɛs duu dash it), this beer's dashed [mixed with some of an inferior quality], and she always do dash it.
- (duu)i kɛm in, ɛn aa v dish v tee wi ɛs), do ye come in, and have a dish of tea with us.
- (AAL ə'i waants iz faar duuz, ɛn faar duuz ə'i)l aa, fɛɐ AAL dhii ɛɐ ɛnibodi ɛs), all I want is fair dealings, and fair dealings I'll have, for all thee or anybody else.
- (:puɔni :udɛɐd v bin ɛn fel ɛpɔn :teɛpɔt :adɛmz, ɛn i və'uz ɛn diklaarɛz i)l pɛl)ɛn), Pudding Woodward has been and fallen upon Teapot Adams, and he vows and declares he'll pull him.
- (if dhii bigi'nst ɛni v dhə'i ɛgrivɛɛtin weez ɛɐ, ə'i)l kɛt dhs klɛn v tuu in dhs mid'l), if thou beginnest any of thy

- aggravating ways here, I'll cut thee clean a-two in the middle.
8. (bitwiin juu ən ə'i ən dhə gjet pwəst), between you and I and the gate-post, i.e. between ourselves.
 9. (əm səz əm bii), they say they are.
 10. (bant)'n əp ərter ə'i, əl'i), push him up after I, will ye?
 11. (nə dhən, kjAA, wə)s bin v duu'in ən, nə'u?), now then, caw [fool], what-hast been a doing of, now?
 12. A. (dhii lən ə'i dhə'i nə'if), thee lend I thy knife.
B. (dhii ut)'nt gi'n ə'i bak), thee wilt-not give-it I back.
A. (ə'i)l jət fə'rer ən flax ən AA dhə wərlɔd ət wən mə'uffəl, if ə'i dwənt), I'll eat fire and flare and all the world at one mouthful, if I don't [a usual boyish asseveration].
 13. (dhis gr'und)z in sity bad ər, tʃent noo juus ta soo weet nər wats, ə'i thiŋks ə'i shul plant teetərz), this ground [field] is in such bad heart [condition], 'taint [it isn't] no use to sow wheat nor oats, I thinks I shall plant potatoes.
 14. (if dhi gɪst in ool :dan'l :kjɛziz kloos, iz bʊl əl ɔrntɪ dhə), if thee goest in old Daniel Kearsy's close [field], his bull will horn [toss] thee.
 15. (dant stan dhaar v lo'pɪtɪn ɛbə'ut, sɛt ɛbə'ut duu'in sɛmɛt), don't stand there a-lounging about, set about doing something.
 16. (mam ən dad), mother and father.
 17. maid-servant (if ə'i bjent nəθ'n bət v sərvent, ə'i bjent pʊə'iz'n), if I ben't nothing but a servant, I ben't poison [=an object of disgust]. boy (dhat dhə bist, pʊə'iz'n tuu), that thou be'st, poison too.
 18. question, is she a respectable woman? that is, one above the position of a labourer; answer (noo, sər, ər ɛnt v rɪspɛ'ktəb'l wɪmən, nə mʊər nər ə'i bii, ər ɛzbən wɔrks ət dhə seəm fərm ɛz mə'in duu), no, sir, she aint [iz'nt] a respectable woman, no more than I be, her husband works at the same farm as mine do [does].
 19. (ə'i bi sɪk ən seetɪd wi dhə veri 'sə'it v wɔrk, ə'i aə)nt sɛt də'um dhɪs jər blɛsɪd deɪ, ən mə'i bak eɛks dʒɛst fɪt tɛ kəm v)tuu), I be sick and sated with the very sight of work, I have-not sat down this here blessed day, and my back aches just fit [ready] to come a-two.
 20. (dhis tɛə lɛvz sɪtɪ v nəasti smak in dhi mə'ʊθ, t)iz wɛsər nər siini), this tea leaves such a nasty smack [taste] in the mouth, 'tis worser nor [worse than] senna.
 21. (dhis nə'iz iz ɛnə'f tɛ stani ənɪbədi, ə'i)d ɛz lɪv bi ɛt :bɛdləm ɛz bii jɔr), this noise is enough to stun [s. inf. in -y, but used with an object, which is unusual] anybody, I'd as lief be at Bedlam as be here.
 22. (mə'i ool)d)w)mən)z ɛgweən tə'i'in əp 'fær)mə), my old woman's a-going tying up for me [that is, making sheaves of corn into stacks, observe emphasis in for, if it had been 'for me,' he would have said (fær 'ə'i)].

23. (*á'í nooz i went rə'it, fər v sez tə ə'í, v sez, "á'í v sɪn v eendʒ'l,"* en ə'í sez, "aav\i faadhər?" en v sez, "iis," en ə'í sez, "díd v speek tu)i, faadhər?" en v sez, "iis, mə'í wentʃ, v díd, v sez, :dʒoo, ə'í wAANTS)i"), I know he went right [that is, to heaven], for he says to me, he says, "I have seen an angel," and I says, "have ye, father?" and he says, "yes," and I says, "did he speak to ye, father?" and he says, "yes, my wench [term of endearment], he did, he says, Joe, I want ye."
24. (*ə'í ʌʌləs θiŋks ɛz rə'it ɪn bʌks en preeʃɪŋ, en ʌʌl sɪʃ θiŋz ɛz dhem bi ment fər dhæ ɛz kjaant wɜrk*), I always think as [that] writing books and preaching, and all such things as them [those], be meant for they as [those that] can't work [do manual labour].
25. (*lɛn*s aa)t), let-us have-it.

d. **HANDBOROUGH cwl., Ox.**

7 nww.Oxford, with Freeland, a hamlet of Ensham just s. of Handborough, Islip and Blackthorn. Words generally from Mrs. Parker, but occasionally from TH.

B Blackthorn, wn. by TH. from Mrs. P.

F Freeland, near Handborough, wn. by TH. from Mrs. Waine, Mrs. P.'s mother.

G General in Ox., from Mrs. P.'s lists.

H Handborough, from Mrs. Parker's lists, but by no means exhaustive.

Ha Handborough as noted from Mrs. P.'s pron. by TH.; almost every such word is here noted.

Ho Holton, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.

I Islip, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.

I. **WESSEX AND NORSE.**

A- 12 HHa saa. 13 HHa naa. 14 H draad [drawed = drawn, drew]. — gjem [game]. 24 HHa shem. — F pib'l [pebble]. — H staa [to stare]. 30 H kjar, kier. 33 G rædher. 36 H thaa. A: — rom [ram]. 43 Ho ond. — Ha kja's'nt [canst-not]. 54 Ha waant, F want. A: or O: 64 Ha raq. A'- 67 Ho egù-in, Ha egwéin, egwéin, F egwé-in. 72 Ha uu. 76 H twad. 84 G múur. 85 G súur. 86 Ho úuts, HF wats, HaF wets. 89 H bwath, bath. 92 Ha noo. A': 113 H wæl, əl, Ha ul'. 115 I ðum, FHa oom. 123 G nath'n. 124 F stwòn, Ho stæn. 135 H klaath.

Æ- 138 HI faadhər. 148 Ha fà[r]. — Ha stà[rz [stairs]. Æ: 161 Ha I de'í FHa dee. 179 F wot. Æ'- — G reety. 183 G teety. 187 G leev. 190 Ho kee. 192 HHa mjæn. 200 Ha wæ'it, F weet. 202 Ho jeet. Æ': — Ha mja'd [mead, G]. — F sid [seed]. 214 naarn an ɛm [ne'er a one of them]. 223 Ha dhà[r, H dhær, dhar, dhíer, I dhíer. 224 H wær, war, wíer, Ha wà[r.

E- 233 Ha speek. — HaG tàr, tíurd, tàrd [to tear, teared, tore]. 248 Ha mà[r]. — H ljezin, Ha læzin [leasing = gleaning]. 252 Ha kjit'l. E: 261 Ha see, sêi. 262 Ha wæ'i. 265 Ha street. 278 F wɛn'tsh [perhaps (wɛn'tsh)]. 280 G lɛb'n. E'- 299 Ha griin. E': 306 HaG ɛkth (see p. 119, No. 306). 312 F íer. 314 HaF jærd. 315 HaF fit'.

EA- — H shæk, shæk [shake, shook]. 319 Ha gjaap. 320 Ha kíer. EA: 321 F [(sin) = seen, for have seen, used]. 322 Ha laaf. 323 HaG fə'ut. — tʃook [chalk]. 333 G kjaaf. — Ha óltær [halter]. — shaar [share]. 345 F DEER. 346 I gjéit, F gjæt, Ho gíet, gjéet. EA'- 347 Ha jɛ'd.

EA': 350 H djəd. 352 F rəd'. 354 G shef. 356 H lɛf, lɛvz. — Ha bjəm [beam]. — krɛm [cream]. 361 HHaF bjɛnz, Ho bɪnz. 363 HaG tʃɛp. — G ɛst [east]. 366 Ha grɛt. — H ʒɛzi [easy]. 371 HHa straa.

EI: 378 HaFG wɛk. 382 Ha dhàrn [theirs, G].
EO- 383 G sɛb'n. 384 G ɛb'n. 386 Ha ʒoo. EO: 394 HaF ʒandʊr.
397 H suurd. 402 Ha làrn. 403 H fɛr. EO'- — G flɛ [a flea]. 419
Ha ʒùrn [yours]. EO': — Ha ilt [held]. 427 Ho biənt [be-not]. 434
HHa bjɛt. 437 Ha trɪf, trùth.

EY- 438 Ha dɔ'i, da'i [marked as lying between them, the first is analogical].
I- 440 Ha wik'. 447 Ha ɛr, ɛrn [hers]. — FG pɛz [pease]. I:
452 Ho ai, ə'i. — Ha lɛd [lid]. 466 Ha tʃə'i'ld. 468 G tʃildɛrn. 469 H
ut [wilt], F wɛnt. 482 I ɛ)nt [is-not], H bjɛnt, Ha biənt [probably (biənt)
is near enough], Ha ʒɛnt, tʃɛnt. 483 Ha iz'n [stated to be general]. 487 H
istɛndi. 488 H it. — tit [teat]. — sɛns [since]. I'- — H gi, gin
[give, given, gave]. — HF rɪp [to reap].

O- — G rat'n [rotten]. O: 531 Ha daatʊr. 537 H mɔ'ldi [mouldy].
538 H ud. 543 HaF an. 546 H fɛr, far. 547 G buurd. 549 H ɟuɛrd.
554 G kras. O'- — ɟɪm [gum of tooth]. 564 Ha sɪn'. 568 F bradɛr.
O': — Ha brɔk [brook]. 586 Ho dɪnt [don't], Ha dwɛnt, F dwɛnt [modern
(dɛnt)], F du,s'nt, Ha dɪst [dost]. 587 Ha dɔ'n. 590 H flúɛr. 592 Ha
swàr. 595 Ha fut, F fɛt. — tɪθ, tɪθ [tooth, teeth].

U- — ud [wood]. 603 HaF kɛm. 606 FG dɪɛr, Ha dɪɛr. U: —
ɹlf [wolf]. — G shə'ldɛr [shoulder]. — ɹndɛrd [hundred]. 623 H fɛn.
— ɹndɛr [wonder]. 626 Ha ɹ)ɟɟri [a hungry]. 632 I əp'. — H mɪɛrn
[mourn]. — H thastɪ. U'- 643 HaF nɔ'u, F nɛu. 648 Ha ə'ɹrn [ours].
U': 667 F ə'ut.

Y- 675 Ha ɹ)drɔ'i [a-dry, thirsty]. 676 B lig, ligstɛr [a lie, a liar]. Y:
— shɪlf [shelf]. 694 F wɛrk. 700 G wɛs. Y- 706 Ha wɔ'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — kraal [crawl]. — H ɔkɛrd, akwid, Ha ɔkɛrd [awkward, stubborn].
E. — Ha ɛft [to heft, weigh in the hand, from to heave]. I. and Y. 756 I
srɪmps. 757 H tiɪni. 758 Ha ɟjal [sometimes (ɟjɔrl), Oxford (ɟɔrl)]. O.
778 G ɛfuurd. 791 Ha bwaa'i, F bwai. U. I dʒɛmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 I fɪus. 814 Ha mɛsɛntɛr. — G frɛl [flail]. 824 Ha tʃɪɛr [G].
835 Ha rɛz'n. — H mɛstɛr [master, Mr.]. — Ho ɟjalɔp [gallop]. — Ha
pant'ni' [pantry]. — Ha A'rtj [arch]. — G kjaar [to carry]. — G kjaa'fɛntɛr
[carpenter, Ha (kjaar-)]. 857 Ha kʃɛs. — slat [roofing slate].

E.. 867 F tɛ. — Ha dhɛrɛklɪ. 872 H tʃɛf. — sarv, sar [to serve].
— GHa mɪzhɛr [measure]. 891 H biəst, B fiəst. 896 HHo bɛɛɛr.

O.. — Ha biif [beef]. 916 G ə'inɛn. — pɔ'iz'n, pɔ'ɪz'n [poison].
925 Ha vwa'is [mod. va'is]. — G kɪɛrd [cord]. — Ha pɪɛrk [pork].
940 Ho kɪst, Ha kwɔt, F kwat. — fuurm [form]. 947 Ha bwa'i'lɪn. 955
Ha dɔ'uts. — Ho mɔv [move]. 956 G kɪɛr.

U.. — trɪbɛnt [truant]. 969 shúɛr.

D 8 = s.BS = southern Border Southern.

Boundaries. From Reading, Be., follow the n. b. of D 5 through
Sr. to Knockholt, Ke., and continue ne. to Gravesend, Ke., then turn
w. and follow the s. bank of the Thames back to Reading.

Area. Extreme se.Be.; ne.Sr., and extreme nw.Ke., embracing
London s. of the Thames and the adjacent suburbs.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ° in io.

Be. ° Hurley, ° Hurst, ° * Wargrave, † Windsor.

Sr. ° Chertsey, ° Chobham, ° Croydon, ° Leatherhead.

Ke. No information from this very small portion of nw.Ke.

Characters. The composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible. Still in country places and even in the suburbs of London there is a slight tang of S. speech even if it is limited to using *I be*. At the extreme w. of the district adjoining Ox. the S. character is almost strong. Thus at Wargrave, Be. (5 ne. Reading), T. F. Maitland, Esq., gave me vv. the words :

A- 4 tɛk. 21 névm. A': 104 róvd. Æ- 142 snɛ'íl. 143 tæ'íl. Æ: 161 dee. E: 261 see. — fiild [field]. EA: 346 gévt. EO: 394 índɛr [this is an E form, for (jander)]. I: 466 tɹá'íld. I' 492 sá'íd. Y- 682 líit'l. A. 737 mévt. A: — kɔmplɛ'ínt. R is regularly (r). H generally omitted, and also wrongly inserted. *Usages*, I be, her be, I am, I are, we knows-un.

From *Hurley* (9 ne. Reading), and hence close to the former place, Mrs. Godfrey, marking the only 'peculiarities' (that is, differences from rs.) she could think of, in a dt. gave me :

A- 21 névm. EA. 346 gévt. EO: 394 índɛr [the (r) is assumed from the neighbouring Wargrave, and the (ɛ) confirms the former (i)]. O: 541 wánt. U- 603 ɛkámín. A. 737 mévts. I. 758 gæl. *Usages*, I be, housen, Michaelmast, feller.

From *Hurst* (4 e. Reading) the late Rev. R. A. Cameron wrote (1879) with a dt. :

"It is difficult to characterise the genuine dialect of the district. The population is very mixed and migratory. The chief characteristics as they struck me when coming 40 or 50 years ago from Suffolk were (besides the perverse confusions about the aspirates, particularly strong hereabouts), the addition of a short vowel sound to all long terminal syllables, as (mévts, mistéuk, kɔmplɛnt) [these words were interpreted from Wargrave with (ɛv), but the last may have been (ɛi)]. It was difficult to see whether Mr. Cameron wrote *áé* or *ái*. T.H. heard (tréin, éit) train, eight, from unknown speakers at Windsor, but these were probably London importations]; the dropping of the initial *w* as (wɛl, wɛn) wool, wonan, (ɛ s'uld wɛn) an old woman; a peculiar sound of the *l*, something like the French *l mouillée* as 'feuld, chiuld' for field, child, but this cannot well be expressed by any combination of letters phonetically." Perhaps he meant merely (ɛl) as (fiild tɹá'íld), but the sound may have been possibly been (ɛl). There is no sound of (l) in the modern French *l mouillée*, and hence I have given his own spelling. He wrote long *i* as *oi*, which Wargrave shews to be (á'i). The following words are taken from the dt. :

A- 21 névm. A: 43 ɛnd. A: or O: 64 ræq [probably an error]. A': 104 róvd. Æ- 144 ɛgi'n. E: 262 wéi [written *wái*, uncertain, might have been (wæ'i)]. 266 stréit. 266 wæl [doubtful]. EA: 326 a'uld. 346 gévt. I: 452 á'i. 459 rá'it. 466 tɹá'íld. 469 ul [possibly (ɛl)]. I'- 492 sá'íd. O: 541 oont. O'- 560 skiul [?]. 564 sɛn. U- 603 ɛkámín. 606 dáɛr. Y- 682 líl ['sometimes,' very doubtful indeed whether used by natives, (la'il) is a N. form]. A. 737 mévts. I. 758 gærl [the (r) is assumed from Wargrave, (méid) written *máid* was said to be commoner]. The rest of the words in the dt. were said to be in rp. *Usages*, I says, I be, she's a goin, bain't, we knows-un, that'en.

The above shews S. in a still moderately active form in Be., but it dies out very rapidly towards Sr., and in Sr. itself the borough

of Southwark and the outlying suburbs seem to have pretty well destroyed all trace of dialect. The following is all the information I could find.

Chobham (8 n-b-w. Guildford). An incumbent of 50 years could only give E. 751 (pi_re_t), the (r_c) assumed, and the plural *housen*. Neither form is distinctive.

Chertsey (11 nne. Guildford). The predecessor of the vicar, that gave me the information, had known the place 70 years, but knew "not one peculiarity in pronunciation."

Leatherhead (12 ene. Guildford). Mr. Martel, in writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, said: "It is hard to find distinct traces of provincialism of any sort, as the population is so continually changing," but he gave the *usages* I be, I knows, I saw-r-er, drawing, sometimes *in* for *ing* in the participle, I see (not *I seen*) for I saw, and I were, but in no other person. Of these, *I be* is distinctly S., draw-r-ing, etc., is E. Altogether mixed.

Croydon. Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, of Duppas Hill, tried hard to find provincialisms in the Board Schools, but was not very successful. These are the most he could discover, and I have not been able to interpret all satisfactory.

A'- 90 to 97, he writes with *a-ow*, which may bear different interpretations, as (é_o, e'ú, æ'o), thus, 93 (sné_o, sné'ú, snæ'o), and I incline to the second. EA- 319 gééip, 346 gééit [which are not S.]. E: 260 tái, 261 sái [which I think are not really S. forms, as they seem at first sight, but an exaggeration of the (lééi, sééi) that may be heard in ne. London], 285 kriis [a common Londonism]. E': 306 he'ith [this is not dialectal, it is a mistaken analogy, and is even heard from educated speakers]. EO: 436 triy, 437 triyth [these seem mistakes for (triu, triuth), which are not uncommon; the diphthong is East Anglian]. I: 472 seri^qk [this is an example of the non-pronunciation of (sh) before (r), and is not distinctive. It is also inconsistent with 654 *shreoud*]. U- 601 sæ'u, 602 fæ'ul [these were written *sā-ow*, *fā-owl*, and were said to resemble (æ-ə'u), an unknown combination, but as many dialect writers use *aow* to indicate what has been found to be (æ'u), I so interpret; the sound is, however, not S., but nearest (éu) of Ke., or the E. diphthong. In the same way the long *i* is said to be (æ'i), a very common sound in London, but decidedly not S., unless occ. for the *ai*, *ay* words which are not contemplated. This (æ'i) is stated to be a favourite sound in Croydon, which is called (:kræ'id'n)]. Again, U: 654 *shreoud*, 658 *deoun*, 668 *preoud*, look as if meant for (shrⁱə'ud, diə'un, priəud), 'the *e* very slight,' which looks like a well-known M. triphthong. O. 769 ma'jil [this must be an accident, it is not known in any dialect].

The above only betray a very mixed set of speakers. But one observation is to a certain extent S., 608 agli, 697 beri, 773 dæqki, 785 pooltri, 934 be'unti, 935 kæntri, with a clear final (i) not (i) or (i₁). It is, however, not a certain criterion. *Usages*, 'I be agoing' is S., but 'I am,' 'I are,' also heard, are not so. V and W are said to be properly distinguished.

On the whole, therefore, it must be right to characterise D 8 as a S. dialect almost entirely obliterated by town influences. It forms the s. part of the metropolitan area, or that lying s. of the Thames.

D 9 = ES. = East Southern.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the e. b. of D 5 and D 8 from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to Gravesend in Ke. The other borders are the sea-coast round Ke. and e.Ss.

Area. Almost the whole of Ke., with e.Ss. It was the supposed seat of the Jutes, but the modern speech is a decaying S. form, with the exception of a peculiarity of entirely modern growth, subsequent to A.D. 1340.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following places, where * marks vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic spelling, ° in io.

Ss. °Ashburnham, †Battle, †Brighton, °Cuckfield, *Eastbourne, °Etchingham, ||Leasam, †Lewes, °Marklye, °Possingworth, °Selmeston, °Weald of Sussex.

Ke. *Charing, *Chatham, °Denton, *Faversham, ||Folkestone (fishermen), *Maidstone, °Margate, °Rolvenden, °Shadshurst, *St. Nicholas, *Sheerness, *Strood, °Stoke, °Stourmouth, °Wingham.

Character. The general character is that of w.Ss. and Ha., that is that of D 5, only still further decayed. Initial (z, v) seem never to be used for (s, f). The ÆG and EG words have passed pretty well into (ee, ee) and in some cases (ii). The (r) remains; I have heard it myself from Cuckfield and Eastbourne in Ss., at Tunbridge Wells and Maidstone in Ke., and have had it indisputably recognised at Possingworth and Marklye (14 wnw. and 15 n. Eastbourne), and in several places in Ke. But it has a tendency to degenerate into the ordinary English vocal r, a mere vowel (ə, ɐ) or a buzz (r_o), the form that it retains in London. Rev. Mr. Parish (Sussex Glossary) does not notice or apparently acknowledge it at all, using *ar* simply as a symbol for (aa). But Miss Darby, of Marklye, graphically and accurately writes, "The roll of the R is most peculiar, and I never heard anything like it anywhere. It can only be sounded by beginning the sound with the tongue straight," that is, in its usual direct position for the preceding vowel, "and suddenly curling it round so that the underpart of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth," that is, for the consonant itself.

The peculiar character which separates D 9 sharply from the adjoining D 5 and D 8 is the pronunciation of the initial *th* as (d) in *this, that, the, there, their, theirs, them, then, these, those, they*. To these words would probably have been added *than, thou, thee, thy, thine, though, thus*, had they been used in the dialect, but they have not been heard; *than* is always replaced by *nor, thou* etc. by *you* etc., *though thus* do not seem to be required at all. Rev. Mr. Parish (Glossary, p. 8) says "the *th* is invariably *d*," this is not the case for the initial *th* of any other words, so far as I can learn. In the middle of words we have *d* in *farthing* and *further*, but that is common to other dialects. Miss Darby thought she knew it in *other, either, neither*, but was not able to verify her supposition when she tried. In Faversham, Ke., however, Mr. H. K.-Hugessen gives (ɱnæðɛ) another. Final *th* in *with, smooth* becomes *d* before a vowel, as (smuud *it, wɪd it*) *smooth it, with it*, but not regularly, compare (vdi'n, vdeu't) *within, without*. Now here some might suppose we had the desired Jutish peculiarity, but alas! there is no trace of it in Dan Michel, who (see pp. 38-41) had plenty of initial (z, v), which have since his time entirely disappeared. In John Lewis's *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet* [that is, Thanet, the ne. corner of Ke.], 2nd ed. 1736, he says (p. 35) that "the English spoken here is generally very good, only the natives in common with the other inhabitants of this part of Kent are used to pronounce the *th* as a *d*, the *o* as an *a*, as *an* for *on* [regular S.],

the *i* as *ee*, as *Deek* for *Dike* [rather (d'ik) like (d'itj)], and to say *who* instead of *how* and *how* instead of *who* [the latter not met with]. As for example, *How is dat man dere?* for, *Who is that man there?*" Yet in Thanet at the present day, as among the fishermen at Folkestone, I have not been able to discover a single instance of this use of *d* for initial *th*. But Sir F. Burton (of the National Gallery) informed me in July, 1887, that his housekeeper from the Isle of Thanet has an old uncle about 80, who always says "dat man dere," and knows other old people who do so. Hence Lewis is confirmed, and the disappearance is only recent. In Thanet the watering-places of Margate and Ramsgate might be credited with the restitution of *th*, but this hardly applies to the fishermen of Folkestone.

Another peculiarity has also developed itself, but is disappearing under the influence of education. It is not, however, confined to e.Ss. and Ke., but extends along the e. of England from Ke. through Es. and Sf. to Nf. inclusive, which form what may be called *the Land of Wee*. This is the replacement of (v) by (w), but not conversely. Sam Weller, who spelled his name "with a *we*," and Cockneys are especially credited with the interchange. I have never yet heard (v) used for (w) in good faith, though I have much wanted to do so, but (w) for (v) I have known all my life in Ke. Rev. W. Parish acknowledges it in e.Ss., but Miss Darby does not. Now the late well-known traveller Dr. Beke declared that the Cockneys and the Trasteverini in Rome pronounced German w (bh) in place of both (v) and (w), and that the Cockneys, with whose habits he was well acquainted, did not know when they were saying one or other, because in fact they said something that was neither, but sounded like (w) when (v) was expected, and (v) when (w). Now I am perfectly familiar with (v bh w ũ), the last being the unstressed vowel diphthongizing with a following vowel. I can readily and easily distinguish in my own and other person's speech *vie* French, *wie* German, *wee* English, *ui* in Italian *Guido*, *oui* French=(vii, bhii, wii, ũii, ũi). Yet I do not hear Dr. Beke's (bh) from those who use (w) for (v). Mr. H. C. Coote also affirmed that he knew coachmen (*cocchieri*) in Rome to say (ũento) for *vento*. That is possible, but requires investigation. I think, however, that they could not say (wento). The English (w) is a peculiar consonant which I do not find in the rest of Europe. The *v* and *w* habits of the fishermen of Folkestone will be especially referred to on p. 143.

Although the dialect is tolerably uniform over the whole district, it will be convenient to separately consider Var. i. e.Ss., Var. ii. n.Ke., Var. iii. e.Ke. including the Folkestone fishermen.

VAR. i. EAST SUSSEX FORM.

Miss Darby, who lives in a very out-of-the-way place, Marklye, which used to be seven miles from a railway-station till 1880, says, "I feel quite sure in a few years all these old terms will be extinct. A railway has been opened for the last few months within four miles of us [at Heathfield], and already the change is

very great. We have two old men who have worked on the farm in our family for many years, one for forty years. He is of an old superior family, but cannot read. He said yesterday [dated 15th Oct. 1885] that he was much put out at hearing people talk now, and he could not make out 'high words.' His wife, who is upwards of seventy and able to write, has much disgusted him by buying a dictionary to keep pace with the times. There are not a dozen people left in the parish who speak the real old dialect.' Miss Darby's information is checked first by Rev. Mr. Parish, both of them having sent me versions of the dt., and secondly by the wl. vv. given me by two students at Whitelands, p. 134.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST SUSSEX dt.

- M. by Miss Anna M. Darby, of Marklye (:marklə'i:) (15 n. Eastbourne), pal. by A.J.E. from indications.
- S. by Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeston (:simsən) (6 ese. Lewes), pal. conjectually from io., for which no indications were furnished either in writing or in his glossary. Only those words which apparently differ from Miss Darby's are given.
- M *Marklye*. soo ói see, méets, jə sii ne'u det)ə bi rə'it vbe'ut
S *Selmeston*. míets, jú ó'i)m [bi] be'ut

M dæt-éer liit'l gæl vək'min frəm dæt-éer skúel e'ut jəndər.
S dæt lid'l gærl də skuul [omit] jəndər.
 - M shii)z vgu'en de'wn dæt-éer rúed déer thruu də red géet on
S shii)bi gvín də róed

M t)ædhər s'íd v)de rúed.
S də left haand wee.
 - M shúer enə'f də tjo'ild bi gaan rə'it vgin də dúer v)da rəq e'us.
S shúer)nsf 'z- stráit əp tə)de
 - M wíer shi)'l əp tə fə'in dæt-éer drəqk deth srívəld tjæp v)de
S wéer tjæns fə'ind dæt drəqkən fælər

M néem v :təm.
S níem :təməs.
 - M wi aal nooz im vəri wéel [waal].
S aal him wəri wel.
 - M wúent də óeld tjæp súen larn vər never tə duu et noo
S want ool tjæp sun tiitj hər nət it

M móer, púer thiq!
S vgin, poor
 - M lu'k)i déer! bíent et truu?
S [omit] it

Notes to M.

1. *I*, at the beginning of a sentence *little*, Miss D. was surprised at Mr. (*ó'i*), and (*v*) in the middle.—*be*, used, P.'s (*lid'l*), which she never heard. Mr. P. prefers *am*; *he be* also used.— Mr. P. says "double *t* is always pro-

nounced as *d*, as liddle for little, etc." Miss D. inquires what becomes of *bottle*, *wattle*, which are in constant use.

2. *she*, *her* is used for *she* only immediately after a verb, as (díd)er, *she be gooin*, or *she's a gooin*, optional.—*way*, *w* never becomes *v*.

3. *enough*, with *o* in *cot*.—*straight* = (stréet), but (rō'it) is the word that would be used here.—*up*, pr. (ap), but here *agin* = against, *i.e.* towards, would be used.—*house*, the *h* is 'dropped slightly, never put in the wrong place.'

4. *deaf*, Miss D. says, "As regards this word, I consider it a most peculiar thing that it should be called *death*, and it is a very common expression, 'she is troubled with *deathness*,'" so also Mr. P.'s Glossary. Halliwell says it is a Suffolk pron.—*Thomas*, a common name, but always abbreviated.

5. Miss Darby wrote *waal*, which ought to mean (wél), but as Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen at Faversham said (*waal*), may have been meant for the latter.

Notes to S.

1. *mates*, written *mēuts*, similarly par. 4, *name* (níem), written *néam*. Misses Darby, Francis and Sayers have all (néem).

2. *road*, written *rōād*, but Mr. P. may have meant (rúed).

4. *chance*, as this is written *cháance*, it ought to be (tjéens), which is unlikely, but I have no guide but Cuckfield 851 (a'nt), aunt.

EAST SUSSEX cwl.

Those words in which only the ordinary spelling is given in Italics are supposed to be in rp.

C Cuckfield, vv. from Miss Sayers, native, student at Whitelands.

E Eastbourne, vv. from Miss Francis, of London, 8 years at an Eastbourne school, student at Whitelands.

FC Cuckfield, from Archdeacon Fearon, native.

L Leasam, near Rye, from a numbered wl. by Miss B. C. Curtis.

M Marklye, given by Miss Darby, in addition to her dt.

P from Rev. W. D. Parish's *Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of C and E above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 CE béak. 4 CE téak. 5 CE méak. 6 CE méad. 7 CE séak. 9 FC bihéev. 12 CE SAAR [even without a following vowel]. 17 CE LAAR [as 12]. 18 [always called biscuit, even a large Christmas cake is called biscuit at E. and Brighton, not at C.]. 20 CE léem. 21 CE néem. 22 CE téem. 23 CE séem. 24 CE shém. 33 CE & FC reedher. 36 CE thaar. A: 43 CE and, FC an. 44 FC lan. 51 P maan. 56 L wash. A: or O: 60 CE long. 61 C vmaq, E vmoq.

A'- 67 P egwee'n [a going], e'i guuz [I go], CE & FC guu. 70 CE toe. 72 CE uu. 73 CE so. 76 CE & FC toud. 79 CE óun. 80 FC hólēdi. 82 P wanst. 83 FC móun. 84 CE móv'n)dat [more than that]. 86 P wats. 87 CE flooz. 90 CE bloo. 91 CE mæ'u. 93 CE snæ'u. A': 101 CE óek. 102 L ast [inf. and past tense]. 104 FC róed. 105 FC róud. 106 CE bróed. 108 P dæf, CE doo. 111 CE ought. 115 CE hóum. 118 PCE & FC bóun. 120 P eguu. 122 P naan, CE nan. 124 CE & FC stóun. 125 CE only.

Æ- 138 P fiedher, CE féudher. — P laader [ladder]. 141 CE néel. 142 CE snéel, L [often (snag) or (snee) omitting (l)]. 143 CE téel. 147 bréun. — P amets [ants]. 149 CE bléz. 152 CE water. 153 CE sadærde.

Æ: 155 CE & FC thetj. — P aader [adder]. 158 FC aater. 161 PLM dii. 162 P tēdii. 166 méad. — P wenjæs [wain or waggon horse]. 168 P tole. — waps [wasp]. — haps [hasp]. 170 CE arvist. 171 barley. 172 CE gwas [common]. Æ'- 185 CE read. 188 P nakær. 190 key. 197 cheese. 199 CE bleet. 200 CE wét. Æ': 203 CE speech. 207 CE niude'l [with

an indistinct (l). 218 PCE ship. 223 CE dhíær [(d) not marked in this word]. 224 CE wéær. 227 CE wet.

E- 231 P ds. 232 break. 233 speak. 234 knead. 235 weave. 236 fever. 239 CE séul. 241 CE réen, M ríen. 243 pléu. 250 CE sóær [swore]. 251 C miit, E meet. 252 CE kit'l. 253 CE nettle. E: 261 CE see. 262 CE wéær. 264 CE éul. 265 CE stréet. — fíld [field]. 272 elm CE [volunteered that it was (el'm) in Es.]. — P hiin [a hen]. 281 CE lenth. 282 CE stréenth. — mesh mash [marsh]. 284 CE thrésh. 286 L harræ [and so for all words having double rr, as carriage (karræ), that is, very much lengthened (æ)].

E'- 290 CE he. 292 CE me. 293 CE we. 294 CE feed. 296 P ø'i blæv, E buleev, bileft [believed], [I believe, parenthetically]. 300 CE kíp, kæp [keep, kept]. 301 CE íær. E': 305 CE hái [?]. 307 CE nái [?]. 308 CE need. 309 CE speed. 312 CE jéær. 314 íed. 315 CE fit. 316 CE næks.

EA- — P volæ [fallow]. 319 FC géep. EA: 323 CE fá'ut. 324 CE éet. 328 CE ool. 330 CE ool=328. 333 CE kææf. 334 CE hææf. 336 CE fall. 337 CE wall. 345 CE dare. 346 P géet, CE & FC géet.

EA'- 347 CE ed. — haafæn hafer [heifer]. 348 ói. 349 CE few. EA': 350 CE dead. 353 CE bread [but (bræ)n'tjiiz] bread and cheese. 354 CE sheaf. 355 P dæth, CE dæf. 356 CE leaf. 357 CE though. 359 C neebær, E nisbær. 366 P gart. 368 CE death. 369 CE slow. 371 CE stræær.

EI- 372 CE [not used]. EI: 378 E week. 380 P dem. 382 P deerz.

EO- 385 CE beneath. 386 CE soo. 387 CE nuu. EO: 388 FC melk. 394 P jaqær [? q], CE jandær jandær. 399 CE bróit. 400 CE arnest. 402 CE larn. 405 CE arth. 406 CE earth. EO'- — CE flea. 411 CE three. 412 CE she. 413 CE devil. 414 CE fly. 415 CE lói. 417 PCE tþ's'u. 420 PE fá'ær, C fóær. 421 P fartí. EO': 423 CE thigh. 424 P bráf. 425 CE láit. 426 fóit. 435 CE you. 436 CE triu. 437 CE triuth. EY- 438 CE die.

I- 440 PCE wk. 442 CE óivi. 444 CE sto'íl. 446 CE nóin. — shiir [shire]. 448 PCE diiz. 449 CE git. 450 CE tuuzde. I: 452 CE ói. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 CE róit. 462 CE sóit. 465 CE & FC sitj. 466 CE tþ's'ild [?]. 468 CE tþ'ild'n. — klím [climb]. 472 CE sriqk. 473 CE bla'in. 475 CE wóind. 476 CE bæ'in. 477 fá'in. 478 gra'in. 479 CE wa'in [compare 475]. 483 P hiiz [his, written he's]. 484 CE dis. 485 P sis'l ['the usual pronunciation of thistle,' says Parish], CE this'l. 488 CE jit. — P spæt [spit]. I'- 490 CE bói. 493 CE dróiv. 494 CE tóim. I': 502 CE fóiv. 503 CE lóif. 504 CE nóif. 505 CE wóif. 506 CE umæn [(mói ool dumæn) my old woman = (mói misis)]. 511 wóin.

O- 524 CE wærd. O: 527 CE bought. 528 CE thought [oíten (th's'ut) L]. 529 CE brought. 531 CE daatær. 532 CE coal. 533 CE dull. 536 CE gold. — krap [crop]. 552 P kærn, CE kærn. — mærnin [morning]. 554 P kras. — CE poostisiz [posts]. O'- 555 CE [(buut) is always used, never (shuu)]. 558 CE look. — fódhær [fodder]. 562 CE muun. 563 CE Monday. — ø mænt [month]. 564 CE sún [very short]. 566 CE ædhær [not (æðær)]. O': 569 CE book. 570 CE took. — rad [rod]. 577 CE bæ'u. 578 CE pla'u. 579 CE enaf [(væ'u) not known]. 586 P dóent [don't]. 588 CE niyn [in afternoon, this is Sf., it was difficult to appreciate]. 589 CE spíyn. 590 CE háær. 592 P suur. 595 CE fat. 596 CE rat. 597 CE sat.

U- 600 CE love. 602 CE sæ'u. 605 CE son. 606 CE dáær. 607 CE batær. U: 609 CE full. 610 CE ul. 611 CE bullock. 613 CE draqk. 614 P héund, CE æ'un. — P méund [mound]. 615 P péund. 616 CE graun. 619 CE fá'un. 620 CE gra'un. 625 CE tq. 629 CE sun. 631 CE thærzde. 632 CE æp. 633 CE kær. — vuur [a furrow]. 634 CE through. 635 CE wath. 636 CE færdær. 639 CE dust. U'- 640 CE kjæ'u [rather rounder, approaching (kjæ'u)]. 653 CE bat. U': 657 CE bræ'un. 659 CE tæ'un. 665 CE mæ'us. 666 CE æzbæn [but (mæstær) is usual]. 671 CE mæ'uth.

Y- — P hiiv [hive], biiv [beehive]. 676 CE lói. 679 CE tþ'etj. 682 P lid'l. Y: 689 CE build. — P kæil [kiln]. 690 CE kóin. 691 móin. 700 CE wes. — P bras'lz [bristles]. 702 P ædi'n [within]. 703 P pet. Y- 705 CE skóí. — P diiv [to dive]. Y': 711 CE liis, L læ'usiz. 712 P niis, CE & L mæ'usiz.

II. ENGLISH.

— P *robt* [rabbit]. 716 P *aad'l* [stupid], *əd'l* [rotten]. 722 P *driin*, M *driin*, CE *dréun*. 725 *séal*. — P *klaps* [clasp]. 737 P *míst*. 741 CE *méyz*. E. — P *liær* [lear, empty]. 752 P *piirt*. I. and Y. 756 CE *srímp*. 758 CE *ga'l*. O. 761 CE *lúud*. 767 CE *náiz*. 769 C *móud*, E *má'ul*. 772 CE *bónfa'ir*. 773 CE *dóqki*. 774 P *póvni*, CE *pooní*. 775 CE *booby*. 778 CE *ufáurd*. 781 CE *bother*. 787 CE *sé'us*. 790 CE *gr'und*. U. — *jaf'l* [yuckel or wood-pecker]. — P *kwid* [a cow's cud]. 799 CE *scull* of head. 800 CE *scull* of boat. 801 CE *rum*. 805 CE *curds*. 808 P *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — P *stéub'l* [stable]. 811 CE *pléus*. 812 CE *léus*. 813 CE *béukn*. — P *freel* [flail]. 822 CE *mee*. 824 CE *tjeær*. 826 CE *eagle*. 827 CE *eager*. 828 CE *ague*. — M *griin* [grain]. 830 CE *train*. — M *stiin* [stain]. 834 CE *shee*. 835 CE *rez'n*. 836 CE *séz'n*. 845 CE *ancient*. 847 CE *deendær*. 848 CE *change*. 849 CE *streendær*. 851 C *a'nt*. 852 CE *eeþurn*. — *plíet* [plate]. — P *ríet* [rate]. 862 CE *séuf*. 863 CE *tjeuf*. 865 CE *faat*. 866 CE *poor*.

E.. 867 CE *tee*. 868 P *djá'i*. 869 CE *veal*. — P *spaaték'lz* [spectacles]. — *fitjiz* [vetches]. — M *striund* [strained]. — M *pien* [pain]. 876 CE *déuntí*. 878 CE *sa'léri*. 879 CE *female*. — *jarb* [herb]. 887 *klardí*. 888 *sartín*. — P *sarv* [serve]. 890 CE *beest biistiiz* [beast beasts, observe the change of vowel]. 892 CE *nephew*. 894 CE *deceive*. 895 CE *receive*. I.. and Y.. 899 CE *niece*. — *vo'ilent* [violent]. 904 P *vo'ilet*, CE *vóilet*. 909 CE *breeze*. 910 CE *djá'is*. 911 CE *süstern*.

O.. 913 *kóutj*. 914 *bróutj*. 915 CE *stuff*. 916 CE *injen*. 918 *feeble*. 919 CE *nánted* [anointed, beaten]. 920 CE *páint* [a pint pron. in same way]. 925 CE *vásis*. 926 P *spe'il*, CE *spáil*. 928 CE *e'uns*. 929 CE *ke'ukombær*. 930 CE *láin*. 935 CE *country*. 939 CE *close*. 940 CE *kóut*. — *færm* [a form to sit on]. 942 CE *batjar*. 947 P *bé'il*, CE *báil*. 948 CE *bá'uldær*. 952 *kúvrs*. 953 CE *cousin*. 954 CE *cushion*. 955 CE *de'ut*. 959 CE *convey*. U.. 963 CE *kwáist*. 965 CE *áil*. 968 CE *áister*.

CE *usages*, I are, I're, I be, he be, I were, he do, he didn't ought. *Intonation* drawing.

VAR. ii. NORTH KENT FORM.

A student of Whitelands, Miss Croucher, a native, dict. to me a dt. for Charing (6 nw.Ashford), but with slight exceptions all recollection of the dialect seemed to have left her. The (r) was quite cockney. It would, I think, be useless to give the test. The Rev. A. E. O. Harris, of Stoke (7 nne.Chatham), also gave me observations on a dt. which shews that very little dialect exists in the Hundred of Loo between the Thames and the Medway, while a settlement of Irish there, about 1845, seems to have much influenced pron. H. stated also that very few people used the few 'provincialisms' he gave. After due consideration I omit these as not sufficient. Rev. C. W. Rolfe, of Shadoxhurst Rectory (4 ssw.Ashford), marks (*méts*, *gæl*, *kum'in*, *fræm*, *dæ*, *ænder*, *gu'in*, *róud*, *déer*, *gést*, *stréut*, *dúer*, *wúl*, *feler*, *níem*, *weri*, *wuunt*) for *mates*, *girl*, *coming* [very doubtful] *from*, *the*, *yonder*, *going*, *road*, *there*, *gate*, *straight*, *door*, *will*, *fellow*, *name*, *very*, *won't*, which are probably correct, but says nothing about (r). These indications are confirmed by Rev. J. W. Ramsay, of Rolvenden (12 sw.Ashford), who, however, also omits to notice the (r). The Isle of Sheppey

has no dialect, as I learned from Miss Lowman, a student at Whitelands, who had travelled all over it and resided there some years. It is a mere soldiers' depôt. Merely therefore glancing at these, I proceed to the best account of n.Ke. pron. I have been able to obtain.

Mr. Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, Faversham (8 wnw.Canterbury), a well-known landed proprietor, who had learned the dialect well from his tenants, bailiff and farm-labourers, was kind enough in 1873 to spend many hours on several days in teaching me the pron. of a cs. written by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw.Ashford), to represent the Weald of Kent. This version Mr. Berin kindly supplemented by answering, as well as he could, more than 60 troublesome questions which I sent him, and finally introduced me to Mr. H. K.-H., who was able to give me the pron. of his own neighbourhood, and thus convert the version into one for Faversham. This was at an early period of my investigations, and I was then unacquainted with the S. (R), and consequently confused the *r* with the London (*r*, *r*_o, *ʁ*). In 1880 Mr. H. K.-H., in answer to my inquiries, wrote: "On the whole I should say that the Kentish pronunciation of the *r* is distinct and has a burr," this identifies it with (R), which I have accordingly introduced regularly when not preceding a vowel. When the *r* precedes a vowel, minute examination is required to be sure of the existence of a true (R). I have therefore left the received *r* in those cases. And I have not assimilated the adjacent (*t d n l*) to (R) as in D 4. After the cs. I give a few phrases which Mr. H. K.-H. dictated to me, and a cwl. containing wd. which he pronounced to me. Without this kindly help from Mr. H. K.-H. and Rev. H. B. Berin, my account of Ke. would have been very imperfect.

FAVERSHAM (8 wnw.Canterbury) cs.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq.

0. *dɪs ɪər*z wɑ'i :dʒən dʊvnt dɛʊt.

1. waa, mɪʊts, ju ɛn ii mɜ bɔʊθ læf æt dɪs ɪər tʃæt ɛv mɑ'ɪn? uu sets ɛni stɪər bi dæt? dæt)s nedhɜr ɪər nɜr dɛər.

2. dɜr ɛɛnt [bɛnt] tɜrb'l mɛni dɑ'i kɛunt v bi'i)ɪn lææft æt, wi noo dæt dɪn v lɪ't'l dʊvnt-wi? wɑ'i shud dee? dæt ɛɛnt [bɛnt] tɜrb'l lɔ'ɪkli, ɪz ɪt?

3. dæt)s ɛʊ t)ɪz ɛʊ)ɛvɜr, soo ju dʒɛst ʌd jɜr tɔq ɛn kiip wɪst tɪl ɛ'i v dæn. ɔrki!

4. ɛ'i)ɜr sɑrtɪn shʊər ɛ'i ɪɜrd ɛm sɑi, sɜm v dem dɛər tʃæps wɔt v bɪn θru ʌl ɔn ɪt dɜrsɑɑ-vz frɔm dɜ fɜrst ɔnset, dæt ɛ'i sɑrtɪnlɪ dɪd,

5. dæt dɜ jæqgest bɔ'i ɪzsaɑ f, v griit tʃæp nɛ'ɪn jɪər oold, nood ɪz faadɜrz wɔ'iz dɪrɛklɪ mɪnɪt, doo ɪt wɔz so tɜrb'l kwɪər, ɛn rɪq'i lɔ'ɪk, ɛn ii)l tɑɑ)ɪ dɜ trɪʊθ dɛʊt ɛni rɔmænsɪn ɛni dɑi, i sɑrtɪnlɪ wʊd.

6. ʋn d)ool ʋmən ʋrsaa'f 'l taa eni ʋn ʋi, dæt lææf néu plamp Aaf, déut noo trəb'l, ef ʋu)l ooni aast)er, woont)shi ?

7. liistweez shi kəp AAL ɔn təl'n ʋn mi, wən ʋ'i aast)er, shi did — ʋn shi ʋd'nt AAT tɛ bi fər ʋt bəut dɛs fər dʒɔb, thiɔk)sh hæd ?

8. waal ʋz ʋ'i wəz ʋ təl'n ʋn ʋi, shii)d taa)i rə'it Aaf, ʋu shi kəm ʋpɔn dɛs fər drəɔkɪn tʃap wɔt shii)z gɔt məerɪd tu.

9. shi swúer shi ketɪt ʋ'i ʋn ɪm ʋrsaa'f lee'ɪn AAL lɔɔ dɛ gréun ɪn ɪz best kwóut, tlóes ʋg'ɪn dɛ dúer ʋ)dɛ héus, ʋt dɛ fərdɛr iɪnd ʋ dæt ʋer rúed.

10. ii wəz kærɪ)ɪn ɔn, sɛz shii, fər AAL dɛ wald læ'ɪk ʋ ʋmpəri tʃə'ɪl, ʋr ʋ lit'l gæl wɔt)s bɪn ɔpsɛt.

11. dɛs fər hæpt wə'ɪl d)ʋmən ʋn ʋr daa'tɛrɪnləə kəm tréssɪn kræs dɛ bæk ʋard, wéer dee)d bɪn hæqɪn ʋt dɛ tlóez tɛ drə'ɪ ɔn wəshɪn dáɪ.

12. wə'ɪl dɛ ket'l wəz ʋbə'ɪlɪn fər tii, wən buutiful sɛmər ætɛrnuun, wənɪ ʋ wiik bæk kəm thæzdi.

13. ʋn, buhoo'ldʒɪ! ʋ'i nɛvər ɪəd taal noo móer ʋ dæt ʋer dʒɔb, ʋz shúer ʋz mə'ɪ níemz :dʒæk :shɛpərd, ʋn, ʋnədɛr thiɔ, ʋ'i dúnt wɔnt tu ɪt, déer néu!

14. néu ʋ'i)l nɪp Aaf wóem tɛ sɛpər. waa, gud nə'it, ʋ ʋnədɛr tə'ɪm, wɪn ʋ tʃəp gɪnz taak ʋ dɛs, dæt, ʋr t)ədɛr, dúnt)i bi ɪn sɪtʃ ʋ tɔrb'l ɛm ʋv ʋ ɔrɪ tɛ kærɪ dɛ swáɪ.

15. ɪt)s ʋ tɔrb'l sɛlɪ tʃəp wɔt kiips AAL ɔn tʃætɛrɪn ʋbəut ʋɔt ʋ'i kAAL rændɛm. ʋn néu ʋ'i shə'nt sɛe nɛ múer. gud nə'it.

Notes.

2. *terrible*, the common intensive adj. or adv.—*on account of*, the first and last words omitted.—*din* is *within*, which first assumes the form (ʋdɪ'n), the (ʋdhi'n) of He.

3. *whisht*, as 'the wild waves whisht,' Temp. 1, 2, 378.

5. *directly minute*, immediately, common phrase in the district.—*though it was so terrible queer, and ring-y like*, and like a ring, and he'll tell)ye the truth, without any romancing any day, romancing; the people are fond of long romance words in this dialect. Observe (sáɪ, dáɪ). Mr. Harris also gave (sáɪ) for Stoke, calling it Greek *ai*.

7. *She hadn't ought* [ought not] *to be far out about this here job*, [do you] *think*)she had. The first *had* without, the second with the aspirate.

8. *drunken* (draɔkɪn) is drinking, that is, playing the drunken man, not drunken itself.

9. *further end*, certainly the (d)

must have been assimilated to the two (r) as (fərdɛr).

10. *ampery*, a common word in this district, as applied to cheese, mouldy, decayed; to people, weak, bad, sickly. Lewis in his Tenet (Thanet) refers to Ags. *ampre* (not in Etmüller), which Bosworth cites from the Liber Medicinalis of Baldus, and explains as 'a crooked swelling vein, an herb, sweet marjoram, feverfew;' others conceive it may be the French *empiré*, worsened.

11. *tracing across*, tracking, walking, across, a phrase actually heard.

12. *only*, the word used may, however, be *one-y*, which must have the same meaning.

13. *behold ye!* a common phrase for 'look there.'

14. *dont)ye be in such a terrible hem* [devil] *of a hurry to carry the sway* [victory], hem is clearly a euphemism for devil, deuce, devilish, damn, damnation, etc., *i.e.* exceedingly, it is very [or 'hem'] common in this district.

FAVERSHAM PHRASES from dict. of H.K.-H., Esq.

1. (æ'i shæl noo dɪn ɐ lit'l, ɪf æ'i kiip gwɪn), I shall know within a little [soon], if I keep going.
2. (noo færm ɐt ʌʌl), no form at all, common expression, the meaning of which was unfortunately not noted.
3. (ool rɛn'ldz), old reynard, (poop), Guy Fawkes.
4. (d)ool ɛntjmen, the old huntsman.
5. (gu æn, wɪdʒ)ɪ!, go on, will you!
6. (wær wɔps prɛdɛntli), beware of wasp presently.
7. (θrii jɪvɛn ʌafɛrz), three-year-old heifers.
8. (tʌ dræŋk), to go about as a drunken man.
9. (færnɛl lɛ'iz), infernal lies, the first unaccented syllable of a word is frequently omitted.
10. (sɛfɪn ɐ dæt, næθɛn ɐt ʌʌl), something of that, nothing at all.
11. (wæni wæns), only once, (tə'ɪm ɛn ɛgɛ'n), time and again, many times.
12. (fɛr stɔpɛr), fox-earth stopper.
13. (jɪstɛrdeɛ ɛn tɛdhɛrdeɛ), yesterday and the other day, *i.e.* day before yesterday.
14. (ɪ ɛɛnt noo kɛʌnt t)ʌʌl), he isn't no account at all, *i.e.* he is of no importance.
15. (moost dɛʌtedli duubɛrɛs), most (un-)doubtedly dubious.
16. (ɪz eed ɪz dæt eed'l), his head is that [so much] addled.
17. (wɛrkɪn bɛ'ɪ griit), working by the piece.
18. (wɪkɪt fɛr wæket, trɪk ɛn tɛ'ɪ), each = tit for tat.
19. (dóvɛn ju ɪntɛrɛpt saaf), don't you interfere with self.
20. (dívɛr ɛrt ɛlɛ'ɪv, sɪtʃ ɐ tɪ'kɪn), dear heart alive, such a ticking.
21. (tɛtɛr ɛn skæd'l), cross and mischievous.
22. (ɪt)s trɛə, æ'ɪ tʌk ʌʌf), it's true I took off = went away.
23. (néu ɛn dɛn, néu ɛn tɛn), now and then.
24. (ɪt)s prɪnt muun lɛ'ɪt), it's print moon-light, *i.e.* sufficient to read print in.

FAVERSHAM cwl.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., containing almost all the wd. in the cs. and also many others separately dictated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tɛk. 5 méek mɪk. — kried'l [cradle]. — wɛk [wake]. 17 ʌʌ
 ʌʌ. 19 teel. 21 níem. 28 héer. — wær [beware of]. 34 lææst.
 A: 39 [(k)ɛm used]. 43 hæen. 44 læn. 49 hæq. — kæænt [cannot].
 54 wɔnt. 55 eesh. 56 wɔsh. A: or O: 58 frɔm. 60 loq. 64 rɔq.
 A'- 67 gu, gwɪn [going]. 72 uu. 73 soo. 74 tɔ. 76 túud. 82 wæns.
 84 móer múer. 89 bóeth. 92 noo, nood [knowed = knew]. 94 kroo.
 A': 102 aast [in infinitive also]. 104 rúed. 106 brʌʌd. — drav [I drove].
 111 ʌʌt. 113 d)ól [the whole]. 115 wɛem. 117 wæn. 118 búen. 120
 ɛguu. 122 noon, noo. 123 næθɛn. 124 stɛvɛn. 125 ooni, wani. 129 gúest.
 130 bóet búet. 137 nɛr [unemphatic].

Æ- 138 faadur. 140 ee'l. 143 téul tial. 144 vgi'n. 147 bree. 148 féur. — zmet [ant]. 149 blaze. — hiiz'l [hazel]. 150 liistweez [leastwise]. Æ: 154 bæc. — hæd'nt [had not], hæd, æd [had]. 158 sætær. 161 dái. 164 mee. 166 meed. 169 wen. — wops [wasp]. 171 barli. 172 græes. 173 wos. 176 æt. 177 dæt. 179 wot.

Æ'- 187 leave. 182 wee. 190 key. 194 eni. 195 meni. Æ': — spréd [it spread]. 209 nevær. 211 gree. 213 edhær. 214 nedhær. — miil [meal, food]. 218 ship. 220 shepærd [the common word is (lukær), the other scarcely ever heard]. 222 héur. 223 déur. 224 wéur wier. 229 bræth.

E- 232 briik. 233 spiik. 234 knead. — tred [tread]. 239 siel. 241 rin. 243 plee [occ. (plái) in the pause]. 244 waa waal. 245 miel. — hiilin [bedclothes, i.e. covering]. 248 mare. 249 wíur. — wiiz'l [weasel]. 252 ket'l. 255 wædhær [never heard with a (d)]. E: — web [web]. 259 wedge. 260 lee [as a hen eggs], lee'in [laying for lying]. 261 sai, sez [says]. — fil [field]. 269 saaf. 271 taa, taal, tæln [tell, telling]. 276 thiik. — iind [end]. 281 lænth. 282 strænth. — næstæ næstiz [nest nests]. — set [set]. — best [best]

E'- 290 ii. 293 wi. 300 kiip, kep [kept]. 301 iur. E': 305 high. 306 height. 312 iur. 314 iurd.

EA- 320 kéur. EA: 322 lææf. 323 féut. 325 walk. 326 oold. 328 kúuld. 330 Aald. 331 swóald. 332 tüöld. 335 AAL. 337 wall. 338 kaal. — solt. — bíurd. 340 jard. 342 arm. 343 wærm. — iern [to earn]. 346 giut geet [first most frequent]. EA'- 347 eed. — aafærz [heifers]. 348 a'i. 349 fev. EA': 350 deed. 355 deaf [not (deth) as in e.Ss.]. 356 leaf. 357 doo. 359 neeburwud [neighbourhood]. — hiip [heap]. 364 tjæp. — J'ur [year]. 366 griit. 367 thret. 368 deth.

EI- 372 [aye is not used, but is replaced by yes]. 373 dee. EI: 378 wiik. 380 dem, dærsaa'vz [their = themselves].

EO- 386 joo. 387 nuu. EO: 390 shud. — dærk [dark]. 397 súdeud. 399 færm [farm]. 402 lærn. 403 fæ. 406 iur stopær [fox earth-stopper]. 407 faard'n. EO'- — fiu [flea]. — niu [knee]. — friu [free]. 411 thrii. 412 shi. 416 diur. — tjæz [choose]. EO': 422 (sik) [usual word for unwell, not used for vomited, which is called (braat æp)]. 430 frin [when used, rarely]. 433 breast 435 ju. 436 træ. 437 triuth. EY- 431 da'i. EY: 439 træst.

I- 440 wiik. 446 na'in. 449 git. I: 453 kwik. 456 ef. 457 ur'it. 459 ra'it. 463 tæl. 465 sitj. 466 tjæ'l. 482 iz. 483 izsaa'f [his = himself]. 484 dis. 485 thistle. 487 jisterdee. — gra'ist [grist]. 488 got [got, past tense]. 489 it. I'- 494 ta'im. 495 wa'in. I': — diik [ditch, dyke]. 500 la'ik la'ikli [likely]. 506 umæn. 509 wa'il. 510 ma'in.

O- 519 oover. 522 æp'n. — snæur [snore]. 524 wald. O: 525 AAF [off]. 531 daaturinlaa. 532 kóul. 541 woont. — kwolt [colt]. 543 on, onset [onset, beginning], æn [for of as well as on]. 550 wærd. 551 stærm. 552 kærn. — mærnin [morning]. 554 kræs. O'- 559 mædær. 562 muun. 564 sun. 566 enædær [another]. 567 tædher. O': 571 gud. — ruuf [roof]. 579 ena'u. 584 stúel. 586 duu dænt [don't]. 587 dan. 588 nuun. 590 flæur. 592 swæur. 597 sæt.

U- 604 samær. 605 son. 606 dæur. U: 610 ul. 612 sam, safin [something]. — tamb'l [tumble]. 613 dræqkin [drinking, acting the drunken man]. 616 gréum. 618 wéund [n. and p.p.] zéundz [God's wounds]. 625 tæq. 627 sændi. 629 sun. — æntjmen [huntsman]. 631 thæzd. 634 thru. 636 færdær. U'- 641 éu, éujevær [however]. 643 néu. 650 béut. U': 663 héus. 666 æzben. 667 éut.

Y- 674 did [emphatic]. 675 dræ'i. 681 bizinis [in three syllables]. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 jæggæst. 694 wærkín [working]. 695 ærk. 701 ferst. 702 dín [within], déut [without]. Y- 706 wa'i. Y': 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 718 tréud. — tjæt [chat]. 737 míut. 741 maze. — swái [sway]. 742 læzi. E. 751 péært [recovered from sickness]. I. and Y. — wip [whip]. 758 gæl. — wist [whisht, quiet]. O. 761

lúed. — dʒɒb [job]. 767 náaiz. 774 pʷæni. 776 guðbæ'i. — spúert [sport]. — hævæɹ [technical word in hopping, shaking up the measure to make it look larger]. 721 bɔ'i. U. 796 blæ. 798 kwíɹ. — æri [hurry]. — rusht [to rush, like 105 (aast), the past tense made an infinitive].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 féɹs. — tréɹs [trace, track]. 812 tɹ léɹs [to lace, beat, drub]. — kɛtʃt [caught, for caught]. — péɹl píɹl [pail]. — pee [pay]. 824 tʃéɹɹ. — féɹl [fail]. — tʃiɹn, tʃéɹn [chain]. — eɹɹ [air]. 833 péɹɹ. 835 riɹz'n. — péɹl [pale]. 843 bræɹntʃ [not used]. — meendʒɹɹ. 849 stréɹndʒɹɹ [common word]. 851 æɹnt. — mɛɹtʃɹnt [merchant]. — mæri [marry]. 857 kéɹs [often used]. — pæɹs [pass]. 862 séɹf.
E.. 867 tiɹ. — riɹl [real]. — krítɹɹ [creature]. 870 buɹtífɹl. 874 riɹnz [reins]. — skiɹm [scheme, very common]. — plɛnti [plenty]. — wɛntɹɹsɛm [venturesome]. 885 wɛɹi [not much used, supplanted by (tɹæb'l) terrible]. — æɹb [herb]. — klark [clerk]. — tɹæb'l [terrible]. — mæsiɹfɹl [merciful]. — kɛnsæɹn [concern]. — fɛɹm [firm]. 888 sartin. — rɛzɹlɹt [courageous]. — disæbíl [dishabile, used commonly for any confusion or litter]. 890 biɹst. 891 *feast*. I.. and Y.. 910 dʒæ'istiz [joists].
O.. 919 æ'ɹntmɛnt. — dʒæ'in [join]. 925 wɔ'is. — kéɹnt [account]. 930 læ'in. — stúɹɹ [store]. 938 kAARNɹɹ. 939 tlóɹs. — róɹst [roast]. 940 kwóɹt. 941 fuɹl fúlish [foolish]. — tɹæb'l [trouble]. 942 batʒɹɹ. 947 bæ'il. 950 sæpɹɹ. 955 déɹt. U.. 965 æ'il. 969 shúɹɹ. — hort [hurt]. 970 dʒɛst.

Usages, eent beent. (éɹ) falls much into (iɹ), thou never used.

VAR. iii. EAST KENT FORM.

The Isle of Thanet has had its dialect nearly obliterated. Mr. Basil Hodges, of Vincent, Margate, to whom I was recommended as likely to know, said that *d* for *th* was unknown, though he had heard it from an old man who came from another part of the county. But (miis) mice shewed a remnant of dialect as well as *weal*, *violet*, *ile*, *bile*, I adopt his spelling, for *veal*, *violet*, *oil*, *boil*. Miss Peckham, a student of Whitelands, who had been at a school at St. Nicholas, Margate, did not know *d* for *th*, or *w* for *v*, nor recognise (ɹ), and found the *h* omitted only by old people and not so often wrongly inserted. Her *r* followed London use, even to its euphonic insertion. But she used (ɔ'i) for long *i*, except in (liis, miis) for *lice*, *mice*. U' gave (éu), and O' had (iu) in (spíun, aatɛniun, biuts) *spoon*, *afternoon*, *boots*, to which (tíu) *two* was assimilated, being confused with (*too*). Such words as I could get from her are in the e.Ke. cwl. Rev. R. Drake of Stourmouth Rectory, just w. of the river which bounds the Isle of Thanet, says he has never met with so little dialect. He admits *w* for *v* and finds it so general that "children taught to speak correctly are laughed at by their elders." Though he had been 38 years in the locality, the only dialectal words he could remember were (diik) for *dyke*, and (wæps) for *wasp*. He had not heard *I are* half a dozen times, and never *I be*. He notices *aint*=*isn't*, and *lease*=*glean*, and the common use of *terrible*=*very*. Mr. Toomer sent me a lw. for e.Ke. and Thanet, which are inserted in the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144. We may pretty well omit ne.Ke. from dialectal regions, though there is still just enough left to shew that it once resembled the rest of Ke.

The next region of e.Ke. consists of the Highlands east of Canterbury, of which the following dt. gives a good idea. The words are added to the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144.

WINGHAM dt.

6 e. Canterbury, representing the Highlands of e.Ke., Adisham (6 se. Canterbury), Nonington (7 se. Cant.), Chittenden (8 se. C.), Womenswold (7 se.-by-s. C.), Sibertswold (9 se. C.), Goodneston (7 e.-by-s. C.), and Kearsney (3 nw. Dover) by Rev. F. W. Ragg, who when it was written was vicar of Ratling with Wingham, and became subsequently vicar of Marsworth, Tring, pal. by A.J.E. from indications and answers to questions.

1. *sóou ói sái, méets, réu sii néu det ói aar róit béut dæt lid'l* [lilh] gæl kærín fróm dæ skúel jendær.
2. *shii)z góo'in déun dæ róud déær, thru dæ ræd géet on dæ left* ænd sóid ev dæ wái.
3. *shúær naf dæ gæl ez g'o'en stráit æp tæ dæ dóær ev da ræq héus.*
4. *wíær shi el bi lóik to fóind dæt drææqkæn def sríveid félæ* ev dæ néem ev :tómæs.
5. *wi aal nóou im wERI wEL.*
6. *wóent dæ ool tæp siun lærn ær nót téu déu it ægin, púær thiq!*
7. *læk)i iz'n it tríu?*

Notes.

1. *I*, "somewhat resembling (*ó'i*) and differing from (*ái*)," this points to (*ó'i*) or (*ái*). I have selected (*ó'i*) because of the Faversham (*ó'i*).—*are*, "the *r* is full, a good burr, and has its usual effect on the *a*," this points to the (*æ*), lost in Thanet but retained in these highlands. *I are*, rhyming to *fire* (*óivær, fóivær*), is the regular form, *I am* is sometimes used, *I be* very seldom if ever.—"*liddle* almost *li'l* with a rough breathing before the *l*," which I interpret (*lid'l, lilh*), though the latter is very strange, still I have *lile lill* given me by others.—*yonder*, "I am not quite sure of *yendæ*, whether the *r* is sounded at all, but the *æ* has the modification which the *r* would give it as nearly as possible."

6. *to do*, written *tööö dööö*, which might have been meant for (*tíu díu*), as I got *tew* from Denton (7 nw. Dover), and hence within the district, from Rev. C. J. Hussey, who says, "In the hymns the *tew* for *to* strikes my ear, I have noticed it more in singing than in speaking." But Mr. Ragg says, "The *ööö* is like a very short *ou* in *you*, *about*, *house*," and that is explained to be the *e* and *w* in the Welsh *Bettws*, and hence (*éu*) or (*é'u*). But I believe the sound degenerates into some variety of (*y, æ*), see Faversham, and may have been originally merely (*æ'u*), which is apt to generate all these sounds.

FOLKESTONE.

The Folkestone fishermen are credited with a dialect of their own. So far as pron. is concerned, that is not the case. Mr. R. Stead, to whom I am otherwise much indebted, being master of the Folkestone Grammar School in 1880, I asked his assistance. The will of the founder of the school provides for the instruction of sons of poor fishermen, and there are generally six or eight boys there from the houses of genuine working fishermen; and these boys are said to speak the dialect as well as their fathers. By observations on these boys Mr. Stead wrote me the following dt. in Glossic, and

supplemented it by several observations. Mr. Fynmore says: "The fishermen of Folkestone, I understand, are persistent in the transposition of *v* for *w*, and are called old Vills. They talk quick about vat for what, vell, vant, valk, etc., etc." Mr. Stead says: "I can't hear that anybody knows the fishermen by the name of 'old Vills.' I have to-day been listening to the pronunciation of two or three new fisherboys we have, and I can't hear anything but was, we, were, wat=what, etc." But in P.S. he adds, "I have just had communication with a man well acquainted with the town. He tells me that 'Folkestone fishermen are almost universally credited with the use of *v* for *w*,' but he thinks they don't 'do it so often as is made out.' Nevertheless, he says you will no doubt 'now and then hear viting (=whiting), Vellard (=Wellard, a local tobacconist), etc.' Hence, while *v* for *w* may occasionally occur, it must be rare at least at present, and must be considered still to want satisfactory proof. On the other hand, *w* for *v* is the rule, or, as Mr. Stead says, "very largely if not universally used by the fisherfolk in Folkestone, as in wessel, Nowember, Westa (=Vesta, name of a fishing-boat), walue, etc."

On the other hand, *d* for *th* does not seem to be heard among them, but the reverted (*r*) was distinctly recognised, although it is not unfrequently omitted to his ears. Not having heard these speakers myself, I do not venture to write (*r*) initial or to assimilate (*t d n*) to (*r*) as (*r d n*). But I feel tolerably sure that all are used, especially as (*L*) is particularly recognised. Mr. Stead says he never heard the final reverted (*L*) so decidedly as among these speakers. "Thus, Bill is (*bírl*), or often (*bérl*), help=(*elp*), etc." He finds, also, the long *O'* and its cognates have developed not merely into (*iu*), but (*yy*), or an approximation to it, and writes (*yy*, *skyyl*, *thryy*, *shyyer*, *ty*, *syyn*, *dyy*, *lyk*, *tryy*), for you, school, through, sure, to, soon, do, look, true. Most probably the (*yy*) is not fully reached, and, as remarked under Faversham, the real sound may be (*æ'u*). The long *I'* he finds most like (*ói*), as at Wingham, and the long *U'* is (*éu*).

FOLKESTONE FISHERMEN dt.

written in Glossic by R. Stead, Esq., pal. by AJE.

1. sóou ói sái, má'its, jy sii néu dhut ói)m róit ebéut dhet lít'l gjærl, kómín fróm dhæ skyyL jandæR.
2. shii)z góou'in déun dhæ róoud dhéiv thryy dhæ red gá'it an dhæ left end sóid æv dhæ wái.
3. shyy'æR eno'f dhæ tjóild [tjæald] æz gaan stráit æp ty dhæ dóouæR æv dhæ raq [raq] éus.
4. wéiv shi wíel tjaans ty fóind [shi'l preps kəm ʊkraa's] dhet dræqkæn def skini tjep æv dhæ ná'im æv :tamæs [:tamæs].
5. wi AAL nóou im wer'i wéel.
6. wóount dhæ oold tjep syyn tiitj æR nat ty dyy it egáin, púuæ thiq!
7. lyk! iz'nt it tryy?

Notes.

2. *there*, as well as *where*, *fair*, *pare*, 4. *she'll perhaps come across*, is
wear, have the triphthong (éiv), as probably the phrase that would be
 (dhéiv, wéiv, féiv, péiv, wéiv). used.

The following cwl. collects the e.Ke. words. The S. dial. has here decayed as much as possible, and has received strictly E. elements, which entirely extinguish the S. as we proceed n. The ES. group is therefore a transition between S. and E., but different from D 7.

EAST KENT cwl.

F Folkestone fishermen's dialect, from Mr. Stead, p. 142.
 N St. Nicholas, Margate, from Miss Peckham, p. 141.
 T lw. sent by Mr. Toomer for in and about Isle of Thanet, known by him to have been used in e.Ke. Although a young man in 1871, he had noticed many changes in his time. Conj. pal. by A.J.E. from io. He apparently uses *r* as in London *ar* or *ur* = (aa AA ə), for he writes *dorg* [dAAG] for *dog*.
 W Wingham, the words from Rev. F. W. Ragg's e.Ke. Highlands, p. 142.
 Rec. spelling and italics denote rec. pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tee [very long, approaching (téev)]. 12 N SAAW [with euphonic r before a vowel]. 20 N léem. 21 W néem, F ná'im. 23 N séem. 24 N sheem. 29 W aar er. 33 N reedhə [occ.]. 36 N thaw [with inserted euphonic r]. A: 42 end. 43 W ænd. 55 T ishez. A: or O: 58 WF fram. 64 W raq, F raq raq. A'- 67 W góo'in, N [rec. pr.], F góou'in. 69 N no. 73 WF sóou, N so. 74 N tíu. 76 N tóud. 84 N móun [more than]. 86 N óuts. 92 F nóou. 94 W nóou. A': 101 N oak. 104 róud, F róoud. 110 W not, F nat. 121 W go'en, F GAAN.
 Æ- 140 N [140-147 rec. pron.]. 142 T sneg. 144 W egi'n, F egi'n. 153 N setedi. — T puti [pretty]. Æ: — T wæps wæps [wasp]. 174 T ish. 177 W det [unemphatic], dæt [emphatic]. Æ'- 183 F tiitj. 190 N key. Æ': 218 T ship. 223 W déer, F dhéiv, N there. 224 W wíer, T wéiv.
 E- 231 W de [week]. 233 N speak. 235 N weave. 236 N fever. 251 N meat. 252 N kit'l. E: 261 WF sái. 262 WF wái [in pause (wái)]. 265 WF stráit. 266 W wæl, F wéel. 272 T elum. 278 N [never heard]. — T iinz [ends]. — T mesh [marsh]. E'- 293 F wi. 297 W felv. E': 314 N ívud.
 EA- 319 N gape. EA: 323 N fought. 324 N eight. 326 W ool, N ood, F oold. 330 T boud, N ood. 335 W aal, F AAL. 346 T géet, N gate, F gá'it. EA': 352 WF rēd. 355 WF dēf. 364 W tjæp, F tjep. 371 T straa. EI: 378 N weak.
 EO: 388 T mælk: 394 W jændæ [ʔ final (r) absent], F jændæ. 402 W aar. EO'- 412 WF shii. — T kléiv [cleaver]. 413 N div'l. EO': 428 WF sii. 435 W jéu, F jy. 436 W tríu, F tryy. EY- 438 N die.
 I- 442 N j'ivi. 446 N no'in. — T shíivz [shires, applied to the Midland counties]. I: 452 T ói [see note to dt.], F ói. 459 WF róit, N ro'it. 462 N so'it. 465 N sitj. 466 F tjóild tjaald. 469 wíel. 477 WF fóind, N fo'ind. 479 N wo'in. 480 WF thiq. I'- 490 N bo'i. 492 WF sóid. I': — T diik de'ik [ditch]. 500 W lóik. 507 N umen [old people].
 O- 522 N ap'n. O: 525 F ov. 541 W wóunt, F wóunt. 543 W on. — T faak [fork]. — T os [horse]. 554 ekraa's [across]. — T póest póestez [post posts]. O'- 556 W téu, F ty. 558 W luk, F lyk. 560 W skúv, F skyyL. 564 W síun, F syyn. O': 579 W naf, F enof. 586 W déu, F dy. 589 N spíun. 594 N bíuts. 597 TN sat.

U- 603 W kamin, F kamin. 606 W dóur, F dóouer. U: 632 W ap, F ap. 634 W thru, F thryy. U'- 640 N kéu. 643 WF néu. 650 WF béut. U': 658 WF déun. 663 W héus, F éus.
Y- 682 W lid'l lilh, F lit'l. Y: 700 T was wæs [worsen], N was. 701 TN fast. Y': 711 N liis. 712 N miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 T driin. — preps [perhaps]. 737 T méuts, F má'its. E. 749 WF left. I. and Y. 758 W gæl, F gjærl. 760 W srivæld. O. 770 W :tames, F :tames :tames. U. 804 W dræqken, F droqken. 808 T pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 F tjaans. — T kaa [carry, or (kâv) ?]. 864 T koz. 866 W páur, F páus, N póov. E.. 867 N tea. 885 TWF wari. — T tæb'l [terrible]. O.. 916 T iqen. — T fody [forge]. U.. 965 T e'it. 969 W shúek, F shyy'ur, T siuel'í [surely]. — T haat [hurt].
T usages, he didn't (hadn't shouldn't) ought, Miss for Mrs.—N usage, I are.

D 10, 11, 12 form the WS. or west Southern Group.

Boundaries. The e. b. is the w. b. of MS. and the other boundaries are formed by the Bristol and English Channels.

Area. The w. portion of Sm., all but the extreme sw. of Dv., all Co. and the Scilly Isles. This represents comparatively recent, and in w.Co. very recent, overrunning of a Celtic language (Cornish or West Welsh) by English. In D 12, w.Co. and Scilly, a true dialect has apparently never been formed.

Character. Besides the general S. character with the (r) very strongly developed in the e. but gradually weakening on going w. (till in D 12 the received r is perhaps quite established), there is also the striking change of O' into (y₁), closely resembling Fr. (y), which sharply limits this group towards the e.

D 10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern.

Boundary. Taken from Mr. Elworthy's information. The n. b. is the n. coast of Sm., w. of e.Quantockshead (14 n.w.Taunton). The w. and s. b. begins at Comtisbury (14 ene.Ilfracombe Dv. and 2 e.Linton Dv.), and proceeds nearly s. along an affluent of the Lynn R., to Exe Head Hill, Sm., where the affluent rises (14 ese.Ilfracombe). Then passing the head of the Barle R. proceeds to Span Head on the b. of Sm. (14 se.Ilfracombe), then se. to North Molton Ridge (14 e.Barnstaple), and still se. over Molland Down, Anstey's Barrow and Anstey's Hill (all on the watershed at the b. of Sm.), and then turning s. along the high ground to just s. of Tiverton (where it crosses the Exe), of Collumpton (6 ese. Tiverton, and of Kentisbeare (7 ese. Tiverton), and then turning ne. to join the w. b. of D 4 about Otterford (7 s.Taunton), after which the e. b. is identical with the w. b. of D 4 from n. to the sea.

Area. The w. of Sm. with a small portion of ne.Dv.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., || systematic, ° in io.

Sm. *Bishop's Hull, °Milverton, °Taunton, *Wellington.

Dv. ||*Morebath.

Characters. A- (éu). A: (æ, a¹). A'-, A': (úv, óv). AEG. (âî). Æ' (ee) and various. EG (âî). E (e). EL (æl). I: often (ə¹). I' (á'î). O' (yy₁, əə₁). U (u, a). U' (ɛ'u).

Of these the most important are the diphthongs for I', U'. They are both quite different from those of D 4. Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (á'î, ə'î) for I', but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and the question was which of the two I should adopt. With some hesitation I selected (á'î), which is transitional to (âî), the Dv. form. This was, however, kept distinct from (âî), in which the first element was decidedly longer and lower than in (á'î). The (ɛ'u) form of U' was very marked, but did not fall into (æ'u) as in Nf. It is quite distinct from the Dv. (ə'y₁), so that it forms another mark of separation between D 10 and D 11.

The vowels (ə¹, yy₁, əə₁) sharply distinguish the dialect from D 4. They are very difficult even to appreciate. The (ə¹) may be considered as (ə) raised towards (i), or (i) degraded towards (ə). Strangers may be content with considering it as (i). Before (l) it seems to be absorbed by the murmur, so that (mə¹lk, sə¹lk) differ little from (m'lk, s'lk). Dr. Murray (Elworthy, Gram. West Sm. p. 113) considers the last to be the exact sound. When I so pronounced the words, Mr. E. said I was wrong. Neither was the word (malk). I had imagined that perhaps (m'lk) might be right, but Mr. E. says he uses (l) with the tip of the tongue thoroughly against the teeth. I must consider that the correct analysis of this vowel sound has not been reached. It is strangely affected by adjacent consonants. In listening in 1885 to the list of 30 words in Mr. Elworthy's *Dialect of West Sm.*, p. 58, which I had drawn up in 1875, I found the same separation into three parts, resembling (i, ə, u), in all of which Mr. Elworthy and natives reckon only one vowel, except in *milk, silk*, where they seem to recognise no vowel at all besides the vowel *l*. The sound occurs chiefly for EO, I.

The vowels (yy₁, y₂, əə₁, ə₁) are quite as difficult to utter, but easier to recognise. They are usually both called "French *u*," but they decidedly reminded me of (y, ə) or Fr. *pu, peu*, from which, however, they were clearly distinct, and apparently 'lowered.' To say (tyy₁ bəə₁ts) two boots, is a most difficult problem to a stranger, and one he is not very likely to solve.

Judging from JGG.'s experience at Chippenham, Wl., p. 51, I anticipated finding the whole series (ɾ ɽ ɳ ɹ sh zh ʃ ɟ) in this region also. So far as Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation is concerned, this was not the case, as (ɾ) was clear, even when initial, but the other sounds seem to occur only when adjacent to (ɾ), as (ɾɳɟ) ridge. When there was merely the separation of two words, as (ɾ də'd) she did, the (ɾ) does not seem to affect the following letter. When (d) comes before (ɾ), the most natural thing is to say (dɾ-); but Mr. E. says he feels the tip of the tongue *slide* along the palate from the (d) to the (ɾ) position. On going through the points touched by the palate for (ɾ t d n l) in his pronunciation, (ɾ) was fully reverted and the under part of the tip touched the

highest part of the palate, for (t, d) the contact lay between that and the gums, but nearer to the former, for (n) the contact was on the gums, and for (l) on the teeth. This makes the series (r, t d, n, l). Now Mr. E.'s pronunciation seems to be perfect, and he is really a native, but it is difficult to believe that the peasant himself makes these elaborate distinctions. The sounds uttered by Mr. E. appeared to me to be the same as I produced by using reverted (r, t d, n, l). In particular with (l) I could not in the least produce his effects, but with (r) I seemed to reach them. I have thought it prudent, however, to retain (t d, n l) with their usual coronal values, except when they were acknowledged to become (r d n l) on account of the adjacency of (r). It must be remembered that the distinction (t r, d r) is very slight, and the generation of the peculiar English (t, d) as distinct from the foreign (t̄, d̄) was probably entirely due to converting reverted (r) into retracted (r̄), a confusion even now going on. But the existence of alveolar (n) and purely dental (l) seems an entire anomaly in England. Yet it was not new at Mr. Elworthy's last interview with me on 4 Nov. 1885, for I find the same thing noted from him on 22 Nov. 1880, thus in *filth* (fə^hlth) the (l) and (th) were noted as having precisely the same position. Another peculiarity of Mr. E.'s pronunciation was the word *potatoes*, which Mr. E. considered he pronounced (tæ^hʊdiz), whereas Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself heard an (r) in place of (d), to my ears the word was (tæuriz). As to *l*, Dr. Murray (in Mr. E.'s *Gram. of W. Sm.*, p. 112) says, "*l* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of" such words as *bull*, *pull*, *full*, *school*, *wool*, *tool*, *stool*, and written (bə^hl, pə^hl, və^hl, shə^hl, ə^hl, tə^hl, stə^hl), etc. On asking Dr. M. in 1885 what he had meant by "*guttural l*," properly (*l̄*), he was unable to remember, and thought that possibly *guttural* should have been *retracted*, which is more likely.

In 1875 I had drawn up the lists of vowels with examples in Mr. Elworthy's *Dial. of W. Sm.* from his dictation. Not to be swayed by these, I extracted a large number of them, and made them into the following cwl., and then Mr. E. was kind enough to pronounce every word to me afresh. My impressions were slightly different, but almost the same. This list which follows gives the full characteristics of the dial. to the best of my powers of observation. The sounds (y^h ə, ə^h) were distinctly recognised, as different from (y ə ə), although I failed in imitating and cannot analyse them. The (t d n l) are left as in rs., because, as already stated, I cannot either adopt Mr. E.'s distinctions, or make them always reverted. This is followed by the cs. and some examples from the grammar, while the translation of the first chap. of *Ruth* will be given with the L. and Ch. versions in the Introduction to L., as it was especially written for this contrast. All of these were revised from dict. in Nov. 1885. Mr. Elworthy's papers already cited have been supplemented by his elaborate *Glossary*, pp. 924, full of interesting matter. His power of imitating peasant speech is most remarkable. His kindness and patience in giving me information are gratefully acknowledged.

WEST SOMERSET CS.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Foxdown, Wellington, Sm., revised from dict. 27 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1885, with a slavishly literal inter-linear translation.

0. E'u t)eez in)s :djæn aa)n eɣAA'et noo dɛ'utinz lá'ík.
how it)is even)as John has)not got no doubtings like.
1. wæl, faarmɛr :ærtjæt, á'i tæl)e aat t)eez. jyy₁ ɛn ii, búədh o)i,
wel, farmer Richard, I tell)thee what it)is. You and he, both of)ye,
míd laafi bɛ'ut dhiəzh)jɛr stóvɛr ɛ má'ín. yy₁ dɛ kíɛr vɛr dha't ?
may laugh-y about this)here story of mine. who does care for that ?
t)ɛd)'n no ədz nɛdhɛr wæn wee nɛr t)ədhɛr.
it)is)not no odds neither one way nor that)other.
2. dhɛr ɪd)'n vɛri mæni mɛən dhɛt dɛ dá'i vɛrkéɛz dhe bi vɛlaəft o,
there is)not very many men that do die for-cause they be laughed of,
wii dy₁ noo dha't doo)n is? wAAət ə'z) ɛr vɛr tɛ méək)ɛm dyy₁et ?
we do know that do)not us? what is)there for to make)them do it ?
t)ɛd)'n vɛri lá'ík ə'z ə't ?
it)is)not very like, is it ?
3. E'ʊsɛmde'vɛr dhɛ'sh)jɛr)z dhɛ daps o)dhɛ kíɛs, zoo dhii djɛs
howsoever this)here)is the daps [turns] of)the case, so thee just
sta'tp dhii rat'l, óel fælɛr, ɛn bá'id stɛl gín á'i)v ɛfə'nish.
stop thy rattle, old fellow, and abide still against I)have finished.
nɛ'ʊ ɔrk, wə'l)i ?
Now hark, will)thee ?
4. á'i bi saartín shúɛr á'i jɛrd) ɛm zee—zɛm ɛ dhɛə dhɛr vɔks
I be certain sure I heard)them say—some of they there folks
wət wɛənt rɛ'it vóvɛr dɛyy₁ ɪt AA'əl vɛrɛm dhi vɛri fɛs dhɛr)oon
what went right fore through it all, from the very first their)own
zəlz, dha't á'i dɛd, saaf anɛ'f,
selves, that I did, safe enough.
5. E'ʊ dha't dhi jɛqgis zə'n ə'zɛ'l, ɛ gɛrt búóí ɛ)ná'ín jɛr ool,
how that the youngest son his-self, a great boy of)nine year old,
nood dhɛ vA'is ɛ dhɛ faadhɛr o)ɛn tɛrɛkli vɛr AA'əl t)wɛz sɛ
knowed the voice of the father of)him directly, for all it)was so
kwíɛr ɛn skwɛki lá'ík, ɛn á'i)d wAAARN 'ii vɛr tɛ spɛk tryy₁
queer and squeaky like, and I)would warrant 'he for to speak true
ə'ni dɛɛ ɛ)dhɛ wɛk, iis, ɛn 'dha't á'i wə'd.
any day of)the week, yes, and that I would.

6. *en dhool(d)amən ɛrɛʔl, ɛr ɛl təl ə'ni o)i dha't bii ɛlaaf in nɛ'u,*
and the)old)woman herself, her will tell any of)ye that be a-laughing now,
iis, ɛn təl)i ɛɛ'it ɛn in, ɛdhe'ut noo bodɛɛɛrshɛn, n)if i)'l ɛni
yes, and tell)ye right on end, without no botheration, and)if ye)will only
aks o)ɛɛ, oo ai, oo)n)ɛr? dha't)s AA'ɛl.
ask of)her, oh, aye, wo)n't)her? that)is all.
7. *ɛr tool mi o)ɛt ə'ni)ɛ'u, han ai akst)o)ɛɛ, tyy₁ ɛr drii tál'imz*
her told me of)it any)how, when I asked(of)her, two or three times
óvɛɛ, ɛr ded, ɛn 'ɛr ded)'n AAt vɛɛ tɛ bi ɛ'ut pɛn djə'tj ɛ dhɛq
over, her did, and 'her did)not ought for to be out upon such a thing
ɛz dhíɛzh)ɛɛ, wAA't)s 'dhii dhɛ'qk o)ɛt?
as this)here, what)dost thee think of)it?
8. *wɛl, in)s ai wɛz ɛtəlin o)i, ɛr)d læt)i nɔo ɛ'u ɛn*
well, even)as I was a-telling of)thee, her)would let)thee know how and
w'ɛɛ ɛn ween ɛr vɛ'uɛn dhɛki drɛqkin tɛd wAA't ɛr dy₁
where and when her found that drunken toad what her do
kAAal [kjAAal] ɛr mɛɛn.
call her man [husband].
9. *ɛr zwéɛrd ɛr zid)'n wee ɛr oon ai'iz ɛlaid AA'ɛl ɛstratɛt ɛ'ut*
her swore'd her see'd)him with her own eyes laid all stretched out
ty₁ ɛz vɛ₁l lɛqkth pɛn tap ɛ)dhɛ grɛ'und wee)ə'z gəə,d zə'ndi
to his full length upon top of)the ground with)his good Sunday
kúɛt ɔn, djə's ap ɛg'i n o)dhɛ dɛɛɛ o)dhɛ ɛ'uz, dɛ'wɛn dhɛɛ
coat on, just up against the door of)the house, down there
tɛ)dhɛ kAAandɛɛ o dhɛki dhéɛɛ léɛn.
to)the corner of that there lane.
10. *dhɛɛ ɛ wAAz ɛwá'inin ɛwee, ɛr zɛs, djɛ's dhɛ vɛri séɛm)zɛs*
there he was a-whining away, her says, just the very same)as
thAAf ɛ wɛz ɛ tɛ'ɛl ɛtəkt bɛ'ɛd, ɛr ɛ lid'l máid aza'ɛt ap
though he was a child tooked bad, or a little maid set up
in ɛ jɛt.
in a heat.
11. *ɛn dha't dhɛɛ apt dhɛ vɛri séɛm tál'im)z ɛr ɛn ɛr daartɛrlAA*
and that there happed the very same time)as her and her daughter-in-law
wɛz ɛkamin in dryy₁ dhɛ bak kóɛɛt [ki'úɛɛt] aadɛɛ dhɛə)d
was a-coming in through the back court after they)had
ɛbɛn ɛjəqin dhɛ wɛt klóɛz vɛɛ tɛ drɛ'u'i, pɛn a wAArshin deɛ.
been a-hanging the wet clothes for to dry-y, upon a washing-day.

12. séem tá'im dhe kə't'l wəz ɐ bʊó:lɪn pən dhe vá'íəR vər tee,
same time the kettle was a boiling upon the fire for tea,

wan fá'in brá'ít zəməR ʌRdʊRnəθ,n onɪ ɐ wɪk ɛɡən kám
one fine bright summer afternoon only a week ago come

nɛks dhæzdi.
next Thursday.

13. ɛn, də'z dhi noo ? á'i nə'vəR laərn, wan mʌrs'l biit móvəR)n
and, dost thee know ? I never learned one morsel bit more)than

dhɪsh)jəR kənsə'rɪn dha't dhéəR bə'znɪs təl ə'z móvəR)nɪn, zoo
this)here concerning that there business till this morning, so

shúvəR)z má'i néəm)z :dʒən :shə'pəR, ɛn wət)s mʌvəR, á'i ddo)ɛn
sure)as my name)is John Shepherd, and what's more, I do)not

want ty₁ nədhəR, dhéəR nə'u!
want to neither, there now!

14. ɛn zoo á'i bii gūəən óəm vər tɐ æ'v mi sʌpəR [t)æ)mi)sʌpəR].
and so I be going home for to have my supper [to)have)my)supper].

gə,d ná'ít)i, ɛn doo)n)i bii zo kwɪk, má'in, vər tɐ króo óvəR
good night)to)thee, and do)not)thee be so quick, mind, for to crow over

ə'ni badi ɛɡɪən, hən ɛni badi dɐ tʌki o dhíəz ɛR dhɪki ɛR
any body again, when any body do talk-y of this or that or

t)ədʰəR dhɪq.
that)other thing.

15. ɛə mʌs bi ɐ aavə,l fələR vər tɐ prə'ti ɛdʰe'u t rá'im ɛR rɛəz'n.
he must be a half-fool fellow for to prate-y without rhyme or reason.

ɛn dhɪsh)jəR)z mə'i lʌs wərd. gə,d bú'á'i)t)i.
and this)here)is my last word. good bye)to)thee.

The three specimens which follow are borrowed from Mr. Elworthy's *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somersetshire*, 1877, pp. 96 and 99, where they are presented in glossic. They have been pal. by A.J.E. and, as before stated, revised with Mr. E. In the translation letters and words in *Italics* are either supplementary or explanatory, and the translation itself as before is slavishly literal.

SPECIMENS.

A genuine yarn taken down by Mr. Elworthy from a peasant's dictation.

:lɑ'vɛrd :pɑɑpɛm.

Lord Popham.

1. d'i spʊvz jɪ₁v vjɛrd bɛ'ʊd
dhɛ gɛrt oʊk'n tɹii ɒp tɛ :wɛ'lɪtɛn
:pɑrk :ɔ₁d, wɑt dhɛ jɪjɪz tɛ zɛɛ
:lɑ'vɛrd :pɑɑpɛm wɛz ɛkɛ'ndjɛrd
intɪ₁?

1. I suppose you've a-heard about
the great oaken tree up to Wellington
Park Wood, what they used to say
Lord Popham was a-conjured
into?

2. wɛl, dɔo)ɛn i zii, ɒp dhɛvɛr,
jɪ₁ noo, zɛr, dhɛvɛr)z ɛ gɛrt dip
bɑ'dɛm gɔɔ₁z dɛ'wɪn zɛ dip)s
dhɛ tɑvɛr, mɑin stɪvɛr lɑ'i₁k
in)s mɔ'd zɛɛ, sɛvɛm)z dhɛ
zɑ'i₁d gweɛn ɒp ɔv'r :wɛ'lɪtɛn :fɛl,
ɛn dhɪszh)jɛr oʊk'n tɹii, ii wɑz
ɛ tɛr'ɔb'l gɛrt tɹii shoovɛr nɛf, i
wɑz, ɛn i grɔvɛd in dhɛ zɑ'i₁d o vɛn,
ɛn dhɪki plɛvɛs ɛz ɛkɑɑl :wɔ'lskɛm
bɑɑdɛm.

2. Well, don't ye see, up there,
you know, sir, there's a great deep
bottom = ravine goes down so deep)as
the tower, main steer = steep like,
even)as one may say, the same)as the
side going up over Wellington Hill,
and this)here oaken tree, he was
a terrible great tree sure enough, he
was, and he grewed in the side of him
= the ravine, and this place is a-called
Wilscombe bottom.

3. jɪ₁ mɑ'in dhɛ pʊvɛr ool
:tɑm :ɑɑlwee, dɔo)ɛn i, zɛr ?
dhat)s dhɛ ool :tɑm :ɑɑlweez
fɑɑ'dhɛr, jɛ noo, zɛr, ɛlp dɹoo)ɛn,
ɛn weɛn dhɛ dɹoo)ɛn, nif i
dɛd)'n tɛrn rɛɛt tɑp)'m tɑtɛl—
iis shoovɛr, ɛn dhɛ ɛɛd o vɛn
wɛz rɛɛt dɛ'wɪn ɛndɛr, ɛn dhɛvɛr
i bɑ'i₁d.

3. You mind = remember the poor
= deceased old Tom Alway, don't ye,
sir? that's the old Tom Alway's
father, you know, sir, he helped
to throw = fell him = the tree, and
when they throwed-him, and-if he
did'nt turn right top-on-tail = head
over heels—yes sure, and the head of
him was right down under, and there
he bided = remained.

4. ɛn dhɛ wɛz ɑɑl o)'m ɛfɪvɛrd
vɛr tɛ gɔ₁ ɛnɪvɛs)'n, ɛn dhɛ
zɛd ɛ'u in)s ɛ wɛz ɛkɛndɪ'rd
noo'badi kɔ₁d)ɛn nɔ'vɛr dɹɛg)ɛn
ɛ'ʊt; ɛn dhɛvɛr i bɑ'i₁d.

4. And they was all of-them a-
feared for to go a-nighest-him, and
they said how e'en-as he was a-
conjured nobody could'nt never drag-
him out; and there he bided.

5. ɛn tɛ laas, ɑ'i weɛnt ɒp,
kɛz dhɛ zɛd dhɛ ʌ'sɛz)ɛd shoovɛr
tɛ bi ɛkɪfɛld, wee. tɛɛn ʌɑks'n,
ɛn ɑ'i itɪt ɛm ɒp tɪ₁ ɛn, ɛn dhɛ
bɛlɪks pɔ₁ld)ɛn ɛ'ʊt, ɛn dɹɛg)ɛn
intɛ dhɛ ɛqɪn kloz.

5. And to = at last, I went up,
because they said the horses)would
sure to be a-killed, with ten oxen,
and I hitched them up to him = the
tree, and the bullocks pulled-him out,
and dragged-him into the hanging
close.

6. ɛn ɑ'i nɔ'vɛr zid nɔovert
ɛn dhɛ wɛz ɑɑl o)ɛm ɛwɑ'itɪn
ɛn ɛlɔ₁kin in)s ɑ'i shɔ'd ɛbɔ'n
kɪfɛld, ɛn kɑɑlɪn o mi ɛ fɔ'ɪl vɛr
tɛ gɔ₁, bɛd ɑ'i nɔ'vɛr zid nɔovert,
nit-noobadi t)ɑɑl.

6. And I never seed = saw nought,
and they was all of-them a-waiting
and a-looking even as I should a-been
a-killed, and calling of me a fool for
to go, but I never seed = saw nought,
nor-yet nobody-at-all.

7. en jy, nóovz :wal'it'n :park
E'uz, dóovn i, zúr? á'i má'in han
á'i jyy,z tē liv dhær, apem dhæ
gjaræt, dhær wēz v plévs dhéer
dhoo lá'ik v oov'm lá'ik.

8. en á'i zid zēm bə'ks wee
reedin in)em in en, en dheē zed
dhāt wēz :la'erd :paa'pēmz bə'ks
en dheē zed E'u v méen weent
ap en zaa't vstrá'id pēn dhæ rəə'f
wee v bá'ib'l, in)s 'ii mə'd)n
kaar)n ewee'.

9. iis! en t)eez v tær'eb'l ool
E'u'z)er, bəd á'i nə'vēr ded)n zii
noobadi dhéer noo wə's)n mizal,
in)s mə'd zee.

10. E'usēmə'vēr á'i)v vjə'rd
em zee E'u dhæ saa'rvēn tjəp wēz
gweēn vēr tē lēt E'ut dhæ ak'ni
aadər)z mēstər)d ekəmd Δ'm
vrēm market, en dhær wēz v méen
vstə'd in dhæ gūt wee, en i kəd'n
oov'm)en.

11. en han dheē tək)en tē
dyy'in næks mā'ernin, vēr kaa'z
i aed)en epāt E'ut dhæ aas,
dóo)en i zii z'r? v zed, s)ii,
E'u v kə'd)en pāt)en E'ut, kəz
dhær wēz v méen vstə'd reet in dhæ
gūt wee, in)s i kə'd'n oov'm)en,
en dheē aa'vis jyy,z tē zee E'u dhe
aa'vis kənsə'dərd dhāt dhéer wēz
:la'erd :paa'pēm.

7. And you knows Wellington Park
house, don't ye, sir? I mind when
I used to live there, up)on the
garret, there was a place there
thēz like a oven like.

8. And I seed some books with
reading in-them in him = the oven, and
they said that was Lord Popham's
books, and they said how a man went
up and sat a-stride upon the roof
with a bible, e'en-as he = the devil
might'nt carry-him = the roof away.

9. Yes! and it-is a terrible old
house-sir, but I never did'nt see
nobody there no worse-than myself,
e'en-as one might say.

10. Howsomever I've a-heard
them say, how the servant chap was
going for to let out the hackney =
hack = horse, after-his master-had a-
comed home from market, and there
was a man a-stood = standing in the
gateway, and he could'nt open-him =
the gate.

11. And when they took-him to
doing = took him to task next-morning
for cause he had'nt a-put out the horse,
don't ye see, sir? he said, said-he,
how he could'nt put-him = the horse
out, because there was a man a-stood
= standing right in the gate way as
he could'nt open him = the gate,
and they always used to say how they
always considered that there was
Lord Popham.

The following was taken down by Mr. Elworthy from the dictation
of the carpenter himself.

Dh)ool fælər en dhæ kaa'fin.

The old fellow = devil and the coffin.

1. dəd jy, noo dh)ool :næn :skət,
zúr? maas ə'vəri baadi wēz
vfiərd o'ər, kəz dhæ nood E'u
ər kəd əvələ'k)em nif ər wə'd.

1. Did you know the old Nan
Scott, sir? Almost every body was
a-feard of her, because they knowed
how her = she could overlook them =
cast an evil eye on them and-if her
would.

2. wəl, á'i méəd dhe kaa'fin
vər)er, en sē tryy)z á'i bi jər,
t)wēz djə'st ekam wi aed'n aal o
əs vbe'n ekfəld.

2. Well, I made the coffin for her,
and so true-as I be here, it-was just
a-come = it had almost happened it
was a mere chance we had'nt all of us
a-been a-killed.

3. t-wēz sē fáin v dee)z ə'vēr
jy, zid, en dhæ zə'n)d vbe'n

3. It-was so fine a day)as ever you
seed = saw, and the sun-had a-been

ʋshænin sʋ brá'ít)s ə'n'idhíq, han
dʒə's in)s wi wəz gween in tʃ dhə
tʃartʃ dúər, dhər kamd ʋ vláərsh
ʋ leet'nin fə't tʃ téər əp dhə vəri
stóenz, æn wee dhə séem dhə
thandər bast e'ut lá'ík ʋ kæn'en.

4. wəl, han wi kam tʃ pət
ʋr in dhə kíev nif dh)ool méen
wad'n ʋtərnd reet reu'n. á'i noo
ʋ waz, vər á'i əlp pət'n'in.

5. oo! wi nood wat t)waz ʋd
ʋdy,d ʋt. wi nood vəri wəl
dh)ool falar)d ʋbə'n dhéer lAAQ
wee ʋn. try,)z jy, bi stænin
dhéer!

a-shining so bright)as anything, when
just e'en)as we was going in to the
church door, there comed a flash
of lightning fit to tear up the very
stones, and *emphatic with* the same the
thunder burst out like a cannon.

4. Well, when we come = *came* to put
her in the cave = *vault*, and)if the-old
man = *her husband long since dead*
was'nt a-turned right round. I know
he was, for I helped put)him)in.

6. Oh! we knowed what it)was had
a-doned it. We knowed very wel
the old fellowr-had = *the devil had*
a-been there along with him. *It's as*
true-as you be standing there!

The reason that a respectable washer-woman gave the "parson"
for having married a disreputable husband.

doon i zii, zər, á'i)d ʋgá't sʋ
mətʃ wá'ərshin, ʋn á'i wəz ʋfúes
tʃ zæen ʋt əm, ʋn if á'i əd'n ʋ)éʋd
ii, á'i mæs ʋ bóʋst a dæqk.

Don't ye see, sir, I'd a-got so
much warshing and I was a-forced
to send it home, and if I had'nt a-had
He, I must have bought a donkey.

WEST SOMERSET cwl.

Made up from the lists in Mr. F. T. Elworthy's Dialect of West Somerset, which
had been made by him and A.J.E. jointly in 1875, revised so far as these
especial words are concerned and pal. from dict. of Mr. Elworthy in 1885
by A.J.E.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 5 méek, mək. 6 méed. 8 aav, ə'v [see Mr. E.'s W. Sm.
Grammar, p. 57]. 12 zaa. 18 kíek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 22 téem. 23 séem.
24 shíem. 32 béedh [intrans.], baadh [trans.]. 35 naal [an-awl, n from the
art.] 36 dhAA [intrans.], AAudhAA [trans.]. 37 klAA. A: 41 dhæqk.
43 ən, éen [emph.] 44 læn. 46 kæn'l. 49 æq, ʋæ'qd, ʋæ'qd [to hang,
hanged, hung]. 56 waarshi [intrans.].

A: or O: 58 vram. 59 là'm. — ə'm [womb]. 60 laq. 61 mæq ʋmæqst.
64 vraq, vraq. 65 zaq. 66 dhaq. A'- 67 gə, gween [going]. 69 naa
noo. 74 tyy, 76 túed tóed. 77 lá'erd. — voo [foe]. 81 léen. — zəp,
zəp [sweep]. 84 mæer móer. 85 zúer. 86 wets wə'ts. 87 kléez kloz.
89 búedh bə, dh. 90 blAA. 92 nóov [(snoo) dost know?]. 93 snooi, znoo. 95
droo. — óoert [aught], nóoert [naught]. A': 102 a'ks. 104 rhúed.
105 rhad. 109 laa. 111 aaf [+t before vowels], aat. 113 wol. 115 a'm.
117 wan wæn wə'n uun [acc. to circumstances]. 118 búen. 120 ʋgá'n. 124
stúun stóen stoo. 125 əni [emph. (Anli) singular]. — rhúep, rhop [rope]. 126
óer. 127 óez. 129 gúes [+t before a vowel] gost. 130 búet bóet. 131 góut.
132 A't. — rhyy, [row of hay]. 136 ar [or].

Æ- 138 faadher. 140 háiel. 141 náiel. 143 táiel. 146 mæn [adv. =
very]. 147 bráin. 148 féer. — jamet [emmet, ant]. 149 bléez. — seet
[a seat]. 153 zæderdi. Æ: 154 ba'k. 155 dha'ty. 158 aader aater

[occ. (aardær)]. 160 eeg. 161 dee. 166 mâid. — ǣlth [health]. 169 han [but (ween) emph.]. 170 aræs. 174 arsh. — vreedh [to wreathe], vreth [a wreath]. E'- reetj [to reach]. — leetj [leech]. 184 leed. 185 rheed. 187 læf læf [both inf.], ǣlæf [left]. 189 wā'i. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 klæn [adj.], kleen [adv.]. 194 ə'ni. 200 weet. — ǣth [heath]. 202 jæt jit jə't. 203 speetj. — mēd [mead], mēd [meadow]. 205 dræd. 207 nīl. 208 ə'vēr. 210 klāi. 213 ǣdhær. 214 nadhær. 217 eetj. 218 ship. 219 sleep zliw. 223 dhéær. 225 vlarsh. 226 maas [(móes mæes) almost]. — vræs'l [to wrestle]. 227 wə't. 228 zwet. 229 bræth. E- 233 speek. 235 weev. 236 feevær. 238 ədj. 239 sāræl. 241 rhāin. 243 plāi. 244 wāi. — wə'ls [willow]. 248 méær. 250 zwéær. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. 252 kə't'l. 253 nə't'l. — vrdhær vadhær [feather]. 255 wadhær. — bæder [better]. E: 256 staa'tj. 257 ədj. — beed [bed]. 262 wee. 264 āiæl. 265 strāit. 266 wāi. — vīæl [field]. 269 zāi. — twālv [twelve]. 271 tal. 272 əlēm. 273 meen [but (mēen) man]. 278 wantj. — in [end]. 280 læb'm. — een [hen]. — peen [a writing pen, (pā'in) a cattle pen]. — dræsh'l, dræks'l [threshold]. 285 knis [pl. (knistez)]. 286 aræ. — bæes [best]. E'- 290 i [emph.] — sik zik [seek]. 295 bærð. 296 bleev. 297 fælær. 300 kip [colloquially (kíp)]. 301 jær. E': 305 ā'i. 306 ā'ith. 309 spid. 312 jær. — giz [geese]. 316 næks. EA- — shīw [to shape]. 319 grēp gap gjap. EA: 324 āit. 333 kaaav kjaav. 324 aav aaf [(ā'f'm)āf] half and half. 335 əl ə'l. 336 vaal wāal. 337 waal wāal. 338 kjal. — aavīs [always]. — bīærð [beard]. — arð [hard]. 343 wārm. 345 déær. 346 gīst. EA'- 347 eed. 348 ā'i. 349 vyyi. EA': 350 deed. 351 lə'd. 352 rhe'd, ærd, ærdnis [redness]. 353 breed bærð. 354 shif shiv. 355 dīv. 356 līv. 357 thaaaf, aaf. — kreem [cream]. 361 bīær. 363 tīp. — ip [a heap]. — jær [year]. 366 gærð. 367 dræet. 368 deeth. 370 rhāa. 371 stroo. EI- 376 ba'it. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'm. 386 joo. 387 nyyi. EO: 388 mə'lk. — sə'lk [silk]. 389 jæk. 390 shæ'd [emph.] shə'd [unemph.]. 392 jə'n. 393 bīær'n. 397 zūærð. — farmær. 402 lārñ. 403 var. 405 ǣth. 406 ǣth. — zə'stær [sister]. — færd'n vārd'n. EO'- — lyyi [lee, shelter]. — dri. — vli [to fly]. 415 lā'i. krəp [to creep]. — vriz [to freeze]. 419 jōær [emph.]. 420 vāuær [(fāuær) emph.]. 421 fārri. EO': 422 zik. — rhid [a reed]. 423 dhā't. 425 leet. 426 feet. 428 zi. 430 frēen. — dip [deep]. 435 jyyi. EY- 438 dá'i. EY: 439 trə's. I- 440 wīk. 441 ziv. — liv [to live]. 443 vrā'idi. 446 neen. — iis ees [emph.], jæs [fine but common]. 448 dhees. 449 gə't. 450 tyyzdi. I: — dhærð [third]. 456 if nif. 458 neet. 460 wā'it. 462 seet [large number] zeet [vision]. 465 djə'tj djə's djə'sh. 466 tīæl. 469 wə'l [will], wə't [wilt thou]. — shīn [shin]. 472 shriqk zhriqk. 473 bleen blā'in. 475 win. 476 bā'in. 477 vā'in. 479 wā'in. 480 dhīq. — skīn [skin]. — shə'p [ship]. — ærn [to run]. 482 id'n ə'd'n [is not, common], əd'n [is not, emph.]. 483 ə'z [(iz) emph.] — fish vish [fish]. 488 it. — vrit rit [a writ]. zə'nz [since]. — spə't [to spit]. I'- 490 bā'i. 493 dræær. — shīn [to shine]. 496 ā'vēr [subs.] ā'vērñ [adj.] 498 vrā'it. 499 bā't'l. I': — dītj [ditch], dīk [dyke]. 500 lā'ik. 502 veev vā'iv. 503 lā'iv. 504 neev nā'iv. — stə'f [stiff]. 505 wā'iv. 506 æmen. 507 wə'min. — āi [hay]. 508 mā'īeld. 509 wā'īæl. — wīt [white adj.], wā'it [pigment subs.]. O- — smook [smoke]. 523 hop. 524 wærd'l. O: — vræg [a frog]. 525 oof [off]. 526 kaaaf. 527 bōet. 528 dhā'et. 529 braat. 531 darter. 532 kool kAAL. 533 dæl. 535 voks. 536 gūæl gool. 544 'n [than], dheen [emph. in that case], dhoo [at that time]. — shōær [ashore]. 546 var. — vārð [a fork]. 547 būærð. 548 vōærð. 549 wōærð [but in composition as 'to hoard apples,' that is, to store up, (wærd)]. 550 wærd. — vūæth [forth]. — mārñ [morning]. — aas [horse]. 554 kraas. — paas [gate post]. — pūæst [letter post]. — mōet [mote]. O'- 555 shyyi. 556 tyyi [emph.]. 557 tyyi [in addition], tē [even when emph. meaning to an excessive degree]. 558 lək. 560 skəl. 561 blæm. 562 mææn. 563 mændi. 564 zææn [but (zænder, zændist) sooner, soonest]. O': 569 bək. 570 tək '(tək) taken. 575 stæ'd. 576 weenzdi. — rhæw rhyf [roof]. — bā'w. 578 plē'u [in com-

position as plough-horse (plɛ'u)^{AAS}, but the common word for plough is (zúvɛl).
 — ak [hough]. 583 tɔ.l. 584 stɔ.l. 586 dyɪ. 589 spəɪ.n. — gəɪz
 [goose]. — bəzəm [bosom]. 593 mɛs. 595 vɔ.t. 596 rə.t. 597 sət.
 U- 599 ɛbəɪ. — əɪd [wood]. 601 vɔ.vɛl. 602 zɔ'u. 603 kam [emph.]
 — kɹuʊm [crumb]. 607 bədɛr. U: 608 əgli. — zúvɛl [Ws. sulh, a
 plough, see 578]. 610 ə.l. — pɔ.l [to pull]. 611 bəlɪk. 612 sɔfɪn [some-
 thing]. 614 ɛ'ʊn. 615 pɛ'ʊnd. 616 grɛ'ʊnd. 617 zɛ'ʊn. 619 ɛvɛ'ʊn.
 — ɔndɛrɔ [hundred]. 627 zɔndi. 631 dhɔzdi. 632 ɔp. 634 drɪyɪ. —
 thɔsti [thirsty]. 635 wɔth [(wɔthlɪs) worthless]. 636 vɔrdɛr. 639 dɔ'ʊst,ɔ'ʊz
 [dusthouse, chaffhouse, but only in this sense, dust is otherwise called (pə'lɛm)].
 U- 640 kɛ'u. 641 ɛ'u [however is (wə'vɛr)]. 647 ɛ'ʊvɛl. 648 ɔ'ʊvɛr.
 649 dhɔ'ʊzɛn. 650 bɛ'ʊt [but (bɛ'ʊd) before a vowel]. 652 kəɪd. 653 bɔd
 [before a vowel]. U': 654 shɹɛ'ʊd. 655 fɔ'ʊvɛl. 656 ɹhəɪ.m. — dham
 [thumb]. 657 brɛ'ʊm. 658 dɛ'ʊm. 663 ɛ'ʊz [(ɛ'ʊz'l) household]. 665 mɔ'ʊz.
 666 zɔvɛn. 667 ɛ'ʊt. 668 prɛ'ʊd. 670 bəɪ.dh. 671 mɔ'ʊdh. 672 zɛ'ʊdh.
 Y- 674 dɔd dy.d. 676 lɔ'i. 681 bə'znɪs. 682 lɪd'l [but (nɪt'l) is
 commonly said to children]. — ɛv'l [evil]. Y: 685 ɔrdɪ. 689 mɔɪn
 [(bɔ'lt) built]. — vɔli [follow]. 690 kɔ'in [+d before a vowel]. 691 mɔɪn
 [+d before a vowel]. 692 ɹɔqgɪs. 697 bɔri. 699 vrɔ'ɪt. — ɔrnet [hornet].
 700 wɛs [used also for worst before a consonant, +t before a vowel]. 701 fɔs
 [+t before a vowel]. 703 pɔ't. Y- 706 wɔ'i. — drɛm [to dream].
 — dɛv [to dive]. — kit [a kite, (vɔzkit) furze-kite or falcon]. Y': —
 fɔ'lth [filth]. 709 vɔ'ɪvɛr. — vlɪz [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bɛd. 718 trɛd. 738 prɛt. — tɛdi [potato, heard by AJE.
 and others as (tɛəri), p. 147]. E. — wɔlth [wealth]. 750 bɔ'ɪg. I.
 and Y. 754 pɛg. 756 shɹə'mp zhrə'mp. — wə'p wɔp [whip]. 758 gɔrd'l.
 O. — dɔg [dog]. 791 bɔ'ɪ. U. — kɔid [cud]. 796 blyɪ. —
 ɔntɪ [unto]. 805 kɹɪdz [this form always used]. — kɔrd'l [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 féss. 811 plɛss. — trɛss [trace]. 812 léss. 813 bɛk'n.
 820 ɔi. 822 mɔi. — ɔid [aid v. and s.] — ɔpɔ:d [paid]. 827 ɛɛvɛr.
 — fɔvɛl [to fail]. 830 trɔin. — sɔint [saint]. 833 pɛvɛr. 835 rɛz'n.
 836 sɛz'n. 841 tɹɔns. 845 ɔnshɛnt. 847 dændɹɔr. 848 tɹændɹ. 849
 strændɹɔr. 850 dɔns. 852 ɔpɛrɔn. — kɔr [to care]. — kɔf'mdɛr
 [carpenter]. — sɔarsi [saucy]. 862 saaf [adj.] séuf [sb. a meat safe].
 E.. 867 tee. — spartik'lz [spectacles]. — dhɔ'tɹɛz [vetches]. 874 rhɔin.
 876 dɔinti. 878 sɛlɛri. — mɛn [amend, mend]. 881 sɛns. — ɔnb
 [herb] — mɛsi [mercy]. — févɛr [a fair]. 888 sartin. — sɔr [to serve,
 deserve, earn]. — nɛt [neat]. 890 bɪs [pl. bɪstɛz]. 891 fɛs fɪs [pl.
 (fɪstɛz)]. 893 flɔvɛr [flour=meal is (vlɔvɛr)]. 894 nɛsɛv.
 I.. and Y.. — sɔ'ɪvɛr. 901 fɔ'in. — pɔ'ɪnt [a pint]. — vɔ'ɪlɛnt
 [violent]. 904 vɔ'ɪlɛnt [violet]. — zɛr [sir]. — spɔrit [spirit]. 910 dɹɔ'ɪs
 [both in sing. and pl.]
 O.. 920 pɔ'ɪnt. — dɹɔ'ɪnt [of a man], dɹɔ'ɪnt [of meat]. — stɔvɛr
 stɔvɛr [story]. 924 tɹɔ'ɪs. 925 vɔ'ɪs. 926 spɔ'ɪl. 929 kɛ'ʊkɛmɛr. — rɛ'ʊn
 [round]. — fɔs [force, and +t before a vowel forced]. — sɔvɛrt. 939 klɔvɛr.
 947 bɔ'ɪvɛl. 950 sɔpɛr. — tɔvɛr [tower]. — pɔ'sh [push]. — bɔd'l
 [a bottle] — mɔv [move]. 959 kɛvɔ'ɛ. U.. — dɔɪ [due]. — dy,k
 [duke]. 960 kɛ. — fuu'vnt [fluent, said of a river only]. — dɹɔ'dɹ [judge].
 — wɔ'ɪt [wait]. — ɹvɪ'in [ruin]. 965 ɔ'ɪvɛl. 969 shɔvɛr. — dɔvɛrɔ'l
 [durable]. — muuzɪk [music]. 970 dɹɔs [+t before a vowel]. — fɔ'ʊsti
 [fusty].

D 11 = s.WS. = southern West Southern.

Boundary. On the n. the n. coast of Co. and Dv. to the b. of D 10, which forms the n. and e. b. till it joins the w. b. of D 4. The rest of the e. b. is the s. part of the w. b. of D 4 = down to Axmouth. The s. b. is the s. coast of Dv. and Co. There was much difficulty in determining the w. b., concerning which I collected several opinions, and finally follow the information of Rev. W. H. Hodge, which I believe to be most accurate. Begin at the Black Rock in the middle of the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, and go through the centre of the water-way to Truro. Then proceed by land e. of Kenwyn (1 n.w.Truro) and w. of St. Erme (4 n.e. Truro), e. of St. Allen (4 n.Truro) and w. of Newlyn (8 n.Truro), and also west of Cubert (9 n.w.Truro), but e. of Perran Zabulo (8 n.w.Truro) to the sea in Ligger or Perran Bay. This border was determined by noting the change of speech. Mr. Rawlings, speaking only from general impressions, said the b. was probably a straight line from St. Anthony, on the e. horn of Falmouth Harbour to St. Agnes Head (9 n.w.Truro). This line, beginning practically at the same point as the other, and ending only 5 m. to the sw., must be considered as practically identical with it. Mr. Sowell, who wrote the Cornish-English version of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, inclines to a line from St. Austell to Padstow. According to Mr. Hodge, Mr. Herman Merivale in his "Historical Studies" lays down the border between Celt and Saxon, no doubt at a much earlier date, from Down Dery (8 s.e.Liskeard) to St. Germans (7 s.e.Liskeard), thence to St. Ives (4 n.e.Liskeard), South Hill (7 n.e.Liskeard), North Hill (7 n.Liskeard), Altarnun (7 w.s.w.Launceston), Minster (13 w.w.Launceston), and to the sea by Forrabury (14 n.w.Launceston). This line is just a few miles w. of the e. b. of Co. itself.

Area. Most of Dv. and e.Co. The w. b. of D 11 is properly the w. limit of dialect in England.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

Co. *Camelford, °Cardynham, °Landrake, °Lanivet, °Lanreath, *|| Millbrook, °Padstow, °Poundstock, °St. Blazey, °St. Columb Major, °St. Goran's, °St. Ives, °St. Stephens, °Tintagel.

Dv. *Barnstaple, || Bigbury, °Burrington, *Challacombe, °Colyton, *|| Devonport, °|| Exeter, *Harberton, *Iddesleigh, °Instow, °Modbury, *°North Molton, °North Petherwin, °Parracomb, || Plymouth, °Stoke, °St. Marychurch, °Warkleigh, °Werrington, †General.

Characters. The character of the pronunciation is essentially the same as that of D 10, with a few distinguishing particulars.

ÆG, EG are rarely if ever (a'i). They become regularly (ee, EE), with more or less of an (i) following.

I' is regularly (âi), that is, the (œ'i) of D 4 after passing through (â'i) mixed with (œ'i) of D 10, now assumes the regular German (âi) sound. It was a matter of course, then, that the (âi, âai) for ÆG, EG should also be changed. U', which was mainly (e'u) in D 10, becomes (œ'y⁵) as well as I can analyse it, see the note on *doubt*, p. 158 below. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard it as French *cœur* in *cœur*, followed by French *u*, that is (œ'y), which it certainly resembles. How far does this extend? It is certainly in n.Dv. Mr. Baird (Nathan Hogg) acknowledges it in e.Dv., Mr. Shelley (Plymouth) in s.Dv. In Co. I have not been able to trace it, with certainty, further than Millbrook, just on the e. b. of Co., not even in the vv. specimen from Camelford. But I suspect that it really

pervades Co. as well as Dv. The diphthong is not unlike the Dutch *ui* in *huis*, or the French *œi* in *œil*.

I have thrown the whole of this large district together because my information is necessarily very deficient upon such delicate points as those last mentioned, and the great features seem to be the same. There is said to be considerable difference between n.Dv. and s.Dv., and between e.Dv. and w.Dv., but this difference probably concerns the vocabulary and grammar more than the pronunciation. Mr. Shelley's Dartmoor cs. shews, however, considerable difference from the Iddesleigh cs. Hence it will be convenient to consider as Var. i. n.Dv., and as Var. ii. s.Dv. including Co., to Mr. Merivale's line, for both. Then Var. iii. will be e.Co., which may be associated with St. Columb Major, extending from Mr. Merivale's line to Mr. Hodge's by Truro, that forms the boundary of D 11. The w.Co. region D 12 is entirely different.

VAR. i. NORTH DEVON.

I naturally rely on my *vivâ voce* from Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, a native of North Molton (11 e.-by-s. Barnstaple), which is close to the b. of D 10, and from Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe's servant from Iddesleigh (15 s. Barnstaple), which comes to nearly the s. b. of n.Dv. They were both taken some years ago, North Molton in Oct. 1877, and Mar. 1879, and Iddesleigh in Nov. 1877. I begin with the last, because having been taken from an uneducated native almost fresh from the place and studied closely, it is probably more correct.

IDDESLEIGH CS.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of a native, Mary Anstey, housemaid to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe. For convenience (ə'y₁) has the ° omitted, see first note.

0. wái :djæk'i hæth nɛ də'y₁t ɛbə'y₁t it.
1. wɛl :dʒɑɑrdʒ j₁ me boodh laaf ɛt dhis nyy₁z ɔv máin, if i wi₁L, yy₁ kéəρθ fɛr dhæt? dhæt)s nɑdhɛr jiiɛr nɛr dhéɛr.
2. vyy₁ men dáí kooz dhe)m laaft ɛt, ɛs nɑɑ, dóənt)əs? ɔt shɛd méɛk)m? t)i₁D)'N vɛrɛí láíklí, iz)ɛt?
3. ə'y₁EVɛr dhis iz dhə TRY₁th ɔ)t, zo dʒɛs oold dhi nɑ'iz, :dʒɑɑrdʒ, ɛn bi kwái'ɛt vɔr áiv d₁n)ɛt. aark!
4. áí bi zɛrtɛn áí jiiɛrd ɛm zɛe it—zɛm ɔ dheez vɔks y₁ wɛnt dɾy₁ dhɛ ool ɔ)t dhɛr zɛLVZ—dhæt áí díd séɛv ɛnɛf.
5. dhɛt dhɛ jɛq'gɛs zə'N izsɛl, ɔ gɛrt bóí v náin, nɑɑd)z faadhɛr z vA'is ɛt wɛns, dhoo t)wɛz so kweɛr ɛn skwɛe:kín, ɛn áí)d trɛ's)n v'R spɛk dhɛ TRY₁th ɛn'i dɛɛ'í, is, áí wɛd.
6. ɛn dh-ool wumɛn ɛr zɛl wɛd tɛl)i dhɛ zéɛm, ɛni ɔ i dhɛt bi laafín nə'y₁, ɛn tɛl)i ráit ɔf, tɔy₁. wídhə'y₁t ɛn'i fɛs ɛbə'y₁t ɛt, ɛf jyy₁L ɔn'li ɛks ɛr, ɔ'ɔ, wɑɑnt-ɛr?
7. ɛn i)ə'y₁ ɛr tool mii, wɛn áí ɛkst ɛr, tyy₁ ɛr dɛii táimz ɔvɛr, díd)N'ɛr? ɛn ɛr ɛr AA't'n tɛ bi ɛq, ɔn dʒɛs v thiq ɛz dhæt, wɛt d₁ i dhíqk?
8. wɛl ɛz áí wɛz zɛe'in ɛr wɛd tɛl)i, ə'y₁ ɛr və'y₁nd ɛn, wɛn

ƿƿ vø'y₁nd ƿn, ƿn wéƿƿƿ ƿƿ vø'y₁nd ƿn,—dhƿ dræqk'n pɛg ƿƿ kaalth ƿƿ mæn.

9. ƿƿ swéƿƿrd ƿƿ zid)ƿn wee ƿƿ ðn áiz, lá'i'in stɾɛtɾt ƿ'y₁t ƿn dhƿ grø'y₁n wee iz best kòt ƿn, kloos tƿ dhƿ dúƿƿ, dø'y₁n ðn dhƿ kAAARNND'R ƿ dhƿ léƿn.

10. i wəz meek'in ƿp dɹə's ƿ nɑ'iz láik ƿ tɹil krá'i'in ƿn tee dɹəs.

11. ƿn dhæt ƿƿ'ND ƿƿ ƿƿ ƿƿ daa'tƿƿ lee kəm dɹy₁ dhƿ bæk kòƿƿrtledɹ frəm æqin ƿ'y₁t dhƿ wɛt tloodhz ƿn dhƿ wæsh'in dee,

12. wáilst dhƿ tee'kɹl wɛz bóil'in ƿƿƿ tee, wæn váin zæmɾ artɾnny₁n', ƿn'li ƿ wɹk guu kəm nɛks dhæzde.

13. ƿn dyy₁)i nAA? ái nɛv'R ɹɛrd nAArt mðƿƿ ƿbø'y₁t ðt biƿoo'R tæde; zhóƿƿz ái bi kaald :dɹæk :zhɹpɾrd, ƿn ái dɔont wənt təy₁': ƿdh'R, dhƿƿ nø'y₁!

14. ƿn zoo ái bi gwɛe'in àm tɛ æ ƿ bit ƿ sɹpɾ. gud nɛɛƿƿt ƿn dðƿnt)i bi sɹ kwik tɛ kraa ƿƿƿ æn'ibodɹ ƿgɛƿn, wɛn i spɛeks ƿ wæn dhɛq ƿ dhƿ tædhɾ.

15. "sty₁pɹd fɛlɾ tɛlín ƿp thís old staf, ƿs dðƿnt wənt to ɹiƿɾ)t." dhís iz dhɛ læst a'i shɛl zee ƿbø'y₁t it. gud báí.

Notes.

0. *doubt*. The last element of the diphthong in this word is precisely the same as for (tyy)=two. The lips are pouted, the upper lip is especially projected, but there was very little closure of the lips, not nearly as much as when I pronounce (tyy)=Fr. *tué*, in fact the corners of the mouth are hardly brought together at all, so that an acute angle is left, but the upper lip was very much pouted, giving (y₁³). Both lips are projected, but the upper lip far the most. For the first element in (ø'y₁³) the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward to form the (y₁³). This action is very curious to study on the native lip. The openness of the lips for the first element excludes (œ) for the first element, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte appreciates saying (preface to H. Baird's *St. Matthew*), that "the sound is best defined as the French 'œu' in 'cœur,' (œ) followed by *u*, the Scottish 'oo' in 'moon,' that is, the French 'u' (y) with a slight tendency towards the 'eu' in 'peu' (ø) in the same language." The speaker rejected (ø'y₁) when pronounced to her. What the precise vowel in the first element may be I was not able to determine, but it did not seem to be either (ø) or (æ), and I was not satisfied with (ø). For the word *too* the sudden rise in pitch on the second element was most remarkable, (tə-y₁⁵), the stress also falling upon it, which quite distinguished the

diphthongs, as in (:dɹæk gid iz tyy₁ maarv'lz tɛ tyy₁ bóiz, ƿn :tom giv híz tyy₁, tə-y₁', tɛ tyy₁, tə-y₁') 'Jack gave his two marbles to two boys [with distinct (o) and distinct (i), thus (bóiz) not (b'áiz)], and Tom gave his two, too, to two, too. This change of stress from (ø'y₁...) with if anything a falling pitch on the last element, to (ø-y₁...) with a rising pitch, and without perceptible glide of the first element on to the second, distinguished the two sounds so completely, that it was difficult to discover that they were made up of the same elements. I had them pronounced to me frequently during two visits, and the distinctions were steadily maintained, though the speaker was quite unaware of any peculiarity.

1. *neighbour*. This word is not used as a term of address. Mr. Faunthorpe (who had first written the version from his servant's dictation, in his own spelling, which I altered to palaeotype from dictation) had written 'Jarge,' meaning (:dɹaardɹ), and though the speaker insisted on (:dɹAAardɹ), the other seems more correct.—*will*. Mr. F. wrote 'wül,' I heard (wɹl, wə'l). I carefully studied the sounds of *milk* and *themselves*, and concluded that there was a true (l), and that the preceding vowel was greatly affected by it. But (mɹl, lɹk) seemed best, and not (m'l, lɹk) without a vowel, nor (mə'l, lɹk), but of course (i, ə) have considerable re-

semblances.—*careth*. The transition (rth) is easy, as the tongue when uncurling slides down directly to the teeth, but (thr-) or (dhr-) is difficult, because the tongue has to be curved back during the transition, unless we begin with the under part instead of the upper part, of the tip of the tongue against the teeth making (rh, dh). This leads at once to the substitution of (r, d) for (th, dh) as (TRUU DRY, Y₁).—*for*. I have constantly written (ɛr) in these weak words, though I seemed to hear only (e), but this I attributed to the faintness and shortness of the sound.

2. *they am*, for *they are*, contracted to (dhem), and the (e) used for (æ) because the sound is weak.—*what*. (ɔt) or (wæt).—*it is* not. I seemed to hear every consonant reverted, and the (i₁) position was consequently not properly formed, destroying its precise character.—*very*. Mr. F. wrote 'vürry,' but I seemed to hear (æ) modified by (r). I did not hear (veri) with the usual trilled (r). But in this case I consider the (æ) to be trilled, and there is no difficulty in so speaking.

4. *safe enough*. (ənə:f) not (ənyy₁); they make no distinction between (ənəf, ənyy₁), and use the first generally.

5. *trust him*. Mr. F. had written both *trüs* and *tris*, and I at first appreciated (tres). This shews the difficulty of the vowel (ə¹) to an outsider.—*day*. (dæi, snei'l, tei'l), almost (dææ'i) etc., and clearly one of the transitional forms from (dái) to (dee). *Fair*, a market, is (feer); the fire is (váir). The long I' having become (ái) in place of (av'i), it was to be expected that the EG, ÆG, should pass from (ái) to (ee) or some intermediate form. These changes shew the original diversity of the sounds, which obliged both to be modified, if one was.—*yes, I would*. I did not feel certain of the vowel in (wed). Mr. F. wrote *wéd* and *wüd*? could it have been (wə'd)?

6. *woman*. Mr. F.'s cook, from Challacombe, said (əm'ən). Mr. Baird always writes *humman* = (həm'ən).—*tell ye*. This is how the word sounded to me, Mr. Baird always writes *tul*, like Mr. Elworthy's (təl) in D 10 (p. 148, par. 1). This reverted (l) produces strange effects.—*too*. See *too* in note on *doubt*, par. 0.

7. *did not her*.—*such, just* is pronounced in the same way. Mr. F. wrote *jiiis, jis, jes*.

8. *pig*, for *beast* (beest) is too noble a word. *cattle* is always used in place of the plural of *beast*.—*calleth*. Similarly (ɛr waaketh). A wife says (wɛn mi mæn kæmth ðm) = when my husband comes home.—*man*. This word is regularly used for *husband*.

9. The omitted word *length* = (lɛqkth) as usual. The plural of the omitted word *house* is (ə'y₁sez) not (ə'y₁z'n).—*corner*. Observe inserted (ɔ). They say (tʃɪmblikæərndɔər) = chimney corner; (kærd' lɜz əəl əvɛr ɛr eəd) = curls all over her head.

10. *child*, applied to either sex, but (mɛɛ'id) is the regular word, see note on *day*, par. 5. The question, is it a boy or a girl, becomes (bói ɛr mɛɛ'id); *wench* is not used.—*tedious* is used especially of fretful children that weary the mother by crying, when the (tʃilz rɛərɪ'b'l). To be sick is to be (bad), full (a) not (æ).

11. *daughter-in-law*. (daa'terlæə) is commoner, but *son's wife* (zə'nz wáiv) is most common.—*wet*. Nearly (wæt), very broad.—*clothes*. Clearly initial (tl-) is easier and more natural than initial (kl-). The (dh) is used at Iddesleigh, but not at Challacombe.—*washing day*. The speaker had never heard the phrase "Quarter Sessions" for washing day, as given by Mr. Rock from Barnstaple, and Mr. Fulman from Axminster.

12. *tea-kettle*. The two last syllables pronounced very shortly indeed, with no secondary accent like in *capital*.—*boiling*. Without prefixed *a-*, they say (wɔz bóilɪn, it bóilɪth).

13. *sure, shepperd*. Having neglected to note the sounds of the words *sure, shepherd*, I follow the usages of Mr. Baird.

14. *Good night*, a parting *good night*, but when the *night* is spoken of it is called (náit). Observe that (æ) was distinctly heard in (néɛərɪt).—*again*, (éə) is very short.

15. *Stupid fellow, telling up this old stuff; us don't want to hear-it*. This was inserted by Mr. F. as a remark of one of the persons spoken to. He also proposed: (wat ə gærɪ fɪ'y₁l dhi aart). The sound of (fɪ'y₁l) is like the Norfolk (íy), or the Lancashire (ə'u), a mere lip glide, as I seemed to hear it.—*this*, the speaker recognised the distinction of Mr. Barnes's Dorset "shaped thicky" in (dhiki ə'y₁s) and "shapeless that" in (dhæt wæt'ɪr, dhæt grəw'y₁nd).

NORTH MOLTON (12 ese. Barnstaple) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dict. of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., New College, Southsea, native. The (°) means "with projected lips."

1. zoo áí zee, meets, ʒy₁ zii næy₁⁵ áí bi ráít v̄bæ'y₁⁵t dha't dh̄ær l̄it'l mééid k̄am̄in v̄r̄em dha't dh̄ær skíyy₁l oov̄ær dh̄ær.
2. ær)z gween dæy₁⁵n dh̄ær rood dh̄ær, d̄ry₁ dh̄ær ærd ḡit [ʒet] on dh̄ær l̄ift a'n záid.
3. zhu'æ naf dh̄ær t̄pil)z gòn strá'it æp t̄æ dh̄ær dyy₁ær v̄ dh̄ær ra'q æ'y₁⁵z.
4. weer pra'ps shi)l vá'ind dha't dh̄ær dh̄in d̄ræqk'n t̄jæ'p :tomæs yy₁)z aard v̄ ív̄r̄in.
5. wi à'l noo)n [nooz)æn] v̄er̄i w̄el.
6. wont dh̄ær óv̄el t̄jæ'p zy₁n laarn ær not t̄æ dyy₁ it v̄gen, puær dh̄iq!
7. luk! beent it t̄ryy₁?

Notes.

1. So would not be used; *mates* long *i* generally is rendered as (á'i), as would rather be *lads*, *chaps*.—*I* and in D 10, but it may be (ái).

North Molton phrases, pal. by AJE. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq.

The (°) means "with projected lips."

1. (gø v̄n a'ks)en), go and ask him.
2. (wi bi go'in), we are going.
3. (d̄roo v̄t in̄ dhi a'shez dh̄ær), throw it in the ashes there.
4. (æz za'q d̄rii v̄r̄ v̄æ'y₁⁵æ zaqz), he (or she) sang three or four songs.
5. (len)z v̄ a'n), lend-us a hand.
6. (la'n)z pr̄it'í gy'd), land is pretty good.
7. (i wæ'y₁⁵n v̄n ræ'y₁⁵n iz a'n d̄rii v̄r̄ v̄æ'y₁⁵æ táimz), he wound him=*it* round his hand three or four times.
8. (dhe d̄raad dh̄ær vil w̄ær dh̄ær w̄æts w̄æz), they drewed the field where the oats was.
9. (oni w̄on v̄ dh̄em 'l dyy₁), any one of them will do.
10. (dh̄ær baar'li mæ'y⁵), the barley mow.
11. (æ'y₁⁵ oold iz v̄r̄ ?), how old is he?
12. (æz)z dha't? v̄ skólærd), who's that? a scholar.
13. (dh̄ær bóí rá'its v̄ gy'd ræ'y₁⁵nd a'nd), the boy writes a good round hand.
14. (a'v̄)i ḡot æni nyy₁ bry₁mz, mis'iz? á'i)v̄ ḡot v̄ v̄y₁y₁, æbæ'y₁⁵t-d̄rii v̄r̄ v̄æ'y₁⁵æ), have you any new brooms, Mistress? I've got a few, about three or four.
15. (ḡit dhi æp dh̄ær in̄ dh̄æk dh̄ær ad̄j, v̄n p̄ik mi dh̄æk dh̄ær st̄ick, w̄ilt?), get thee up there in that there hedge, and pick me that there stick, wilt *thou*?

16. (kəm in, tɪl, dɪ₁)i, ɒn ræki dæ'ɪ⁵n ɒn ʒet ʒɜrzel', come in, child, do ye, and sit down and heat=*warm* yourself.
 17. (əl'oo, dhɛn, ɪɪ)z ii[?]), Hulloh, then, who's he?
 18. (á'i bii, dhæ'ɪ⁵ ɜrt ɜ vɪɪ₁, ii)z, wii)m, ʒɪɪ₁m ɒn dheem gó'in), I be, thou art a fool, he's, we're, you're and they're going.

NORTH DEVON cwl.

I words from the cs. from Iddesleigh.

M words from Mr. Jarman's wl. from North Molton.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 M beek. 4 M teek. 5 I méuk, M meek meekin. 7 M zeek. 8 tɜ æə [to have]. 12 M zAA. 13 M naa. 14 M draa. 17 I lee, M laa. 20 M leem. 21 M neem. 23 I zéem, M zeem. 24 sheem. 33 M reedher. A: 43 M a'n. 46 M ka'n'l. 48 M za'q. 42 I æq. 54 I wánt. 55 M a'sh. 56 I wash. A: or O: 60 M loq. 64 I ræq.

A'- I gwee'in [going]. 72 I ɪɪ₁, M æ₁ [probably (ɪɪ₁)]. 73 I zo. 74 I tɪɪ₁, M tɜ₁. 75 M strAAk. 76 M tood. 79 I ɔn, M AA. 81 I léun. 82 I wæns. 84 I móoer. 85 M zoor. 86 M wets. 87 I tloodhz, M tlooz. 89 I boodh. 92 I nAA. 94 I kraa. 95 M draa. 97 M zAA. A': 101 M ook. 102 I æks, M a'ks. 104 M RAAD. 105 M RAAD. 106 M BRAAD. 107 M loof. 108 M dAA. 109 M laa. 110 I NAART. 111 I AA. 113 I ool. 115 I ɔm, M om. 117 I wæn. 118 M boon. 120 I guu. 123 [(NAAT) used]. 125 I anli, M ɔni. 130 M boot. 131 M goot. 133 M rot. 136 IM ædher. 137 I nædher, nɜr.

Æ- 138 I faadher, M vaadher. 140 M éeil. 141 M néeil. 142 M znéil. 144 I ɛgéen, M ɛgin. 152 M waater. Æ: 154 I bæk. 155 M dha'tɪ. 158 I arter. 161 I de'e'i, M déei. 163 M léei. 164 M méei. 166 M méeid. 169 I wen. 170 aaræst. 172 M g'rs. 181 M pa'th. Æ'- 182 N zee. 183 M teetɪ. 187 M leev. 190 M kéet. 191 M eel. 193 M kleen. 194 I æni, M ɛni. 195 M meni. 197 M tɪz. 200 M wéet. 202 M ʒet. Æ': 203 M speetɪ. 205 M dred. 207 M nid'l. 209 I never. 217 M eetɪ. 218 M shiip. 219 M sleep. 220 I zhíperd. 223 I dhéer. 225 M vlesh. 227 I wet. 228 M zwet. — M ʒeth [heath]. 229 M brædh. 230 M va't.

E- 232 M breek. 233 I speek, M speek. 235 M weev. 236 M feever. 237 M tɪblinz. 238 M a'dɪ. 241 M réein. 243 M pléei. 247 M ween. 251 M meet. 252 IM kit'l, tee'kít'l [tea-kettle]. 253 M nid'l. E: 256 I strætɪ. 257 M a'dɪ. 258 M za'dɪ. 259 M wa'dɪ. 261 I zee, M zéei. 262 wéei. 265 M stréit. 271 I tɛl. 276 IM dhiqk. 281 M lɛqkth. 284 M dra'sh. 287 M bezem [generally (brəm)]. E'- 297 I felær. 298 M vil. 299 M graiin. 301 M fíer. 302 M mit. E': 306 M áit. 312 I ʒíer, M ʒær. 314 I ʒíerD, IM ʒærd. 315 M vit. 316 I nɛks.

EA- 319 M gaa'p. 320 I kéer. EA: 322 IM laaf. 323 M vAA. 324 M áit. 325 M waa'lk. 326 I ool, M oold. 327 M boold. 330 I oold. 332 I tool, M toold. 333 M kjaaf. 336 M vaa'l. 337 M waa'l. 338 I kaal. 343 M waa'rm. 346 M git ʒet [the last more frequent]. EA'- 347 M ed. 348 I ái. 349 I vɪɪ₁, M vis'. EA': 350 M ded. 352 M ærd. 353 M bred. 354 M sheef. 355 M def. 356 M leef. 357 IM dhoo. 360 M tiim. 361 M been. 363 M tɛep. 366 I ʒært, M greet. 367 M dret. 370 M ree. 371 M strAA. EÍ- 372 M ái ái [(is zhuur), never (ái) simply]. 373 M dheei. EÍ: 377 M steek. 378 M week.

EO- M ev'n. 386 M jAA. 387 I nɪɪ₁, M nis'. EO: 388 M mɛlk [so it sounded to me]. 389 M jook. 397 M soord. 398 M starv. 402 M lærn. 403 M vaar. 404 M staar. 405 M ʒeth. 406 M ɛrth. 407 M vard'n. EO'- 411 IM drii. 414 M vlái. 417 M tJAA. 420 M vɔ'ar. 421 M vartí. EO': 423 M dhái. 425 M láit. 426 M fáit. 428 M zii. 430 M vren.

434 M beet. 435 I jy₁, M jis'. 436 M tris'. 437 I tryy₁th, M tris'th.
 EY- 438 IM dáí. EY: 439 IM trə's.
 I- 440 IM wik. 441 M zeev. 442 M áivi. 446 IM náin. 448 IM dheez.
 449 M git. I: 458 M náit, I néevr [in the phrase, good-night, only].
 459 IM ráit. 460 M weet. 466 IM t̃jil. 468 M t̃jidrín. 475 M win. 477
 M váin. 478 M gráin. 479 M wáin. 480 I thiq d̃həq. 481 M viq̃er.
 482 I iz)ət? [is it], r̃i,ɒ'n [it]is)not]. 485 M driz'l. 488 M jit. I'- 494
 IM táim. 499 M bid'l. I: 500 IM láik. 506 I wəməŋ, M ool damen.
 507 M wimiq. 509 I wáist. 510 I máin.
 O- 519 I ɔvər. 520 M baa. 521 M vool. 522 M ɔp'n. O: 525, ii.
 I of. 526 M kaaf. 531 I daater. 533 M dəl. 534 M aal. 535 I vok.
 536 M goold. 538 I wed. 539 M bæ'y₁el. 541 I waant [emph.]. 542 M
 boolt. 548 M vɔerd. 552 M karn. 554 M krəs. O'- 555 M shəz shyy₁.
 556 I təy₁. 557 I təy₁. 559 M modhər. 562 M miy'n. 564 M zy₁n.
 O: 569 M buk. 570 M tuk. 571 I gud. 572 M bləd. 573 M fləd.
 574 M bry.d. 575 M sty.d. 577 M bæ'y₁^s. 578 M pləy₁^s. 579 IM enaf.
 583 M ty₁. 586 I dy₁. 587 I dy₁n. 588 I nyy₁n. 589 M spy₁n. 590 M
 vlɔer. 594 M byt. 595 M vy₁t. 596 M ry₁t. 597 M sy₁t.
 U- 601 M fə'y₁^l. 602 M zə'y₁^s. 604 I zəmər. 605 I zə'n, M zən.
 606 I dúer, M dóer. U: 609 M vəl. 610 M wul. 611 M balək. 612 M
 zam. 613 M drəqk. 616 I grə'y₁n. 619 I və'y₁nd. 625 M toq. 629 M
 zən. 631 I dhəzde. 632 IM əp. 633 M kəp. 634 I dryy₁, M nrə. 625 M
 weth. 639 M dist. U'- 641 IM ə'y₁. 643 IM nə'y₁. 646 M bæ'y₁^s.
 647 M ə'y₁^l. 650 I vɔə'y₁t. 651 I wɪdhə'y₁t. 652 M kud. U': 658
 IM də'y₁ⁿ. 659 M tə'y₁ⁿ. 663 M ə'y₁^s. 664 M lə'y₁^s. 667 IM ə'y₁t.
 Y- 680 M bizi. 682 M lit'l. Y: 684 M bərdj. 685 M ridj. 688
 M szytj. 691 M máin [(miin) was given as n.Dv. by Mr. Shelly, see p. 165].
 Y- 706 IM wái. Y': 711 M lə'y₁^szəz. 712 M máis [(miis) was given
 by Mr. Shelly, see sw.Dv. p. 165].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 732 I əp'nd. E. 744 M meez'lz. 750 M ba'g. I. and Y. 754
 IM pɛg. 758 M ga'l [little used, (tjil)]. O. 761 M lood. 767 IM na'is.
 773 M drəqk. 790 M gə'y₁ⁿ. 791 I bói. U. 797 I skweekin. 798 I
 kweer. 804 I drəqk'n. 806 I fəs, M vəs. 807 M py₁s. 808 M pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — teedjəs [tedious]. 824 M t̃jiir. 830 M trécin. 835 M reez'n.
 836 M seez'n. 840 M t̃jəmər. 862 I séef. 864 I kooz. 865 M vaaal.
 E.. 867 I tee, M tee. 878 M sa'ləri. 885 I veri. 888 I zarten, M
 zartin. 890 M beest [pl. (bees)]. 894 M deseev. 895 M reseev.
 I.. and Y.. — krás [cry]. 901 IM váin. 904 M vɔ'ilet. O.. 916
 M iqinz. 922 M bushel. 923* M mɔ'ist. 925 I va'is. 929 M kə'y₁^skəmər.
 933 M frənt. 938 I kaarndər. 939 I kloos. 940 I kət. 941 M vy₁l. 947
 I bóil. 950 I səpər. 955 I də'y₁t. U.. 963 kwá'ət. 965 M ə'il. 969
 I zhóvər, M zhyvər. 870 I djəs, M djist. 971 M vlyt.

VAR. ii. SOUTH DEVON CS.

Dartmoor, north of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (17 ese.Plymouth),
 pal. by A.J.E. from the glossic of Mr. John Shelly, 8, Woodside, Plymouth,
 a resident for thirty years, who has especially occupied himself with the glossary
 of the dialect, but is a native of Norfolk. Full explanatory notes have been
 given of every point of difficulty, and Mr. S.'s indications are strictly followed.

O. wəə'i :djan hez noo də'yts.

1. wel, soos, jy ən ii mɔ booth griz'l ət dhis)ɔ nəz ɔ məə'in.
 həə məə'inz dhət? dhət-s needhe ɔ nɔ dhivər.

2. *fə vook* də'i bɪkyy'z dhEE)m laaft æt, es naa dhæt; doont)es? wæt shid mee'k)n? t)ez)n zə lɑaɪk'li, ez et?
3. eadhəmaʌʌʌʌ dhEEZ-JƏ ʌR dhə fæks ʌ-dhə kees, so dʒis hool jə baal, soos, ʌn bi kwəə'i'ət tel ə'i-v ʌ-dɪn. lʌk)JʌR.
4. ə'i ʌm zhúʌʌ [zhóʌʌ] ə'i Jʌʌd)n zee—zəm ʌ dhEE vook ʌt went dhrəə dhə hool dheq vrəm dhə vəʌrst dhuzel'vz—dhat ded ə'i, zhúʌʌnaf.
5. ʌt dhə JEQ'gest zɪn hɪz'sɪlf, ə gəʌrt bə'i ʌv nə'in, naad əz vaa'dhez voo'is tə wəns, dhəf et 'wez zə kwéʌʌʌʌ ʌn skwee'kɪn, ʌn ə'i)d trɪst 'hii tə speek dhə trəəth ʌn'i dee, is 'fee, ə'i wɪd.
6. ʌn dh)ool həm'ən ʌsɪlf əl tel ʌn'i ʌv jʒy, ət stan grɪz'lɪn dhiɪʌʌ, ʌn tel)i stráaɪt af tyy, ədhə'yt mɪtʒ bədh'ʌʌ, if jə)l ʌn'i əks)ʌ ty, ʌʌ, waant-ʌʌ?
7. eadhəmaʌʌʌʌ hɜʌr toold et 'mii wəʌn ə'i əkst)ʌ, tyy ʌ dhree təə'ɪnz, ʌʌ'vʌʌʌʌ, hɜʌr ded, ʌn 'həʌʌʌʌ laaft nət tə bii rəq ʌn zɪtʒ ʌ dheq)z dhɪs, wæt dyy)i zɪm?
8. wɛl, ez 'ə'i wez vze'e'ɪn, 'həʌʌʌʌ wɪd tel)i hə'ɪ, wiɪʌʌʌʌ, ʌn wəʌʌʌʌ ʌ fə'ɪn dhə drək'n béest, ʌ kaalth ʌ mee'əstə.
9. hɜʌ zwaʌʌʌʌ ʌ zaa)n wɪ ʌʌʌ ʌʌʌ'ɪz, ləə'i'ɪn spreed ʌbraa'd ʌn dhə eeth, ɪn ez gœd zɪn'di kóʌʌt, hoom tə duu' ə dhə hə'ɪz, dœ'ɪn tə dhə kaʌʌ'dʌʌʌʌ ʌ dhæk'i leen.
10. ə wez krəʌz'lɪn, hɜʌ zeed, fɜʌ aal dhə wəʌʌʌʌ lɪaɪk ʌ tʒɪɪl dhət)ʌ bəd, ʌʌ ʌ vɪn'ed gəʌʌʌʌ.
11. ʌn dhat wez, ez hɜʌ keem thruu dhə bæ'klet wɪd)h ʌ daa'tʌʌʌʌ)laa, vrəm heq'ɪn ə'yt dhə wet klooz tə drəə'i ʌn ʌ wɛsh'ɪn dee,
12. wə'ɪl dhə ket'l wez bəə'ɪlɪn fə tee, wəʌn vəə'ɪn brɪɪst zɪm'ʌʌ ʌa'tʌʌʌʌʌʌ, ʌn'i ʌ wɛek ʌgœ, kɜʌm neks dhəʌʌʌʌ'di.
13. ʌn dyy)i naa? ə'i nɪv'a laarnd ʌn'i maʌ)n dhɪs ʌ dhæk'i bɪz'nɪs hoom tə dhes maanɪn, zə zhúʌʌ)z mə'i neem)z :dʒaʌn :zhep'əd ʌn ə'i doont wəʌʌʌʌʌ ty, nee'dhə—gu'nœ'y.
14. ʌn zoo ə'i)m gáaɪn ʌm tə zɜʌp'ʌʌʌ. :gœd nɪst, ʌn doont)i bii zə kwɛk tə krʌʌ ʌʌ'vʌʌ mɪn ʌgen, wəʌn ə tɛl)h ʌ dhɪs ʌn dhat ʌn dh)adhɜʌʌ.
15. t)ez ə too'tlɪn vɪyl, ət tɛl)h ʌdhə'yt meen'ɪn. ʌn dhɛt)ʌ mə'i láaʌs wəd. :gœd bə'i tœ)i.

Notes.

0. *why*. Mr. S. has given various analyses of this diphthong (ə'i, əə'i, ái, áai). I follow the one chosen in any particular case. He found a variety in actual use, but is inclined most to (á'i). See also the following Devonport and Millbrook.—*doubts*. This diphthong is also variously indicated, but Mr. S. generally gives (œ'y), following Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and finds a rounding of the lips in the first element.

1. *sœe*. Rarely used in S. Dv., supposed to be a N. Dv. word; it is plural.—*grizzle* or *grin*; the *r* before

vowels Mr. S. takes as common; finally when fully pronounced he acknowledges (ɛ), but the words are often much clipped, and then he hears the same effect as in London, a simple (ə), but it is probably (ʌʌ) or (ʌ) with the tongue turned up, the difference is very slight, and Mr. S.'s (ə) is here left.

2. *news*. When final and emphatic the sound seems to become (y) and (ə), between which Mr. S. hesitates; (y) recalls both. Mr. S. being a Nf. man, finds the sound less clear in Dv. than in Nf., and thinks (ə) or something

between (ə) and (y) more common.—*because they am* for *they are*. The form (biky-y-z) seems rather to be *by course*, for (ev kyys) is used for *of course*.

3. *either-more*, that is, *however*.—*bawl* or *noise*.—*look*. Mr. S. also writes (lœk).

4. *through*. The (dr-) initial seems almost lost here, but (dryy) occurs at times, also (dreks'l) threshold.

5. *though*, the (f) is common.—*yes faith I would*.

7. *three*. This is said to be the ordinary form. Mr. S. has, however, heard (drii) once or twice.—*ought*. Compare *though* in par. 5.—*what do you seem* = *think*, a common Dv. word.

8. *drunken*. Observe the northern form (drak'n).—*her* (she) *calleth her*

master (husband). Observe the use of the form *calleth* in *eth*; common in Dv.

9. *lying spread abroad on the earth*.—*home* = close or fully up to.—*corner of thackey* (that, yonder) *lane*.

10. *crewsling* = complaining, the word is not in the glossaries.—*bad* = unwell, sick would mean vomiting.—*vinnied*, mouldy as applied to cheese; cross or peevish, as applied to children.

13. *good now* (last word). Mr. S. says that he never actually heard this phrase in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, but that it is common in N. and E. Devon.

14. *night*, no (x) in s.Dv., but see p. 159, note to par. 14.—*to crow over any one* (min) is a common word.

15. *toiling*, dottering.

SOUTH-WEST DEVON cwl.

written in Glossic by Mr. J. Shelly, and pal. from that and other indications by A.J.E.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 téek. 5 méek. 6 méed. 7 séek. 19 teel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 zéem. 24 zhéem. 25 meen. 32 baath [as the rec. subst.], 33 rødhær. 34 las.

A: 41 dhæqk. 43 hæm. 44 læm. 46 kan'l. 51 mæn. 54 waant. 55 eshez. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 vrim vrom. 59 leem. 60 loq. 62 straq. 64 raq. 65 zøq.

A': 69 nu. 72 ø. 73 zoo [emph., (zø) unemph.]. 74 tæ ty [emphatic]. 76 twæd. 78 aa. 79 aad. 81 léem. 84 múer móer. 87 klooz. 92 naa. 94 kraa. 95 dhraa.

A': 102 eks, eeks. 104 rúed røed. 105 raad. 110 nat. 111 aaft. 115 hom [h generally sounded]. 117 wan [e.Dv. wæn]. 121 gaan. 122 naan. 123 nathin. 124 ston. 125 o'ni. 127 hoos, hoos. 129 goo'wst. 130 boot. 133 raat. — roov [a row or rank].

Æ- 138 vaadhær. 140 heel. 144 øge'n. 150 leest. 152 wa'tær. Æ: 160 eeg. 165 zed. 166 méed. 169 wen wæn. 173 wez. 175 fas faz. 179 wa't. Æ'- 182 zee. 183 teetj. 184 leed. 185 reed. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 meni. 199 bleet. 200 weet. 202 jet. Æ': 203 speetj. 213 eadhær [only in eithermore = however]. 215 taat. 216 deel. 217 eetj. 218 zhíp, zhep. 219 zleep. 223 dhær. 224 wier. 226 maast.

E- 232 briik. 233 speek. 238 ødj. 241 reen. — brim'l [bramble]. 248 miær. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. E: 257 ødj. 261 zee. — beed [a bed]. — twelv [twelve]. 272 el'm. 280 leb'n. 281 leeqkth. 284 drøsh. E'- 290 hii [emph., gen. (ø) unemph.]. 292 mii. 293 wæ [emph. (as)]. 300 keep. 301 jær. 302 meet. 303 zweet. E': 305 di. 306 eet, eet. 311 ten [usually half a score]. 312 jær. 314 jærd. 316 niest.

EA: 322 la'f. 324 áit ø't. 325 waak. 328 kaald. 335 aal. 336 vaal. 337 waal. 343 wærm. 346 gíet. EA': 347 heed. 348 ái ø't. 349 væ. EA': 350 deed. 352 ørd. 355 diif diiv. — tæi [verb], tæi [subs. in bed-tie, the local name for feather-bed]. 361 been. 363 tjeep. 371 streæ straa.

EI- 373 dhee. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'n zeb'n. 385 bineeth, bineedh. 387 næø. EO: 388 milk. 390 shid. 402 larn. 406 éeeth. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 dhree. 412 shii [emph. obj. (øæ teld 'shii tæ du et)].

414 vlái, vlé'i. 417 tjo'u. 420 vaæb. EO': 425 lə'it [rarely (liet)].
 430 vrind. 434 beet. 435 jə [gen., unemph. (i) meaning *ye*?]. EY- 438
 dáai [very much drawled]. EY: 439 trist.
 I- 440 week. 446 náin [drawled]. — peez peez'n [pea peas]. 449 git.
 I: 452 ə'i, ái. 455 lái lé'i. 458 nə'it [rarely (niet) as in e.Dv.]. 459 rə'it
 [correct, but (art) straight]. 460 wee'jt. 462 zə'it. 465 sitj zítj. 466 tʃæl.
 — gild [a guild]. 473 blə'in bláind. 475 wínd. 476 bwáind, [occ.] báind.
 477 və'in. 479 wáind. 485 dæsh'l. 488 jít. — zeks [occ. ziks]. — het
 [hit]. I'- 490 báí bə'i. 491 sə'if. 493 dreev. 499 bit'l. I': 500
 lə'ík [rarely (lek)]. 502 váiv. 503 lə'iv. 505 wə'iv [rarely used]. 506
 hæmən.
 O- 522 AAP'n. 523 haap. — barn [born]. 524 wærd'l. O: 528
 thoft [subst.] thoft [vb.]. 531 daatər [rarely (daiter)]. 534 haal. 538 wíd,
 id. 552 karn. 554 kraas. O'- 555 shæ. 560 skæł. 562 mæən [perhaps
 more gen. (myyn)]. 564 zyn [very short, or (zin)]. 565 naaz. O': 569
 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 575 stəd. 576 wenzdi. 582 kæl.
 584 stæł. 585 brym bræm [more gen. (yy)]. 586 dyy, dæ. 587 dín. 588
 næn. 589 spæn. 590 [(plæshin) that is, planking, is used for floor]. — bezəm
 [bosom]. 594 bət. 595 vət.
 U- 599 vbyy. 606 dóæb. U: 608 ugli. 615 pə'yn. 618 wə'ynd.
 619 və'yn. 620 grə'yn. 629 zin. 636 vədħær. U'- 640 kə'y. 641 ə'y.
 643 nə'y. — pləm [plum]. 652 kíd, kyd. 653 bit. U': 656 ræm.
 659 tə'yn. 663 hæ'ys.
 Y- 674 dad. 677 drái. Y: 684 bærdj. 685 ærdj. 686 báí. 689
 bíld. — kínlí [kindly]. 691 máin [(miind) in e. and n.Dv.]. Y'- 706
 wəə'i [occ. (wee)]. 712 [(miis) at Totness and in n.Dv.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 treed tréed. 737 méut. I and Y. 754 peg. U. — pud'n
 [pudding]. — bish [bush].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 842 plæsh. 852 eepən. — martjənt [merchant]. 854
 báaəl. 864 bikæ'z. E.. 867 tee. — zærv [serve]. I.. and Y.. 910
 djæə'ist. O.. — rəb [rob]. 916 i'qim. — djá'in [join]. 922 bish'l.
 938 kaændər. — zart [sort]. 941 vvył. 952, i. kyy's, ii. kæs [hence probably
 (bikæ's) by course, in or of course, used for because, see 864]. 956 kiver.
 U.. 960 kee. — djídj [judge]. — pupit [pulpit]. 969 zhóer. 970
 djíst djæs.

CONSONANTS.

B is not omitted after *m*, except in (brim'l) bramble, and when final.

Ch remains except occasionally in (kist) chest.

D remains after *n*, but is omitted after *ol* in (ool kool) old cold, it is inserted
 in (kaændər) corner, *dd* does not become (dh) when medial as in *ladder*.

F initial is often (v).

H is seldom dropped, according to Mr. Shelly, but sometimes prefixed in emphatic
 words, and replaced by (j) in (jæt, jæfək, jæfəl, jə'yl) heat, heifer, handful,
 howl.

L is never dropped, and *-lm* final becomes often two syllables as (eləm fílam)
 elm film especially in e.Dv.

N becomes *l* in (ii·vlin jii·vlin) evening.

R is (r) only when dwelled upon, Mr. Shelly not feeling sure that it is really
 pronounced, he says he heard 200 children singing "send her victorious,
 happy and glorious" and could detect no *r* at all. If seems probable that he
 had not separated (ə, æ, ɐ) simply, from these sounds as modified by turning
 up the tongue, which alters their character. I have consequently, as the
 result of much correspondence, introduced (r) frequently in the preceding list
 and es. although in his first writing he omitted it. As I was a considerable

time myself before I could recognise this very peculiar modification, I can well appreciate his difficulty. My own impression is that it is always reverted or retracted, even before vowels, and when preceding *t, d, n, l* reverts or retracts these also. But these cases I have left unmarked. The following cases, where Mr. S. marks the absence of *r*, may therefore be marked, as in other S. cases, as having a transposed *r*, (kærzmus gært gærts eepærn ærtj bærd bærtæn) Christmas great groats apron rich bread breeches.

S of the plural becomes (-æn) in (hœ'yzæn bôt'f'n pæezen) houses bottles peas.

T is lost in (wîs'l, kaas'l, dæsh'l, ræs'l, ʌʌf'n; æk fæk) whistle, castle, thistle, wrestle, often; act, fact.

Th, there is "a general tendency to substitute (dh) for (th), as (dhiq) for (thiq)."

V is lost in (gii) give, and becomes (b) in (zeb'n) seven, it never becomes (w).

W is omitted before *r* and in (hwd, hæmæn) wood woman; would is (wid); *wh* is always (w).

My especial thanks are due to Mr. Shelly for the great assistance which he has given me and the work he has done for me in sw.Dv., from 1868 to 1886, continually attending to every point of difficulty which arose. It will be perceived that he is mainly corroborated from Devonport and Millbrook, the differences being simply those of appreciation, and that the real differences in n. and s., e. and w.Dv. and e.Co. are not sufficient to form districts for, but are mere varieties of substantially the same dialect.

DEVONPORT BY PLYMOUTH dt.

Town pron., pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Tenney, Chancery Audit Office, native, compared with that of Mr. J. B. Rundell, native, see Millbrook.

1. soo' æ'i séei, MEETS, jíy⁵ sîi næ'y⁵, dhæt æ'i bi r,ə'it vbo'y⁵t dha't lét'l mee'id kãmín fr'əm dhæ skúel [skyy⁵l] ovær dhéær.

2. shii]z [ær,z] güeen dæ'y⁵n dhæ r,oo⁵d [r,ø⁵əd] dhéær, thr,y⁵ dhæ r,íd gæet on dhæ líft a'nd sæ'id ev dhæ weei.

3. sho⁵ær, næf dhæ tjil]z GAAN str,ə'it op ty⁵ dhæ doo⁵ær, ev dhæ r,oq æ'y⁵s.

4. wéær, pr,a'ps shii]l [ær,l] fæ'nd dha't dr,æqkín diif dr,æ'id op fæls KAALd :toməs.

5. wi [æs] nõz)'n vep,i we'l.

6. wo)nt dhæ oo⁵l tja'p sy⁵n teetj)ær, not ty⁵ dyy⁵ ít vgeen, poo⁵ær, thiq.

7. lyy⁵k! æ)nt et tr,y⁵?

Notes.

Observe that (o⁵, y⁵) mean (o', y) with projected lips. The letters o, p, q are called (oo⁵, pii, kyy⁵), but coal is called (ka). Mr. T. himself noted that in *so you* it was necessary to project the lips considerably to bring out the sound.

1. *I*. The analysis of long *i* is not perfect. I write as I seemed to observe. Mr. T.'s varied between (æ'i) and (ə'i). Mr. Rundell seemed generally to use the latter. Perhaps both meant (á'i) at all times.—*you*. This seemed to be diphthongal in Mr. T.'s speech. I did not observe this

character in Mr. R.'s.—*now*. This diphthong was precisely the same as at Iddesleigh, both for Mr. T. and Mr. R., though perhaps less forcible in the s. than in the n.—*right*. The *r* in Mr. T.'s pron. was treated very much like the London *r* as I at first appreciated. But after attentively examining Mr. R.'s, I concluded that his was retracted (r) and not reverted (æ), and this agreed with Mr. R.'s own appreciation, see Millbrook. As both Messrs. T. and R. were natives of Devonport, I concluded that Mr. T.'s had been more reduced to the London level.—

school. I appreciated (skúel), and Mr. T. wrote *skooil*. But Mr. R. decidedly had (skyyil), which would be the regular form.

2. *she is* and *her is* are quite interchangeable. Mr. T. wrote *shee-z*, and Mr. R. *ur-z*.—*through*. Both Mr. T. and Mr. R. gave (thr-) and not (dr-) in this word. Rev. H. S. Wilcocks of Stoke, which adjoins Devonport, gave *dr-*, which is certainly the purer form, though Mr. T. said he had heard (thr-) five miles away in the country.

3. *enough*. Mr. T. had never heard

enow.—*child*. Mr. T. says (tjiil) is used for either sex.

4. *dried up*, because *shrivelled* is not used, but (shr.) is used, as (shr'imps, shr'ab).—*called*. This word would be used, *name* = (nɛɛm).

6. *chap* is not often used, (ma'n) is more common; a woman will speak of her husband as (mæ'i tja'p); the man generally speaks of his wife as (mæ'i mɛsɛs), but (oo'l)d'amɛn may also be heard.—*thing*, with (th-) in town and (dh-) in country.

FROM MILLBROOK Co.

2 sw.Plymouth, on the other side of the Hamoaze. Specimen written in glossic by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, who lived there as a boy from 4 to 10, and has had frequent opportunities of refreshing his memory. Pal. by A.J.E. from vv. instruction in 1885. The specimen is supposed to be a dialogue between two persons A and B, and is constructed so as to bring in the principal peculiarities. The pron. is thorough s.Dv., and Mr. Rundell states that having had occasion to visit Padstow in Co., he was surprised to find the speech practically the same.

1 A. gy₁d mar'nin ty₁i, neebər. jy₁m əp brɛv'ɛn)ər,li dhɛs mar'nin. wɛər, biɪ ɛgween ty₁ zo zy₁n ?

2 B. AA! gy₁d mar'nin ty₁ jyy₁, mə'i dɪər! wə'i, jy₁ zii var,mər, :əbzɛz tjiil)z ɛty₁k bæd wɪdh dhɛ meez'lz, ɛn ə'i)m gween də'y₁n tə'y₁n ty₁ dɔktər,z ə'y₁s ty₁ vɛtɔ) 'n var,) 'n.

3 A. AA! ər,)z ɛgət dhɛ meez'lz ɛv)ər,? [æθ ɛr). ər,)z ly,kt kry,l wɪsht var,dhɛs var,tə'it pæst. ər, mədhər,tə'ul mi ər, ky₁d'n gɪt ər, ty₁ eet noθn ɛn ər, wəz ɛz week)s)ɛ ræbɪn.

4 B. ɪs, ə'i zid var,mər, :əbz hɪzself ɪstɛrde, ɛz ə'i wez in dhɛ viil dr,ee'ɪn tər,mɛts, ɛn)i)zɛd i θɔft i mɛs kæl ɪn dhɛ dɔktər, ɛz ə'i wəz ɛkəmɪn əp dhɛ leen dɪs nə'y₁ ə'i mɛt)'n ɛgɛ'n, ɛn i ɛkst mi ty₁ go var,) 'n ty₁ wɔnst.

5 A. jy₁d bɛtər, mɛk eest dh'n. shɪl ə'i zii) bə'i)m) bə'i in dhɛ eevnɪn ɛt dhɛ tɪ'dliwɪ'qk? ɛn wii)l ɛv ɛ pə'ɪnt ɛv swə'ɪps tɛgɪdhər,.

Notes.

1. *good*. The sound was decidedly a deeper (y), approaching (ə), in some cases almost (ə).—*morning*, the (ɛ) was decidedly retracted and not reverted, it was very faintly marked, not nearly so strong as at Iddesleigh.—*neighbour*, the (ee) did not seem to approach (ee), and there was no suspicion of a following ('j).—*you)m*, you am, the regular conversational form.—*up*, this form (əp, əp, AAP) seems to run through this group, D 10 and 11, and indeed occurs also in D 4.

2. *my*, this (ə'i) was the nearest approach I could make to this diphthong, which was certainly not (ai), and not even (a'i), before mutes, but became so before sonants, as *white*, *wide* (wə'it, waid).—*down town house*, at first hearing this diphthong sounded to me as (ə'u) and it was not till after close examination and continual repetition that I was convinced the sound was (ə'y₁^s). See the remarks on Iddesleigh (p. 158); the action of the mouth was identical with that there described, wide open for the

first element, with the lips closed nearly and projected for the second.—*house* with final (s) not (z), *to doctor's house to fetch him for him*.

3. *her*, used either for *he* or *she*. Mr. R. did not know of the distinction (v, vɛ) *he, she*.—*wisht*, wished, poorly, haggard.—*told*, here I think the diph-

thong was (ə'u) or (óu), it was certainly not (ə'y₁).—*robin*, the bird.

4. *drawing*, i.e. pulling up, *turnips*.—*thought*, the form (thoft) with (f) is very common.—*at once*, the sound seemed more like (wɔnst) than anything else.

5. *by and bye*, *tidliwink* small public-house or beershop.

VAR. iii. e.Co.

CAMELFORD (14 W. LAUNCESTON) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Miss Ada Hill, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. zoo ái zee, méets, ju zii nə'u dhət ái bi ráit vɛə'ut dhat lít'l gərl kəmɪn frɔm dhekɪ sku'l.
2. æ)z v gu'in də'un dhɛ róəd dhær thruu dhɛ rəd gést on dhɛ lɛft han sáid v dhɛ wee.
3. shoer ɛnóou dhɛ tɔild)z gòn street æp tɛ dhɛ dóer v dhɛ roq ə'uz.
4. wɛr æ)l bi láik tɛ fáind dhekɪ dræqk'n diif wɪz'nd fɛlɛ v dhɛ néem v :tɔmɔs.
5. ɛs ʌl noo)ɛn vɛrɪ wɛl.
6. wɛnt dhɛ ool tɔap zun teetɔ [lærn] ær nɔt tɛ du)it ɛgɪn [vɛgen], puur dhɪq!
7. lək ez)'nt [ɪd)'nt] ɪt truɪ?

Notes.

1. *mates*, (sɛnɪ), not (zɪnɪ), is commonly used in place of 'mate,' even to old people.—*now*, I wrote (ə'u) from dictation, but do not feel at all certain, because of my initial mistake for Millbrook (p. 167 note on *down*), that it was not (ə'y₁), here and at St. Colomb Major notwithstanding the different analysis.—*I be*, so generally, Miss H. never heard *I's* (see Cardynham) nor *I are*, but she knew *we'm you'm* for *we are, you are*.—*girl*, Miss H. had heard (gærd'l), (meed) maid, is common enough for a young girl under twelve, (tɔild) is only used for children before they can speak properly, and she did not know of its exclusive confinement to girls. She, however, uses it generally

in par. 3.—*that*, (dhekɪ) a very common word.—*school*, not (skyy₁l), there was a tendency towards (u) shewn by (u^v). I got *schule sheur* from Padstow.

2. *through*, Miss H. was confident that it did not become (ɔruu ɔry₁), although (ɔrii) takes the place of (thrii), see also Millbrook. I got *drew* from Padstow.

3. *enough*, “(ɛnɛ:f) is also heard, not (ɛnɪ:f).”

4. *wizened*, *shrivelled* not known, but (shr-) initial is used.

6. *chap* is properly a young fellow who works in the quarries, called also a “quarry nipper.”—*thing, think*, both have initial (dh).

The two following dt. are given with much hesitation, but they are the best I could obtain, and the writers had taken so much trouble that I thought it best to insert them.

CARDY'NHAM (3½ ene.Bodmin).

dt. from a very careful translation in io. with long aq. by Mr. Thos. H. Cross, national schoolmaster, not a native, but much of my interpretation remains conjectural. The pronunciation was obtained by Mr. Cross from an old labourer whose family had been 150 years in the parish.

1. zoo ə'i zee, bóiz, jéy₁ zii nɛ'u, ɛt ə'i)m ráit béut dhíki let'l meed kámən frəm dhe skuul jándər.
2. ɛR)z egáin dɛ'un dhíki róud dhíɛR thru dhe rəd gívt ɛn dhe léft hæn sáid ɛv dhe wee.
3. shóvɛr ɛni'f dhɛ tʃil ɛz gá'ɛn street ɔp tɛ dóvɛr ɛv dhe raq ɛ'us.
4. wíɛr ɛR wil tʃæns tɛ vend dhíki droqken dif wizend felɛR ɛv dhe névəm ɛv :táməs.
5. ɛs ool nooz ɛn wɛr'i wɛl.
6. wɛənt dhíki óuld sɪni sɛum teetʃ shi nɛt tɛ déy₁)et gen, puur thiq!
7. lak si! ɛd'n)it truu?

Notes.

1. *so, say*. The initial (z) was written in these two words only, not in *soon* and *side*. This may have been an oversight.—*boys*, written *bo-oyz*, which, judging from other spellings, may mean (bóiz), but (bóiz) seemed the more probable sound.—*you* written *ya-ew* and explained “*a* as in *hater*, *u* as French *u*, *ya-u* quickly.”—*now*, explained “same sound *a*, *ow* as in *cow*, pronounced quickly, the *a* very distinct.”—*that*, the abridged form (ɛt), said to be “very common.”—*I am* written *oi um* with the variant *I*'s, which is also stated to be “very common, more so than *oi um*.” In 1865 T.H. heard (di)z)a'd) I have had, from a miner from Gwennap (3 se.Redruth), but that is in D 12. I conjecture that *oi*, which was used in *right side*, meant (ə'i).—*school* written *skole*, altogether doubtful.—*yonder*, Mr. C. says he never heard *yinder* till he came here, but has often noticed it.

3. “*cheel* is the term for *girl*.”
4. *find*, the form *vend* was unexpected.—*drunken* written *dro-un-ken* and said to be so pronounced, which is so unlikely that I have not ventured to give it. Mr. C. may have meant that *o* was substituted for *u*, as in the next note, see also (ɔp) written *op* for *up*.
5. *all*, “there is a remarkable presence of the letter *o* which gives the word the sound of (h)ole,” but he writes *o-all*, so his *dro-un-ken* may indicate a substitution.—*very*, Mr. C. has never heard (w) for (v) in any other word, “and in this case it is only in slight use,” it is probably an error.

6. *sonny*, commonly used as an address, but said to have been obtained from a labourer in this phrase.
The *r* I have left unmarked before a vowel, from pure uncertainty.

ST. COLUMB MAJOR (11 wsw.Bodmin)

and about ten miles round; dt. written by Mr. T. Rogers of the St. Wenn National School, Bodmin, with the help of the members of the Reading Room, in which each portion of the dt. was discussed. The original io. was difficult to understand, and although Mr. R. kindly furnished very full explanations, I cannot be quite sure that I have always interpreted them rightly in the following pal. translation.

1. s| zoo ái s| zee, kəmree'dz, d|i s| zii noóo dhɛt ái)m ráit bóót dhíki lét'l meed kámín frəm dhɛ sk|óul JAANDər.
2. shii)z geen doóon dhɛ rood dhíɛR druu dhɛ rəd geet ɔn dhɛ léft hæn s|záid ɔv dhɛ wee.

3. s₁ziúr næf dhə tjiild)z gon stráit ap tə dhə dúer əv dhə ræq hoóos,

4. wíiss sh)il tjeens tə váin dhɛki dræqkin díef skrúuəd fɛlɛ əv dhə néesəm əv :təməs.

5. wi aal nA ən wɛl)ɛ) fáin.

6. wənt dh)ool tɔp s₁zuun teetɔ ɛr nɛt tə duu)ət ɛgɛn, púuɛr kreetɛr!

7. luk! ɛd)'nt)et triú!

Notes.

1. *so say see.* These were said to begin with (s) followed by a faint sound of (z), in that case they would form the transitional sound from (z) to (s).—*I right.* The phonographic sign for (áí) was given, but the actual analysis of the diphthong is conjectural.—*comrades*, with the accent on the second syllable, the usual word for 'mates.'—*now about*, etc. The diphthong, written *nóow*, was explained as "o in *not* or *innovate*, but rather short, *ow* as *sparrow*." This gives the transcription (nooo). For *bout*, *down*, *house*, Mr. R. used these spellings, and said of *house* "ou as in *sparrow*, with the o prolonged slightly." It seems to me that the analysis is certainly wrong, and that (ə'u), heard from Camelford, is more correct. But the explanation was so explicit I felt bound to adopt it.—*I'm* "is used in such sentences as 'I'm gain tã town,' *I be* in answering questions, as: 'are you one? eəs I be,' not 'I am.'"—*right.* "The r is trilled in many cases, *droo* for instance. A big boy in school once said to me, 'how many dree hapences in dreppens,' with a trill on each r, the point of the tongue touching the gums of the front teeth of the upper jaw and then vibrating. But when r occurs at the end of a word, it is not trilled, as far as I am aware, but the

tongue is withdrawn back to the throat in pronouncing it. In *droo* there is a trill, in *drunken* not, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth [for *d* *ʔ*] and then withdrawing. In *strite* and *trew* there is a slight trill in the first word, and a strong one in the second.—*strite.* The front part of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth in front; the tip, the top of the gums in the lower jaw, and the tongue is drawn backwards, and the tip lifted upwards at the same time.

2. *trew.* The tongue (tip) touches the gums in front in the upper jaw, and is then quickly withdrawn back to the throat past its normal position in the mouth." This would generally indicate (r, ɾ) with occasional (r, r). Under these circumstances I have retained (r) before a vowel, but used (ɾ) final.—*from* or (vrəm, f₁vrəm).—*school.* This was written *skóol*, and explained to be o, as in *not*, but very short, followed by *o*, as in *hoot*.' This I have endeavoured to render by (sk₁oúul), but I think that this is probably wrong. Perhaps he meant (skæ'uul), a generating sound of (skyy₁l), but everything is uncertain. I generally got *schule*, *skewl* in io. from Co.

3. *enough*, 'the f strongly accented.'

6. *her*, 'she is but rarely used for her.'

Although these examples of e.Co. leave much to be desired, they evidently shew a dying out of Dv. forms, and the characteristic (ɾ, y₁) are more or less implied.

D 12 = w.WS. = western West Southern.

Boundary. On the e. the w. b. of D 11 from Falmouth Harbour to Pirran Bay (p. 156) b. are made up of the sw. coast of Co.

Area. The w. of Co., to the w. of Truro, together with the Scilly Islands (24 wsw. Land's End).

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ° in io.

Co. ° † Gwennap, * Marazion, * Penzance, ° St. Just, ° St. Stithians.

Character. None can be given. The mode of speech is said to vary much from place to place, not more than ten or twelve miles apart, and most of the WS. characters seem to have disappeared. Down to 200 years ago some Cornish was still spoken in these regions. How the change to English came about, I do not know, but it was clearly not imported from the e., because we find scarcely a vestige of Dv. phraseology or pronunciation. The miners, who abound, are a mixed race. Many words of Cornish origin remain. The phrases used are picturesque, and the spelling which the dialect-writers of west Cornish have adopted is also rather picturesque than phonetic. It would be necessary to study the pronunciation of each neighbourhood on the spot from the mouths of natives, and for such a haphazard speech as appears to prevail, this would be hardly worth while. At the same time, any tolerably complete view would demand too much space.

Tregellas, as quoted by Mr. T. Q. Couch ("East Cornish Words"), remarks on the peculiar sing-song of the West Cornwall speakers, and its lessening and alteration in character on proceeding eastward, through Trevednack (? Towednack, 2 sw. St. Ives), St. Ives (7 ssw. Penzance), Hayle (4 se. St. Ives), and Camborne (4 wsw. Redruth), and says that, "e. of Camborne, even at Redruth, the natural accent has died away, nor is it again heard from the more guttural speakers of Redruth, Gwennap (3 se. R.), and St. Agnes (6 n-by-e.R.). But . . . the miner of Perranzabuloe (7 nnw. Truro) expresses himself uniformly in a full note higher than his adjoining parish of St. Agnes, and no sooner have you passed Cranstock (8 wsw. St. Columb Major) and Cubert (2 s. Cr.), and entered into St. Colomb's," than you begin to hear (z-) for (s-), in first to a small and then to a large extent. This agrees precisely with Mr. Hodge's b. of e. and w. Cornwall passing between Cranstock and Cubert, and here adopted (p. 156).

Mr. William Noye kindly wrote me a version of the cs. for Penzance, and I took it down from his dictation in 1873. In 1876 I went over it with Mr. Rawlings, of Hayle, who was exceedingly well acquainted with the speech of his neighbourhood. He differed from Mr. Noye in a great number of particulars, and found the cs. so ill adapted for exhibiting the west Cornish peculiarities, that he re-wrote a portion of it, which I pal. from his dict. in Feb. 1876. It seems, therefore, advisable to limit any examples to this particular specimen, which, as will be seen, is founded on the cs. He locates his yarn in Marazion (3 e. Penzance), and entitles it

JACKY TRESISE, A MARAZION SPECIMEN.

1. :djæk'i :təzəiz sɛd: oo! 'hii lææf! hi dɛd'nt lææf wɛn ɛ rænd ɛwɛe lævst krezməs frəm thə giiz-déensɛz, ɛn sɛd tu ɛn :mæli :pʊlgrɛe'n, dhət hii)d siid ɛ pɛs'kɛ. 'hii ɛd'nt wath ɛ snaf!
2. sid'n, dɛd'shi? drɔŋk ái spooz? kráin tu? zæk'li láik'n!! náu, áil tel'i :djævɛmz, ái nev'ɛ láik'n — AA'lez kráid in dhɛ rɔŋ plɛɛs!
3. ái wɛz dáun tu :midhiɛn mət'n lévst sɛn'de, ɛn ɛŋk'l :tɔm :vɛs'nt priitɪt ɛbáut dhɛ páuv :sɛmæritɛn—wi hæd ɛ klɛb fiist dhɛ dee ɛfoo', ɛn 'sɛm)ɛv)ɛz iit ɛnáf fɛ dʒɛn'tlɛn — ɛn dhɛ wɔz'nt a drái ái ɛn dhɛ mət'n, sɛpt 'hiiz.
4. soo ái sɛd tu ɛn: "háu ɛr):i soo ɛnkɛnsaa'nd?"
5. ɛn sɛz hii: "'djæk'i, ɛ do'nt kɛnsaa'n mii, kAAZ ái do'nt lɛv in jo' pær'ish. ái oo'nli stɛɛd af'tɛ dhɛ klɛb fiist, kAAZ ái wɛz a lét'l fud'ld wi bíiv."
6. ɛz tɛ sii'ɛn ɔb)'m, hi wud'n kɛm in'tɛ mái háus ɛn nɔt bi siid! áu' :mɛɛ'ri táuld mi oo'nli :mɛn'de iib'mɛn, hii'rɛn ɛbáut dhɛ tɛn'trɛmz ɛ kɛkt ɛp dáun tɛ :tʃætɪ :táun;
7. "ɛz'nt hææf ɛ mɛn," sɛz shii, "hii-l gɛz'l AAL dhɛ lɛk'ɛ hi kɛn hɪtɪ ɛn skreɛp, ɛn ɛ dɛ pɛe nɔo'bɛdɛ. sɛm dɛ sɛe hi ɛd'nt paatɪk'le ɛbáut tɛɛ'kɛn wɔt ɛd'nt ɛz oon. dhɛ klooz ɛ hæd ɛn ɛ nev'ɛ pɛɛd dha pɛæk'mɛn fɛ. ɛn ái wud'nt," sɛz shii, "trɛs'n in áur eel tʃɛɛm'bɛ báí ɛsɛl'f.
8. "ái bliiv if hii-d noth'in iit'in a drɪk'in, hii-d tɛek ɛ læmp ɛ shug'ɛ áut ɛ dhɛ níeriz kɛɛdɪ. ái nev'ɛ siid ɛ fɛl'ɛ láik'n fɛ[r iit'in, sɛpt drɪk'in, ái bliiv hii-z láik ɛ kloom'ɛn kɛt, hii-z hɔl'ɛ dáun tɛ hiz tooz."
1. John Tresise said: Oh! he laugh! he didn't laugh when he ran away last Christmas from the guise-dancers, and said to aunt Molly Polgrain, that he'd seen a piskey. He isn't worth a snuff!
2. Saw-him, did-she? drunk, I suppose? Crying too? Exactly like-him! Now, I'll tell you, James, I never liked him—always cried in the wrong place!
3. I was down at Mithian meeting, last Sunday, and uncle Tom Vincent preached about the poor Samaritan—we had a club feast the day before, and some of us ate enough for gentlemen—and there wasn't a dry eye in the meeting, except he's.
4. So I said to-him: "How are you so unconcerned?"
5. And says he: "Jacky, he doesn't concern me, because I don't live in your parish. I only stayed after the club-feast, because I was a little fuddled with beer."
6. As to seeing of him, he wouldn't come into my house and not be seen! Our Mary told me only Monday evening, hearing about the tantrums he kicked up down to Church Town;
7. "Isn't half a man," says she, "he'll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. Some do say he isn't particular about taking what isn't his own. The clothes he had on he never paid the packman for. And I wouldn't," says she, "trust-him in our hall chamber by himself.
8. "I believe if he'd nothing eating or drinking, he'd take a lump of sugar out of the canary's cage. I never saw a fellow like-him for eating, except drinking, I believe he's like an earthenware cat, he's hollow down to his toes."

Notes.

1. *guise dancers*. Christmas numbers, dancers in fancy guise.—*aunt*. This “aunt” is said to have been the usual mark of respect for the Virgin Mary. It reminds one of the American negro Uncle and Aunt.—*piskey*, metathesis for (pik’si) *pixy* or fairy, as (wæps) for *wasp*, etc.—*snuff*, namely, a candle-snuff, the most worthless thing he could think of.

3. *Mithian* is a small curacy 6 n.w. Truro.—*meeting*, that is, a Non-conformist chapel or preaching house.—*uncle*, a title of respect, see *aunt*, par. 1.—*poor*, a little confusion between the “good” Samaritan and the unfortunate man he relieved.—*he’s* apparently for *his*, but it may have been only (hiz) for (hiz); the common *hissen* is not used here.

5. *He*, the (v) is *her*, less the aspirate

and the trill of *r*, and *her* is used for *he*, a southern importation. Of course the joke is a very ancient one, Cornwallised for the occasion.

6. *Church Town*, the name always given to the place where the church is.

7. *packman*, the pedlar who carries round a pack of cloth for sale.—*hall-chamber*, the chief room of the house is so called, however small it may be.—*himself*, but written “*herself*.” See *her* for *he* in par. 5.

8. *if he’d nothing*, etc., that is, if he was not engaged in eating or drinking something.—*earthenware*. (*kloom*) is a common Cornish word for earthenware. A common red earthen pitcher with two handles is called (v *kloom bus’v*), where the (*u*) is peculiar, perhaps a (*u*), and I occasionally heard it like an (æ).

As this was a vv. specimen of pronunciation, I have extracted some of the principal words, and I have also taken those given by Miss Courtney in the introduction to her “West Cornwall Glossary.” But I am quite unable from both, and also from looking over many books of West Cornish tales and rhymes, to make out any satisfactory characteristics. There appear, however, to be some traces of D 11 from e.Co. and Dv., as 1) the metathesis of s and consonant in (pisk*i*, klæps, hæps) *pixy*, clasp, hasp; 2) the use of (’n) for acc. him, it; 3) (tjil) for a girl; 4) the neutral infinitive in (-i) as (digi, hæki, peenti, waaki) to dig, hack, paint, walk. Miss Courtney also adduces the use of (bi*i*, beent, ái bi, bii-i?) for am, is-not, I am, are you?; but they do not seem to occur in the literature, and the disuse of *be* was one of the marks by which Mr. Hodge was enabled to draw the line between e. and w.Co.

WEST CORNISH cwl.

Unmarked generally or marked R, words from Mr. Rawlings’s example.

C words for the Land’s End and adjacent districts from introduction to Miss Courtney’s Glossary, conjecturally palaeotyped.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 C hææv. 30 C k*iv*. 34 léest. A: or O: 61 C vmo’q. 64 roq.
 A'- 92 C naa. A': 123 nothán. Æ- 141 C néel. 143 C téel.
 Æ: — C hæps [hasp]. Æ'- 182 C see. 193 C kleen. Æ': —
 iibm*in* [evening]. 249 C w*iv* [according to Westlake]. — iit [eat]. 251 C
 meet. E: 263 vwee. E'- 290 hii [strong], v [weak]. 296 C bleev.
 302 C mit, R mi-t'i'n [meeting]. E': 314 h*iv*d. EA: 322 lææf. 334
 hææf & C. 338 C kææl. EA'- 348 C ái. — j*iv* [ear]. EA': 366 C
 geet. EO: — jælv [yellow]. 406 C jæath [Westlake, also (iærth)]. EY: 439
 tras'n [trust him]. I: 466 C tjil. 482 ed'nt [is'nt]. — kr*iv*ps [crisp].

I': 500 láik. O: 525 ob)'m [of him]. 533 C dul. 541 C weent. 546 fa. O'- — C grAA [grow]. O': — C huuk [hook]. — C huud [hood]. U- 603 C kuum. U: 635 wath. U'- 641 hau. U': 658 dazn. Y'- — kiit [a kite].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — níuri [canary]. — C klæps [clasp]. E. — C biit [peat]. — C skiin [skein]. I. and Y. — pískí [pixy]. — shævø [shiver]. U. — fud'ld [fuddled]. 804 dræqk. — puz'í [to puzzle].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 pless. — pee [pay]. — C mææsta [master]. — C ænræl [angel, possibly (ænræl)]. 849 C strænɹø [possibly (streenɹø)]. 850 déuns. 851 an. — skwíe [square]. 866 píuv. E.. 867 C tee. — C seekret [secret]. — — siin [a seine, net]. — releev [relieve]. — breem [bream, fish]. — ænkænsaa'nd [unconcerned]. 891 fist. 895 C risee'v. I.. and Y.. — revv [river]. O.. — C kælæm [column]. 933 C frant. U.. — shugær [sugar]. — giiz [guise].

THE SCILLY ISLES.

Miss Courtney in her West Cornish Glossary makes the Scillonian dialect different from that of Co., instancing *tread tree* for 'thread, three,' (o'i) for (a'i) in (pø'int o'ílz) pint, isles, and conversely (páint báil) for point, boil. She also draws a distinction between the speech of St. Mary's island containing the capital Hugh Town and the speech of the "Off-oislanders," as she writes them, who inhabit the smaller isles. This was in 1880. Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, vicar of Newlyn St. Peter, Penzance, kindly wrote to Mr. Dorrien Smith (proprietor, and familiarly known as "the King of Scilly"), who, in reply, dated Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly, 7 Aug. 1883, says, "I know of no place in the British Isles where the Queen's English is less massacred by the lower classes than it is in these islands. There is no dialect or any peculiarities of speech worth mentioning, and I can find no record of any having been spoken." Mr. Lach-Szyrma says compulsory education has prevailed for forty years and stamped out dialect, and that the people are mostly Cornish, some are said to be descended from the Cavaliers of Charles II. who settled there, and others from sailors from all parts (Scillonia once was a pirate station). The population is quite hybrid in all points, in appearance, physique, ideas, and language; a sort of gathering from the coast population generally, but with a strong Cornu-British element. Under these circumstances no dialectal value can be attached to any pronunciations there heard. I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith for the means of obtaining the above information.

II.

WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT
DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the CB (p. 9) from the Bristol Channel to the point where the n. *sum* line 1 breaks from it. The n. and part of the e. b. are the n. *sum* line 1 (p. 15), from the point of its deflection from the CB to the point where the reverted *ur* line 3 (p. 17) joins the n. *sum* line 1 on the w. The rest of the e. b. is formed by the reverted *ur* line 3, from its w. junction with the n. *sum* line 1 to the Bristol Channel. The s. b. is the Bristol Channel between the CB and the reverted *ur* line 1.

Area. Portions of Mo., He., Sh. in England, and of Br., Rd., Mg. in Wales. This district represents on the e. comparatively late, and on the w. very modern invasions of the English language on the Welsh.

D 13 = SW. = South Western.

Boundaries. On account of the absence of detailed information, the n. b. is rather arbitrarily assumed to be first the b. of Rd. and Mg., and then of Mg. and Sh. as far as a little w. of Bishop's Castle (8 se. Montgomery); next, turning to the s. between Clun (13 w.-by-n. Ludlow) and Craven Arms (7 nw. Ludlow), nearly in an e. direction to just n. of Bewdley (3 wsw. Kidderminster, Wo.). This is merely meant to imply that at least a few miles n. and s. of this line the speech is sensibly different. The other b. are the w. e. and s. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The e. part of Mo., almost all He., the greater part of Rd., the e. of Br., and a narrow slip to the s. of Sh.

Authorities. See the County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

He. ° Almerley, † Dinmore, ‖ Docklow, ‖ Hereford, † Leintwardine, † Leominster, ‖ † Lower Bach Farm, ° Lucton, † Stockton, † Wacton, ° Weobley.

Sh. † Clun, † Ludlow.

Mo. ° Caerleon, ° Chepstow, * Llanover, ° Pontypool.

WALES.—*Br.* ° Brecon, * e.Br., ° Builth, ° Crickhowel.

Rd. ° Boughrood, ° Llanddewi Ystradenny, ° New Radnor.

Character. S. English spoken by Welshmen or their descendants, the e. side being more English and the w. side more Welsh, in fact, on the w. the speech is most like book Eng. spoken by foreigners, with occ. dialectal influence. The whole is very imperfect dialect, even in m. and e. He. marks of Welsh influence abound. In D 13 the groundwork is S. English, which has been altered by Celts in

a different way from D 10, 11. The initial (z, v) for (s, f) is almost extinct, and the initial employment of (dr) for (thr) is lost. The reverted (æ) exists, but is generally inconspicuous and often uncertain, so that it would not be possible to correct line 3. The use of (ái) for AG, EG is uncertain. Some of the fractures A-(éæ), A'(úæ) remain. The fine (ə) rather than (æ) has developed itself for O' as well as U. The form (æth) for *with* is striking. The diphthongs for I', U', are mildly (ə'i, ə'u).

For examples I am mainly indebted to specimens obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which he passed over to me, from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo TH. also went over most of the ground, and brought me valuable information; he visited the sons of Mrs. Burgiss, of Lower Bach Farm, who were very polite in communicating their knowledge, which enabled me to understand better the information of Mr. Woodhouse, of Docklow. As these give the best idea of the dialect, I place them first, and then give a mixed cwl., which shews the n.He. habits of speech. Mr. Woodhouse's examples are full of local colouring. For Hereford itself, the speech had become too much like 'received' for me to cite two es. obtained for me by the Prince, and that from Weobley could only be conjecturally interpreted. It must be remembered that all se.He. belongs to D 4, in which it is treated (pp. 68-75). The w. of He. becomes more like Welsh English, and is treated afterwards. Of Rd. I know too little, but it is probably very like Mo., which will be noticed further on.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR n.He. and s.Sh.

LOWER BACHE (:beetɪ) FARM (3½ ene.Leominster) dt.

pal. by TH. from dict. of sons of Mrs. Burgiss.

1. nə'u ə'i)sái, méets, ɹu si nə'u ə'i bi rə'it ɛbə'ut dhat lét'l wensh kəmín frəm dhə skuul jander.

2. æ)z ɛgwâin də'un dhə rood dhêr thrə'u dhə red g'et o)dhə)lîft ɔnd sə'id o)dhə)wâi (wâ'i).

3. bə'i gəm ! [shúer ɛnəf] æ)z g'an stráit tɛ dhə roq ə'us.

4. wêr, lə'ik ɛnəf æ)l fə'ind dhat drəqk'n dəni áuld :təm.

5. wɪ ʌʌl nõu ðm wɛl ɛnəf.

6. ə'i)l bak i)l lærn ær bətɛr)'n du)it ɛgje'n pûer wɛntɪ !

7. luk ! jənt)it truu ?

Notes.

1. mates (ladz, tɹaps), if one person (sæ'ri) sirrah.

4. (dəni) deaf.

DOCKLOW (5 ese.Leominster).

Examples written "as near as possible how one of his farm-labourers would speak" by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, Leominster, Hereford, acquainted with the dialect 30 years in 1875; pal. by A.J.E. from his indications, and the information obtained at Lower Bache farm, about 2 miles off, by T.H.

ORIGINAL.

1. pliiiz, mîsîs, dhê mîstêr teld mi tê a'ks ju tê send :tômæs en :djîumz dê'un tê im in dhê áai fîld, ez suun ez dhái ev dôn ma'gîtîn dhê shîp, tê elp im tê tærn dhê áai, en im sed ez dhái wêz tê briq sem pø'iks øth em, ez sœmbœde ev id tuu ez wêz left dheer last nœ'it fê ga'lœsnes, ør stool em.

2. en :bil iz tê teek ø økshut ev wœstœr, intê dhê sidz fœr dhê kAAVZ, en fîl dhœr tAA fœr em, en dhen briq dhê wa'gîn tê dhê áai fîld. ii mœst put dhê fîlœr AS, ez :dAARbi ød bii tuu restiv fê dhê bwáai tê drø'iv ap dhê AARTpit, ez pra'ps i ud rœn øwáai en spwø'il izself, ør sœmœt. en if jø wa'nts eni teetœrz fœr dînœr, mîstœr teld mi tê diq sœm. ii sed ez sœm on jø ud pø'int ø'ut dhê frœmest tœ mii, en tel mi ø'u menî jø'u)d wa'nt.

3. jø mœst pliiiz tœ a'v dhê pigz pend øp, fœr dhái wêz in dhê wiit fîld ez ø'i kœm øp, en dhái ev wa'z'ld it dœ'un veri ba'd, dœst thrœ'u, dhê gîet, en fœ'in wœrk ø'i a'd tœ get em ø'ut øga'n; speseli dhê nîsgœl, i ra'n mi AAL øvœr dhê fîld øfœœr ø'i kud get em ø'ut.

4. mœ'î AALd umœn teld mi tœ tel jø ez ør iz gwáain tœ :lemstœr tœmœrœ, if jø wa'nts tœ send, ør ø got sœm fœ'ulz tœ sit. ør ød intended em fœ spa'rœgras tœ'kînz, bœt dhái waarnt frœm ønœf, sœ ør ø a'd tœ kîp em til nœ'u. mîstœr iz gwáain tœ send in dhê bîenz i tild last wîk, en ør thiqks ø getin ø rœ'id ba'k in dhê wa'gîn,

TRANSLATION.

1. Please, Mistress, the Master told me to ask you to send Thomas and James down to him in the hay field, as soon as they have done maggotting the sheep, to help him to turn the hay, and he said that they were to bring some pitchforks with them, as somebody has hid two that were left there last night for mischief, or stolen them.

2. And Bill is to take a hogshead of water, into the seeds = clover for the calves, and fill their trough for them, and then bring the waggon to the hay field. He must put the thiller (shaft) horse, as Darby would be too restive for the boy to drive up the orchard, as perhaps he would run away and spoil himself, or something. And if you want any potatoes for dinner, master told me to dig some. He said that some of you would point out the ripest to me, and tell me how many you'd want.

3. You must please to have the pigs penned up, for they were in the wheat field as I came up, and they have wasselled it down very badly, just through the gate, and fine work I had to get them out again, specially the youngest, he ran me all over the field before I could get him out.

4. My old woman told me to tell you that she is going to Leominster to-morrow, if you want to send, or have got some fowls to sit. She had intended them for asparagus chickens, but they were not forward enough, so she has had to keep them till now. Master is going to send in the beans he tilled last week, and she thinks of getting a ride back in the waggon,

en if ɛr fə'ulz sɪlz wel, ɛr miinz and if her fowls sell well, she means
 brɪqɪn ɛ bɪt ɛ bɪf, ɛz wii bi gwáaɪn bringing a bit of beef, as we be going
 tɜ a'v dhɜ jəq)en krɪs'nd ɛ to have the young/one christened on
 sændɪ, en gra'nɪ en gra'ndshɜr bi Sunday, and granny and grandsire be
 kəmɪn tɜ dɪnɜr ɛth wii. ə'i miinz coming to dinner with us. I mean
 tɜ beg ɛ bɒt'l ɛ sə'idɜr ɛ mɪstɜr, and have a bit of cyder of master,
 en a'v ɛ bɪt ɛ bə'kɜ fɜr dhɜ ʌʌld and have a bit of tobacco for the old
 tʃə'p, ɛz ə'i shəd lə'ɪk tɜ mæk ɛm jolly and comfortable.
 dʒɒlɪ en kəm'fɜrtəb'l.

Note, par. 2. (frəm) is much used for early and ripe in He. Note, par. 3. (nɪsgəl), called (nɪzɡəl) in Miss Jackson's glossary, is the youngest of a brood of fowls or litter of pigs. Mr. Woodhouse thinks it comes from *nest gosling* (nɪst ɡəl) in He.

w.He. and e.Br. Mr. Stead (p. 142), who lived for 6 or 7 years at Christ's College, Brecon, has kindly furnished me vv. with some of the principal peculiarities of the pronunciation of the e.Br. and w.He., which chiefly affect the following classes of words.

1. (eɜ) verging on (e'ɜ, iɜ), but with both the vowels extremely short and difficult to catch, evidently the fracture which appears as (éɜ èɜ, íɜ îɜ) in D 4, but peculiar from the great shortness of the first element; found in A- bake take make sake cake tale lame name tame same shame mane late bathe, A'- lane, Æ- dray hail nail snail tail again slain brain, where in He. generally (aaɪ, áɪ) is heard, and in blaze, Æ: egg day, he lay, may dale, Æ': clay, EG- sail rain play, EG: to lay say way, where the S. practice wavers between (eɜ, áɪ), E': high nigh, EA- gape, EA: gate, EA'- eye, EA': slay great, EI- they nay, EI- their; English A. trade drain sale frame mate wave, E. scream cheat; French A.. face place lace mason fade age rage gain train danger change stranger dance case brace chase paste taste, E.. faint. All of these words (except dance) have (eɜ, ée'ɪ) or (ee) in received speech, shewing the extremely modern form of the usage.

2. (ú, ɛ, úhɜ, úɜ, ú, ɛ), the extreme shortness of the first element rendering appreciation very difficult; the first element sometimes sounded as (u) and sometimes as (u₁), but (u₂) seemed to be the nearest; found in the words A: comb, A'- go no toe so toad more clothes clothe road rode loaf whole bone stone those ghost boat goat, Æ: most, O: coal; O'- nose; English O. load; French O.. coach rogue coat. All of these words have (oo, oo'w) in received speech; another mark of modern development, though the fracture itself represents the S. (úɜ, úɛ) common in D 4.

3. (ə'i, ə'ɪ) it seemed to me that (ə'i) was the nearest sound as in the Forest of Dean (p. 60), and it seemed to have been developed from Welsh *yi*—found in the words EO'- a fly, EO': light fight, EY- to die, I- ivy Friday stile nine, I: I, to lie down, night right sight child wild blind, the wind bind find grind to wind, I'- by sigh drive time iron arise write, I': like wide five life knife wife mile while mine wine ice wise, Y: to buy, a kind, mind, Y- sky why hire, Y': fire lice mice; French I.. and Y.. nice fine dine violet advice, U.. quiet. Here every word, except the wind, and even that practically, has (a'ɪ) in rs., another proof of a very modern form, even the existent He. and Sh. (ívi) ivy not being used.

4. (ə'u, ə'u) evidently the same first element as in the last case, similar to that in D 4, Forest of Dean, and, as in the last case, probably derived from Welsh *y* in *yw*; found in the words U: pound sound (=healthy) found, U'- cow now our thousand, U': brown down town shower house louse mouse out proud mouth south; English O. bounce; French EU.. flower, OU.. allow doubt, that is, precisely those words which have (a'u) in rs.

Although, then, these fractures are highly dialectal in character,

they are merely the representatives of the received (*ee*, *oo*, *a'i*, *a'u*), and hence shew that the pronunciation is merely book-English with a slight dialectal tendency. In Br. the people speak English with each other, especially towards the east, and as the He. border is reached the English is more and more dialectal. Going farther w. the English is more and more bookish, clearly a foreign language. From Carmarthen Mr. Spurrell has sent me very interesting specimens of this English, which is of an old-fashioned type, and probably sounds very pleasant when spoken with a Welsh lilt, but is certainly not an English dialect, and hence has no place here.

Rd. From Rd. I have no specimens, but the Rev. Henry de Winton, vicar of Boughrood (19 sw.Presteign), says, "The English spoken being an acquired language is more free from provincialisms and purer than that of the neighbouring English counties." It is therefore a foreigner's English, and embraces nearly the whole county.

Mo., though long a part of England by law, is essentially Welsh in feeling. By Chepstow, on the borders of Gl., the pronunciation, to judge from the wl. sent me by Dr. J. Yeats, approaches very near to that of adjoining Gl., D 4. The use of auxiliary *do* and *did* is the rule, as it seems to be among Welsh speakers. The main characteristic is the intonation, which, as described by Dr. Yeats's correspondent, is strongly Welsh in character. The same was very marked in the cs. which, at the request of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Lady Llanover, of Llanover (12 w.-by-s.Monmouth), wrote for and dictated to me, representing the Welsh English of Mo. and Gm.

Lady Llanover spoke with much emphasis and apparently exaggerated distinctness in order to assist me. I noticed that the utterance was rapid and jerked, with frequently a compound pitch accent; that is, in (*léik-li*) for the first syllable the voice fell in a glide, and then rose suddenly on the second syllable, as in Norwegian. The pure (*i*) was occasionally used finally as in this word, but when dwelled on the long final (*ii*) often fell into (*j, jh*) as (*siirjh*) see. The (*ee*) was medial, without any vanish, but (*e*) became occasionally (*æ*). The *a* was usually (*a'*), but at times reached (*æ*). The *h* and *wh* were distinct. The *r* before a vowel was trilled, but otherwise fell into (*æ*), which may have been an English habit on Lady Ll.'s part, as she also used (*o, oo*), whereas in Welsh (*o, oo*) are employed. She used (*s*) not (*z*) in (*bisnis*), but kept (*z*) in (*bizi*). She used (*w*) in (*wud*), but said (*wmen*). Generally her pronunciation was simply a foreigner's English and not a dialect. A few S. sounds occurred as (*tee, máid*) tea, maid, and (*ka'un-el*) corner. On the other hand a Welsh word *heol* (*hee-ol*), a road, occurred, as also a nondescript word written *cliffer*, and pronounced to me as (*klí-be*) or (*klí-pæ*) meaning 'noise, row,' for which she said (*pu-takh*), another unknown word, was often used. According to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte he was informed by Mr. Meredith that other S. constructions and pronunciations were used, such as *him, us* for *he, we, un* for *one, be* for *is*, and the pronunciations (*dhái, dáai, sáai, wáai*) they, day, say, way, in place of Lady Ll.'s (*dhee, dee, see, wee*). The use of the periphrastic forms, as 'did tell' for 'told,' was regular. All these were probably the 'vulgarisms' which Lady Ll. purposely omitted.

The whole of Mo., like e.Br. and all Rd., belongs, therefore, to a predominating Welsh form of English, with very little of true dialectal English left in it, and in this respect they are totally unlike D 2, 3, which are merely worn-out English forms without any Welsh influence.

NORTH HEREFORDSHIRE cwl.

B words obtained by TH. from the Burgiss family, and B† words from lists furnished by Mr. G. Burgiss, of Lower Bache Farm (3 ene. Leominster).

D words from Mr. R. Woodhouse, of Docklow (5 ese. Leominster).

H words from Hereford, collected by TH.

L words from Leominster, collected by TH.

Lu words from Ludlow, collected by TH.

Several of these letters before the same word show that it was found in all the places. In such groups medial are not distinguished from short vowels.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B *bæk*. 4 DL *teek*. 18 B *kîek*. 21 B *nêem*, L *neem*. A: 43 B *ond*. — B *gøndør* [gander]. 54 D *wa'nt*. 56 DL *wësh*. A: *or O*: 58 Lu *thrøm*. 60 B *loq*, †*loq*. 64 D *røq*, BLu *roq*. 65 D *seq*. 66 D *thøq*. A'- 67 B *gwään*, B *gûe*. 82 D *wønst*. 86 B *òuts*, †*wøts*. 92 BLu *nðu*. 95 B *thréu*. A': 104 B *rood*. 110 B *nø[in]*, *køne*, *mønø*, *unø*, *shønø*, *dønø*, [but] *bønø* [can't, mustn't, won't, shan't, don't, be not]. 114 D *pAAL* [pole]. 115 B *wòm*, L *wø'm*. 117 Lu *wøn*.

Æ- 138 B *feedhør*. — B *siit* [seat]. 152 BLu *wæstør*, D *wéestør*. Æ: 154 B *bak*. — D *æder* [adder]. 161 B *dæ'i*, H *dæe*, LLu *dâi*. 164 H *mâi*. — B *øp'l*. Æ'- 183 B *tüitj*. 190 B *kø'i*. 192 D *miin*. 193 Lu *kliin*. 200 B *wit*, B† *wist*. Æ': — D *sîd* [seed]. 216 B† *dæl*, B *dæl*, Lu *dæl*. 218 DLu *shîp*. 222 B† *jeer*. 223 B *dhæør*, H *dhør*, L *dhæ'ør*, Lu *dhæør*. 224 B *wæør*.

E- 233 B *spiik*. 241 Lu *râin*. 251 B *miit*. E: — B *a]øn'st*, BD *enø'nt* [anent, opposite to]. 262 B *wâi*, L *wâ'i*, L *wæ'i*. 263 D *ewáai*. 265 B *strâit*, DH *stré'it*. — BLu *fîld* [field]. E'- 300 D *kîp*, H *kiip*. E': 312 Lu *iør*. 314 B *iørd*. 315 B *fîit*.

EA- 320 B *kîør*. EA: 323 B† *fø'ut*. 326 B *áuld*, D *Aald*. 332 L *tø'uld* [p' tóuld]. 333 BD *kAAV*. 338 Lu *kAAL*. 346 BD *giæt*. EA'- 347 B *ja'd*. EA': 350 B *djad*, Lu *dæ'd*. 352 B *rød*. 354 D *skøf*. 361 B†D *bîør*. — B† *jøp* [heap]. 366 L *græet*, Lu *griit*. — B† *djAA* [dew]. EI- 373 D *dhâi*. EO- 386 *jø'u*. EO: 393 D *bîæ'nd*. 394 D *jænder*. 402 B *lærn*. 405 B† *jørth*. EO': 431 L *bîør*. 436 B *truu*.

I- 440 D *wik*. 442 B *ivi*. 446 H *næ'in*. I: 452 LLu *âi*, Lu *ø'i*. 458 D *nø'it*. 459 BH *rø'it*. 466 B *tjø'ild*. — D *fîlas* [thill or shaft horse]. 469 B† *ut*, *wut* [wilt]. — Lu *wînde* [window]. 477 B *fø'ind*. 482 B† *ænt* *tønt* *brent* [is not, Mr. G. B said these were the most difficult words to utter]. I'- 492 B *sø'id*. I': — B *dø'itj* [dyke]. 500 B *lø'ik*. 506 BLu *umøn*. — D *âai*, L *âi* [hay].

O: — D *trAA* [trough]. 541 BD *wønt*, D *ønt*. — B†D *kø'ut* [colt]. 550 Lu *wørd*. — D *thørn* [thorn]. — D *AS* [horse]. O'- 558 B *luk*, Lu [between (luk) and (løk)]. O': — B† *brøk* [brook]. — B†D *øk* [hook]. 579 B *vnøf*. 587 B *dø'n*. 595 B *føt*. — *tøth* [pl. (tith) tooth, teeth].

U- — B *wød* [wood], BLu *ùd*. 603 Lu *kærn*. 606 B *døør*. U: 612 DH *søm*. 616 L *grø'und* [or between that and [grø'und]]. 632 DLu *øp*. 634 BD *thrå'u*. U'- 643 DLu *nø'u*, H *næ'u*. U': 658 BDHLu *dø'un*. 663 L *ø'us*, [pl.] *ø'uz'n*. 665 H *mø'us*. 667 D *ø'ut*. 671 L *mø'uth*. Y: 691 B *mø'ind*. 702 D *øth*. Y': — *fîis* [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B *mêet*. E. 749 B *lift*. 751 D *piert*. O. — D *pø'wær* [to pour]. 791 D *bwáai*. U. — B† *ø'udjæ* [huge]. 804 B *drøqk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B *klæ'ør* [clear]. — D *pliiz* [please]. — B† *mîester* [master]. 850 B *døns*. — B *plêet* [plate]. 866 B *pûer*. E.. — B *thatjiz*, D *fa'tjiz* [vetches]. — B *priitj* [preach]. 890 B *bjøst*. 895 D *riseet*. O.. — D *bif* [beef]. — *djø'in* [join]. 920 D *pø'int*. 926 D *spwø'il*. — Lu *øqk'l* [uncle]. 930 B† *løqk*. 941 D *føl*. — H *push* [push].

D 14 = NW. = North Western.

Boundaries. The s. b. is the same as the n. b. of D 13, p. 175, and the other b. are the ne. and nw. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The greater part of Sh. and a small part of Mg.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ in so., ° in io.

Sh. † Baschurch, † Bridgnorth, ‡ Church Pulverbach, † Clee Hills, † Corve Dale, † Craven Arms, ‡ Ford, † Hadnall, ° Llanymynech, † Longville, † Much Wenlock, † Oswestry, † Shrewsbury, ° Whittington.

Mg. ° Berriew, ° Buttington, ° Fordon, ° Guilsfield, ° Kerry, ° Llandrinio, ° Montgomery, ° Snead, ° Welshpool.

Character. Observe that Sh. is much cut up by different b. D 14 contains m.Sh. The n. belongs to two separate districts, the nw. to D 28, and the ne. to D 29, and these are bounded on the s. and w. by the n. *sum* line 1. On the w. there is the CB, with a small part of Mg., which speaks English, but more book-English than Sh., because it has been much more recently overcome. On the e., beyond the n. *sum* line 1, lies D 29, from which in Sh. the information obtained is insufficient. On the s., in Bishop's Castle, Clun Forest, Ludlow, and Cleobury Mortimer, the dialect assumes the He. character, the verbal pl. in *en* being almost or quite lost, but the line of demarcation cannot be exactly traced. In this restricted area Miss Jackson, assisted phonetically by T.H., has produced her admirable Glossary, about the best that we possess of any dialect. To this work, to personal communication and much correspondence with her, to T.H.'s personal work with her, and travels over much of the region, I am mainly indebted for the view here taken, which, however, had not been formed or laid down by them, but has been merely deduced from their collections. In the introduction to the Glossary, pp. xxiii to xlii, is T.H.'s minute account of the pronunciation drawn up in Glossic with the greatest care, for both Vowels and Consonants, under the personal supervision of Miss Jackson, and from her indications. It is perhaps the most searching investigation of the sounds of a dialect that has been made. But as it is arranged in reference to the ordinary spelling, and as the whole of the county was considered, much work was required to reduce it to a shape that could here be used. Miss Jackson divided the county into 14 districts and 4 sub-districts for the purpose of examination, and not with an intention of distinguishing 14 phases of dialect. On the next page is their distribution among the four districts here used, D 13, 14, 28, 29. I give the names of the principal places only in each district, to which she constantly refers, to shew that the word so pronounced was heard in that district, without implying that it exists *only* there. The letters n, s, e, w, refer to the extreme places in those districts. Would that other glossarists had hit upon such an admirable arrangement! When Miss Jackson knows the word and its pron. to be generally distributed, she puts "common" after it, with a "Qy." prefixed, if she merely suspects it to be so.

D 13. Bishop's Castle and Clun, Ludlow, placed in D 13 with some hesitation.
 D 14. Shrewsbury, Pulverbach (:pə'udərbætɪ, :pə'udhərbætɪ) or (-bitɪ) [Miss Jackson's native place], Worthen, Craven Arms, Church Stretton (subdistrict), Corve Dale and Clee Hills, Bridgnorth s. and w. (on the line of separation of D 14 and D 29, the n. and e. belong to D 29), Much Wenlock, Oswestry s.

D 28. Wem n. and w., Whitchurch (subdistrict), Ellesmere, Oswestry n. and e.

D 29. Wellington, Colliery regions, Newport n. and w., Wem s. and e., Bridgnorth n. and e., Newport s. (Shiffnal). In this place only D 14 will be attended to, other places are noticed in the proper order.

The whole of D 14 presents a remarkable mixture of S. and M. The S. forms are much used. U=(ə) is carried considerably further than in received speech, as in (fəl, fələ, pənd, bənd, bələk), full, a fuller, a pound, we bound, a bullock. Also more frequent O=(ə), as (brək, stəd, rəf, tət, fət, sət), brook, stood, roof, tooth, foot, soot, but of course neither forms are carried out consistently.

S forms are (ái) in (dái, lái, láin, ráin, plái) day lay has lain, rain, to play, the use of 'thee bist' (dhii bist) for 'thou art,' and *be* in the pl. But here comes in the strongly M. forms of I am, he is, we you they bin, where bin (*bin*) represents *be* with the verbal plural in *-en*. This v. pl. in *-en* is used throughout D 14 with all verbs, as (wi wən) we weren, (we shaən) we shall-en, (wi dən) we do-en, (wiin) we have-n, (wi həd'n) we hadden. The S. forms (joojm wiijm) you am, we am, may also be heard, as well as 'er (ər) for 'she.' But the S. (r) is quite absent, the regular trilled Welsh *r* (r) prevailing over the whole district, even when final or before consonants, and the trill in that case is always more distinct than in the adjacent M. regions. This peculiar Welsh (r) with the sharp, crisp, highpitched, rising Welsh intonation which prevails, marks the region still as having been carved out of the Celtic settlements with a joint and alternate action of the S. [Wessex] and the M. [Mercian] folk. According to Green's Maps in his *Making of England*, while He. was under the Mercian rule of Penda in 634, Sh. remained Welsh till included under the Mercian supremacy of Offa in 792, and in 828 Egbert the West Saxon conquered Mercia. It must have been in this early period that the M. peculiarities were introduced with M. English, but they never eradicated the Welsh (r). The West Saxon (r) did not reach beyond He., and is now not very strong or marked even there. TH. believes his Midland *r*, used in Db., Ch. and St., to be "the common English *r*" (on which see Introduction to the M. Div.), then he hears the Welsh *r* "with stronger vibration and retracted" in n.Sh., "verging in m. and s.Sh. with still stronger vibration to reverted *r*," which it reaches at Bewdley. The (ə) for U, O, is of course modern, but the fine (a'), "still very general but gradually passing away," and becoming quite (æ) in Miss Jackson's speech, may have been either Welsh or Ws.

TH. in his elaborate investigation has often distinguished (a, a') and (e, e), and also (ə, ə), and sometimes in accented syllables (y, i), where I write (i, i), writing (i) always in unaccented syllables. He also gives three sounds of i, (ái), which I now write (ái) by preference, in m.Sh., (ái) in s.Sh., and (ái) in ne. and e.Sh. In my notes of Miss Jackson's pronunciation I used (ái), though I remarked that it varied with (æ'i, e'i), and I now prefer to use the unanalysed form (a'i). TH., who has been over much of the ground and heard native speakers, considers (ái) the true fine Sh. i, but as he heard U' as (ə'u) in (kə'u, hə'us) cow, house, it would seem that (ə'i) would be the correct older form of I', whence the other forms easily flow. In fact, the difference between (ái, ə'i) is often difficult to seize. These forms (ə'i, ə'u) would then be strictly S.

The formation of the negatives (amnə, binə, wənə, a'nə) am-not, be-en-not, weren-not, haven-not, is remarkable, but the real forms have a (d) final, the (nə) being a contraction for (nəd) when final or before consonants, as shown by the reappearance of the (d) before vowels, as (æmnd ə'i? wənəd-ə? unəd-ə bi? am not I? weren-n not-they? will-not-they be? and the fact that 'not, what,' when emphatic, are called (nəd, wəd).

The consonants otherwise as a rule present nothing peculiar except in using (dj) for *d* in deal dead death darn dew (dʒɛl dʒɛd dʒɛθ dʒɑrn dʒiə'u) which must have arisen from inserted (j), as in (jɛd jɛp jaar jə'u) head heap hair howl, with a similar change in (tjɛm tjun tjuzdi) team tune tuesday, and (shuut shuuit kɛnshuu'm) suit suet consume, with the obsolete forms (shəm shɛm) for seam. But (sh) presents a difficulty before (r) as (sri:k srɒb) shrink shrub, while the county-town Shrewsbury is (:shroozbri) only "in classical and educated," (:sroozbri) "in semi-refined," but (:soozbri) in the common pronunciation of "country-folk," for which (:suuzbri) is a "vulgarism."

Names of places always fare ill. Here are a few given by Miss Jackson, pp. 515-519, the usual spelling being added in italics (:eɪ'brɪt'n *Albrighton*, :kɪwə'rɪk *Caradoc*, :kændər *Condover*, :di:dli:k *Diddlewick*, :sɛrɪn *Eardington*, :aarkəl *Ercall*, :eɪmən *Haughmond*, :mɛmfɔrt *Montford*, :wɛk'njɛts *Oaken-gates*, :əqkət *Offozey*, :trɒsbən :trɒspən *Osbaston*, :ɔ:zɛstri :ɔ:djɛstri *Oswestry*, :shri:d'n *Shrawardine*, :stɒdhɜrt'n *Stottesden*, u:sɛs'n *Woolstaston*, :viuu :ɛdʒ *Yew Edge*).

Illustrations. I select two of the examples written analytically by Mr. Hallam in Miss Jackson's Glossary, and one which I wrote from her dictation myself in 1873. To these I have added a cwl. containing almost all the words in D 14 cited in Mr. Hallam's treatise on Shropshire pronunciation in Miss Jackson's Glossary, all made under her own superintendence, and also most from a long list of words which she read to me on 11 July, 1873, and of which she subsequently revised the Glossic writing. These will, I think, sufficiently illustrate the character of this very interesting dialect. Illustrations in Miss Jackson's orthography abound in her Glossary, which also contains the pronunciation of each single word in Glossic.

Of the strictly Welsh parts of D 14, comprehending a slip of Mg., I am not able to give any specimen, but it may be regarded as book English with Sh. tendencies and a Welsh intonation, just as in Mo. we have book English with Welsh intonation and He. or Gl. tendencies.

EXAMPLES, PULVERBACH (7 sw.Shrewsbury).

I. Betty Andrews relates how her little boy fell into a brook, 1873. The words are run all together, no stops, no pause, "but," says Miss Jackson, "no written characters of any kind—no 'want of stops'—can convey an idea of the story as poured forth by Betty's voluble tongue—it took away one's breath to listen to it." From Mr. Hallam's 'analytical' Glossic in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook, I. xcv.

á'i tɛrd ɛ skrá'i:k mɛm ɛn á'i
rɛn ɛn dhɪər á'i sɛ:d :fra'qk ɛd
pekt i dhɛ brɛk ɛn dɛ'ukt ɛndɛr
ɛn wɛz drə'ʊndɪn ɛn á'i dʒɛmpt
a'ftɛr im ɛn got ə'ʊt ɔ'n im ɛn
lɛgd im ɔn tɛ dhɛ bə'qk ʌ'l slɛdʒ
ɛn á'i got im wɛm ɛfɔər ə'wɛr :sə'm
kɛmɛn in—ɛ gʊd dʒɒb it wɛz fɛr
:sə'm ɛz ii wɛnɛ dhɪər ɛn ɛz :fra'qk
wɛnɛ drə'ʊndɪd fɛr if i ə'd bɪn,
á'i shɛd ɛ tɔər ə'wɛr :sə'm ʌ'l tɛ

I heard a shriek, ma'am, and I
ran, and there I saw Frank had
pitched in the brook and ducked under,
and was drowning, and I jumped
after him and got hold of him, and
lugged him on to the bank all sludge,
and I got him home afore our Sam
came in—a good job it was for
Sam as he wasn't there, and as Frank
wasn't drowned. For if he had been,
I should have torn our Sam all to

wínder ra'gz, en dhen i)d v bín
 djæ'd en :fra'qk drə'undíd, en á'i
 shəd v bín a'qd. á'i tə'ud :sa'm
 wen i tuk dhə ə'us v z á'i dídne
 lá'ík ít. 'bles dhə wensh,' i sed,
 'wə)dn)i want?—dhíerz v tá'idí
 ə'us en v gúd gárdén en v rən
 fər dhə pí'g.' 'á'i,' á'i sed, 'en v
 gúd brək fər dhə tʃíldərn tə pek
 ín.' sɔ íf :fra'qk a'd bín drə'undíd
 á'i shəd v bín dhə djæ'th v ə'wər
 :sa'm. á'i wəz 'dha't frít'nd məm
 dhət á'i dídne spæk fər v nə'wər
 a'ftər á'i gət wɔm en :sa'm sed v z
 i a'dne sɪd mɪ kwá'ɪt sɔ læq
 sens wɪ wən ma'ríd en dha't wəz
 'á'ít-ti:n fər.

window-rags, and then he)d have been
 dead and Frank drowned, and I
 should have been hanged. I told Sam
 when he took the house as I did not
 like it. 'Bless the wench,' he said,
 'what(do)ye want?—there's a tidy
 house, and a good garden and a run
 for the pig.' 'Aye,' I said, 'and a
 good brook for the children to pitch
 in.' So if Frank had been drowned,
 I should have been the death of our
 Sam. I was that [so much] frightened,
 ma'am, I did not speak for an hour
 after I got home, and Samsaid as [that]
 he had not seen me quiet so long,
 since we were [were-en] married, and
 that was eighteen year.

II. Betty Andrews, talking fast as usual in a railway train, was thus addressed
 by a passenger and made the following reply.

'wɪ mɪsɪs, á'i shəd thɪqk v z
 jɔ mən v a'd jɔvər təqg á'íld
 dhɪs marnɪn ɛfɔvər jɔ stártíd.'
 'nɔ índiíd sər,' sed Beti, 'á'i
 a'nə, fər íf ít a'd v bín á'íld, ít
 ud nəvər v stɔpt. nɔ 'dá'índjər!'

'Why, missis, I should think as
 you)must have had your tongue oiled
 this morning afore you started.'

'No indeed, sir,' said Betty, 'I
 haven't; for if it had have been oiled,
 it would never have stopped. No
 danger!'

III. 'Adam's Apple,' or Larynx, here called 'Eve's Core.' See Eve's Scork in the
 Glossary. This example was pal. by AJE. from Miss Jackson's dictation.

'dædi, wɔd)z dhɪs læmp i jɑr
 nek?'

'Daddy, what)s this lump in your
 neck?'

'wɪ, ít)s :iiv skaark, tʃæ'íld,
 áud mædhər :iiv iit dhə əp'l ɛrsɛl,
 bət ɛr gíd dhə skaark tʃ fædhər
 :æðəm, ən ít stək ín ɪz θrúət,
 ən aal mən)z æd'n dhɪs læmp
 ɛvər sens.'

'Why, it)s Eve's core, child.
 Old mother Eve ate the apple herself,
 but she gave the core to father
 Adam, and it stuck in his throat,
 and all men)have had this lump
 ever since.'

MID SHROPSHIRE cwl.

Unmarked, rearranged from Mr. T. Hallam's Glossic in Miss Jackson's Glossary,
 Vowels, pp. xxiii to xxxv.

Marked *, rearranged from a list of words dictated to AJE. by Miss Jackson,
 11 July, 1873, the pronunciation having been subsequently revised by her.
 In these words the unanalysed form (a'i) of the diphthong has been used
 throughout, see p. 182, l. 14 from bottom.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bek. 4 ta'k. 5 ma'k. — *kreed'l [cradle]. 13 na'. 19 tel. 21
 nem. 25 *mæn. 34 *læs. 37 klAA, kleez [claws]. A: 43 *ɔnd. 44 *lænd.
 45 unt, *ɛnt. — kɔn [can]. 51 *mɔn. 54 want. 55 ɛs. 56 wɛsh [common],

wash [Clee Hills]. — kæt [cat]. A: or O: 60 læq. 62 stræq. 63 *thraq. 64 ræq. 65 sæq. 66 *thæq [Mr. Hallam finds the (q) very weak in this group].

A'- 67 *gûs, gwen [gone], gwi, 'in [going]. — *slo, [pl.] *slôn [sloe, sloes]. 69 nò, *nAA. 70 *toov. 79 *u [(uuz'n) whose]. 73 sò, *sûv. 74 *tuu. 76 túvd. 82 wənst. 84 mǫuer, *mǫour. 86 úets, wəts. 91 moo. 92 *noo. 93 *snoo. 95 *throo. A': 101 wək. 102 *æks, *æst [both for present and past]. 104 rod *rúvd. 105 *rid. 106 *braad. 107 lof. — *drov [drove], droovær [drover]. 108 *doo. 109 *loo. 110 nət, nəd. 111 *AA. 115 wəm wəm *woom. 117 *wən. 118 bwæn, *bwæn. 122 *non. 124 stwæn [common], ? stwæn stæn [a weight]. — röp [a rope]. — wa'r [hoar, white]. 134 wəth, *úæth. 135 *klooth.

Æ- — *eetj [an ache]. 138 feadhær [com.], fadhær [Clee Hills]. — ladhær [ladder]. 139 drá'i [dray, a squirrel's nest]. 148 faar. — *staarz [stairs, in Sh. people go up the *stairs* to see the *stairs*, see No. 404]. — *ænt [am not]. 149 *bleez. 150 *leest. — lezv [leasow, pasture]. — set [a seat]. — ræk'l [rattle]. 152 weeter.

Æ: 154 bæc. 155 thætj. — æd [had]. — gjædhær [gather]. 160 *eg. 161 dá'i, *da'i [common], dái [Craven Arms]. 163 la'i. 165 sed. 169 *wən. — *wiq [wing]. 170 *ærest. 171 *baarli. 172 *græs. 173 wəz, wənz. — *glæs [glass]. — *heez'l [hazle]. — *læs [less]. — *kaart [cart]. — æp'l [apple, common], op'l [at Craven Arms]. 177 dhæt. 178 næt. 179 wəd.

Æ'- 184 *leed. 185 *riid, *red [past tense]. — spreed [spread], *spræd [past]. 187 *leev. 189 *wévi. 190 kee. 192 *meen. 200 wæt [common], weet [occ.]. 201 *eedh'n. — jæt [to heat], æt [heated]. Æ': — mæde [meadow]. — *spreed [to spread]. — *iivn [evening]. 213 a'idhær. 214 na'idhær. 216 dpæl. — *meel [repast]. 218 shíp. 222 jaar. 223 dhær. 224 witr. 227 *wæt. — j'úth [heath]. 229 bræth.

E- 232 *breek. 233 *speek. 234 *need, *nad [kneaded]. — *treed [tread]. — *wædhær [weather]. 235 *weev. 236 feevær. — evi [heavy]. 240 láin [Shrewsbury], lán [Craven Arms]. 241 ráin [Shrewsbury], rán [Craven Arms]. 245 *meel. 247 *ween. — *baar [to bear]. — *taar [to tear], *tær [a tear, rent]. 248 maar. — *bæri [berry]. — *iit [to eat], jæt [ate]. — *fidhær [a feather]. 254 ladhær. 255 *wædhær. — *wæb [web]. — *eev [heave]. — fætj [fetch]. — *rætj [wretch].

E: 259 *wadj. 261 *sa'i. — *bæd [bed]. — wəd [to wed]. 266 *wiil. — fi'ld [field]. 267 ild. — sildəm [seldom]. — *twelv [twelve]. 270, ii. bæli. — sæl [to sell]. 276 thæqk. 278 wensh, *wentj. — send [to send]. — *pin [a pen]. 284 thrash. — *nist, *niist [nest], niiz'n [nests].

E'- 290 i. 292 mi. 293 wi. 296 bi,li,f [belief]. 301 *iær. E': *a'i. 306 áit. — *bra'ier [briar]. — bles [bless].

EA- — *AAk [hawk]. — *el [ale], jæl, jæl. — *shoo [to shew]. EA: 322 laf, *læf. 324 á'tittiin [eighteen], *éit. 326 ó'ud. 327 *bó'ud. 328 kóould, kó'ud. 329 fó'ud, fa'ud. 330 ó'ut. 331 sa'ud. 332 *tó'ud. 333 *kAAaf. 335 a'l. 336 fa'l. 337 *wAAal. 338 ka'l. — *mAAat [malt]. — *sAAat [salt]. — shaar [share]. — *bjaard [beard]. 340 *jærd [court], jaard mizer [measure]. 342 *aarm. — *aarm [harm]. 343 wärm. — *shaarp [sharp]. — *fjaarn [fern]. — *JAARN [yarn]. 345 *daar.

EA'- 347 *jæd. 348 *a'i, *a'in [eyes]. — *da'i [to dye]. — iær [ear]. — bet [beat]. 349 fja'u, *fiú. EA': 350 dpæ'd. 351 læd. 352 red. 355 *dpæf. 356 lívf, læf [Shrewsbury]. 359 náiber. — bí,em [beam]. — kræm [cream]. 360 tjem. 361 ben [Pulverbach], biæn [com.]. 363 tjep. — *jep, jep [heap]. — iær [year]. — tjóz [chose]. 366 greet. 368 dpæ'th. — djæ'u [dew], jia'u [obsolete]. 371 stra, stræbriz [strawberries, obsolete].

EI- 372 æi, *ái. 373 dhee. 376 bet. EI: 378 wək, *week. 382 *dheer. EO- — *wik [a wick]. 386 jə'u. 387 *niú.

EO: 389 *rook. — *em [unemph. 'em, hem = them]. 394 jantar. 395 *jəq. — *daark [dark]. — *kaarv [carve]. 398 *staarv. — *faarm [farm]. 402 laarn. 403 *feer. 404 *steer. — *shart [short]. 406 *jaarh. EO'- 409 *bii. — *nii [knee]. — *trii, *triin [wooden]. — *krə'ud [to crowd]. 416 *diær. 418 bruu. EO': 422 *sik. — thiif [thief]. 423 *tha'i. 424

*røf. 426 *fa'it. — wil [wheel]. 427 bin [pl.]. 428 sin [seen], *sii. 430
 *frænd. 433 *bræst [breast]. 435 *soo. 436 truu.
 I- 440 wi,k. 441 siv. 442 i₁vi₁. — senos [sinew]. — i₁s [generally],
 jæs [Newport], jaas, áis [Church Stretton, yes]. — *peez [pease]. 449 get.
 450 tuuzdi tjuuzdi. 451 *soo. I: — thærd [third]. 457 *ma'it. 458 *na'it.
 460 wáit, *wéit. 463 tæl. 469 ul [will]. 473 *bla'ind. — windø, *winder
 [(r) distinctly trilled]. 476 *ba'ind. 478 *gra'ind. — *tjærn [a churn]. —
 *røn [run]. — *røsh [a rush, plant]. 485 *thi's'l *fis'l. 488 *it. — *dert
 [dirt]. — *wit [wit]. — sens [since]. I'- 491 *sa'ik. — *gi *gid *gid'n
 [give, gave, given]. — *pa'ip [pipe]. 498 *ra'it. I': — *da'ity [a dyke].
 500 lá'ik. 502 *fa'iv. 503 *la'if. 505 *wa'if. 506 umen, *umæn. 508 *ma'íl.
 511 *wa'ind [with (d) added].
 O- 520 ba'u. 523 *oop. — *smadhø. 524 *wørd. — *thrust [throat].
 O: — trøf [trough], trøf [occ.], troo [for kneading]. 527 bat. 528 thæt.
 531 da'ter. 532 *kool. 533 *døl. 536 guuld [obsolete], *gø'ud. 538 ud. 539
 bool, be'ul [for bowling, a hoop, to trundle]. — *kø'ut [a colt]. 544 *dhæn.
 546 far. 547 bærud, buw'rd. 549 urd. 550 wørd. — thærn [thorn]. —
 marnin [morning]. — *broodh [broth].
 O'- 555 shuu. 556 *tu. — *uu [to woo]. 562 mun, *muun. 564 *søn.
 — *gøo [to grow]. 566 ødhø. 568 *brødhø. O': 569 *buk. — bræk
 [brook]. — shøk [shook]. 570 tuk, *tuk. 571 gūd *gud. 573 *flød. 575
 *stød. — røf [roof]. 577 *be'u. 578 *plø'u, *plaa [to plough]. 580 tøf,
 *tøf. 584 *stuul. 589 spun. 590 flær. — boozøm [bosom]. — tøth.
 595 fæt. 597 øt.
 U- — ud [wood]. 600 lá'v *lov. 602 *sø'u. — *høl [hull or shell]. 603
 *køm. — *pøn [to pound, thrash]. 605 *søn. 606 dær, *døor. U: —
 shuudhø [shoulder] shuudø [Church Stretton], shoodø, shø'uder [Shrewsbury],
 shø'uder [occ.]. 609 fæl. 610 ul. — puul [pull]. — *fælø [a fuller]. 612
 *søm. — øn- [un-]. 615 pønd. 617 *sø'und. — *bønd [was bound].
 619 fønd. 620 grønd. 621 *wønd. 625 tøk. — tær [turf]. — fær [a
 fir]. 634 thræ'u, *thruu. — dhøs.
 U'- 640 kø'u. 643 nø'u. — *søk [to suck]. — *mø'u [a mow]. 646
 *bø'u. 648 ø'vær. 650 *ebø'ut. 652 *kud. 653 bæt. U': 656 rum,
 *rum. — *sø'vær [sour]. 663 ø'us, *ø'uz'n [houses]. 665 mø'us. 667 ø'ut.
 668 prø'ud.
 Y- 673 *møtj. 677 *dra'i. 679 tjørtj. Y: 686 bá'i. 689 bi'ld.
 — gi'lti [guilty]. — shølf [shelf]. 694 *wørtj [work=throb]. 697 bærin
 [a burying]. — frit'nd [frightened]. 701 *færst. — shøt [shut]. 702 uth.
 Y- 705 *ska'i. Y': 712 má'is. — *wøsh [to wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 tæk. — boqk [bank]. 733 *skaar. 734 djaarn *daarn. E.
 — *peet [peat]. — maar [mere, accented; unacc. (mør)]. 751 *piert. —
 kløver [clever]. — srood [shrewd]. I. and Y. — *skra'ik [a shriek]. 754
 pig. — *wøp [whip]. 758 gørd. — serep [syrup]. — pek [to pitch or
 fall]. O. 761 *lød. 769 *mø'udiwaarp. 773 døqki. — u'sti'd [worsted].
 — löz [to lose]. — drø'und [to drown]. 791 bwá'i [obs.]. U. — *pu'din
 [pudding, called (pødn) in Glossary]. — døk [a duck, bird], dø'uk [to duck].
 — *ø'udrø [huge, compare after 791 p. 180]. 796 bluu. — bøl [bull]. —
 bøldj [to bulge]. — tjøun [a tune]. — tøk [a ram, tup]. — *kørl [curl].
 807 *pus. 808 pøt.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 810 feez [gen.]. — *kætj [catch], *kætjt [caught]. 813 *bøk'n. 814
 mēs'n. 822 má'i, *mee. — *pá'i, pøe [pay]. 824 tjøier. — klø'i'ør [clear].
 — *aar [air]. 833 paar. — *pleez [please]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n.
 meester [master, com.]. — feetyø [feature]. 847 dá'indjø. 850 da'ns. 851
 *ent, nænt. — *dænt [daunt]. — raar [rare]. 855 gørit. — skøs, skaars
 [scarce]. 856 *part. — *kaard [card]. — *saas [sauce, Corve Dale]. 862
 *seef. 865 *faat. — *stee [to stay].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *kreeter* [creature]. — **réel* [real]. 869 *veel*. — *seekrit* [secret]. — *kunsee't* [conceit]. — *skeem* [scheme]. — **jaarb* [herb]. — **klaark* [clerk]. — **saartj* [search]. — **faar* [a fair]. — **kensaarn* [concern]. — *saarpint* [serpent]. 888 *saartin*. — **saarv* [serve]. — *kumplet* [complete]. — *mizhr*, **mizer* [measure]. 890 *bíest*. 891 **feest*. 894 **disee'v*, *disee't* [deceit]. 895 **risee'v*, *risee't* [receipt]. I.. and Y.. — **krá'i* [cry]. — *sinb'l* [syllable]. — **ma'izerd* [miser, with added (d)].

O.. — *bi'f* [beef]. — **dræg* [drug]. 916 *á'inivn*. — *ná'int* [anoint]. — *djá'in* [join]. 926 *spá'il*. — *plím* [plumb]. 928 **é'vns*. 929 *ká'ukemv* [Shrewsbury], *ká'ukembv* [com.]. 930 *lá'in*. 933 **frént*. — *kú'erd*, *kú'ard* [cord]. — *farín* [foreign]. — **í'úst* [forced]. 940 **kóvt*. 942 *bet'vur*. 943 **tə'tj*. 946 **ma'il*. 951 **kəp'l*. — *suup'l* [supple, to make supple]. 953 **kəz'n*. — **pəsh* [push].

U.. — *tub* [tube]. — **wa'it* [to wait]. 965 *á'il*. 966 *frút*. — *pilpít* [pulpit]. — **pə'utis* [poultice]. — *ja'úl* [howl]. — *neetv* [nature]. — *kiú'riyz* [curious]. 970 *djəst*.

III.

EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. Begin on the e. coast, where s. b. of Li. falls into the sea about 3 e. Sutton Bridge. Go w. along the Li. b. to Rt.—the peninsula containing Stamford Li. must be practically considered as part of Rutland. Pass by the b. round Rt. to Rockingham, and continue on the b. of Np. to the b. of Wa., and then continue along b. of Np. to opposite Crick Np. (4 se. Rugby, Wa.). Then pass through Np. e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, turning more se. near Pattishall. Then pass s. of Blisworth and e. of Towcester, and continue to the b. of Np. near Hartwell, Np. Then go by the w. b. of Bu. to the Thames. Go down the Thames to the coast and round Es., Sf. and Nf. to the starting-point.

The w. b. of Bu. is, perhaps, not the absolute b. of the District, but it is the best that could be determined.

Area. The whole or greater part of the eleven counties, Bd. Bu. Cb. Es. Ht. Hu. Mi. Nf. Np. Rt. Sf.

Character. A closer resemblance to received speech than in any other div. It is the region from which rec. sp. was taken, and contains the greater part of London. The pron. is, however, not quite uniform, but the differences are so slight that it has been found extremely difficult to obtain satisfactory information, and many years elapsed before materials could be collected for even the approximative account here subjoined, which, drawn up from actual observation by my informants and founded only on existing usages, differs materially from what has been hitherto given. The northern part of this district, as already mentioned, is intersected by the n. *sum* line 1, which passes through the length of Np. and n. of Hu. and Cb., while the s. *sðm* line 2 lies to the s. of all the s. part of Np., the n. part of Hu. and Cb. and the nw. part of Nf., so that a considerable part of the E. div. is in the mixed *sum sðm* or *som* region, and a smaller part in Np. and Rt. is in the pure *sðm* region. This materially modifies the pron. in respect of \bar{U} in those places, as will be seen. But the change, as already observed in Wl. and Gl., seems to be without influence on the remainder of the dialect, and in respect to the rest of the pron. it was found impossible to relegate n. Np. and Rt. to the M. div. In fact, as has been already said (p. 16), the (u, *u*) sound of \bar{U} was the elder. It is the (ə, α) sound which is aggressive, and the mixed regions merely shew the process of change which has gone on independently of the other changes and almost unnoticed, even by dialect speakers themselves.

D 15 = WE. = West Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin where the Chiltern Hills cut the w. b. of Bu., about Radnage (10 ssw. Aylesbury). Go w. across Bu. s. of Prince's Risborough and n. of Chesham to Whelpley Hill (12 se. Aylesbury). Cross the w. horn of Ht. to Great Gaddesden, Ht., and then by the b of Bu. all round the n. and s. to the starting-point.

Area. The little projection of Ht. into Bu. by Tring and all of Bu., except the extreme s. part, which belongs to D 17, and has no dialect proper.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., † so., ° io.

Bu. *Mr. Wyatt, *† Aylesbury, † Buckingham, ° Cheddington, † Chackmore, ° Edlesborough, ° Great Kimble, * Hanslope, ° Marsh Gibbon, ° Marsworth, † Stowe, ° Swanbourne, ° Tyringham with Filgrove, *† Wendover, † Winslow.

Ht. ° Berkhamstead, ° Little Gaddesden, ° Long Marston, ° Tring.

Character. The main point which distinguishes Bu. from Ox. or D 15 from D 6, 7, is the entire absence of reverted (ʀ) or retracted (r_o). In the whole E div. the *r* when not preceding a vowel is purely vocalised. After (aa, AA) it disappears. A native who can read thinks that he "pronounces *r*" in part short, because it is to him a symbol that the vowels become (aa AA) as in (paat shaat), and if he wrote *pat shot* without the *r*, he would say (pa't shot) with quite different vowels. To hear (part short) with real short vowels and a truly trilled *r* would be shocking to him. He may occasionally 'drawl' the words (as local authorities term the change) into (pâst sha'vt), but that is not usual. After (ə, æ) the *r* is merely a symbol of lengthening; *culled*, *curled*, are really (kæld, kæld), or (kæld, kæld), and the speaker again thinks he 'pronounces *r*' in the second word because it causes him to differentiate it from the first. After other vowels, or finally, he uses (v), as (iṽ, kēv, bṽtṽ), here, care, butter. But before a vowel the case is different. Then he may trill *r* slightly, but the general practice seems to be to use the imperfect (r_o), that is, the point of the tongue rises as if to trill it, but it does not effect its purpose, and merely produces a maimed effect. Both (v, r_o) in this connection arise from (ʀ), of which they are simple degenerations. They are not imperfect trills. But a gentle trill may always be used, and hence I have introduced (x) as a 'permissive trill' in writing received speech. Here I generally abandon it, and write (r) for (r_o) as a matter of convenience before vowels, writing (r_o) or using (v) in other cases. Throughout the whole E. div. this treatment of the *r* is general, not merely among peasants (where there are any), but among the most educated and refined townsmen. As (ʀ) is the mark of the S. div., this (r_o, v) is the mark of the E. div. When final *r* has been lost after (aa, AA, ææ, v), or degraded to (v), and a word commencing with a vowel follows, the *r* reappears as (r_o), to avoid the hiatus. This is 'euphonic *r*,' just as we have 'euphonic *v*' in Greek, and just as in French a lost final consonant reappears under

similar circumstances, as 'il fai(t) froid, fait-il froid? il a(), a-t-il?' (il fɛ fr̥ʌ, fɛt-il fr̥ʌ? il)ₐ, at)il?). But peasants, and even educated people, are apt to introduce this 'euphonic r' after final (aa, ʌʌ, ʌʌ, ʌ), even when no r had originally existed, as (dh̥ ʌʌ+rₒ ʌ)dh̥ land, dhi a'idiu-ʌ+rₒ ov it, ʌ :tʃa'inʌ+rₒ ʌrɪndʃ), the law of the land, the idea of it, a China orange. This is a truer case of euphonic (rₒ) than before, and quite organic, but is much resented by those who have painfully learned not to use (+rₒ) under such circumstances.

In giving the pron. noted by TH., who used final (r), but states that he considers it a "weak r" ([r]), I retain his writing, but do not agree with his appreciation, for so far as I can hear there is no semblance of a trilled (r). See introduction to the M. div.

A- remains (éʌ), as in most of the S., as (léʌm, séʌm), lame, same, and A'-remains (úʌ), as (túʌd), toad, with the usual variants.

ÆG may also be (éʌ), or be recognised as (ʌʌ'i), as (snéal snɛʌ'il), snail.

I' seems to have abandoned the (ʌ'i) and rarely even reaches the (ə'i) form, it is usually (ái, ái), the last of which differs but slightly from (ʌ'i) on the one hand, and (ə'i, ʌ'i) on the other. My informants usually select (ə'i, ʌ'i), that is, as they write it, *oy*, to express this sound. But my observations on Bu. peasants, as well as TH.'s, are against this change, though it may possibly occur in D 16, where A- degenerates to (éi, ʌ'i, ái), so that a distinction is required.

U. Although this was avowedly (ə, ʌ) at Aylesbury, the following exceptions occurred, which I conceive as (u), because of the local separation from the M. (uₒ): (luʌ, kʌm, buʌ; ugʌi, druʌk, undʌ, tʌq, ʌqʌ, up, thʌrʌ; dʌv, ʌbuʌ; mʌtʃ), love, come, butter; ugly, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, up, thorough [but (ʌp thʌrʌ) also occurred]; dove, above [which had U'] and mʌtʃ [which had Y]. At Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) I did not find these. From Buckingham n.-wards, (uₒ) was the rule, or some mixture of (uₒ, ə), or of (o, u), and past the n. sɛm line 1, as at Watford and Weedon only (uₒ).

U' is rather uncertain from want of sufficient instances, but (ɛ'u) seems the rule, although (ə'u, ʌ'u) also occur. This diphthong is specially variable in D 18. Of course (ə'u) is a survival of S.

The consonants are treated generally as in received speech. The initial (z, v) have been replaced by (s, f), the aspirate is very uncertain, and (wh) always becomes (w), as in polite London conversation.

Particulars are furnished in the following word lists, where, as shewn, large portions were heard by me or TH. from natives, and in the two annexed short examples, which indicate at least two if not three varieties of existing pronunciation.

AYLESBURY EXAMPLE.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler in 1881.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ʌ'i bi [ʌ'i ʌr] ʌ)gu'in tɛ sii
im súʌn, ʌ'i tɛl)i [tɛl]ʌʌ]. | 1. I be [I are] a)going to see
him soon, I tell)ye [you]. |
| 2. buʌ, ʌ'i sɛ, fædhɛr [fædhɛr]
ʌnd mædhɛr ʌ búʌth ʌn ɛm tʌrɛb'l
léʌm wi)dhɛ ruu)mætiz tɛdɛʌ. | 2. But, I say, father and mother
are both on them terrible lame with
the rheumatism to-day. |
| 3. ʌ'i bi (ʌ'i ʌr) ʌlmoost [ʌlmúʌ:st
ʌmúʌ:st] ʌfiɪd dhe want bi ʌ)gɛtɪn
ʌbɛ'u'tʌt)ʌl fɛr)ʌlqʌ'ɪlst tʌkʌm. | 3. I be (I are) almost a)feared they
won't be a)getting about a)all for a
long while to come. |

4. en dúent ʒə noo ? dhee)ul bi
 ʌʌf ʒg'i'n ʒfúʒ wíntə, ʒn leev
 mi ʒlóʒən i)dhə ool ʒ'us.

5. wíʒ ʒl dhe guu tə ?

6. ʌ'i d'óvənt hegzæ·kli [təzæ·kli]
 noo ; sɛm wéevz dɛ'ʌn i)dhə sɛ'ʌt,
 ʌ'i bleev.

7. dhee)'l bi hevə sɛ ləq ʒwéev.

8. ɛs íʒəd ʒ dhæt ʒi'stədəe.

9. díd)ʒə nɛ'u ? u tɛ'ʌld ʒə ?

10. mʌtʃ gud me ít duu)ɛm.

11. ʒə shəl íʒ dɛkli ɛs noo
 dhee bi ʒ)kəmín oo'm [wɛm] ʒg'i'n.

12. soo gud nʌ'ít.

4. And don't you know ? they'll
 be off again before winter, and leave
 me alone in the old house.

5. Where will they go to ?

6. I don't exactly know ; some
 ways down in)the south, I believe.

7. They'll be ever so long away.

8. Us [we] heard of that yesterday.

9. Did you now ? who told you ?

10. Much good may it do)them.

11. You shall hear directly us know
 they be a)coming home again.

12. So good night.

Notes.

1. *I*. Mr. RRF. said distinctly (ʌ'i),
 but I generally heard (ái, ái) from the
 labourers. *I are* is more frequent than
I be. The (r) is euphonic before a
 following vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *father*, though Mr. RRF. used

(æ), I heard rather (a) from the labourers.

4. *know* was distinct (oo), not (nóou).

The negative (no) is quite short. *house*
 (ɛ'us) was inclined to (áus).

6. *exactly*. (hegzæ·kli) is emphatic,
 (təzæ·kli) is the common form.

7. *ever*, the (h) is prefixed for em-
 phasis only.

9. *told*. This (ɛ'u) diphthong is kept
 quite distinct from (ɛ'u).

CHACKMORE (1½ wnw.Buckingham) dt.

pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. of G. Cave, 71, gatekeeper to Stowe Park, native.

1. ɛ'i séʒ, méits, ʒu sl nɛ'u, ɛ'i)m ɛə'ít ʒbɛ'ʌt dhat lí't'l gʒʌl kəmín
 frəm dhə skuul ʒəndɛr.

2. shi)z gu'ín dɛ'ʌm dhə róvəd dhíʒə thrúu dhə rɛd gést ɔn dhə
 lɛft and sɛ'íd ʒ)dhə róvəd.

3. luk ʒəndɛr ! dhə tʃɛ'íld)z gʌn strɛ'ít u_ɔp tɛ)dhə roq ɛ'ʌs [roq
 dʌɛr],

4. wíʒə shi)l vɛri lɛ'íklɛ fɛ'índ dhat drɛqk'n dɛf óuld tʃʌp ɛv dhə
 nɛím ʒ :tɔm.

5. ʌʌl ɔv)ɛz nɔu ɪm vɛri wɛ'l.

6. wɛnt dhə óuld tʃʌp sʌn títʃ ɛr nɔt tɛ kʌm dhíʒə ʒgʒɛ'n, púʒə
 thiq !

7. luk ! díd'nt ɛ'i tɛl ʒə sóu.

Phrases. (ʒu ɛnt ʒ)gu ín :dɛrɛl), you are-not a-going [to, omitted
 dialectally] Dayrell (3 n.Buckingham). This omission of 'to'
 is gen. in the E. division as well as in Ch.

Mem. "r half reverted," possibly (r_ɔ).

S.BU., AYLESBURY AND WENDOVER CWL.

Unmarked, word list written io. by Mr. John Kersey Fowler, Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, and his son, corrected from dict. and pal. by A.J.E. with additions marked E, heard by A.J.E. from farm labourers at Aylesbury, and a few words marked H noted by T.H.

W words from Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Beeby. "&W" means that the last given pron. was heard at Wendover.

WH Wendover from Mr. Hallam's observations chiefly from Varney 82, and Higgs 63, who generally corroborated Varney, and from some others, (a) was once heard from a woman.

(+r) means that euphonic (r_c) was specially stated to be inserted before a following vowel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bék. 4 ték tük, W ték [both (é) and (i) are used in these doubly written words, as they are in D 4]. 5 mék mük, W mék. 6 méud m'ud, WH [old] m'ud, [now] méid. 7 sék sük. 8 W eev. 9 bih'ev. 12 saa, W saa+r. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa, W laa+r. 18 W kéek. 19 téul t'ul, W t'ul [P]. 20 léum l'um, W léum & WH. 21 néum, WH n'um n'um. 22 téum t'um. 23 séum s'um, W séum & WH. 24 shéum sh'um, W shéum. 25 méum m'um. 28 éur. 32 baadh. 38 reedhe. 34 last. 36 W thaa. 37 klaa. A: 41 theqk. 51 maan, W mon. 54 waant, W w'ant. 57 as. A: or O: 58 W fram. 59 lam. 61 emaq & W. 63 thraeq. 64 W roq.

A'- 67 gu'in, W guu & WH. 70 W too. 72 W uu. 73 W soo. 74 E tíu, W tuu. 76 t'ud. 81 léun, W léun. 84 múu & W [E (múu nu dhát) more nor that]. 86 wats, W óuts ats, WH w'ats, WH w'ats. 87 W tlooz. 89 W bóorth, WH búuth. A': 101 W óuk. 102 ast, aks. 104 rúnd & WH. 106 W braad. 108 daf doo. 111 W aat. 113 W uul, W wul, WH w'ul. 115 wóem, H óem, WH oom. 121 H gaan. 122 W næn. 123 nothen, W nothiqk. 124 E stúen & W, WH st'um. 125 oni & W. 129 góost.

Æ- 138 fadh f'adh, W feedhar. 140 él. 141 n'el. 142 snél & WH, W snee'il & WH [Varney gave (snél) and Higgs (sne'il)]. 143 téul, W t'el. 147 bréun, W bree'in & WH. 149 W bléuz. 150 liest. 152 waate & W. Æ: 155 thetj & W. 151 aate. 160 W eeg. 161 dee [see 438], W dee'i. 163 lee. 164 mee. 166 méud, W mee'id. 167 déul. 169 wen. 170 W ærist. 172 graas, W grææs. 174 W eesh. 175 faast. 179 wot & W. 180 baath. Æ'- 182 see. 182 teetj [common], & W. 184 leed. 185 reed. 186 bret. 187 leev. 190 kee & W. 191 iil. 193 kliien, W tleen. 194 W eeni. 197 W tjeez. 199 bleet & W. 200 wéest. 201 eedh'n. 202 eet. Æ': 203 speetj. 205 tred [occ.], W thred. 207 W niid'l. 213 áidh, W iidh. 216 deel & W [but meaning wood (diil)]. 217 iitj. 218 ship & W. 219 W sliip & WH. 223 W dhév. 224 w'is & W. 226 [(w'ost) almost]. 228 swet swée'it. 230 fot.

E- 232 bréek & W. 233 E speek & W & WH. 235 W wiiv, WH wéev. 236 W fiiv. 241 réem, W ree'in, WH réein. 247 ween, W wiin. 251 meet & W, WH me'it. 252 kit'l & W. 253 W net'l. 255 wedhe, wede. E: 262 E wés [frequent, sometimes (wéei)], W we'e & WH. 268 jeldest. 272 elum & W. 281 leqkt, W l'qkth. 282 streqkt, W str'qkth. 284 thrash, E thresh. 287 bezum biisum & W. E'- 294 fiud, W feed. 299 W green. E': 305 h'oi. 306 hekth [very common], E hekt. 307 n'oi no'i. 308 W need. 314 iud. 315 W féet. 316 W neks.

EA- 319 gaap & W. 320 kéu. EA: 322 laaf & W. 323 W f'ut. 324 eet, W ee'it. 325 wéek. 326 ool [but (ool,d)umun], W ool. 327 ha'uld. 328 kool. 329 foold. 330 oold, W oolt. 332 tr'uld. 333 kaaf & W. 334 aaf & W. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 W waam. 345 déu. 346 géut & W. EA'- 347 ed & W. 348 W o'i. 349 W fiú. EA': 350 W ded. 353 H bréd, W bréd. 355 W def. 359 neebé. 360 tiem, W tiim. 361 béen, E beenz. 363 tjeep. 366 gret. 368 W deth. 370 W raa'. 371 straa. W straa'. EI- 376 béet. EI: 377 stee'uk. 378 W wiik.

EO- 386 *ʒoo* & W. 387 *W néu*. EO: 393 *bizant*, *bige'n* [the latter rare, the (æ) should probably be (a)], *W bizend*. 394 *ʒindʒendʒ* [I heard the last] *hinde* [all used], *W ends*, *WH ender* [occ. *ʒender*]. 396 *wæk*, *W wək*. 397 *súuəd*. 400 *aanest* & W. 402 *E laan*. 407 *faad'n*. EO'- 411 *W thrii*. 413 *W dível*. 417 *tʒAA*. EO': 425 *W ló'it*. 426 *W fó'it*. — *E helt* [held]. 428 *H sí*, *W sii*. 430 *W frend*. 436 *W tríu*. 437 *W tríuth*. EY- 438 *da'i* & W [(dʒət pig)'l da'i tʒ déeɪ] said Mr. F., but (dʒət pig ul da'i tʒ déeʊ) agrees better with what I heard from the labourers].

I- 440 *W wiik*. 443 *W fró'idi* [see 512]. 444 *W stó'il*. 446 *W no'in*. — *peez'n* [pease, occ.], *E peez*. 449 *W gít*. 450 *W tuuzdi*. I: 452 *E á'i ái* [once only heard], *A'i* & W, *WH ó'i*. 458 *no'it* & W. 459 *ro'it* & W. 462 *so'it* & W. 465 *W sitj*. 466 *W tʒó'ild*. 468 *W tʒilde*. 472 *W sriqk*. 480 *enithiqk sathiqk nathiqk* [anything something nothing, the two last are also] *sathin nathen*. 485 *W this'l*. 487 *ʒiistéd*. 488 *W jít*. I'- [I heard (á'i) not (ó'i) from the people]. 491 *so'i*. 494 *to'im* & W. 499 *biit'l*. I': 500 *W ló'ik*. 506 *W oomən*. 507 *W wimín*. 508 *mó'il*. 514 *W A'is ó'is áis* [the diphthong apparently varies as at Aylesbury].

O- 521 *fool*. 524 *W wá'el*. O: 526 *kAAf* & W. 527 *baat*. 529 *braat*. 531 *daatʒ* & W. 532 *W kool* [no vanish]. 533 *dal dʒl*. 536 *guuld* [but] *gool'd'n*. 539 *bol*. 541 *H wont*. 543 *E sámathiqk an ʊm* [the (æ) of Mr. F. was rather (a) in the labourer's mouth]. 547 *búuəd*. 550 *wæəd*. 551 *W stAAm*. 552 *kAAn* & W. 553 *AAn*. O'- 559 *mádhʊ*, *W mʊdhʊ*. 564 *sáʊn*, *E sʊn*. O': 569 *buk*. 570 *tuk*. 573 *fləd*. 579 *ʊnə'u* [never (ʊnəf)] & W. 595 *fət*, *E fat fuut*, *W fat*. 596 *rúət*. 597 *sət*.

U- 599 *ʊbʊv*. 600 *kʊv*, *W lʊv*. 602 *sə'u*. 603 *kəm kəm* [both are used; the driver stands on the near side of the horse and says (kəm i'dhʊ) for go to the left, and (dʒii AAf) for to the right; the ploughboy will be directed to (pʊl)im ʊlit'l mʊʊ tʊəd] pull him a little more towards, *i.e.* to the left]. 606 *dúʊ* & W, *WH dʊʊ*. 607 *bʊtʒ*. U: 608 *ugli*. 609 *ful*. 610 *wʊl* & W. 611 *bʊlsk* & W. 612 *səm*. 613 *druqk*, *W draqk*. 614 *ɛ'ʊnd* [apt to be nasalised, as (ɛ'ʊnd) and so of the rest] & W. 615 *pɛ'ʊnd*. 616 *E grɛ'ʊnd*, *W grɛ'ʊn*. 617 *sɛ'ʊnd*. 620 *grɛ'ʊnd*. 621 *wɛ'ʊnd*. 622 *ʊndʊ*. 625 *tʊq*. 626 *ɔqgʊ*. 630 *wən*. 632 *ʊp*, *ʌp* [(ʌp) is the rule, I heard the groom say (kʊp, kʊp) *i.e.* come up, to the horse]. 634 *thʊʊrə thʊʊrə* [(thʊrət) throughout], *W thruu*. 635 *wáth*. 636 *fʌzde*. 637 *tʌsh*. 639 *dæst*.

U'- 640 *ke'u kʒe'u ke'ʊ* [uncertain]. 641 *ɛ'u* [verging to *ə'u*]. 642 [not used]. 645 *dʊv* [(dʊʊ) on the Chilterns]. 650 *E ʊbɛ'ʊt*. 653 *bʊt*, *W bʊt* [occ.]. U': 658 *E dɛ'ʊn*, *WH dʊ'ʊn*. 659 *WH tʊ'ʊn*. 663 *ɛ'ʊs*. 666 *ʊzbʊnd*, *W ʊzbʊn*. 672 *sɛ'ʊt* [not (th)].

Y- 673 *mʊtj* & W. 674 *E ded*. 676 *W ló'i*. 679 *W tʒʌtj*. 682 *liit'l* [occ.]. Y: 685 *ridj*. 690 *W kʊ'ind*. 691 *W mʊ'ind*. 696 *W bath*. 700 *was*. 701 *fʌst* & W. 704 *wiks'n*. Y- 705 *W skó'i*. 706 *W wó'i*. Y': 709 *W fʊ'is*. 712 *mʊ'ʊzɛz* [used].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 *dréʊn* & W. 737 *méʊt*. E. 744 *W meez'lz*. 746 *bríid* [always with (d) not (dh)]. 748 [(kæʊ) callow, unfledged, applied to birds only]. I. and Y. 756 *W srímp*. 758 *W gæl*. 760 *shrív'ld íed baali* [shrivelled eared barley was used for *chevalier barley*]. O. 761 *lód*, *W lóəd*. U. 808 *pat* & W.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *W féʊs*. 811 *plíʊs pléʊs* & W. 813 *bíʊk'n*, *W béʊk'n*. 816 *W féʊd*. — *E fræl* [flail]. 824 *tʒíʊ*. 827 *eegʊ*. 828 *W eegʊ*. 830 *tréʊn*. 834 *shee'j* [& W for a perambulator]. 835 *reez'n*. 836 *seez'n*. — *WH wɛs'l* [vessel]. 847 *W déʊndʒ*. 852 *əpən* [by old people]. E.. 867 *tee'j*. — *thetjɛz* [vetches]. 874 *réʊn*. 885 *WH wɛri*. — *fíʊ* [a fair]. — *te'rub'l* [a common intensive, occasionally (terii'b'l) to increase the effect]. 888 *saatin*. — *WH sárʊánt* [servant]. 890 *W beest bíist*. 891 *feest*. 894 *disee'v* & W. 896 *beeʊv*. I.. and Y.. 898 *W nʊ'is*. — *wílij* [village].

— *wingger* [vinegar]. 901 *wáivlit*, W *və'ilit* [not (ə'i) not (w)]. — WH *wit'lz* [victuals].

O.. 913 W *kóvtr*. 914 W *bróvtr*. 916 *dínən*, W *a'inən*. 918 W *feeb'l*. 920 *páint* [and 'pint' is (pə'int)]. 929 W *kə'ukəmbe*. 940 W *kóvtr* [an under-petticoat]. 947 *báil*, W *bə'il*. 948 *bə'ul*. 959 W *kunwee'ens*. U.. 965 *áil*, W *a'il*. — H *art* [hurt, TH. found the (r) was "stronger than at Dunstable, on the way to reverted, something like n.Sh." I failed to hear it, and should have written (əət)].

E *Note*. *ä* approach (a) rather than (æ); (e, ɛ) were used uncertainly; (ə, o) I could not feel sure of, nor of (ə, ɛ); the *i* approach (*i*₁). I think rather (*u*) than (*u*_o), (h) occ., wh=(w). I did not hear (w) for v; (ee, ee) uncertain, did not hear (ee'j), and heard (oo) not (oo'w); (ɛ'u) had no prominent (ɛ), but it was not (ɛ'u).

n.Bv. cwl.

B Buckingham and Clackmore (1½ nw.B.), wn. in 1881 by TH. (*u*_o) is a sound intermediate to (*u*_o, ə) and most like (*u*_o). TH. hears a very faint (r), which he calls "common English r"; sometimes he hears a faint reverted r (*r*); and he heard reverted or retracted (*r*) in ale, bell, Bill, children, girl, he'll, milk, silk, tail, possibly an individuality. *Usages*, I are (=am), you be, they be. The I' U' are very refined, as (ə'i ə'u) in place of (ə'i ɛ'u).

H Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, native. T Tyrinham (13 ne. Buckingham), from Rev. J. Tarver's wl. io.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T *nam*, H *ném*, B *nèimz nùmz*. 24 T *sham*, H *shém*. 31 *léut*. 33 HT *reedhə*. A: 43 T *hond*, H *ænd*, B *and*. 44 T *lond*. 50 T *taqz*. 51 HT *mən*, B *màn*. 54 H *wáent*. A: or O: 61 T *əmaq*, H *əmaq*. 64 B *roq'*. A'- 67 B *gu góu*. 76 T *tóvud*, H *túvud*. 86 T *ðvts*, H *ðvts ɔts*. 89 H *búvth*. 92 B *nóu*. 95 B *thróu*. A': 102 T *aast*. 104 T *róvud*, H *rúvud*, B *róvud*. 110 B *ə'i shànt* [I sha'nt]. 113 H *wul*. 115 T *ham*, H *ðəm*, B *òm*. 117 B *wòn*. 121 B *gAAAN*. 122 B *nóu*. 124 T *stan*, HB *stúvən*. 125 H *ooni*. 130 T *bóvut*. 131 T *gòvut*.

Æ- 138 T *feedhə*, H *faadhər*. 143 B *téivl*. — B *stèu'rz* [stairs]. 152 HT *waats*. Æ: 155 HT *thek*. 158 T *aats*. 160 H *eeg*. 161 B *déi*. 163 T *l'í*. 166 T *mèvud*, H *mæ'vud*. 170 T *héeevvist*. 171 HT *bévl*. Æ'- 183 B *téivt tütj*. 190 B *kéi*, HT *kee*. 194 HT *óni*. 195 HT *meeni*. 200 B *wéit wíet* [occ.]. A': 213 HT *eedhə*. 218 HT *shíp*. 223 H *dhíu*, B *dhíu'r*. 224 HT *wíu*, B *wíer*. 230 T *fot*.

E- 233 HT *speek*, B *spéik*. 236 T *íeevu*, H *fiuv*. 241 H *rèin*. 243 B *pléi*. 252 H *kit'l*. E: 260 B *léi*. 261 B *séi*. 262 HB *wéi*. 263 B *əwéi*. 265 H *strèet*. 272 T *heləm* [p h]. 280 B *læb'm*. 281 H *læqkth*. 282 H *stræqkth*. — H *nístiz* [nests]. E'- 299 B *grin*. 300 T *kep* [p kept]. E': 306 T *heet*. 312 B *íer*. 314 B *íerd*. 315 HB *fit*.

EA- — B *éivl* [ale]. 319 HT *gaap*. EA: 323 HT *íx'ut*. 324 B *éit*. 326 T *á'uld*, H *ool*, B *óuld*. 328 T *ká'uld*. 330 HT *oolt*. 332 T *íx'ud*. 333 T *kéuf*, H *kaaf*. 334 T *hèuf*, H *haaf*. 343 T *waam*, H *waam*. 346 HT *gèut*, B *gíut*, [middle class, usual] *gèit*. EA'- 347 T *íied*, B *í'd*, H *íed*. EA': 355 B *def*. 361 B *bienvz*. 366 B *grèt*. 370 H *rAA+r*. 371 T *straa*, H *strAA+r*.

EI- 373 T *dhó'i*, B *dhéi*. 374 T *naa*. EI: 377 T *stèuk*. 378 HT *week*. EO- 383 B *sæb'm*. 386 HT *ʒoo*. 387 T *nuu*.

EO: 388 B *mə'lək* [reverted (l), and the Sm. intermediate between (ə, i) p. 146]. — B *sə'lək* [silk, see 388]. 398 T *stèuv*. 400 T *èvnest*, H *aanest*. 402 HT *laan*, B *larn*. 406 T *aath*, H *əth*. 407 T *íéudhən faad'n*. EO'- 411 B *frii* [very often]. 420 T *fá'uv*, H *fóv*, B *fóvur*. EO': 425 HT *l'it*. 427 B *bíi*. 436 H *tríu*. 437 H *tríuth*, B *træ'uth*. EY- 438 HT *dó'i* [p (dæ'i)]. I- 443 HT *fro'idi*. 444 T *stó'il*. 449 HT *gít*. 450 HT *tuuzdi*. I:

452 HT *o'i*, B *o'i di*. 458 HT *no'it*, B *no'it*. 459 HT *ro'it*. 465 HT *sitj*.
 466 T *tjo'id*. 468 B *tjundren* [(u) verging to (*u*) and (i) reverted]. — B
ru_on ren [run, some vowel intermediate to (*u*) and (*e*)]. 482 B *ent éint* [ain't, is it
 not?]. I'- 490 T *bo'i*. 494 T *to'im*, B *to'im*. 496 T *o'i'en*. 498 T *ro'it*.
 I': 500 HT *lo'ik*. 502 T *fo'iv*, B *fo'iv*. 503 HT *lo'if*. 504 T *no'if*. 505
 T *woif*. 506 HT *umæn*.
 O- 519 B *óuvær*. O: 525 B *laf* [off]. 531 T *daats*, H *daats dlat*
 [but my (gæl) is more usual]. 541 B *o'i wænt* [(ə) approaching (*u*)]. 543 B
an an. O'- 555 B *shuu shæ'u*. 559 T *mídhv* [ʔ], H *mæm mæ dhæ*. 564
 B *sæ'n*. O': 579 T *eniu*, H *enæf* [was the only form known]. 587 B *dù'n*.
 592 HT *sæv*.
 U- — B *ðd* [wood]. 603 B *kæm*. 605 T *son*, B *sæ'n* [when used]. 606 B
dåv.n. U: 610 T *ul*. 612 B *su_om*. 614 T *and* [ʔ]. 615 T *pæn*. 616
 T *grand*. 622 T *onds*. 629 B *so_on'*. 632 B *u.p*. 633 B *ku_op*. U': 658
 H *de'æn* [and so on for the rest, but the diphthong is rather uncertain, and may
 be (ə'u). Miss Cox used (æ'u) herself, and was unable to decide]. 663 B *æ'us*.
 667 B *æ'ut*.
 Y: 700 T *wæ*. 701 HT *fæ*. Y- 705 HT *sko'i*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B *mæt mist*. E. 749 B *læft*. O. 761 HT *læd*. 767 T
næ'iz. 790 T *gæ'ænd*. U. 803 B *dju,mp*. — B *føn* [fun]. 808 T *pæt*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 H *fæus*. 811 H *plæus* [pl. *plæus'n*]. 813 T *bæk'n*, H *bæk'n*.
 824 T *tjæv*, H *tjiv*. 827 H *eegr*. 828 H *eegr*. 840 T *tjaambv* [not a bed-
 room, but any other room]. 852 T *eepen*. 862 H *séf*. 866 H *pöv*.
 E.. 867 H *tee*, B *tê*. 878 H *sæleri*. 879 HT *fæe'neel*. 888 H *saatin*.
 890 H *biæst* [pl. (*biæstiz*, *biæs*)]. 896 T *biivv* [in common use]. I and Y.
 898 B *næ'is*. 904 T *vo'ilet*.
 O.. 913 T *ko'tj*. 914 *bræv'tj*. 920 H *pæ'int*. 923* H *mæ'is*. 926 H
spæ'il. — B *tu_on'l tu_on'l* [tunnel]. 939 H *klæus*. 940 T *kóvt*, H *kóvt* [under
 petticoat, the outer is *skir't*]. 942 T *batjv*. 947 H *ba'il*. 954 T *kash'n*.
 U.. 963 T *kwæ'it*. 965 H *æ'il*.
 T (watjv) *wet-shod*, (ænkid) *wretched*, a few *broth*. B (*di àr*) I are. TH.
 hears a faint (r), but to me it was quite inaudible.

D 16 = ME. = Mid Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin at Harwich at ne. corner of Es. Go along n. b.
 of Es. till you reach Cb. Go along first the s. and then the w. b.
 of Cb. to Peterborough, Np. Go w. along n. b. of Hu. to its nw.
 corner about Wansford, Np. (In the map the line accidentally falls
 a little s. of this border, and does not quite pass through Peter-
 borough.) Go wsw. across Np. to Rockingham, Np., at sw. angle
 of Rt., passing s. of King's Cliffe, Np. Go sw. along the n. b. of
 Np. to Watling St., near Crick. Then go se. across Np., by the b.
 of D 6, passing e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn
 s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, where turn more se. near
 Pattishall, and proceed s. of Blisworth and w. of Towcester, and
 continue to b. of Np. and Bu. at about Hartwell, Np. Pursue first
 the n. and then e. b. of Bu. to Gt. Gaddesden, Ht., and then pass
 s. across the w. horn of Ht. to strike the b. of Bu. again just about

Whelpley Hill (4 ssw. Gt. Gaddesden). Go e., passing s. of Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, and Hoddesdon, Ht., n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., ne. of Epping, and w. of Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury. Then go down the Thames, and round the e. coast of Es. to the starting-point, Harwich. It will be observed that borders of counties are much followed, betraying imperfect information. The line which forms the s. b. is quite uncertain, see D 17. The two lines through Np. are fairly correct, being founded on TH.'s numerous observations. The line across the w. horn of Ht. is rather conjectural, but I have been informed that that horn does not differ from Bu.

Area. Most of Es. and Ht., all Hu. and Bd., and the middle of Np.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Bd. °Amphill, *‖Bedford, †Dunstable, °Edworth, °Flitwick, †Girtford, °Harrold, °Hatley Cockaine, °Melchbourne, *Ridgmont, †Sandy, †Sharnbrook, °Thurleigh, †Tilbrook, °Taddington, †Upper Dean.

Es. °Black Notley, °Bradfield, †Braintree, °Brentwood, °Brightlingsea, †Chelmsford, °Elsenham, †Great Chesterford, °Great Chishall, °Great Clacton, *†Great Dunmow, °Great Easton, °Great Saling, °†Great Shalford, †Henham, ‖Ingatestone, *Maldon, †Newport, °Paglesham, °†Panfield, °Rayne, °Southeast, °Stanway, †Stebbing (Bran End), *Thaxted, °Witham.

Ht. °Anstey, °†Ardeley, †Bishop's Stortford, °Boxmoor, †Braughin, †Buntingford, °Furneaux Pelham, °Gilston, °Great Gaddesden, °Great Horstead, †Hadham, °Harpenden, †Hatfield, °Hemel Hempstead, †Hertford, †Hertford Heath, °Hitchin, °St. Albans, °Sandridge, °†Sawbridgeworth, °†Stapleford, *†Ware, *°Welwyn, °Weston.

Hu. °Alconbury, †Godmanchester, °Great Catworth, †Great Gidding, °Great Paxton, °†Great Stukeley, °Hamerton, °Hilton, °†Holme, °Houghton, †Huntingdon, °Keystone, †Kimbolton, †Little Stukeley, †Old Fletton, °Pidley, †St. Ives, °†Sawtry, °Somersham, †Staneley, °†Stilton.

Np. †Blisworth, †Brixworth, †Clay Coton, †Denton, °Duston, *East Haddon, †Great Houghton, †Hackleton, °Hannington, †Hardingstone, °Hargrave, °Harrington, †Irchester, †Islip, °†Lower Benefield, †Lowick, †Nether Heyford, *†Northampton, °†Oundle, †Sibbertoft, †Stanion, †Sudborough, †Thrapston, †Welford, †Wellingborough, °West Haddon, †Yelvertoft.

Character. This is a long straggling district, and between the n. in Np. and the s. in Es. there can be little or no connection. But I have found it impossible to divide the district by any definite lines, and have felt it best to consider the different counties involved as forming 'varieties,' and very slight such varieties are. The general character is

A- remains (éa) only among very old people; but becomes (ái, é'i, á'i) in different parts among the younger people. Thus, a Mrs. Clarke, about 73, at Ardeley called apron (é'iprén), but said her grandmother called it (é'pén). Sometimes the women have made the change only, thus at the last-named place both Calvert 77 and Clarke 73 said (méet) mate, in which the (é) is merely omitted; but their wives said (mé'it méit) respectively. It is certain then that this (éi, é'i), which is now so characteristic of D 16, is of recent growth, and has arisen from (éa), which with (ia) is prevalent all over the S. div., just as (ái) in the M. has grown out of (áa), an alteration of (áa). Alphabetically, the letter a is called (a'i).

A' is still occ. (áa) as an old form, but falls into (óa), and thence into (óu, óu). I' becomes quite (á'i), and the letter i is so called alphabetically; it is thus practically distinguished from a (é'i).

U' has similarly to be distinguished from (ou), and hence (a'u, au) were ousted by (e'u, éu), which is the general form.

These characters appear pretty generally in all the varieties, which I propose to pursue and exemplify in the order Var. i., Ht.; Var. ii., Bd.; Var. iii., Hu.; Var. iv., Np.; and then, starting from Ht. again, proceed to Var. v., Es., which leads directly to the e.London variety of D 17.

VAR. i., HERTFORDSHIRE.

There were three principal centres of information. 1. Ware, where I had a vv. cs. from a native, checked by TH.'s observations; 2. Ardeley, where I had first much information from Rev. C. Malet, and then had it checked by TH. in a journey made on purpose; and 3. Welwyn with Hitchin.

1. The Ware speech is well exemplified by the following cs., with the cwl., which includes the words observed by TH.

2. Ardeley was recommended to me by the gentleman who gave me the cs. of Ware, and with much difficulty, owing to want of phonetic knowledge on the curate's part, I obtained a sufficiently intelligible version, but this was excellently supplemented by TH.'s visit, when he had the good fortune to be assisted by very old peasants, whose information is embodied in the cwl.

3. Welwyn I had hoped to have settled by a vv. from a native student at Whitelands Training College, but it was spoiled by the peculiarity of her education, and I am indebted to an old college friend, Mr. C. W. Wilshere, who lives at Welwyn, for a dt. for that place and also from Hitchin; but as they were written in unsystematic orthography, there is much that is conjectural in my pal., the interpretation being often derived from the other sources.

Finally, I add a few words from Harpenden and Hatfield, to shew the nature of the dialect at the borders of D 17.

There are very few points to be noticed. One is the partial use of (w) for (v) more developed in Es. and D 19, which we also met with in D 9, p. 132. The use of 'together' in addressing several people, and 'it do' for 'it does,' are more developed in Cb. and D 19. The use of the aspirate varies, but it is generally omitted.

WARE CS.

pal. by A.J.E. in 1876, from the dictation of Mr. J. W. Roderick, a native of Amwell (1 se.Ware), who considers that the specimen he gave applied to a district from Great Munden (6 n.Ware) to Broxbourne (4 s.Ware), and from Watton (6 nw.Ware) to Widford (4 ene.Ware). Drawing lines e. and w., n. and s. through these extremes, we get a large district including Hertford and Stapleford, but excluding Welwyn and Ardeley. TH. endeavoured to verify the indications here given. At the end I collect the principal words of this cs. in a cwl., adding the words obtained by TH. at Ware, Hertford, Hertford Heath, and Stapleford. The introductory (i) was found at Ware by TH., but the nasalisation was not observed at Ware, and neither were observed elsewhere. TH.'s chief time had been devoted to Ardeley, and he was unable to do much in the other places.

0. wóí :djíoo,n EZ nóos déuts.

1. wé'el, níebe, jíu en ii me búweth léáaf et dhás níuz e móin. íu kíerz ? dhaat)s nadhér íe ne dhíe.

2. íu men dói kéz dhee)v léáaft et, wii núwez, dúent)es ? waaat shud míek em ? t)ii)nt weri lóikli ís)t ?

3. éuseme)v dhíes íe)z dhe tríuth e dhe kíes, soo djást óud je réu, méet, en bi kwóíet tíl ói)v dan. ís'n.

4. ói)m sət'n ói íied em síee,i,—səm e dhee piip'l íu we,nt thríu dhe úwel thiq frəm dhe fəst dhəsəlf—dhaat ói díid, síef eníəəf.

5. dhaat dhe jəggest sən ímsəlf, e gríet bóí e nóin, níu íz fěáa,dhez vóies et wəans, dhoo t)waaaz sə kwíer en skwíiken, en ói əd)trəst)em)t spíek dhe tríuth əní díeei, aa, ói 'wud.

6. en dh)óud wumen əsəlf, 'l tel eni əv je dhat líáaf níé,u, en tel je stríet əaf tíu, əréut ne boodhə, ef jíu)l ooni əks)v, úus wúnt shí ?

7. kəstwíez shí tuuld et 'mii wen ói əkst)v, tíu)v thríe toínz úəvə, sh)díid, en 'shii úwət noot tíu bi róq on sítj e páint eez dhíes —waaat díu 'jíu thíəqk ?

8. wəl, ez ói wəz e)see'en shii)d tel)je éu, wíer, en wen shi fíənt dhe draqkən bíest she kaaaz ər əzbən [óud mən].

9. shi súnə sh)sd)em wí ər óoun óíz elóí'en stríəjt at fuul líəqkth oon dhe gríəumd, in íz gúəd sə'ndə kúwət, klúus bóí dhe [be dhe] dúwər e)dhe í'eus díəun et th)kúwəner e)dhe líen índə.

10. ii wəz e wóinən [íəulən] əwéə, sez shii, fər əal dhe wəld lóik e síek tjíóíld [tjíáíld] ər e lít'l gəl e fréwən.

11. en dhaat əpend ez shii en ər dúwətə)én)lāa kíem thríu dhe blək jāa,d frə əqən íéut dhe wíet klúus tíu dróí on e woshən déei,

12. wóil dhe kí't'l wəz e bái'en fe tíi, wən fóin broit səmer aatənuun, úwənl e wíek əguu' kəm neks thəzdi.

13. en d)je núwə ? ói neve laant eni núwə dhən dhíes, e dhaat bíznis əp tíu tə déei, ez shíe)z mói níem)z :djaak :shípət, en e dúwənt woont tíu nadhə, dhíe níéu.

14. en soo ói)m gúwən úwəm tíu sə'pə. gú)nóíet, en dúwənt bi sə kwíek tíu krúus úwəvər e fəler əgi'n, wen í tóoeks e dhíes dhaat e t)adhə.

15. ii)z e wííek fúwəl, dhat djí'a'ez əríéut kí'aa'z tə. en dhaat)s mói líáast wəd. fáv je wəl.

Notes to Ware cs.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* is entirely absorbed in the vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *it is not*, distinct (tínt) not (tíent).—*very*, *v* is constantly pronounced as *w*, but not conversely.

3. *this here's*; very short fracture in (dhíes).—*hold*, doubtful whether (ə'ud) or (óud) and may be (óud).—*row*, noise.—*I are done*, *I are* for *I am* and that for *I have*, as usual. (óí 'aav) *I are*, an

emphatic assertion, and (ii)v he are are common, so also thou, we, you *am*, (dhéu)m wii)m jíu)m); they *be* sometimes, but in answer to a question they're, them and it's me (dhee)v dhəm, it)s mii) are used.

4. *I am* with an adjective predicate, not *I are*.—*certain*, not (sət'n).—*say*, the nasality occurs only when the word is very prolonged.—*people*, *folk* is not usual.—*enough*, this was the best imita-

tion I could give, the (i) very short, the (æ) long, but I was not satisfied with the last vowel.

5. *great* (gæət) is never used.—*knew*, (niu) distinctly, not (niu).—*voice*, though this is a common word, (w) is not used.—*day*, the (ee) is not nasal, (diæ) occ., the prefixed (i) was not heard in par. 11 and 13.—*aye*, also (jæs) yes.

6. *ask*, distinctly (æks), not (aks). At Albury (8 nne.Ware) (jæ'ks) is heard.

7. *point*, distinctly (páint) while *pint* is (póint) similarly (djáint, áil, áint-

ment) joint, oil, ointment, (fær áil) hair oil, and similarly (riien, dríien, ríiulwéei tríien) rain, drain, railway train.

9. *yonder* is very commonly called (junde). We have the various forms (jonder jander jinder) in S. dialects and (jende, jinde, inde) in E. dialects, but whether (inde) represents *yonder* or *hinder* is not clear.

14. *goodnight*, almost (gr)noit.

15. *fare ye well*, *good-bye* would not be used except for a long absence, (tataa) may be heard, but it is not very common.

se. Ht., WARE, etc.

Unmarked words from Mr. Roderick's cs. for Ware, with others given by him.

W wn. by TH. at Ware from Goldstone 29, and W₂ Saunders 12, natives.

H wn. by TH. at Hertford from Seymour 71, and HH. Hertford Heath (2 se.Hertford).

S wn. by TH. at Stapleford (3 n.-by-e.Hertford). All in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- W₂ [letter A=(á)]. 5 míek, W mæ'ik. 8 W æv, W₂ ev, H. ènt [have not]. 17 laa, W laa. 19 HH tæ'iel. 21 níem, W₂ ne'im. — fáae [fare]. 34 líaašt. A: 39 kíum. 49 æq. 53 W₂ kæn. 54 woont. 56 wosh. A: or O: 60 laq. 64 ròq, HH ròq.

A'- 67 gúuen, W [between] egóu'in, egóu'in, W₂ góu'in. 69 W nóu. 72 íu, W₂ uu, W uu íu. 74 tíu, H tíu. 79 óoen. 81 líen. 82 wæans. 84 níue, H móe. 87 klíuev. 89 búueth, W bóuth, W₂ bóuth. 92 níue. 94 kríue. A': 102 æks [at Albury (jæ'ks)], W ásk. 105 H rúed. 106 H braad. 110 noot. 111 úvet. 113 úvel, W oo'l. 115 úuem, W óum, H oom óm. 117 wan, HH vloon [alone]. 120 eguu. 122 nóov. 125 oonli úuenlí. 137 nadhs, W nedhs.

Æ- 138 fæaa,dhs, WW₂H faadh. 144 egín. 150 líest. Æ: 154 bíæk. 155 HH thætj. — tegjæ'dhs [together, addressing several persons]. — W àd [had], W₂ ed. 151 aate. 161 d.éei, déei, díe, W de'i, W₂ dái, H déi. 169 wen. 173 waaz. — kaat [cart]. 177 dhaat [p (dhàt)]. 179 waať. Æ'- 194 eni. 200 HH wit. Æ': 209 nevb. 220 shipst. 222 íie. 223 dhíie, W dhés. 224 wíue. 227 wíet.

E- 233 spíuek. 241 ríien, W re'in, W₂ rân. 244 we'el. 252 kí'l. E: 256 stríetj. 261 síee,i, wsee'en [a-saying], W se'i. 263 wwees, W wwe'i. 265 stríet, W stre'it. 276 thíuqk. 279 we,nt. 280 W 'lev'n. 281 líeqkth. E'- 297 fæle. E': 307 HH nái. 312 íie. 316 neks.

EA- 320 kíier. EA: 322 léaať líaať, WW₂HH laaf. 326 óud, W óu'ld, W₂ óuld, H [between] óul óul. 330 óud, W óu'ld. 332 tuuld. 335 AA & H. 338 kaał. 340 jiaa'd. EA'- 348 ói. 349 íiu. EA': 357 dhoo. 359 néuba. 366 gríet, W gré'it. EI- 372 aa. 373 dhee. EI: 378 wíuek.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 387 níu, W níu & W₂. EO: 392 jæle [yellow]. 394 inde, W jonde [mostly, occ.] jinde, W₂ jonde [old (jinde)], HH jinde. 399 bróit. 402 laant. 408 níu. 411 thríie. 412 shi sh-. EO': 422 síuek. 435 jiu, HHW ju. 437 tríuth. EY- 438 dói, W dá'i, H [between] dáid dá'id. EY: 439 trast.

I- W₂ [letter I=(AA'i)] 440 wíek. 446 nóin. I: 452 ói, W ái. 453 kwíek. 458 gú)noit [good-night]. 465 síty. 466 trío'ld, tríá'ld, W₂ tjaa'ild. 469 wul. — wíndw [window]. 480 thiq. 482 tíint [it is not], W e'nt iz'nt, W₂ e'nt. 484 dhíes dhíies. I'- 492 W₂ saa'id. 494

tóim, H [between] ta'im tóim, HH ta'im. 495 wóin. I': 500 lóik, W láik & H. 596 wumun. — W₂ [between] ái, á'i [hay]. 508 HH [between] ma'ild, máild. 509 wóil. 510 móin, W ma'in, W₂ maa'in.

O- 519 áeve úuvve. 524 wald, W wa'ld wáald. O: 525, ii. Aaf. 531 dúwete, W daate, HH daa'te. 538 wud. 541 wéent, W₂ wóunt [sometimes (want)]. 550 wad, H wód. O'- 555 shíu. 556 tíu. 557 tíu, H [between] tíu, téu. 567 t)adhé. O': 571 gúed. 579 eníeef, W enaf, W₂ [between] enaf, enaf. 586 diu déent [don't], W dúu, H díu. 587 dan. 588 nuun. 592 síuu.

U- 603 kəm & W. 604 səm. 605 sən, HH sən. 606 dúu. U: 609 fuul. 612 səm. 616 gríeund, W gríá'un. 623 fiéunt, W fié'und. 627 sande. 629 HH sən. 631 thaxdi. 632 ep, W₂ ep, H ep. 633 H [between] kəp kəp. 634 thríu, HH thríu. U'- 641 éu. 643 nié'u, W niá'u, W₂ [between] ne'u, néu. 648 a'uən [ourn, in "our mode of pronouncing"]. 651 wéut eríeút [p is this there-out], W wihiá'ut. U': 658 diéun, W diá'un, W₂ d ié'un, H da'un d á'un, HH da'un. 659 W₂ te'un. 663 iéus, W ié'us, HH [between] e'us e'us. 666 əzbən. 667 iéut, W e'ut, H e'ut.

Y- 673 H matj. 674 diid. 677 dróí. 681 biznis. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 əqgest. 694 H wək. 701 fast, WW₂ fəast. Y'- 706 wóí, W wa'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 driiven. 726 tóovk, H taak. 732 aapən. 737 méet, W me'it. — djiəuz [jaws]. E. 652 frét. I. and Y. 758 gjəl, W ga'l, H gjal, W₂ gja'l. O. 767 W nōiz. — H wōe [worn]. 781 boodhə. 789 réu, W riá'u. 791 bóí, HH bōe. U. 797 skwiikən. 798 kwíie. 803 djəmp. 804 drəqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H pləs. 830 triiven, W tré'in. 841 H tjaans. 857 kús. 862 stef. 864 k'iaa'z [cause]. — siəə'vidj [savage]. E.. 867 tii & H. 885 wəri, W veri [no w used for v], W₂ veri, H [no w used for v], HH & S [w used for v]. — piəə'tridj [partridge]. 888 sət'n. 890 biést. I.. and Y.. 901 fóin, W₂ fa'in. — W vi'nige [vinegar] & W₂ [with v only]. — póint [pint], W [between] póint páint, W₂ pó'int. — vit'lz [victuals], & W₂ [adding, some say (wit'lz)], HH & S wit'lz.

O.. 919 áintmənt. 920 páint, W₂ pó'int. — djáint [a joint]. 925 vótes, W vó'is. 938 kíuvə. 939 klúvas. 940 kíuvt. 941 fúuvel. 947 báil. 950 sə'pe. 955 déut, W diá'ut. U.. 963 kwóvet, W kwá'iet. 965 áil. — iéul [howl]. 969 shíus. 970 djist.

ARDELEY OR YARDLEY (8 e.-by-s.Hitchin) dt.

written by Rev. C. Malet, son of the Vicar, and palaeotyped by AJE. from indications given by him. Mr. Roderick of Ware, Ht., said that (:jaa'dli :wud :iind) or Yardley Wood End was a famous outlandish place for the dialect. From TH.'s observations it appears that long vowels are too freely used in this translation.

1. soo o'i séeiz, méests, jú sii néeu, dhaat o'i bii ró'it, tegidh'v, obéent dhaat éev liit'l gaal v-kəm'in from dhə skíul jaan'de.

2. shii)z vgoo'in déeun dhə róovd dhéev thríu dhə réevd gíet on dhə left aand so'id v dhə wéei lo'ik.

3. shíue naf dhə tjo'ild v gaan stro'it əp tíu dhə dúuə v dhə roq éeus.

4. wéev shii əl moost)ən)iin fo'nd dhaat drəqk'n déeef siivd tjaap nəem v :taa'məs.

5. wi aal nóuz en ver'i wél.
 6. wənt dh)AAL tjaap sī'un laan e not tɛ díu ət əgíen nɔ'idhɛ,
 páuw thiq!
 7. liuk! éeent ət trú'u.

Notes.

Very drawled. 4. *most on end*, sure that (en) for (em) or (im) was generally, surely. *seared*, shrivelled. used. No other authorities admit this
 5. *we all knows him*. Mr. M. was strictly M.S. form.

ARDELEY WOOD END (:jaadli :wud :iind, :jãrli :wud :iin),
 (1½ se.Ardeley), cwl.

TH.'s observations on Darby and wife 48, Brown 86, Calvert and wife 77, Clarke 73 and wife 62, these are not here generally distinguished, as that would be descending to personal differences, when there was substantial agreement, but it was observed that the men inclined to older and the women to recent forms. Darby used 'together' as an address to several, as (wíu[r] rɛ gu'in, tɛgɛdɛhɛ?) where are you going, you people? Common in D 18 and 19.

B a few wn. by TH. at Buntingford (:bã'nãfɛt) about 4 ne.Ardeley, chiefly from F. Kimpton, labourer, 72. Mrs. K. said (it du) for it does. All wn. in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 21 nîem nêam nɛ'im, B [between], née[em] née[im]. A: 43 and. A: or O: 64 [between] rɔq rɔq [or something between (rɔq, rɔq)]. A'- 67 guu go'in. 73 B sôu. 74 tîu. 81 lèwn, lee'n, lɛ'in [Mrs. Clarke, whose mother said (lèwn)], B lê'in. 86 óuts. 92 nôu. A': 104 [formerly] rûed, [now] rôud, [Brown and Mrs. Calvert], rood [Calvert]. 115 oom. 117 wun.

Æ- 138 faadhɛ. Æ: B thɛtɛ. 161 dèi, dee [Calvert], dɛ'i [Mrs. Clarke], dee[i] [Clarke]. — stɛl [stale = handle]. — waps-iz [wasp-s]. 170 à_rvist-iz. — glaas [glass]. — kjaat [cart]. Æ'- 125 oní. Æ': 226 mɔs en iin [most on end, generally].

E- 241 rɛen [Calvert] rɛ'in [Mrs. C.]. E: 263 ewee. 265 strɛ'it stréit strèt, B stréit. — fild fílz [field fields]. E'- 299 griin. E': 314 ied & B. 315 fit.

EA: 326 óuld, B óul, óul|d. 328 B kóuld. — jãrn [earn]. 346 gɛt. EA'- 347 ɛ'id. EA': 355 dɛf. 371 straa [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother]. EO- 383 sev'm. EO: 394 jîndɛ [Darby], jandɛ [Brown], [both at B.]. 396 [between] wak wok. 402 laan, [between] læn læn [Mrs. Clarke].

I: 452 ai. — bsd [bird]. 459 ráit rɔ'it rɔ'it. 466 tɛáild tɛ'áil. 469 wíld. 477 fɛ'ind fɛ'ind. 482 ɛnt [aint, is not]. I'- 492 sɛ'íd sɛ'íd [nearly], sáid, B sá'id [and all long i at B=(A'i)], B sɔ'id. 494 tɛ'im & B. I': 503 ɛlA'iv [alive]. 510 mɛ'in.

O- — bð,ɛn [born]. O: 531 daats. 541 wɛnt wɛnt wont. — fAAk [fork]. 550 wad. — A'us [horse]. O'- 556 tîu. 560 skuul & B. 562 muun. 564 síun suun sɛ'un. O': 586 díu. 588 nuun.

U- 603 kam. 605 sù,n. 606 dúus dúe dùe dɛ'us [between (dûe, dɔe)]. U: 613 drɔ,ɔk, draɔk. — wundɛ [wonder]. 632 ɛp ɛp. 634 thrú. U'- 643 [between] nɔ'u, nɛ'u, [Darby and Calvert], nɔ'u [Brown], nɛ'u [Mrs. Clarke]. 648 ɔ'un [our'n, ours]. 650 ɛbɔ'ut. U': 658 dɔ'un [between that and (dɛ'un) Mrs. Calvert and B; between the two, Mrs. Clarke], B d,ɛ'un. 659 B t,ɛ'un, B tɛ'un. 663 ɔ'us [between that and (ɛ'us) Mrs. Calvert, B ɛ'us].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet [Clarke, Calvert], mɛ'it [Mrs. Calvert], méit [Mrs. Clarke]. E. 749 left. I. 758 gjál gjal. O. — grɔ'ul [growl]. U. 803 B [between] djæmp, djæmp. — tanɛps [turnips].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fêus. — déeem [dame]. 852 [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother said *épen*, but the present pronunciation is *é'ipræn*]. I.. and Y.. 898 *náis*. 901 *fáin*. O.. — bif [beef]. — B pamp [pump]. — fust [forced]. — tøn [turn]. 955 [between] *dæ'ut dæ'ut* [Calvert].
Note. B no (w) for (v).

WELWYN (8 s.-by-e.Hitchin) dt.

pal. by AJE. from notes and indications by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. *soo di sez, meets, sez di, riu sii néu ez éu di*)m ráit ébéut dhat lét'l gæl ékamin frém dhè skuul jandè.
2. *shii)z égoo'in déum dhè róovd dhéev thruu dhè rəd gáit on dhè fadhè [dhís] sáid ev dhè wái.*
3. *shíur enéf dhè tjáild iz gaan stráit ep tē dhè dúuér ev dhè rəq éus.*
4. *wés shii)l tjaans fáind dhat drəqk'n dæf wiz'nd feler ev dhè náim v :toməs.*
5. *wii aal nooz im veri wel.*
6. *woont dhè ool tjæp suun læn)ə not tē duu it egen.*
7. *luk'i dhéev, eent it djæst ez di səd ?*

Miscellaneous Welwyn Notes from Mr. Wilshere.

r not sounded except before a vowel.
h initial almost unknown except in *hisn hern*.

I be was constantly in use about 1850, and *beant* is universal now among old people.

unked (æqkíd), uncomfortable, dreary, —common.

like (lɔ'ik), a common qualifying addition to adverbs. She looked at me quite strange-like; I thought she knew him, they seemed quite friends-like?

do (dú), (o'i aaləz dú it, sdu o'i dú), I always do it, so I do. (i tænz in dhéev puti rəglər ə)no'its, i dú) he turns in there pretty regular at nights, he do.

gave. In Welwyn (gáv), in Hitchin (gav).

audacious (éudéei'shəs), impudent, —common.

who (iu). "I be-ant a-goin ther ter-day." "They people over at Har-

ford *aint* [anciently beant] like *we*," "Lookee, there, if that aint [or beant] our Jim, doocant e jist look spry [(sprá:)] not (spró'i)] since ee's biin keepin company with Jane," universally used for courting.

-en, in *yearn hisn hern theirn ousen rosen* [at Welwyn].

town, up town, down town, always without the article.

done, "it was im as done it, she done it, its er as done it, it's them as done it."

favour, "e (the os) favours is off leg wus than yesterday," does not rest on it being lame; "bless me ow she dew favour her mother sure-lie," how like she is to.

shut (shæt), *shrink* (sriqk), *put* (put), *foot* (fæt).

donkey female ass, the male being a jackass. *clock* is feminine.

The indications were not sufficient for me to give the pronunciation fully in these notes.

HITCHIN dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from notes obtained by C. W. Wilshire, Esq.,
of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. *soo* ɔ'i sez, *meets*, sez ɔ'i, ju sii ɛs éu ɔ'i)m roit ɔbéut dhæt létl ɛn [dhæt jæq gæl] ɛz iz ɔ)kæm'in éut)ɔ skuuld jæm'də.
2. shii-z ɛgoo'in déwn [dæ'wn] dhæt ɛɜ rúwəd dhéu, thruu dhɜ red gíet ɔ)tedhɜ [ɔ)dhɜs] sáid ɔ dhɜ wee.
3. shíur ɛnáf íf shi ɛent ɔ)gAAAN rɔ'ít ɛp tɜ dhɜ dúuɜ ɔ)dhɜ rɔq éus.
4. blest íf shi woont [bet ɔ pen'i shii]l) fɔ'ind dhæt dræqkn ool tʃæp dhéu, wíz'nd ool :təm.
5. wi ɔAL nooz ím put'i wɛl.
6. woont dhɜ ool tʃæp suun lærn)ɔ tɜ tɛk kéuɜ éu shi dæz it ɛgen, púus thɜng!
7. luk'i dhéu! túuɛld ʒɜ soo.

Notes.

I is distinctly broad (ɔ'i).

(ɛnéu) is said when it refers to the plural.

HARPENDEN (4 n.St. Albans) cwl.

words from Mr. T. Wilson's dt.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 néim. A: 43 ɛnd. A: or O: 58 fæn [ʔ]. 64 rɔq. A'- 67 gu'in. 92 nóu. A': 104 rúud. 121 gAAAN. Æ- 144 ɛgi'n. Æ: 177 dhɔt. Æ'- 183 tɛtʃ. Æ': 223 dhɜ. 224 wɛ. E: 261 sá'i. 262 wá. 265 stréet. 266 wæl. E'- 293 wee. 297 fæls fæls. EA: 326 óul. 346 gíet géet gæt. EA': 355 dɛth. EO: 394 jændɜ. EO'- 412 shee [ʔ]. EO': 428 see [ʔ]. 435 ʒɛ'u. 436 trú. I: 452 ái [probably, uncertain]. 459 rá'ít. 466 tʃɔ'ild. 469 wul [will]. 477 fɔ'ind. 480 fɛqk fɛq thɛqk. 482 ɛent [is not]. I'- 492 sɔ'id. O: 541 wɛnt wɛnt. O'- 560 skuuld. 564 siun. O': 579 ɛnɛ'u. 586 díu. U- 606 dúuɜ. U: 634 throo. U'- 643 nɛ'u. U': 658 díɛ'wn. 663 ɛ'us.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gæl. U. 804 druqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 tʃAAANS. E.. 885 wɛri. U.. 969 shíue.

HATFIELD (6 wsw.Hertford) cwl.

wn. in 1884 by TH., chiefly from J. Hart 62, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 téik. 5 méik. 8 ɛnt [hasn't]. A'- 74 tɛ'u. 82 wɛns. A': 104 rɔ'ud [old form (rúud)]. 121 gAAAN. 128 dhɔ'uz. Æ- 144 ɛgjè'n. EA: 326 óul. 346 gjéit. EO: 394 jændɜ. 402 laan [old form]. EO'- 411

thrii. I: 466 tʃdɪl. 480 ɛnɪθɪŋk [anything]. — iten [hitting]. I' - 492
 sɪɪd. O: 541 wɔʊnt wʊnt. O': 586 dæ'u. 587 [between] dɔ'n, dæ'n.
 U - 606 dɔv. U' - 650 ɛbɔ'ut. U': 663 [between] ə'ʊs, ɛ'ʊs.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lɔd [used more than boy]. I. and Y. 758 gʃəl [old form, Mrs.
 H. said between] gʃəl gʃæ'l. O. — lɑst [lost]. 791 bɔi [more often lad].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — gaad'nɪn [gardening]. O.. — pamp [pump].

VAR. ii. BEDFORDSHIRE.

The Bd. var. is scarcely distinguishable from the Ht. We have Batchelor's account written 80 years ago, and it scarcely differs from the present pron., as shewn by the following dt. from Ridgmont and the cs. from Bedford. It is sufficient to leave these to tell their own story.

T. Batchelor in 1809 wrote an "Orthoepical Analysis of the English Language—to which is added a minute and copious analysis of the dialect of Bedfordshire," 8vo. pp. viii. 164. This differs from ordinary writing about dialects by being written in a systematic character, and therefore I deviate from my usual habit of disregarding printed books. All is here given in the best pal. interpretation I could assign. But of course difficulties and uncertainties abound. Thus, (e, ɛ) are quite uncertain, and hence (éu, ɛ'u). Similarly, (ə, ɛ), and hence (ə'i, ɛ'i), are also uncertain. The simple (e, ə) are therefore alone used. B. has no other way of expressing (ii, uu) but by the equivalents of (iɪ, uɪ), which might mean (í, ú), but I interpret them as (ii, uu) for simplicity. B.'s r is said to be always "smooth," and that means most probably, as generally in E. div., before a vowel (r) or (r_o), and when not before a vowel simply (ɹ); but to indicate his usage, 'permissive r' or (ɹ) is here employed. For the simple (ɹ) see the following cs. and dt. B. gives a very long list of principally "accidental" errors of pronunciation, and a large number of "colloquial phrases or low vulgarisms." The first I give to a small extent in a cwl. and a few of the latter are also added. But to go into the whole would be to give undue prominence to the district. His rules for pronouncing the dialect in 1809 amount to the following, the examples and pronunciation are his own.

1. *ow* generally=(éu), this refers to the words with U' (néu kéu dhéu féul éul), now cow thou foul owl, and O' (pléu) plough, and with the French OU.. (véu, ɛléu) vow, allow. He takes the received diphthong as (óu).

2. Long *ū* is generally (iu), as (triu, trius) true, truce, and in French words (miuz, riw'in, niuzens, kriw'il, sléus) muse, ruin, nuisance, cruel, sluice.

3. *ai ay*=(éei) in (déei wéei séei néei réei) day way say nail rail and French (péei péei), but *a* followed by a consonant and final *e* is (éu, ɛu, éeu), for which I usually write (éu), as (séel séei) sale sail, (téel téei) tale tail, (méel méei) male mail, (péel péei) pale pail. This corresponds to the treatment of A-, ÆG-, EG, to which other Saxon and French words are levelled up, thus he

gives also (wéæi téæi géæft) wear tear gate, and (gréæz pléæz spéæz péæi) grace place space, pear & pair. And he says (néæshen stéæshen) nation station occur in n.Bd.

4. *ea* and long *e* before *r* = (iiv), for which I usually write (iv), these words are from various sources (hít míet swíet bíet fíur :driemz píur bíur) heat meat sweat beat fear James peer beer.

5. *oa* and *o* before a consonant followed by *e* = (úv), as (múen grúen thrúst búet túen sepúez, befúer múer flúer) moan groan throat bought tone suppose before more floor; here whatever has (oo, oo'w) in received speech is levelled up. But B. adds *not* in "hope home rope spoke oak told mould sold soul roll," and *not* in (nóou dhóou dóou króou) no though doe crow, so that each word would have as usual to be separately acquired.

6. *o* short before (k, g, q) is (o), as (brók strók spok fók) broke stroke spoke folk, (dog hog rog) dog hog rogue, (soq loq roq) song long wrong. This rule is difficult, the *o* being (now at least) often long in rs.

7. (æq, æk) of rs. become (uq, uqk), as (suq duq huq druqk muqk truqk suqk buq muqgril vnuq) sung dung hung drunk monk trunk sunk bung mongrel among.

8. *oi, oy* become (o'i) in (br'íl sp'íl f'íl be'íl s'íl o'íl o'intment n'íz tæm'íl r'íal) broil spoil foil boil soil oil ointment noise turmoil royal; but is (o'i) in enjoy noise [as well as (n'íz) ?] voice choice toys boys = (bo'íz).

9. *r* is not pronounced before *s* followed by *e* or by a consonant, as (fæst dæst wæst kúes fúes AAs BAAdæi bæth wæth wæstid) first durst worst course force horse border birth worth worsted. Here we have not always simple omission.

10. *-ow* final is often (v), or more probably (-v) except when a vowel follows, (elbe melæ nære wínde) elbow mellow narrow window, also (o'idiv peteete :æ'frike :tjeini) idea potato Africa Chinaware.

11. *-nge* final = (nzh) not (ndj) as (stréinzh réeinzh méeinzh sprinzh twínzh sinzh swínzh) strange range mange springe twinge singe swinge.

12. *-ing* of participles is (in), as (siqin) singing, (gu'in) going.

13. *wh* initial is simple (w), as (wæt) what.

14. *h* initial generally omitted, as (i iz im) he his him, but sometimes inserted in the wrong place, as (hAAl héul hAAdæi hæks hæ'nds'i'væn) owl order axe andiron.

15. *-aw* final generally = (-aa), but the custom is disappearing, (laa saa klaa) law saw claw.

16. *er, ir* followed by a consonant is (æi), meaning really (æ, ææ), and unaccented seems to be (v) or simply (v); (pæhæps pæswéed pæit mæsiful pæis'n) perhaps persuade pert merciful person.

17. unaccented (v) takes the place of long *o* and even *a* in initial, middle and final unaccented syllables, as (i'næsens ækær vfe'nd vlúen vkeúnt) innocence occur offend alone account.

I are for *I am* is common, he'm she'm we'm you'm they'm, are used by a few. On b. of Bu. I be, ye be, are heard.

Batchelor's Bd. Sentences. Only a few are given.

1. (wæt v vaas s'it v'v f'ok), what a vast sight of folk.
2. (o'íl bi wu)æ nekst wéiz), I'll be with)you next ways, i.e. I'll come soon.
3. (hii)z loq v dhæ bak an im), he's long of the back on him, i.e. he has a long back.
4. (dhiez v' gud wíets, baal'iz), these are good wheats, barleys, etc., i.e. good kinds of wheats, etc.
5. (o'i kaant méek nothín v'v it, nedhæ hed næi téil an)t), I can't make nothing of it, neither head nor tail of it.
6. (gív mii v fíu bræath, p'oridj), give me some broth, porridge.
7. (héu meni bræath ? iz dhéer v'nfu), how many [much] broth ? is there anew. [Broth is always in the plural.]

8. (:mistres :m. iz néishən, maaɪtəl, déusid rɪtʃ, púɪ, ɪl, gud, bad, hansem, ɔgli, etc.), Mrs. M. is 'nation, mortal, deucid rich, poor, ill, good, bad, handsome, ugly.
9. (dhéɪ wɛz ɜ dɔ:nɜ he'mənɪ), there was I don't know how many.
10. (aaɫɜs gu'in tɜ féɪz ɛn sɪtʃ), always going to fairs and such like.
11. (evɛri néu ɛn tan), every now and then, (dhen) with (dh) assimilated to the preceding (n).
12. (dhi wedhɪ)z piwɪ kɔmfɔrtəbl ɔvɜr it wɔr), the weather is pure comfortable over it was.
13. (ɔ'i he)nɜ wɛts tɜjɪɜ), I have no oats to-year [this year].
14. (it)s pɜti gudɪʃ, bɔbɪʃ, lɪk), it's pretty goodish, bobbish, like; the 'like' qualifies the meaning similarly to the usual as it were, it is *about* pretty good.
15. (ɪt stanz tɜ sens, hii wɛnt bi sed), it stands to sense [it is clear] he won't be said [stopped by words].

RIDGEMONT (9 ssw. Bedford) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dictation of Miss Susan Wheck, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. soo A'i séei, méets, juu sii nɛ'u A)ɜ rA'it vɛɛ'ut dhàt lit'l gɛl [gæl] kɔm'ɛn from dhɜ skul jɔndɜ.
2. ɛr)ɜ goo'in dɛ'un dhɜ rúusd dhéɛv, thruu dhɜ rɛd géɛst on dhɜ left a'nd sA'id ɛv dhɜ wéi.
3. shɛɛr ɛnɛf dhɜ tʃA'ɪld)z gɔ'n stréet ɛp tɜ dhɜ dúuɜ ɜ)dhɜ roq E'us.
4. wɛɛ shi)l lA'ik'li fA'ind dha't drɔqk'n def sriqk'ld fɛlɜ)ɛv dhɜ néɛm ɛv :tɛm'ɜs.
5. wi AAL nooz ɛm vɛr'i wɛl.
6. want dh)ɔold tʃA'p sun teetʃ [laan] ɜ not tɜ duu)t ɛgɪn: piwɜ thiq!
7. luk)i, ɛnt ɪt trɪu [try'u].

Notes.

2. *her-are* = she is (ɛr)ɜ.—*thou* is not usual. *I he we they knows* is common. Has not heard *he do*. The *w* and *v* are never confused. The euphonic *r* is freely introduced, as (sAARin) for *sawing*, but final *r* is the same as in London, *earth hearth* being (ɛrθ aath). The pl. of nouns in *-st* is *-steses*, as (biis'tesiz).—*I are* is commonest, pronounced when unemphatic (A'i)ɜ) or (A)ɜ), and emphatic (A'i aa).—(géɛst) is commoner than (gɪɛt).—*pail, pale* are sometimes distinguished as (péil, pévl) by the peasantry.—*home, shrub* are (ɛm, srɛb). The (h) is constantly omitted, and (w) is used for (wh) initial.—*enough* is pronounced as (ɛnɛf, ɛnɛ'u), but with no distinction in meaning.

MID BEDFORDSHIRE CS.

pal. in 1877 by A.J.E. from dict. of James Wyatt, Esq., St. Peter's Green, Bedford, not a native, but who had resided 40 years in the county, and "knew the country talk pretty well." He had not observed any strong mark of separation between n. and s.Bd., but in extreme s.Bd. *I be* is used, not in n.

0. wó'i :dʒən ez noo déuts.
1. wel, néeba, jíu en ii mə búeth laaaf et dhís níuz e mə'in. fu kíez? dhat)s nǎdher íe nǎ dhée.
2. fíu men dǎ'i kǎz dhǎ bi laaft et, wi noo doont wi? wot shud méek)em? ít izn't verí lǎ'íklí, íz ít?
3. éuzi'va dhiiz)ǎ dhǎ faks e dhǎ kíes [kées], soo dʒíst oold ʒe nǎ'íz, frínd, en bi kwǎ'íet tel [wǎ'íl] ǎ'i)v dǎn. aar,ki.
4. ǎ'i)m saat'n ǎ'i ǎəd)em see—sǎm e dhǎm dhǎ fook u went thríu dhǎ hal thíq frǎm dhǎ fast dhǎselvz—dhat díd ǎ'i, séef [síef] ǎnǎf—
5. dhǎt dhǎ ʒuggíst sǎn ízself, e gǎet búí e nǎ'in, nood íz fadhǎz vǎ'ís et wǎns, dhǎo ít wǎr, sǎ kwíer en skwíikín lǎ'ík, en ǎ'i ǎd trǎst ím tǎ speek dhǎ tríuth ǎnǎí dee, ǎa ǎ'i 'ud.
6. en dhǎ ool)d)umǎn ǎself)'l tel ǎnǎí e jíu dhǎt laaaf néu, en tel jíu street ǎaf tíu, e)éut matʒ bǎdher, íf so bíí ez jíu)l ǎonǎí aks ǎr, ǎo wǎnt shí?
7. lístweez shí tǎld ít tǎ míí, wǎn ǎ'i akst)e, tíu e thríí tǎ'ímz ǎovǎ, díd 'shíí, en shíí ǎat nǎt tǎ bí rǎq ǎn sǎtʒ e pǎ'ínt ez dhís íe, wǎt dǎ 'jíu thíqk?
8. wel, ez ǎ'i wǎr e)see'in, 'shíí ǎl tel jíu, éu, wíer, en wǎn shí fǎn dhǎ druqk'n bíest, ez shí kǎalʒ ǎr ǎzbn.
9. shí sús shí síd ím wíí ǎr ǎn ǎ'íz lee'in strǎtʒt et fǎl lǎnth ǎn dhǎ gréund ín íiz gud sǎndí kǎet, kloos bí dhǎ dúer e)dhǎ)éus, déum et dhǎ kǎanǎr e dhat dhǎ léen.
10. íí wǎr ǎwǎ'í nǎn ǎwee', sez shíí, fǎr ǎal dhǎ wǎeld lǎ'ík e sǎk tʒǎ'ld ǎr e lít'l gǎel e)frǎtín.
11. en dhat ǎp'nd ez shíí en e dǎatǎr ín lǎa'e kǎm thríu dhǎ bak jaad frǎm e)ǎqín éut dhǎ wǎt klúez tǎ dro'í ǎn e wǎshín dee,
12. wǎ'íl dhǎ kít'l wǎr e bǎ'ílín fe tíí, wǎn fǎ'in brǎ'ít sǎmǎr ǎatǎnuun, ǎonǎí e wílk ǎgnu kǎm nekst thǎzdí.
13. en dǎ jíu noo? ǎ'i níve laant ǎnǎí múe nǎ dhís e dhat dhǎe bízníz ǎp tǎ tǎdee', ez shíuer ez mə'í níem íz :dʒən :shípǎd, en ǎ'i doont woont tíu ǎdhǎ, dhíe néu!
14. en soo ǎ'i bí ǎgu'in hǎm tǎ ǎa mí sǎpǎ. gud nǎ'ít, en doont bíí sǎ kwíek tǎ kroo ǎover e tʒǎp ǎgín, wǎn í tǎaks e dhís dhat e tǎdhǎ.
15. ít)s e wíek fuul ez príets e)é'ut reez'n. en dhat)s mə'í laast wǎed. gud bǎ'í.

Notes.

0. *why*, for the long *i* Mr. W. sometimes said (*ái, áí*), the (*ǎ'i*) which he wrote was not consistently pronounced; but it was quite (*ǎ'i*) at Ridgmont.—*doubts*, Mr. W.'s (*éu*) was probably a refined form, as I got (*ǎ'u*) from Ridgmont.

1. *neighbour*. Mr. W. treated *r* in the London way quite vanishing except before a vowel. TH. finds a decided *r* in Bd., but very moderate, probably not

more than (*r*), of course it was in no wise trilled.

2. *make*. (*méek míek*), "two persons in the same house will pronounce the word in different ways."

3. *case*, double pronunciation as for *make*.—*hark*, here Mr. W. considered that there was an *r*, but that it was not "quite trilled." I failed to hear it.

4. *say*, (*see*) and distinctly not (*seeé see'j*), which Mr. W. did not recognize

at all. But I got it from Ridgmont, and it is found in Batchelor.—*whole*, (hæl) with the aspirate clearly pronounced.—*safe*, see *make* par. 2.

5. *his*, specially dictated as (iiz), quasi *he's*.

6. *without*, apparently a form of (wéut) arout = athout (wéhéut).

8. *beast*, plural (bíestez).

9. *full*, the (fal) was clear, but they do not say (bal).—*on*, the (an) was very distinct.—*lane*, see *make* par 2, for *yonder* they would use (jinde).

11. *law*, the pronunciation assumes *law* to become *lawr*.

12. *tea*, observe (tii), not (tee).

14. *home*; the aspirate well pronounced.

Miscellaneous Words and Phrases furnished by Mr. Wyatt.

1. (ɔ'i wul), I will.
2. (hi had'nt ʌʌt), he should not.
3. (éuz·ən), houses.
4. (tə ɛmpt), empty.
5. (ɛniʊ), enow, more general in the north, (ɛnaf) enough, in the south.
6. (dæbth), depth.
7. (dizaa·v), deserve.
8. (ɔn·gív·ín), ungiuing, (ɔn-) is usual for *un*.
9. (ɔ'i gov im v dɪq'ər ɔn dhə tʃɔp, soo i sɔn gɔn ɔovə), I gave him a stinger, strong blow, on the chaps, so he soon given (gave) over, or discontinued.
10. (shi gaʌnd at mi), she stared, girmed, at me.
11. (i ɔt mi v klɪqkər an dhə bak), he hit me a clinker on the back.
12. (ɔ'i kud'nt ap'ən ɛv anɪ nɔledʒəbl man), I could not happen-of (=meet with) any knowledgeable man.
13. (an lɔ'ikɪnz), on liking or approbation.
14. (ɔ'i lɔ'ik v fiu bræʌθ. ɔ'i beent soo matʃ rapt əp in spuun vɪt'l; gɪm·i plɛn tɪ v gud biif ɛn mæstəd, dhat ɪz sɛm'ət for v fɛlə tɔ lɔl əgɪn), I like a few (=some) broth. I be-not so much wrapped up in spoon victual; give-me plenty of good beef and mustard, that is somewhat for a fellow to loll (=lean back, rest) against.
15. (ɔ'i beent), is used on the Bu. or w. side, (ɔ'i eent) is n.
16. (moost)'n)iin) ? (múest), most-on-end = generally.
17. (ʌʌ·kəd, pleez·ən, piər·t), awkward, pleasing, pert = saucy, full of spirit.
18. (i kam pʌʌltʃɪn rɔ'it an mɔ'i fɪt, fɪt), he came poltering right on my foot, feet; to *palch* is used for walking slowly in Dv., but *palchin* is a fish spear.
19. (rɔts ɛn miis), rats and mice.
20. (skúv, skrat, sɔ'ith, sɪd·vz, spə'i·tɪk'lz, tíəm, tɔ'it, fɔrədə), score, scratch, sigh, scissors, spectacles, team, tight and forwarder = tipsy.
21. (ii)z dhə vɛk·sɪnest ɛn éudæ·shʊsɛst búi), he's the vexing-est and audacious-est boy.
22. (jɪu)z bɪn v·ɛtɪn ar·ɛvɪg pɔ'i, jii)z sɔ shaap), you've been a-eating earwig pie, ye are so sharp.

23. (i AA'ləz tʃɛts púə fook éut v dhə rɔ'its), he always cheats poor folk out of their rights.
 24. (jú-l bii tə gət dhat dhəv píəpə dən éut), you'll be to get that there paper done out=you'll have to get that document copied.
 25. (i did̩ luk noo weez əz plez ənt lə'ik), he did look nowise as pleasant, like.
 26. (ə'i doont sət noo stúv bə'i gælz, ə'i)d raadhə av búiz), I do-not set no (=any) store by girls, I'd rather have boys.
 27. (wəts, wər, ʒæbz, hilt, wət'shod, bab'i), oats, our, herbs, held, wet-shod, baby.

BEDFORDSHIRE CWL.

B from Batchelor, but not nearly all his words.

D from TH.'s Dunstable observations on a railway porter, a native, representing extreme s.Bd.

R from Miss Wheck's dt. for Ridgmont.

W from Mr. Wyatt's cs.

H Mr. Rowland Hill's word list for Bedford generally confirms the above, I give a few differences, or new words.

In Hatley Cockayne (12 e.Bedford), the dialect has been nearly exterminated by the action of a former Rector, the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 W méek. 8 W aa. 11 B maa. 12 B saa, H sAA. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa, W lAA'v. 20 H léem. 21 W niem, RH néem, D ne'im. 23 H séem. 24 H shéem. 35 B hAA. 36 H thAA'v. 37 B klaa. A: 43 R a'nd. 44 H laand. 42 W aq. 50 H tēqz. 51 H mon man. 54 W woont, H wa'unt. 46 W wəsh. A: or O: 60 B loq, H loq. 61 B əmæ'q. 62 H strəq. 64 B roq, R roq, D rəq, H rəq. 65 B soq.

A'- 67 W gu'in, R goo'in, H gu. 69 D nóu. 72 W íu [interrogative, (u) relative]. 73 R soo. 76 H túed. 79 W úen. 81 W léen. 82 W wəns. 83 B múen. 84 W múv, H mAA. 86 BW wəts. 87 W klúes. 89 W búeth. 92 WR noo. 94 W kroo. A': 103 BW aks. 104 R rúud. 107 H lúvf. 110 W doont [don't]. 111 W Aat. 113 W hal, H həl wəl. 115 W hām, D δum. 117 W wən. 118 B búen. 120 W eguu. 121 R go'n. 122 W noo, D nóu. 123 B nAAadhən nathin. 124 B stávn ston. 125 W ooni. 129 H gúst. 134 B wəth, H óvth. 136 W ədhə. 137 W nadhə.

Æ- 138 W fadhə, D faadhə[r] ["In e.Sf. Cb. no r in these cases, in Bd. r certainly but very moderate," says TH. but probably [r, would better represent the sound, if he was not mistaken]. 141 H néul. 142 H snéul. 144 W egin. 147 H brévn. Æ: 154 W bak. 155 B thek. 157 H rēev'n. 158 W aate. 161 W dee, D de'i. 169 BW wen. 173 [(war,) used]. 179 BW wət. Æ'- 183 R teetj. 184 H líud. 187 B líev. 189 H wee. 190 B kéei. 194 W aní. 199 B blaát, H blíet. 200 BH wíet, D wiit. 202 B híet. Æ': 209 W nívb. 213 H əedhə. 221 B fiar. 223 W dhéu dhíe, D dhé'v[r], R dhéev. 224 B wéur, W wiv, R wəx. 226 H móest. 227 W wət. 228 swíet.

E- 233 W speak, D spiik. 236 H fiive. 239 H se'il. 241 H re'in. 243 H ple'i. — B téur [tear]. 249 B wéur. 251 míet. 252 BW kí'l. E: 261 W see, R séei, DH se'i. 262 R wéei, DH we'i. 263 W ewee'. 264 H e'il. 265 W street, R stréet, H stráit [ʔ]. 272 H helm [generally]. — BW iind [end]. 281 W lenth. — B gərn [grin]. 284 H thresh. E'- 290 WD ii. 293 W wi. 297 WR felə. 299 D gr'in. E': 312 W íe. 314 W əəd, D ív[r]d [see 138]. 316 H neks [frequently, without the t].

EA- 320 W kíez. EA: 322 W laaaf, D laaf. 323 H fit. 324 B áit,

H *est.* 326 W *ool*+d, R *oold*, D *ôud*. 330 B *hóoult*, W *oold*. 335 R *aal*. 338 W *kaal*. 340 W *jaad*. 342 B *éum*. 346 B *géet*, R *géest*. EA'- 347 D *r'd*. 348 W *o'i*. 349 W *fiu*. EA': 352 R *réd*. 355 B *deth*, R *daf*. 357 W *dhoo*. 359 W *névbe*. 360 WH *tium*. 361 H *bien*. 363 H *tjap*, W *tjap*, R *tja'p*. 366 W *gœt*, D *gréit*. 370 *raa*. EI- 372 W *aa*, H *o'i*. 373 W *dhœu*. EI: 377 H *stéek*. 378 W *wiek*.
EO- 386 B *jéu*. 387 W *niu*. EO: 390 W *shud*. 393 B *bijend*. 394 B *jender ender*, R *jonde*. 399 W *br'it*. 402 B *laamin lamín*, RD *laan*. 406 B *éarth iith jeth*. EO'- 411 W *thrii*. 412 W *shii*. EO': 422 W *W sik*. 425 H *l'o'it*. 428 R *sii*. 430 BW *frind*. 431 B *bíar*. 434 B *bíet*. 435 W *jíu*. 436 BR *tríu*. 437 W *triuth*. EY- 438 W *do'i*, D *da'i*. EY: 439 W *trast*.

I- 440 H *wiek*. 446 W *noín*. — B *iis 'ms 'mns* [yes]. 449 H *git*. I: 452 W *o'i*, R *A'i* [practically the same sound]. 458 W *no'it*, D [between] *na'it ndit*. 459 R *ra'it*. 463 W *tel*. 465 W *sitj*. 466 W *tj'o'ild*, R *tja'ild*. 469 BW *wil* [will]. 473 H *blo'ind*. 477 R *fa'ind*. 478 H *gréind*. — B *hinnest* [hindmost]. 480 W *thiq*. 483 W *iiz*. 485 B *fis'l*. 488 B *jit*. I'- 491 B *sø'ith*, W *so'ith*. 492 R *sa'id*. 494 W *to'im*. 499 B *bet'l*. I': 500 W *l'ik*, R *la'ik*. 503 H *l'o'if*. 506 W *wamen*. 508 H *mo'il*. 509 W *wo'il*. 510 W *mo'in*.

O- 519 W *oove*. — B *drap* [drop]. — B *smœdæ* [smother]. 524 W *wæld*. — B *thrust* [throat]. O: 527 B *búst bot*. 531 B *daatar*, W *daate*, D *daatæ[r]* [see 138]. 535 B *fok*, W *fook* [but the length of Mr. W.'s vowel was not particularly observed]. 536 H *gáuld*. 538 W *ud*. 541 WR *want*. 542 H *búst*. 550 W *wæd*. 551 B *staam*. 554 B *kraas*. O'- 555 D *shœ'u*. 556 W *tíu*. 558 WR *luk*. 560 R *skw'l*. 562 D *mœ'un* [H says it is (míun) "soft," as the (mœ'un) often sounds, but I think this (œ'u) at Dunstable was an individuality]. 564 R *sæn*. 565 H *næz*. O': 569 H *bek*. 570 H *tæk*. 571 W *gud*. 578 B *pléu*. 579 WR *enaf* [in the s.; but (eníu) more general in the n., H gives it]. 583 H *tául*. 584 H *stául*. 586 R *duu*. 587 W *dæn*, D *dæ'n*. 588 D *nœ'un*. 589 H *spúen*. 590 *fúæz*. 591 B *múæz*. 592 W *súe*. 595 W *fæt*, H *fæt*. 597 H *sæt*.

U- 603 B *kæm*, *kjæp* [come up], RD *kæm*. 604 *sæmæ*. — B *muqk* [monk]. 605 W *sæn*, D *sæ'n*. 606 W *dæu*, R *dúæu*, D *dóu[r]* [see 138]. U: 609 W *fal*. 612 W *sæm*. 613 B *druqk*. 616 W *græ'ænd*. 619 B *féund*, *fænd*, W *fan*. 632 W *æp*. 634 W *thríu*, R *thruu*. 635 B *wæth*. U'- 640 B *kéu*. 641 W *éu* [H. says that this diphthong is "broad and flat," and seems to mean (æ'u), but he may mean (æ'u) after all]. 642 B *dhœu*. 643 BW *néu*, R *nœ'u*. 647 B *héul*. 648 W *wæp*. 650 R *væ'ut*. 651 W *vjœu't*. U': 655 B *féul*. 658 W *déun*, R *dæ'un*. 663 B *héus* [the kitchen where the family sit], W *éus*, R *æ'us*, D [between] *o'us*, *æ'us*. 666 W *æzben*. 667 W *éut*. Y- 673 *matj*. 675 W *drœ'i*. 682 B *liit'l* [intensive form], WR *liit'l*. Y: 692 W *juqgist*. 696 B *beth*. 700 B *wæs*. 701 BW *fast*. 702 W *wii*. Y- 706 W *wo'i*. Y': 712 W *miis*, H *mo'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 W *taak*. 737 R *mœeit*. 738 W *príet*. E. 745 W *tjæt*. 751 B *peat*, W *piet*. I. and Y. 758 B *gal*, WR *gæl*, R *gæl*. 760 B *sriv'l*. O. 761 H *lúud*. — B *dog* [dog]. 767 B *na'iz*, W *no'iz*. — B *muqgril* [mongrel]. 790 H [adds a (d) gownd]. 791 W *búí*, H *bo'í*. U. 804 W *druqk'n*, R *draqk'n* [perhaps Miss W. did not know the word well].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 B *pléus*. — B *fréil* [flail]. 824 B *tjæz*. 833 B *péer*. — B *pléizher* [pleasure]. 835 B *réiz'n*, W *reez'n*. 840 B *tjaambæz*. 849 B *stréinzher*. — B *waandhi waantji* [warrant you]. 857 W *kíæz kéus*. 862 W *séuf síuf*. 864 W *kœz*. 866 R *pius*.

E.. 867 W *tii*. 885 WR *væri*. — W *jæabz* [herbs]. 888 BW *saartín*. 890 BW *bíæst*. 895 B *risíæt* [receipt]. — B *weks* [vex], W *væks*. 901 W *fo'in*. 910 H *djæ'ist*.

O.. 913 H kústr. 916 B inʒen iʒen. 917 B rog. 919 B ə'intmunt.
 920 W pə'int. 925 W və'is, H və'is. 926 B spə'il. — B uqk'l [uncle].
 938 W kʌʌns. 939 W kloos. 940 W kúst. 941 W fuul. 944 B v̄léu'.
 945 B véu. 947 BW bə'il. 950 W sʌpə. 952 B kúes. 955 W déuts. 956
 B kívær.
 U.. 963 W kwə'vut. 965 B ə'il. — B néttər [nature]. 969 W shíue, R
 shar. 970 W djist.

VAR. iii. HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

All s. of the n. *sum* line No. 1, which passes just s. of Sawtry (9
 nnw.Huntingdon) and n. of Ramsey (10 nne.Huntingdon), the
 pron. is thoroughly ME. in every particular, that is, it practically
 coincides with that of the Ht. and Bd. varieties, and n. of this line
 the change seems to be confined to the treatment of U as (ə) in the
 s. and (u) or (u_o) in the n. But as all the (ə) are modernisms, this
 difference, as before observed, p. 16, cannot be considered to
 determine a difference of dialect which is preserved in all other
 important particulars.

Without TH.'s investigations, in which he was so kindly
 assisted at Great Stukeley by the late vicar's daughter, Miss
 Ebden, I should have had a most imperfect notion of Hu. pron.,
 but these have enabled me to appreciate other information, and to
 determine the general homogeneity of the E. forms throughout the
 m. and s. part of the county, and the change in the n. part with
 respect to the treatment of U only, all other M. characters being
 absent.

GT. STUKELEY (2 nnw.Hu.) dt.

written io. by Miss Ebden, daughter of the late Vicar, but corrected by the
 results of TH.'s interviews with old inhabitants as given in the adjoining wl.

1. sôu ʌ'i se'i, me'its, ju sii ne'u dhət ʌ'i)m rʌ'it vbe'ut dhət
 lɪ't'l gja'l kəmɪn frəm dhə skuul jɪndə.
2. shi)z gu'in de'ʌn dhə r̄ud dhə, θri:u dhə r̄ed gje'it ɔn dhə
 left [hand sʌ'ɪd v)dhə we'i.
3. shûv ɛnəf dhə tʃʌ'ɪld)z gʌn stréit əp t̄u dhə dôv v)dhə r̄oq
 [h̄éus.
4. wiə shi)l tʃʌns t̄u fa'ɪnd dhat dr̄ɔk'n deth [=deaf] sr̄iv'ld
 fe]v v)dhə ne'im v :təməs.
5. wi ʌʌl ɔn əs n̄ouz ɪm veri wɛl.
6. wənt dhə ðʌld tʃʌp suun tiitj)v nɔt t̄ə d̄u it vge'n, p̄ɔv θi:q !
7. lək, éint it tr̄u.

GREAT STUKELEY cwl.

wn. by TH. in 1881 from William Johnson 77, and James Valentine 75,
 natives and labourers, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden, daughter
 of the late Vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 ne'im. A: — k̄ant [cannot]. 57 ʌs. A: or O: 64 roq.
 A'- 67 v̄ḡɔn v̄gu'in. — slʌ'un [pl. sloes]. 69 n̄ou. 73 s̄ou. 74 t̄i:u. 92 dhe
 n̄od [they knowed]. A': 105 r̄ud. 115 ðm. 122 n̄o. 130 b̄ust. 132
 ɔv̄d [hotted, made hot]. Æ- 138 faadhv. 144 v̄ḡɛ'n. Æ: 158 ʌft̄ə.

161 dɛ'i. — bæg [bag]. — [hɛp'l [apple]. 173 waa [=wor]. — [between] dlàs dlàs [glass]. — kaat [cart]. — sət [sat]. — ɛ' - 183 tɪtʃ. 200 wɪt wɪt. ɛ': 218 shɪp. 223 dhɛ'v. 224 wɪɛ+r.
 E- 233 spɪk spɛ'k. 248 mɛ'v. 251 mɪt. — fədʰv. E: 261 sɛ'i. 262 wɛ'i. 265 strɛ'it strɛ'it. 278 wɛntʃ [occ. usually (gjal)]. 280 ɛlɛb'm. E' - 290 i. 299 grɪn. E': 312 ɪv. 314 ɪd. EA: 322 [between] lɛf lɛf laaf. 324 ɛ'it. 326 ɔuld. 332 tɛld. 346 gjɛt. EA' - 347 ɛd. EA': 355 dɛθ dɛf. 366 grɛt, grɛt grɛt. EI: 382 dhɛ'vɛn. EO- 383 sɛv'n sɛb'm. 386 [between] ɛ'ù ɛ'ù. EO: 394 jɔndɛ jandɛ jɪndɛ. 402 lɛən laən [(a'n, ɔr) written, but then Johnson did not pronounce (r) when not before a vowel] lɛ'vɛn [Valentine's pron.]. EO' - 412 shɪ. EO': 428 sɪ. 435 ju, jʊn [yours]. 436 trɪ.uu. 437 trɪ.uth. EY- 438 dɛi.
 I- 447 ɛən [hern, written (a'rn)]. I: 452 ʌ'i dɪ. 458 nɛ'it. 452 rɛit. 480 thɪq. 482 ɛnt [ain't, is not]. 483 ɪz'n. 488 ɪt. I' - — ongjɪ'vɪn [ungiving; said of the frost giving way], gjɪ'mɪ [give me]. 494 tɛ'im. I': 517 ɪ.uu. O- — fɔrɛd [forward]. O: — frɔg [frog]. — srɛbɛ [shrubs]. 527 bɛ't. 531 dɛɛtɛ. 532 kʊl. 541 wɛnt. — ɔs'ɪz [horses]. O' - 555 shuu. O': 579 ɛnɛ'f [sg., but pl.] ɛn'uu. 586 dɪ'u, dɔvɛnt [don't]. 587 dɔ'n. 588 nuun. 595 fɛt.
 U- 603 ɛkɛmɪn [a-coming]. 605 sɛ'n. 606 dɔv. U: — du,m [dumb]. — tɛmb'l [tumble]. 632 ɛp. 634 θrɪ'ù. 636 fɛɛdɛ. [TH. considers that both speakers used final (-vɪr).] U' - 643 nɛ'u. 648 ɛ'vɛn ɛ'vɛn [ours]. U': 658 dɛ'vɛn. 663 ɛ'us, [or between this and] ɛ'us, ɛ'uz'n [pl.]. Y: — shɔt [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lad. — trɛɛntɛ [a tranter, carrier, buyer and seller of corn]. I. and Y. 758 gɛ'l, gjal [generally, occ. (wɛntʃ)]. O. — tlɔk [clock]. — tlog [clog]. — dɔ,g [dog]. 791 bɔi. U. — tɛb [tub]. — skɛ'f [scuffle, to rough harrow]. — lɛmp [lump]. — gɛn [gun]. 804 drɔqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 plɛ'iz'n [pl.]. 841 tʃɛns. — gɛd'n [garden, TH. writes (gà)r-]. — pɛɛlɛ [parlour]. 866 pɛv. E.. 869 vɪl. — prɪɛtʃ [preach]. I.. and Y.. — bɛ'ɪl [bile, bilious attack]. 901 fɛ'ɪn. 903 dɛv. O.. — tɛst [toast]. U.. — dlɪ'uu [glue]. 969 shɛv.
 Words. (A'i)m bɛ't)it I am=have bought it, (fid) fledged, (ɛ)ɛv dɛn)it have you done it, (ɪz)ɪ dɛn)it is=has he done it, (mɪst ɛnɛ'f, tɛ'ɪtɛz ɛn'uu), (trɛɛntɛ) tranter, (dɔki) food carried with workmen, (rɛ'klɪn) youngest pig of a litter, (skrɛʃ) crush, (ɔ'pɛzɛ'it) opposite, (dɔ'sɛtɪ) audacity, courage, (frɪt) frightened.

SAWTRY (9 nnw.Huntingdon) AND HOLME (10 nnw.Huntingdon).

TH. was also introduced by Miss Ebdon to John Harlock, aged 81, a Sawtry man, who had left his village in 1816, and worked in other parts of Hu. and Cb. His speech was mainly the same as that of the other old men at Great Stukeley, except in one important particular, the treatment of U. Harlock used the M. vowel (u_o), and the others the S. vowel (ə). Thus I find noted (ru_on, vlu_oq, ju_oqɪst, ru_oq, dɔ_on, shu_ot, tu_ob, tu_omb'l, fu_ot, skru_osh, su_on, sru_obɛ, ɛnu_of, du_om), run, along, youngest, wrong, done, shut, tub, tumble, foot, crash, sun, shrubs, enough, dumb. Only the words (ɛp, dɔn, gɔ'n, kɛmɪn), were otherwise noted, of which (ɛp) was queried. To check this sudden transition, within a distance of 7 miles, which Miss Ebdon had also observed in a maid-servant from Sawtry, TH. went to Holme (:hɔvɛm), about 2 n.Sawtry, where he found (ɛnu_odhɛ, ku_ontrɪ, sɔ_om, tu_omb'l, thu_ondɛ, u_op,

gu_od, sù_on, ru_oq, su_ot, tu_op), another, country, some, tumble, thunder, up, good, son, wrong, soot, tup, and only (w_on, əndrəd, kəmin, wəst), one, hundred, coming, worst, with anything else but (u_o), where *one* belongs to the class A', *worst* arises from the *r*, and (kəm) seems to be common in many (u_o) regions. Hence I have drawn the n. *sum* line 1 through Hu., just s. of Sawtry. I think it unnecessary to cite TH.'s careful work at Holme and Sawtry more particularly, as it only confirms the pronunciations already obtained for Great Stukeley.

VAR. iv. MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This variety differs from Ht. by the use of (u_o) for U, and scarcely in any other respect, although it is so far removed. The example from East Haddon is, however, evidently tinged slightly by Midland influence. From this Hannington, Harrington, and Lower Benefield are free. The researches of TH. were made in a large number of places chiefly for the sake of determining the S. limit of (u_o), hence the results are not very complete in other respects, but words enough are given to shew the strongly E. character of this comparatively remote district. The remarks on Lower Benefield will shew this distinctly.

EAST HADDON (7 nw. Northampton) es.

pal. by A.J.E. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, then a railway porter at St. Pancras Station, an intelligent man and native of East Haddon. In consequence of TH.'s information from Watford and Weedon, Np., between which E. Haddon lies, I wrote to the long resident vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, in 1886, and he informed me that in the two points I specially inquired after, (shéi kat) she cut, Hadley's pron. was correct. The (shéi) seems due to M. influence, and was observed also in Rt. As East Haddon is in the mixed region, we have the intermediate sound (o) in (fól bolék) full bullock.

0. æ'u it iz :dʒən ɛz nɔu dæ'uts.

1. wəl, neeber, juu ən im mæ'i booth lææf ɛt dhɪs niuz ɛv nɑɪn. wɔt duu ɑi kɛɛv? dhæts niidhɛ iiv nɛ dhiv.

2. fiu mɛn dɑi bʊkɔz dhɑ)ɛ læaft ɛt, wɛi nɔu, dɔunt wɛi? wɔt)əd meek ɛm? it)s nɔt vɛri lɑikli iz it?

3. æ'usɛmɛvɛ, dhɪs iz dhi træ'uth ɛv it, sɔɔ dʒɪst oold jɛ nɔiz, wil)ɛ, ən bɛi kwɑiɛt wɑil dɪ)v fɪnɪsht. lɪs'n.

4. dɪ)m shʊvɛr ɑi iivɛd ɛm sæ'i—sɛm ɛv dhɛm fɔʊks u wɛnt θruu dhi ɔl θiɪq frɛm fræst tɛ læast dhɛsɛ'lvz—ɑi dɪd dhæt, sɛf ɛnɛ'f.

5. dhæt dhɛ jæggɪst sɛm izsɛ'lf, ɛ grɛit bɔ'i ɛv nɑɪn, nɔud iz fɑadhɛz vɔis ɛz sɔɔn ɛz ɛi iivɛd it—ɑldhoo it wɛz sɔu kwivɛ ən skwɛikɪn, ən ɑi wud træst im tɛ spɛik dhi træ'uth ɛni dæ'i, 'dhæt ɑi wud.

6. and dh)ould wumɛn ɛsɛ'lf wɔl tɛl ʌʌl ɛv)ju dhæt ɛ lææfɪn næ'u, ən tɛl ju street tæ'u wi)æ'u't mɑtʃ bɔdhɛ, if ju)l ooni ast)ɛ, ɔɔ! wuunt shéi?

7. ɛniwæ'iz shéi tɔuld 'mɛi wɛn dɪ aast)ɛ tæ'u ɛ θrɛi tɑimz oovɛ shéi dɪd, ɛn'shéi ɛdn't ʌʌt tɛ bi rɔq ɔn sɑtʃ ɛ mæɛtɛr ɛz dhɪs, wɔt d)ju θiɪk?

8. wel ez *ái* wéz sæ'in, shéi)d tel ju, æ'u, wíwer en wen shéi fa'und dhi draqk'n skæmp dhæt shéi kaalz er æzben.

9. shéi sáuw shéi sii im wí er óun æ'iz lá'i'in aal iz leqkth, on dhe græ'und, in iz best sendi tlooz, tloos te dha dúwer ev iz æ'us, dæ'un egín dhe kaal'ænr ev dhæt leen.

10. éi wéz wáinén ewæ'i, shéi sez, fer aal dhe wæald láik v sík tjáild, er)v lét'l gæl v wæritín.

11. en dhæt æpend ez shéi en)v daatær in laa kæm thruu dhe bæc jaad fróm æqín æ'ut dhe tlooz te drái on v washín dæ'i,

12. wáil dhe ket'l wéz v bóilín fe téi, wæn fáin sæmæ aaftænoon, ooni v wik egu'u kæm næks thææzdi.

13. ænd duu ju nóou, *ái* nevé lænd æni móow dhæn dhís ev dhæt biznis ep til tædæ'i, ez shúwer ez mái neem)z :dʒon :shæpəd, en *ái* dóunt wænt te iidhæ, dhíiv.

14. ænd soo *ái*m egu'in oom te sæpæ. gud náit, en dóunt ju bi so kwik te króu oover ænibodi, wen éi taaks v dhís en dhæt.

15. it)s v páwæ fuul dhet taaks wí)æ'ut réiz'n. en dhæt)s mí laast wæad. gud báí.

Phrases from the same speaker.

1. (dhee lív in dhém æ'uziz), they live in those houses.
2. (wéi láik dhe mæn wæl enæ'f), we like the man well enough.
3. (*ái*)m egu'in dæ'un oom nækst wik), I'm a-going down home next week.
4. (júwer en oold frænd ev máin), you are an old friend of mine ; *thou art* scarcely ever used.
5. (uuz kaavz en æfæz aa dhee?), whose calves and heifers are they?
6. (wot)s júv neem? spék dhe træ'uth), what's your name? speak the truth.
7. (faadhæ)z dhíiv, eent éi? aast madhæ, shéi nooz), father's there, ain't he? ask mother, she knows.

Notes to the East Haddon cs.

1. *neighbour* is used in addressing. —*may* (mæ'i). I noted at the time that (éi æ'i) were occ. difficult for me to catch, and that I heard them much better when conversing with Hadley, and that then (æ'i, æ'u) came out very well.—*I* (*ái*), this at times approached closely to (o'i), but (o'i) or (A'i) when it occurred was very distinct.—*laugh* (lææf) here and (laaft) in par. 2. It is very probable that (æ) was often used for (a); as I wrote at the time, I retain it, but it is very probable that I appreciated incorrectly.

3. *truth*, though at the time I wrote (træ'uth), I noted that it was difficult to catch and not sure, and I now think it was a false appreciation for (træ'uth), with which I was then not sufficiently

familiar.—*friend*, (frænd frændz) are used.—*finished*, a common word here. But very probably (*ái*v) should be (*ái*m).

5. *soon*, with (oo) and so *afternoon*, par. 12, they also use (æt'wæns) at once without any following (t).—*that I would*, (æ'i) is used for *aye*, but is not so common as *yes*.

6. *all*, because any (æn) would not be used.

7. *matter*, point, pron. (póint), would not be used here.

8. *scamp*, beast (béist) would not be used in this sense.—*husband* and *wife* are the expressions always used.

9. *all his length*, stretched (strætjt), full (fol) rather (fu:l), and so (bol botjæ) bull butcher, shewing that the

place is in the *sum sōm* region.—*clothes*, but (*khoot*) coat is also used.—*that lane*, yon not used (*jandv*) is heard.

10. *whining*, this word is used; *girl* is the usual word, (*wensh*) in a bad sense, (*læs*) not used, (*mæ'id*) is an old maid.

11. *wet clothes*, the *wet*, not in the text, is pron. (*wéit*).

12. *week*, observe (*wik*) not (*wik*), *weak* is (*wéik*).

13. *know*, (*nóou*), but *now* (*næ'u*).—*shepherd*, observe *sheep* (*ship*), *ship* (*ship*).

14. *I'm a-going*, this prefix *a-* to the participle is regular.—*this and that*; *'other* is not used.

15. *good-bye* is used only on leave-taking for a considerable time.

EAST HADDON, NP., cwl.

Words from the above cs. and a wl. from the same speaker.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 *sou*. 5 *meeek*. 17 *laa*. 21 *neem*. 34 *laast*. A: 39 *kam*. 49 *aq*. 54 *want*. 56 *wash*. A: or O: 60 *laq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *soq*. A'- 67 *guu*, *egu'in* [*agoing*]. 73 *soo*. 74 *ta'u*. 79 *oun*. 81 *leen*. 84 *móou*. 86 *oots*. 87 *tlooz*. 89 *booth*. 92 *nou*. 94 *króu*. A': 101 *ook*. 102 *as* [in pres. as well as past tense]. 104 *rood*. 111 *laa*. 113 *ol*. 117 *wæan*. 120 *vguu*. 122 *nou*. 125 *ooni*. 130 *bóut*.

Æ- 138 *faadhv*. 140 *a'il*. Æ: 154 *bæk*. 161 *dæ'i*. 164 *mæ'i*. 166 *mæ'id*. 169 *wen*. 179 *wot*. Æ'- 182 *séi*. 190 *kéi*. 194 *ani*. 200 *wéit*. Æ': 209 *nevæ*. 213 *iidhv*. 214 *niidhv*. 218 *ship* [not (*ship*)]. 219 *sléip*. 223 *dhíiv*. 224 *wíiv*. 227 *wéit*.

E- 233 *spéik*. 241 *ræ'in*. — *péev* [*a pear*]. E: 256 *stretj*. 261 *sæ'i*. 263 *ewæ'i*. 265 *street*. 276 *thiqk*. 278 *wensh*. 281 *læqkth*. E'- 290 *éi* [is as nearly as possible the sound]. 292 *méi*. 293 *wéi*. 294 *féid*. 299 *gréin*. E': 311 *tæn*. 312 *iiv*. 314 *i'ud*. 316 *neks*.

EA- 320 *kéev*. EA: 322 *lææf*, *laaf*. 324 *æ'it*. 326 *ould*. 330 *oold*. 332 *tóuld*. 338 *kaalz*. 340 *jaud*. EA'- 348 *æ'i*. — *léip* [*leap*]. 349 *fiu*. EA': 357 *aldhoo*. — *aft* [*heifer*]. 359 *neebv*. — *kréim* [*cream*]. 360 *téim*. 366 *gréit* [but *grate* is (*greet*)]. — *díu* [*dew*]. EI- 373 *dhaa* [before (*v*) meaning *they're*]. EI: 378 *wéik*. EO- 383 *sæv'n*. 387 *niu*. EO: 394 *jandv*. 395 *jaq*. 399 *bráit*. 402 *lææn*. 408 [*knew*, replaced by present tense *know* (*nóu*)]. EO'- — *néi* [*knee*]. 411 *thréi*. — *tréi* [*tree*]. 412 *shéi*. 429 *fóov*. EO': 422 *sik*. — *wéid* [*a weed, plant*]. 425 *lit*. 426 *fiit*. 427 *béi*, *bi*. 430 *frænd*, *frenz*. 435 *juu*. 437 *træ'uth*. EY- 438 *dái*. EY: 439 *træst*.

I- 440 *wik* [not (*wik*)]. 446 *náin*. — *péiz* [*pease*]. 449 *gat* [*got*]. I: 452 *ái*. 455 *láii*. 457 *máit*. 458 *náit*. 460 *wéit*. 462 *sáit*. 465 *satj*. 466 *tjáild*. 473 *bláind*. 477 *láind*. — *ship* [*a ship*]. 487 *jæstadee* [(-*di*) in names of the weekdays, see 631]. — *síks* [*six*]. I'- 494 *táim*. 495 *wáin*. I': 500 *láik*. 502 *fáiv*. 606 *wumæn*. 509 *wáil*. 510 *máin* — *wáit*. 517 *jiu*.

O- 519 *oovv*. 524 *wæald*. — *rat* [*to rot*]. O: — *kraaft* [*croft*]. — *laaf'n* [*inclined to (aaf'n)*, often]. 531 *daate*. 535 *fóuks*. 538 *wud*. 541 *wuunt*. — *tap* [*top*]. 550 *wæad*. O'- 557 *ta'u*. — *food* [*food*]. 562 *moon*. 564 *soon*. O': 571 *gud*. — *saaft* [*soft*]. 579 *ænæ'f*. 586 *dæ'u* *dóunt* [*don't*]. 588 *noon*. 592 *súuv*. 594 *boot*. 595 *tot* [*very, never (tu't)*]. U- 604 *sæmv*. 605 *san*. 606 *dúua*. U: 609 *fol*. 611 *bolek*. 612 *sæm*. 615 *pæ'und*. 616 *græ'und*. 619 *fæ'und*. — *ænded* [*hundred*]. 631 *thæazdi*. 632 *ap*. 634 *thruu*. U'- 640 *kæ'u*. 641 *æ'u*. 643 *næ'u*. 651 *wíjæ'ut*. U': 658 *dæ'un*. 663 *æ'us*. 666 *æzben*. 667 *æ'ut*.

Y- 673 *matj*. 674 *did*. 675 *drái*. 676 *láii*. 682 *lit'l*. Y: 690 *káind*. 691 *máind*. 692 *jaqgist*. 701 *fræst*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 *taak*. — *skæmp* [*scamp*]. I and Y. — *trái* [*to try*]. O.

— hab [a hob]. — dag [a dog, never (dæg)]. — fag [a fog]. — hag [a hog]. — lag [a log]. 767 nǝ'iz. 776 gud báí. — pat [a pot]. 781 bodhǝ. 791 ba'i. U. 804 draǝk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 822 mǝ'i. — pǝ'i [pay]. 824 tǝéiv. 833 péev. 835 réiz'n. — péev [to pare]. 862 seef. E.. 867 tǝéi. — pǝ'in [pain]. 885 veri. 890 béist. 891 féist. I.. and Y.. — krǝi [cry]. 900 prǝ'i. 901 fáin. 910 dǝA'ist. O.. — dǝA'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 925 vóis. 938 kaanǝ. 939 floos. — roost [roast]. — toost [toast]. 940 khoot. 942 botǝ. 947 ba'il. 950 sǝpǝ. 955 dǝ'ut. U.. — wǝ'it [wait]. 963 kwǝiet. 969 shǝuv+r. 970 dǝist.

HANNINGTON, Np. (5 nw.Wellingborough), dt.

pal. by AJE. from indications given and the io. of Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar, written 1878.

1. sǝv A'i sǝi, mǝvts, ju sii nǝ'u dhǝt AA)m rǝ'it vǝv'ut dhat lét'l gǝl kǝmin frǝm dǝi skuul dhǝv.
2. shi)z v)gǝ'in dǝ'uǝn dhǝ rǝvd dhǝv, thriú dhǝ rǝvd gǝst ǝn dhǝ left ant sǝ'id v)dhǝ wǝi.
3. shǝv vǝv'u dhǝ tǝA'ild v bin ǝn gan strǝvt ǝp tǝ dhǝ da'ǝr v)dhǝ rǝq ǝ'us.
4. wǝv shi)l hap'n ǝn dhat draǝk'n def sniv'ld felǝ v)dhǝ nǝvm v :mabǝt.
5. wi A'ǝl nǝu im veri wel.
6. wǝvnt dhi ǝuld tǝap sǝvn lǝvn)v nǝt tǝ dǝv it vǝg'n, pǝov thǝq.
7. lǝvk! ǝnt it triu.

Notes to the Hannington dt.

1. (dǝ'uǝn) for (dǝ'un) is doubtful.
2. (rǝvd) is doubtful, written *re-ad.* —*left.* This word was left unmarked.
3. *straight*, this is conjectural, written *straiert.*
4. *snivelled* used for *shrivelled*, (*shr-*) initial becomes (*sr-*).—*Mabbitt* was written in by Miss D. in place of Thomas.
6. *do it*, (*dǝv it*) is suspicious.

Miss D. also gave me the following words, which I have pal. as well as I could. The italics mean received spelling.

A nǝvm *name*, sǝvk *sake*.
 A' lǝvn *lane*, ǝvts *oats*, gu *go*, ǝldǝn *alone*, bǝvnz *bones*, mǝA'v *more*, ǝsk *oak*.
 Æ spǝvd *spade*, lǝet *late*, rǝt *rat*, sǝt *sat*.
 Æ' wǝt *wheat*, kǝi *key*, ladhǝ *ladder*, shi *sheep*.
 EA gǝvt *gate*.
 EA' gret *great*, bǝvnz *beans*, bǝvm *beam*, bǝrst *beast*.
 EO laan *learn*.
 I sǝitǝ *such*.
 O haal *hole*.
 U tǝq *tongue*, dǝA'v *door*.
 U' bu't *but*.
 A. bǝvbi *baby*.
 O. bwa'i *boy* [written *buoy*], duug *dog* [written *doog*].
 U. srǝb *shrub*.
 A.. kǝvdǝ *cage*, lǝvba *labour*, stǝvb'l *stable*, ǝvb'l *able*, wǝvsted *wasted*.
 E.. téi *tea*, kǝnsaa'n *concern*, saavis *service*, saatin *certain*, and gave the plurals housen placen closen postes crustes brere, the last pl. of briar.
 The words strong long wrong, she possibly meant to be pronounced with (ǝ) or with (u_v).

HARRINGTON, Np. (5 w.Kettering), dt.

by Miss Tollemache, daughter of the Rector. The numerous words marked to be in rec. pr. are here given in ordinary spelling and inclosed in square brackets []; no doubt the peasants pronounce slightly differently.

1. [so] A' [say], mêts, [you see] nE'u æz A'i)m rA'iet [about that little] gal ɛku_omiq throm [the school yonder].
2. əə)z ɛgoin dE'un [the] rôud [there through the red] gêt [on the] left and sA'id [of the] rôud.
3. shúuɛ ɛniú, [the] tʃA'ild)z bin ɛn gan [straight up to the door of the wrong] E'us.
4. wêv [she]'l tʃaans fA'ind [that there drunken] diif wiz'nd felɔr [of the] niɛm [of Thomas].
5. [we all know] im [very well].
6. wóent [the old chap soon] laan)ɛ [not to do it again, poor] thín.
7. [look], éint [it] tríu ?

Notes to the Harrington dt.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>I</i> , "very much drawled." | 3. <i>up</i> must have been (<i>u</i> _o p). |
| 2. <i>road</i> , at the end, is repeated because <i>way</i> would not be used. | 4. <i>chance</i> or (<i>mebi</i>). |
| | 7. <i>ain't</i> or aren't (<i>aant</i>). |

The Rector himself added a wl. as follows :

HARRINGTON cwl.

by Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, Rector, conjecturally pal. by A.JE.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 36 thAA. A: 55 eeshiz. A': 102 haks [occ.]. 105 [always 'he ridden']. 113 wool [occ. *w* sounded and *h* omitted]. 127 húst [written *hourstt*]. Æ- 188 fíedhɛ [written *feather*]. 152 weets [written "wäter, not worter"]. Æ: 155 thak. 174 eesh. 181 pad. Æ'- 190 kee. 195 meeni. E: 287 bez'm. EA: 335 AAL. 336 fAAL. 337 wAAL. 343 waam. EA': 355 diif. EO: 402 laan. 407 faad'n. EY- 438 dA'i [occ.]. I: 468 tʃild'n. 486 jest. I'- 494 tA'im. I': 500 lA'ik. 501 wA'id. 503 lA'if. 504 nA'if. 505 wA'if. 508 mA'il. 509 wA'il. 511 wA'in. O: 533 du_o. — AAS [written *orse*]. O'- 559 muudhɛ ['as in *bloom*']. O': 569 buuk. 572 blud. 579 ɛniú. 593 mu_ost. U- 600 lu_ov ['as in *push*,' that is, with (*u*), but I have used (*u*_o) as T.H. heard in Np.]. 603 ku_om. 607 bu_ote. U: 638 u_ogli. 609 fəl ['as in *hull*']. 618 wɛ'und. 622 u_ondɛ. 629 su_on. 632 u_op. 633 ku_op. 632 du_ost ['as in *push*']. U'- 640 kE'u. 641 hE'u. 643 nE'u. 647 hE'ul. 653 bu_ot. U': 658 dE'un. Y- 673 mu_otʃ. 676 lA'i. 677 drA'i. Y: 684 brig. 621 mA'ind. Y- 705 skA'i. 706 wA'i.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gœl ['as in *whirl*']. O. 767 na'iz. U. 808 pət ['as *hut*'].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 tʃaans [written *chance*, which should be (*tjeens*), but Miss T. wrote *charnce*]. 843 braantʃ. 848 tʃændj. 850 daans. 854 baal [written *barri*].

E.. 878 saləri. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 915 stu.f. 916 in.rn. 919 a'intmēt. 920 pa'nt. 926 spa'il. 942 bə'tʃ. 943 tu.tʃ. 947 ba'il. 948 bə'ul. 950 su.pv. 953 ku.z'n. 954 kəsh'n. 958 kive. U.. 965 a'il.

Notes.

(u_onkid) lonely, dull, frequently used; (sin, sid) saw, *was took*, he *ta'en*, he for *very well* they often say 'deadly well'; 'chilled' for 'warm' water; (friz) froze frozen; (frit) frightened; (wed) weeded; (ku_omd) came; housen placen; (eld'n) elder tree; (wīv) our; (wīse'n) ourselves; *them there* = those; given it, *it was gave*, more frequently (gōv). 'I am read that book' usual for 'I have, etc.'; *a few broth*; *his'n whos'n theern*; he *hadn't used* to do so. Many of these provincialisms are gradually disappearing.

LOWER BENEFIELD, Np. (3 w.Oundle), dt.

pal. in 1881 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. C. H. Wykes, national schoolmaster there, native of the county, but not of the place, who believed himself, and was stated by Mr. Reade, of the Oundle Grammar School, to be perfectly well acquainted with the pron. of the district.

1. sóu ái se'i, tʃaps, ʃe)sii ne'u ez ái)v [ái)m ráit vbe'ut dhat lit'l wentʃ kəm'ɪn frəm)dhə skuul dhêv.
2. shì)z gù'in de'vən dhə rôud dhêv thruu dhə)rəd gjá'it on dhə left and sá'id v)dhə wá'i.
3. bi aq'd, if dhə tʃá'ild e'nt gá'n strá'it u_op tə)dhə rəq dóuv [rəq e'us],
4. we'v shì)l veri ld'ik [mè)bi, praps] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n def skj'ini tʃap [felə] v)dhə nêim v :tom.
5. u_os aal ná'u ìm veri wē'l.
6. wu_ont dhə óuld tʃap suun làn)v nət tə)du'it v'gje'n, pòv thi'q [wentʃ].
7. luk)ʃe! e'nt)it tríu.

Notes to the Lower Benefield dt.

This pronunciation agrees on the whole very well with that of the Islip group, including Thrapston and Oundle, and is therefore sufficiently accurate, though it is somewhat uncertain. In a previous correspondence with Mr. W. he said that the four cardinal points of the local pronunciation are the treatment of 1. long *ā*, 2. long *ō*, 3. short *u* in *but*, 4. long *i* in *mine*. Now these were heard by TH., in the dt. as follows. 1. long *ā* (se'i, gjá'it, wá'i, strá'it, nêim e'nt), and in words subsequently given (pleez'n grêit, ná'im sá'i), so that he used (á'i, e'i, êi, e, ee) for this sound. 2. long *ō*, in the test (sóu rôud dóuv ná'u óuld pòv), and in subsequent words (óuts) oats, labourers (úts), (gu'in) going, (ná'u) no, (á'uld) old; so that the sound is represented by (óu, á'u) sometimes in the same word. 3. short *u*, (u_op,

dru_oqk'n u_os wu_ont) and in subsequent words (du_ol, u_odhez, shu_odn't, nu_o thi'q, vnu_of, nu_ot, bu_ots, dū_on, mu_ok) that is, always (u_o), which Mr. W. said was pronounced with pouted lips. As this is a native sound to TH., and as it is the regular M. vowel of this part of the country, there can be no doubt that these words were correctly heard. But Mr. W. considered it to be the first element of his long *i*, which greatly perplexed me before TH.'s visit. 4. long *i* in *mine*. In the test this occurs in (ái ráit sá'id tʃá'ild lá'ik), and in subsequent words (ái) frequently (má'ind sá'id fá'il fá'ind, ná'it tá'im), from which we may conclude that (ái), as in other places, is the regular form, and the rest are slips. In no dialect could (ái) represent both long *ā* and *i*, which must be differentiated in speech. Mr. W. did not dwell on *ou*.

This, in the test, is (nr'u vbɛ'ut dr'um ɛ'us), and in subsequent words (ɛ'uz'n fr'und), that is, (ɛ'u) regularly. Hence the district has the regular E. forms, (e'i, ɛ'i, a'i) for long *ā*, (ōu) for long *ō*, (āi, A'i) for long *ī*, and (ɛ'u) for *ou*, but being beyond the n. *sum* line 1, has the M. form (*u*) for *ū*.

In transcribing TH.'s version I have, as usual, put (i) in unaccented syllables for his (i, y), a mere matter of appreciation, and have omitted the (r) when not before a vowel, as, if Mr. Wykes

meant to pronounce it, other speakers shew he was wrong, and even when before a vowel it is probably no more than (r_v). I attach no weight to Mr. Wykes's medial vowels, which TH. observed, and have, as usual, omitted to note his occ. lengthened final consonants. TH. was not able to interview any natives, but a boy who shewed him the way to Mr. W.'s said (jis i dū_vz, u_vp dhat lɛ'in), yes he does, up that lane, thus verifying two points.

MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. in three groups, distinguished by the initials I, N, Y.

I words from Islip (:A'islip), with Lowick, Thrapston, Sudborough, Stanion, Oundle, and Lower Benefield, a group adjoining Hu., all lying n. of the n. *sum* line 1, and hence in the pure (*u*) region.

N words from Northampton, with Nether Heyford, Great Houghton, Hardingstone, Brixworth, and Wellingborough, a group adjoining Bd., all lying s. of the n. *sum* line 1, and mostly n. of the s. *sōm* line 2, and hence in the mixed *sum*, *sōm*, and *som* regions.

Y words from Yelvertoft, with Clay Coton, Welford, and Sibbertoft, a group adjoining Le., visited by TH. in 1886, all n. of the n. *sum* line, and hence with U=(*u*). In Yelvertoft one instance of verbal plural in *-en* was observed (dhi kAAN it fɛr) they call-en it here. In Sibbertoft was heard (a)nni flooz'n) how many closes = fields. In Welford (dɛr)z v wu_vnderfel dɪl v dɛfərəns v tAAkɪn in dɛr shiɛrz) there's a wonderful deal of difference of talking in the shires.

Final (r, ɾ) are written in where TH. so appreciated. I should myself have most probably omitted the signs altogether. They indicate a real trill made with the tip of the tongue, and my feeling is that natives are quite unable to utter such sounds. See introduction to M. div.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Y bɛk beek bɛk. 4 I teek, Y tɛik, N mistɛ'ik [mistake]. 5 Y mɛk. 6 I mɛid. 20 Y lɛm lɛim. 21 I nɛim nɛm, [between] nr'im, nɛim; nr'im, N nɛim, Y nɛm. 23 Y sɛm. 33 Y rɛdhɛr. A: 56 Y wash [old], wɔsh [new]. A: or O: 60 I lu_vq. 61 Y ɛmu_vq. 64 I roq roq, N roq, Y roq rɔ_vq. A'- — I â'i [name of the letter A]. 67 I gôu gu'in go'in gôu'in, N gû'in. 69 YIN nôu. 73 I [between] sôu sô'u, N sôu. 76 Y tûud. 81 IY lɛin, N [between] lôin lɔ'in, lɛin. 84 Y mûr. 86 INY ôuts, NY ûts. 92 I noo, N nôu. 93 I [between] snôu snâu, N snôu. 94 I [between] krôu krâu, N krôu. 95 N thrôu. A': 104 I rood, N [farmers (rôed)], rûud [from men from the country], rôud. — I lăidi [lady]. 109 I lôu. 110 I kânt shânt dônt [can't shan't don't], N kɛnt kɛnt shɛnt shɛnt. 115 INY ôum, N òm, Y oom oom wô_vm. 117 I wə'n wA'n, N wA'n. 118 Y bɛn bɛn. 121 I gA'n. 122 I nôu nA'n. 123 IN nu_vthi_vq. 124 I stôun, N stôun stA'n, Y stôun. 128 I dhôuz.

Æ- — I éiks [aches]. 138 YIN faadhɛr, Y feadhɛr. 139 I drɛi. 152 IY wAAtsɾ. Æ: 160 N ɛg. 161 I dâ'i dâi dɛ'i, [between that and dɛi], YN dɛ'i dɛi, Y dee. — N tɛip [tape]. 171 Y bārli. 172 Y gras. — I dlás [glass]. — I kât [cart]. — lɛit [late]. Æ'- 183 Y tâtɪ. 193 N klɛn. 194 Y onɪ anɪ. 200 IN wiit, N wɪt, Y wɪt wɪt wiit. Æ': 209 IY nɪvɛ. 223 I dhɛiv dhɛv, N dhɛivɾ, Y dhɛivɾ dhɛivɾ dhɛivɾ. 224 I wɛiv, YN wɛivɾ. 226 I moust.

E- 233 I spúik spiik. 241 N rɛin reɛn. 243 I plɛ'i. 248 Y mɛvɛr. E: 251 Y mɛ'it. 261 N sɛ'i, Y see sai. 262 I wâi, N wɔ'i, Y wee. 263

IY əwə'i, N [between] əwəi, əwə'i. E'- 295 I bred. 299 I griin, Y grīin. 300 Y k'ip. E': 305 I ʌ'i. 312 IN ɪə. 314 IN ɪərd ə'ɪrd, [between] əəd, əəd.

EA: 322 I lāf laaf. 324 I ʌit, Y ɛ'tiin [18]. 326 I [between] ʌ'uld, INY ɔuld ʌuld. 328 I kould. 329 I fi'aud. 333 N kʌf [pl.] kʌvz, Y kʌf. 334 Y aaf. 343 Y waaM [ʔ new]. 346 I gje'its, Y gje'ut gje'it. EA'- 347 INY ɛd. EA': 350 Y dɛ'd. 353 IN brɛd. 360 NY tɪəm. 361 NY biənz. 366 I grɛit greet, N grɛit grɛt grɛit. EI- 373 N dhā'i. EI. 382 N dhɛ'ən. EO- 383 IY sev'm. EO: 395 INY ju,q. 402 I ʌ'ɪrn lə'ɪrn, N lɛəm, NY laan, Y [between] lɛrn lɛrn. EO'- — I trii [tree]. 413 N dɛv'l. 420 Y fɔv'ɪr. EO': 425 N ʌ'it. 428 I si, Y sɪi. 431 N bɪ'ɪr, Y bɪər. 435 N jɔv'n [your'n]. 437 I [between] trə'uth, trɪ'uth [first element of diphthong very peculiar in one speaker's mouth]. EY- 438 IN dʌ'i, N dāi, Y [between] dāi, dʌ'i.

I- 446 I nʌ'in. — N shɪ'ɪr [shire]. — I jis [yes]. — N pɛ'iz [peas]. I: 452 I ʌ'i ai, N ʌ'i ai. 458 INY nʌ'it, NY nɛit, nɔ'it. 459 N rʌ'it rɔ'it. 465 N sɪ'tɪ, Y sɪ'tɪ. 469 N wu'l. 481 N fiqgɛ. — I rɛn ru,n, N rɛn rɛn ru,n. 482 I ɛ'int [ain't, are not, have not]. I'- — I ʌ'i [name of the letter I]. 492 N sʌ'id. 493 N drʌ'iv. 494 I tʌ'im [and between that and (tɛim)], N tʌ'im. I': 500 I lɛik, N ʌ'ik. 502 N fʌ'iv. 506 I wu,mɛn, N wumɛn. 508 I mʌ'il. 509 N wʌ'il, Y wʌ'il. 514 Y ɔis.

O- 519 I ɔuvɛ. 522 N ɔup'n. — I bʌ'ɪrn [born]. O: 527 Y bʌat. 529 Y brʌat. 531 IY dʌatɛr, Y dɔ'ɛtɛr [occ.], N dɔ'utɛ. — I tɛ'ul [toll]. — Y krap [crop]. 551 Y stʌ'ɪm. 554 N kra's [nearly (kroos.)] O'- 555 I shuu. 559 IN mɔdhɛ, mɔdhɛ, NY mɔdhɛ'r. 562 Y [between] mɔ'un mɔun, muun. — I mu,nth [month]. 566 I u,dhɛ. 568 I brɪ,dhɛ, Y brɪ,dhɛr, N brɪ,dhɛ'r. — I grɔ'u [grow]. O': 571 Y gu,d. 578 Y [between] plʌ'u, plʌ'u. 579 IN vɪ'f. 586 IN dɔunt [don't], du,ɛnt. 587 I dɔ'n. 588 Y nuun. 595 N fu,t.

U- N wɪd. 603 IN kɛm. 605 IN sɪ'n sɛ'n. 606 IN dɔv'ɪr, N dɪv'ɪr. 607 IY bu,tɛr, N [between] bu,tɛr bɔtɛr. — N nɔt [nut]. U: — N [between] dɛm dɔm [dumb]. — I tu,mb'l tɔmb'l [between] tɔmb'l tɔmb'l. 613 N [between] drɪ,ɔk dreqk. 615 Y pʌund. 622 N u,ndɛ. — I thu,ndɛ. 632 YI u,p, N u,p op ɔp. 633 I [between] kɛp kɛp; ku,p kɔp, N ku,p kɔp kɔp, Y ku,p. 634 Y thrɔ'u. 639 Y du,st. U'- — I [usual pronunciation (ɛ'u)]. 640 N kʌ'u, kʌ,uɛs [cowhouse]. 641 I ɛ'u, N ɔ'u. 643 I nɛ'u, N nʌ'u nɛ'u. — N plɔmz [plums]. 648 IY ʌ'vɛ, N ɛ'vɛn. 650 I vbi'ʌt. U': 658 I dɛ'vɛn dɔ'vɛn, IN dɔ'vɛn, N dɔ'vɛn dɔ'vɛn, Y dʌvɛn. 659 N tɔ'vɛn. 661 Y shʌvɛr. 663 I ɛ'ʌs ɔ'ʌs ʌ'ʌs, N ɔ'ʌs, Y ʌ'ʌs ʌ'ʌzɛz, ʌ'ʌz'n [Sibbertoft]. 667 I ʌ'ɛt, N ɛ'ɛt ɔ'ɛt.

Y- 673 IY mu,tɪ. 679 Y tʃɔrtɪ. Y: 691 N mʌ'ɪnd. 699 N [between] rʌit rʌ'it. — I shɔt [shut], N shɔ,t. Y': 709 I fʌiv.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 I bad. I. and Y. 758 IN gʌl. O. 773 N dɔqki. U. — I [between] tɔb tɔb [tub], N tu,b tɔb. 794 I dju,g dju,g [and between the two]. 803 INY dju,mp, I dʒɛmp dʒɔmp. — N fu,ni [funny]. 808 IN pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 N plɛs, Y plɛz'n. 814 I mɛis'n. 822 I mɛi. — N pʌ'i [pay]. — I plɛin [plain]. 830 I trɛin. — N plɛz [please]. 836 Y sɛz'n. 851 N aant. E.. 867 Y tɛ'i tii. — N prɛ'itɪ [preach]. — N klɛrk [clerk]. — N paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 N [between] nʌ'is nɛis. — I kra'i [cry]. 900 N prɛ'itɪz [prayers]. 901 IN fʌ'in. 903 IN dɪnɔ. — N pra'is [price]. O.. 916 N ɔnʌn, Y u,nʌn. 920 N pɔ'ɪnt. — IN pu,mp pomp. — N u,ɔk'l [and twice] ɔk'l. — N rɛ'ʌnd. 933 I fru,nt frɛnt. 939 I tlɔs, N tlɔs [pl.] tlɔz'n. — brɔʃ [brush]. 940 N [between] kɔut kʌ'ut. — I bɔt'n [button]. — I mu,t'n [mutton]. U.. — N pu,blɪk [public]. 965 N ɛil. — N ɔ'ɪrt [hurt]. 970 I dju,s, Y dju,st, N dʒis dju,st.

Usages. I (ai) m dɔ'n I have done. N (gu'in :kʒɛtɛrɪn) going to Kettering, regularly. No euphonic r.

VAR. v. ESSEX.

Coming s. again, we proceed from Ht. to Es., where the E. characters are most marked. But the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining information. And after all, most of the information obtained failed to bring out the chief peculiarities. Hence, until I had obtained the Maldon specimen, and TH. had made a special journey through the nw. of Es., I could feel very little confidence in the meagre accounts I obtained. But the result is that the ME. characters are all identified.

A- becomes (e'i e'i) and even (á'i, ái), so that it seems at first hearing to displace *i*, and as an alphabetical letter is called by some form of (a'i).

A'- is variously treated; (úv) and (óv) seem to be lost, but the latter survives in a few words as (óu óu). TH. heard (sóu) so, at Stebbing (11 n-by-w. Chelmsford) and (nóu) know at Braintree (11 n-by-e. Chelmsford), but on the other hand home, oats, appeared there as (óm, óts) mixed with (óm, óts uts), and so on. The transition to (óu) seems therefore not to have taken place, and there is an occasional reversion to (oo, o). This applies also to O when usually lengthened.

I' and I usually lengthened, as generally in E. div., is much broadened and falls into (á'i, ái, ó'i, á'i). Most writers of the dialect use *oi*, *oy*, as *toime*, *soide*, but I think that (á'i, ái) are really the most common pronunciations. TH. gives (tá'm má'íl) from Braintree, (láikli kwá'í'et) from Gt. Shalford, between (má'í, mói) from Stebbing, (má's má'í, láikli) from Great Easton, and I got (dá'ík dáik, móin) from Gt. Dunmow, but quite (lú'ikli fú'ind) from Maldon. I do not, however, entirely trust any one of my own authorities on such a delicate point.

As to the U' and the U usually lengthened in S. sp., that is, the usual (a'u) sound, there was much uncertainty. TH. gives (é'us té'un d'é'un é'ut) house town down out, from Braintree, (r'é'un é'uz'n n'é'u) and between (d'é'un d'é'un), round housen now down, from Panfield, with (é'uz'n n'é'u) and the intermediate (é'be'ut é'b'é'ut, gr'é'und gr'é'und) from Gt. Shalford. This intermediate sound causes the difficulty, as also the occasional prefix of (i) as (ní'é'u) Maldon; but as (é'u) was frequently heard, and I got it from Gt. Dunmow and Maldon, I think that (é'u) must be taken as the general sound. This will be found to harmonise with the other varieties of D 16 and with D 9.

As to the U sounds, they are regularly (ə, ɛ), but some exceptions seem to occur. The Vicar of Panfield stated that the following words had "German u" (u), "dust, love, above, hunger, tongue, under, some, but, butter, cup, ram, roof, enough, drunken, coming," and even "about." It was principally for that reason that TH. spent some time in Panfield and the neighbourhood, but he could find no trace of this pronunciation. The same vicar gave "ew as in new" for the sound in "school threw sure too soon do poor true," and said that French u was not heard. TH. found no confirmation of this in the neighbourhood, nor did I from Gt. Dunmow or Maldon, though the Vicar of Rayne (3 s. Panfield) gave me a similar list, just reversing ordinary usage, which I attributed to his exactly misunderstanding the signs I asked him to use. I therefore conclude that U is treated as in received speech.

Another salient point is the use of (w) for (v). TH. got (wit'l wínege) victuals vinegar from Braintree, (wéri wit'lz wínege) but (váis) voice, from Panfield (where the Vicar had acknowledged *werry*), but (véri wínege wóis) from Gt. Shalford, and (wit'ls wíneger vóis) from Stebbing. On the other hand, an inn-keeper and an old man at Gt. Dunmow assured him that (w) was not used for (v) there, but my Gt. Dunmow authority, a native, gave (wó'is) voice, and my Maldon authority gave (wéri), and from Southend I obtained (westri wæli) vestry value, from Paiglesham (6 nne. Southend) and Stanway (3 w. Colchester) and Brightlingsea (7 sse. Colchester) (wéri), while from Bradfield (9 ene. Colchester) came (wes'lz) vessels, with the remark that the people could not pronounce (v). In Clark's Glossary to his "John Noakes and Mary Styles," the classical Es. dialect specimen, I find "wark warld warmin warses warsley" (I believe a corruption of *universally* that is, *altogether*, for Clark used "I shudn't warsley loike to

troy," I should not altogether like to try, compare the 'Varsity for University in the boat races), "weltersome werry weskit wisit." Hence we may conclude that (w) is generally used for (v), and that where in isolated cases (v) is heard, it is a modern refinement. But does (v) ever occur for (w)? Dr. Charnock in his Glossary has *vae ven vite vot*=way when white what, but I have had no confirmation from any of my authorities. Compare D 9, p. 132.

As in E. div. generally, *r*, when not preceding a vowel, becomes (ʁ) or disappears altogether. Every dialect writer puts in the *r*, however, even where it never was and never could have been sounded, as Clark's *baccar* (bæke) tobacco, *bargun* (bægən) begun, *bellar* (belə) bellow, *boarnt* (bóvnt) bonnet, *carl* (kaal) crawl, *chamber* (tjaambə) chamber, *darter* (daatə) daughter, *fellar* (felə) fellow, *hort* (haat) hot, *lorss* (laas) loss, *marster* (maastə) master, *morrar* (móre) morrow, *naarbour* (naabe) neighbour, *orfan* (aafən) often, *scrarl* (skraal) scrawl, *squarls* (skwaalz) squawls, *thurrar* (thərə) furrow, *uster* (juus tə) used to, was accustomed to, *yallar* (jæls) yellow. And in addition I find in Charnock *arrar* (ære) arrow, *arter* (aatə) after, *harve* (haar) a haw, or small piece of land by a house, *snaath* (snaath) snath, long handle of a scythe. The acme of this mode of writing was reached by my Southend authority, who described the clerk's pronunciation of *amen* as "rmen rmon, rrrmon," that is (aaa-mən) with the first (aaa) very prolonged. In my phonetic printing-office at Bath with London compositors the confusion between the names of the types for (aa, r) was so great, that I was forced to have the latter called (éev) or (ree). The writing in of *r* in such cases shews that the writer habitually neglects it in speech, but its insertion is very confusing to the reader occasionally. It serves only as a diacritic to modify the meaning of the preceding vowel, and when such modification does not occur it is omitted by the writer. Thus we find in Clark *coas* (koos, kóus) course, *foce* (foos, fóus) forced, *fust* (fəst) first, *gal* (gæl) girl, *hoss* (həs) horse, *hull* (həl) hurl, *suppas* (supaa's) surpass, *turnips* (tənips) turnips, *wusser* (wəse) worse-r. What the precise sound of *r* was before a vowel was not recorded either by TH. or myself. It was certainly a light *r*, but whether lightly trilled (r) or lightly buzzed (r̥) I cannot say; theoretically certainly the latter as a degradation of (r), but (r) alone has been written by both of us. When (aa, aa, ææ, e) precede a vowel, a euphonic *r* is always added, even in the same word, as (saa-r-ig) saw-r-ing, (draa-r-ig) draw-r-ing, whether the syllable or word did or did not originally end in an (r). Hence the country people were accused of adding on an (r) in places where they could not pronounce it!

Clark gives (aaldoe') although, which would be remarkable if certain. Other slighter peculiarities will be found in the following word list.

Of constructions the only striking usage is putting the plural verb to the singular subject, as: he *do* (i doo), my head *swim* (ma'i ed swim), usual in all the E. div. But I have no example of the reverse, or putting the singular verb to the plural subject as: we *does*. *Be* is apparently occasionally used in *he be*, not in *I be*. Without *he*, belong to *we*, a S. construction, is sometimes heard. Of peculiar words which are not also found in D. 19 there are few or none. *Mawther* (maadhə) is here used in a depreciatory sense, as a coarse wench. *Together* is a common form of address to several persons. Come to *mine*, means to my house, and so in other persons. But all this is more developed in D 19. At Brighilingsea *master* is used in the sense of *very*, an intensitive adverb. *Snace* (snees) the snuff of a candle is (sniis) in Ch.

Illustrations.

Gr. DUNMOW (10 n.w. Chelmsford).

Abridged es. pal. in 1873 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, a native of Great Dunmow, who when it was made had been several years absent, and had been endeavouring to forget his dialectal tendencies. But the uncertainty which would therefore cling to it has been mostly dissipated by TH.'s investigations in the neighbourhood.

1. wəl, neebə, ʒ'u.ən ii mə booth laaf, uu kéesz ?

[1654]

2. wi noo, dóost wi?
3. dʒɛst ooldʒɛ rɛ'u, tɪl ái dæn.
4. ɔ'i)m saatɪn ái ʔəd ɛm séɛi, dhæt ái ded, séɪf ɛnáf.
5. dhæt dhɛ ʒəqːgest sən ɪself, ɛ gret buɔ'i ɛv nɔ'ɪn nɪú ɪz faadhɛz wɔ'ɪs ɛt wəns, ɛn ái ud trəst ɪm tɛ spiik dhɛ trɪúth ɛnɪ déi, éi, ái ɪuud.
6. ɛn dhɛ ɛ'ud ɪmən ɛrsɛlf ul tel ɛni ɔn)ʒi ɪf ʒɛ'u)l ɔni æks)ɛ, ɔo woont shi?
8. ɛ'u, wɪɪɛ ɛn wɛn shi fɛ'ɛn dhɛ dræqk'n biist shi kaalz ɛr æzɛn.
9. shi saar)ɪm wɪdh ɛr ɔon áiz léi'ɛn strɛtɪt ɔn dhɛ grɛ'und, ɪn ɪz gʊd sændi kóost ɛgi'n dhɛ daar)ɛv)dhɛ ɛ'us, dɛ'ɛn ɛt dhɛ kaanɛr ɛv dhæt)éɛ léi'n.
11. dhæt æp'nd ɛz shii)ɛn)ɛ daatɛr)in)laa kɔm thriú dhɛ bæc ʒaad frɛm æqʊn ɛ'ut dhɛ wɛt klóost tɛ drɔ'i ɔn ɛ wəshɛn de'i,
12. wɔ'ɪl dhɛ kɪt'l wɛz bɔ'ɪlɛn fɛ tii.
13. æn dʒɛ noo? ái nɪvɛ laant ɛni maa dhɛn dhɪs, ɛn ái doont wənt ɪt eedhɛ, dhɪs nɛ'u!
14. ɛn soo ái)m gu'ɛn ɔom tɛ sɛpɛ. gʊd nɔ'it.

Notes to Great Dunmow cs.

2. don't (dóost) for (doont) is doubtful, compare don't, par. 13. 3. *hold your row till I done*, possibly *I've done*. 5. *youngest, great*. I am not quite sure of having correctly separated (e ɛ, ə ɛ) at this early period of my work. 9. *saw him* with euphonic (r).—*eyes*, (ái ɔ'i) seem to have been confused.—*door of the*, the (r) is euphonic, (dAA'ɛ) might be said if no word followed, but (dAA) would be most usual before a consonant, compare (mAA) par. 13. 11. *daughter-in-law*, euphonic (r). 13. *do you know*. Mr. Roderick, see Ware, Ht., told me he heard at Great Dunmow (shɛ dʒaad ái, ɛn ái dʒaad ɔə bæc ɛgi'n), she jawed I, and I jawed her back again.

MALDON (9 e.Chelmsford) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Miss Wing, a native of Hornsey, six years at the National School, Maldon, as pupil teacher, at the time of dict. a student at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea.

1. sóu ɔ'i sɛ'i, mæ'ɪts, ʒɛ'u sii nɪ'ɛ'u dhɛt ɔ'i)m rɔ'it ɛbɛ'u't dha't lɪl gɛl [gɛl] ɛ-kam'ɛn frɔm dhɛ skuul ʒɔn'dɛ.
2. ɛt bi ɛ-gɪɪɛn dɛ'ɛn dhɛ róovɛd dhɪɪɛ thruu dhɛ rɛd gɛ'ɪt ɔn dhɛ lɛft a'nd sɔ'id ɛ dhɛ wɛ'i.
3. shúuɛr ɔnáf dhɛ tʒɔ'ɪld ɛz gAAɪn stræ'it ɛp tɛ dhɛ dúuɛr ɛ dhɛ roq ɛ'us,
4. wɪɪɛ shiɪl lɔ'k'li fɔ'ɪnd dha't dræqk'n def srɪv'ld fɛlɛr, ɛ dhɛ næ'ɪm ə :tɔm'əs.
5. ɛs AAL noo ɪm wɛr'i wɛl.
6. ɔont dhɛ oold tʒa'p suun tɛɛɪ [laan] ɛ not tɛ duu ɪt ɛgi'n, pɔov thiq!
7. lɛk, ɛnt ɪt trɪu?

Notes to the Maldon dt.

1. *so*, this is one of the very few instances collected of this pron.—*I am* most usual. *I be* is used more than *I are*, but *I are* is also used. Never heard *we is*, or *thou*. *He do, we was*, and *theirselves* are used.—*now*, this inserted (i) was given me in (fiá'und griá'und piá'und fiá'ul kíá'u shiá'u'v miá'uth miáus fiá'un íá'ut priá'ud) by the Vicar of Panfield, but he also gave me (əbuu't) about, and reiterated it, though it was not heard or known in the place when TH. visited it.—*yonder*, probably an error for (inde),

an E. form, possibly *hinder* used in place of *yonder*. As to the final *r* I felt uncertain, as Miss Wing being from Hornsey might have imported the London use; but it has been fully confirmed.

3. *enough* (vna'u) was not known.—*door*, this (dúus) is suspicious, the (r) is euphonic.

4. *shrivelled*, *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (sræk) shrieked. Generally, the voice is pitched high with a final rising inflection, which runs very high in questions.

ESSEX cwl.

As the dialect seems homogeneous, I have not distinguished the places whence the words came. Those obtained from TH. are placed first or are unmarked, and those from other sources are preceded by —.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 méik meek. 10 — haa. 13 — naa. 14 — draa. 21 nêim ne'im, — néewm náim. 33 — readhv. 34 — las. 37 — klaa. A: — kjéint [can't]. A: or O: 64 raq. A'- 67 gu'an [going], — gə'u. 73 — sdu se'u. 76 — toud. 86 ots ots u'ts, — óets. 91 — ma'u. 92 ndu. A': 104 rood roud, — róovd re'ud. 110 — nat. 115 ðm [Hðm], — həm əm, — haamli [homely]. 117 wa'n wan. 118 — bon. 121 — gaan. 122 — nə'wn. 123 — naathən. 124 stoon, — stə'un. 125 — oni.

Æ- 138 — faadhv. 140 — ha'il. 141 nā'il. 143 — tæ'iel téel téul. 152 waatv. Æ: 158 — aate. 161 dēi dæ'i. 171 baali. 179 vot [this, 224 and 266 are the only examples of (v) for (w) actually heard from an innkeeper at Panfield, and they are very doubtful as he was merely stating his opinion]. Æ'- — retj [reach]. 183 — tiitj. — ærund [errand]. 199 — bleet. 200 wéit wiit. Æ': 213 — eedhv. 217 — etj. 219 — ship. 224 vɛ'r [see 179].

E- 241 rēin rā'in rāin, — ra'in. 252 — kit'l. E: 261 sēi sá'i se'i. 262 wā'i wē'i. 263 ewāi. 265 stréit stre'it stráit. 266 vɛ'l [once given, see 179]. — fil [field]. 273 — mín. 278 — iind [end]. 282 — gəən [grin]. E': 305 — hɔ'i. 306 — hekth. 307 — nɔ'i. 312 íe. 314 — haad. 315 — fit.

EA- 319 — gaap. 320 — kíe. EA: 322 laaf. 324 — a'it a'ívt. 326 á'uld, [between] óud a'ud, — ə'uld, ood. 327 — bæ'uld. 328 — ké'uld. 329 — food. 330 — hood. 331 — sood. 332 tá'ud, — tood. 333 — kíef. 334 — heef. 346 — gɛit. EA': 355 — diif dif. 359 neebv ná'ibv néibv ne'ibv. 361 béinz biinz. 369 — slóu. 370 — raav. 371 straa, — straa.

EO- — sev'm. 384 — hev'm. EO: 388 — melk. 393 — biə'nd. 394 inde [see top of this page, col. 2]. 396 wak wák, — wək. — aal [earl]. 400 — aanest. 402 laan. 406 — aath. EO'- — fra'iz [freeze]. EO': 430 — frin. 435 jaa [your]. 437 trə'uth trə'uth. EY- 438 da'i.

I- 444 — stə'il. 446 nāin. — piiz [pease]. — iis [yes]. I: 452 ái. 458 na'it. 459 — rə'it. 468 tɔldern [approaching (tɔldern)]. 469 — wul [will]. 477 — fa'in. 483 — his [not (hiz)]. 488 — it. — dət [dirt]. I'- 491 — sa'ith. 494 tá'im tɔ'im, tá'im [verging to tɔim]. — rep [reap]. 499 — biid'l. I': — dá'ik dáik [dyke]. 500 láikl, — lɔ'ik. 501 — wə'id. 502 — fə'iv. 505 wə'if. — ha'ie hee héei [hay]. 508 ma'il. 510 máin mái.

O- — smək [smoke]. 524 wald wöld. O: 527 — boot. 528 — thoot. 529 — broot. 531 — daate. 533 — dul. 535 — fək. 541 ðnt. — əs

[horse]. O': 560 skíul. — guums [gums]. 562 muun. O': 583 tíul. 586 dooz [he does], — doo [does]. 587 də'n. 588 nûen núun. 593 məs-t. U: 602 — sia'u. 603 kəm, — kím. 605 sə'n. 606 dõe. U: 614 — hē'un. 616 grá'und. 623 — fa'un. 632 əp əp, — ʊp [at Stanway]. 634 thrúu thrə'u, — thrú. 636 — fəde. U': 640 — kiá'u. 643 nə'u [varying to nə'u]. 650 ʊbə'ut ʊbē'ut, — ʊbia'ut. U': 658 də'un də'un də'un [between] (də'un, də'un), — diáun. 659 tē'un. 663 ə'us ə'us ə'us. 667 ɛ'ut. Y- 674 — ded, dent [did not]. — hiiv [hive]. 679 — tjaatj. 682 — liit'l lid'l. Y: 684 — bredj. 690 kjá'ind. 691 — mə'ind. Y': 711 — liis. 712 — miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 — driin. 737 mə'it. I. and Y. 758 — gæl. O. 761 — lod. 767 — na'iz. 790 — ga'und. 791 bói, bói. U. — məg [mug]. — gən [gun]. — kaal [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. páil [pail], — pæ'iel péel péel. — pláin [plain = dialectal]. 840 — tjaambe. 845 á'inshent. 849 strá'indy. — skees [scarce]. — sle'it [slate]. 862 sêif. E.. 885 wəri veri. — kənsaa'n [concern]. 888 — saatin. — saavis [service]. I.. and Y.. — wiledj [village]. 901 fá'in. — wínegə vínegə [vinegar]. — wít'lz vít'ls [victuals]. O.. — kotj. — dja'un [join]. 925 wóis wóis wáis. 926 — spa'il. — rē'un [round]. 940 — kot. 947 — ba'il. — djaani [journey]. — məv [move]. 956 — kive. 963 kwá'i'ət kwá'i'ət. 965 — a'il. 970 — djēs.

D 17 = SE. = South Eastern.

Boundary. To the s. the Thames R., being the b. of the S. div. To the n. a sweeping semicircular line, from the b. of Ox. from 10 s.Aylesbury, Bu., s. of Wendover, Bu., and of Hemel Hempstead, Ht., of Hatfield, Ht., and Hoddesdon, Ht., and just n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., and then passing through Epping, Es., and w. of Brentwood, Es., to the Thames R. at Tilbury, opposite Gravesend. This line is, of course, very roughly and conjecturally drawn, the parts of Bu., Ht., and Es. to the north, not being perceptibly different from those immediately south of it. But to the n. of this line the speech of the people seems to be really dialectal, while within there are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech. But there is a decided tendency to E. as distinguished from S. feeling, and hence the district is considered to be a mixture of Metropolitan and Eastern.

Area. The whole of Mi., the se. of Bu., s. of Ht., and sw. of Es. D 17 SE. and D 8 sBS. are the two halves of the Metropolitan Area, n. and s. of the Thames R., where the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible. Nevertheless, D 17 is even more distinctly E. than D 8 is S. Almost all the so-called "vulgarisms" of London are of E. and more especially metropolitan E. origin. And this form of speech has become prevalent also in Australasia (see p. 236).

Character. This must be collected from the following sections, especially the first.

§ 1. *Mr. D'Orsey on London Town Speech.*

The Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, B.D., Professor of Public Reading at King's College, London, with large experience in correcting errors of speech and defects of utterance, in writing to the School Board for London, 4th December, 1882, said :

"Such words as *paper, shape, train*, are pronounced *piper, shipe, trine*,—the very first letter of the alphabet being thus wrongly taught. *Cab* is *keb*, *bank* is *benk*, *strand* is *strend*; *light* is almost *loyt*; the short *i* is made *ee*, e.g., 'second edeeshon; no is now; mountain is meountain; stupid is stoopid, and many more. The final consonants are so feebly uttered that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the pupil says *life*, or *like*, or *light*. 'H' is constantly transposed. 'G' is dropped in such words as *coming, going*, etc., or is turned into *h* in *nothink*. Most pupils cannot trill the *r*, burring it in the throat, or making it a *w*, as *dwink* for *drink*. In many cases *r* appears improperly at the ends of words, thus *Maida-hill* as *Myder-eel*, *Maria Ann* as *Maria ran*."

In *piper, shipe, trine*, the *i* probably means (ɛ'i) or (æ'i), and only rarely (á'i); if so, this is only a fully developed Es. form. It is found all over Ht. and Es. as already shewn, and is strongest in East and North London, being as yet comparatively little developed in North West and West London. But it is recent, as will be shewn in the following sections. I was myself born in North London in 1814, and cannot recall it.

We have seen that when long *a* has developed in (ɛ'i, æ'i, á'i), long *i* develops into (á'i, á'i), but in London I have not myself observed anything beyond (á'i), and that very rarely. This is perhaps the sound which Mr. D'Orsey alluded to by saying "*light* is almost *loyt*."

The correlative of the change of long *a* into (á'i) is that of long *o* into (á'u), but to my ears it seldom reaches this in London, though I have heard 'ladies in a boat' in Hyde Park spoken much like (la'idiz ín)ɐ ba'ut), but I think it did not go beyond (læ'idiz ín)a bóut). This is common ME, D 16, etc. For London it is not mentioned in Walker or Smart (see § 2), or in the 'Errors of Pronunciation 1817' (see § 3), or in 'Pickwick' 1837 (see § 4), or Thackeray 1845 (see § 5), and must therefore be recent. For the received (oo'w), which is quite different, see Part IV. p. 1152. But when *o* tends to (óu), the *ou* diphthongs tend to (éu, ɛ'u) as in the whole of the E. div., and this is most probably the sound meant by Mr. D'Orsey's *meountain*.

The use of *keb, benk, strend*, probably (kɛb bɛqk strɛnd) for (kæb bæqk strænd), may be growing. The use of *edeeshon*, often heard as (*idiishshen*), seems confined to newsboys, and is merely emphasis.

The use of (uu) for (iú) in *stupid news*, etc., is by no means confined to London or E. div. The 'transposition' of "H" is very common, though its simple omission is still more common, everywhere. The use of *comin' goin'* etc. in the participle is historically preferable to the received *coming going*, and is almost universal

dialectally, but becomes (-iqg) in s.La. and (-iqk) in Ch. The received sound is (-iq), which of course is what Mr. D'Orsey meant. We find *nothink* (næthiqk) in several dialects. The London treatment of *r* belongs not merely to the whole E. div. but to the whole e. coast of England from Ke. to Nb. The feebleness of the pron. of final consonants is so far as I know insufficient to characterise London.

Mr. D'Orsey's examples, therefore, do not seem to characterise a peculiar mode of speech, but merely show a grafting of some E. habits on our received speech.

§ 2. Walker (1792-1807) and Smart (1836) on London Speech.

These two well-known authors of *Pronouncing Dictionaries* have each given a section on Cockney Pronunciation. I quote Walker from the stereotype edition of 1814. He enumerates four faults only. 1) *postes, fistes, mistes*, etc., for *posts, fists, mists* [mentioned in § 3 under P, p. 228]; 2) interchange of *v, w* as *weal, winegar, vine, vind*, for *veal, vinegar, wine, wind*, the two latter are spoken of as common; 3) not sounding *h* after *w* to distinguish *while wile, whet wet, where were* [now firmly rooted even in educated speech]; 4) interchange of *h* as *art, harm*, for *heart, arm*. There is no hint at pronouncing *ā, ō* as *ī, ow*.

Smart in his *Hints to Cockney Speakers* finds it almost unnecessary to remark on the interchange of *v, w*. But notes *wōōld cōōld shōōld*, would could should, [now never heard]; *chick'n, Lat'n, nov'l, parc'l*, but *swivel, heaven, evil, devil*, [the last of which is scarcely heard now but in the pulpit]. Other errors he notes as *arithmetic, character, writin', readin', spile sile* for *spoil soil, toosday, dooty, perput-rate, affinut-y, providunce, edecation*; *boa'rd fo'm co'd* for *board form cord, lawr, sawr, 'and, 'eart, honour, honest*. There is no hint of sounding *ā, ō* as *ī, ow*. But he says that the *ā* of "a well-educated Londoner . . . finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound of *e*" (ii); and that *ō* "in a Londoner's mouth is not quite simple . . . finishing almost as *oo* in *too*." These are the *ee'*, *oo'w* of rec. sp. which are quite different from the *ī, ow* sounds.

§ 3. Errors in London Speech in 1817.

In an anonymous book called "Errors of Pronunciation and improper expressions used frequently and chiefly by the inhabitants of London" (Lackington), 1817, not one example of the pronunciation *ī, ow* for *ā, ō* is adduced. As this little work is probably not accessible, the following extract may be of service. Wrong pronunciations only are extracted, the author's orthography is adopted, and any explanations are given in []. The order is alphabetical, arranged by the initial letter.

A *advertisement, arter, airy* [area], *alablastr* [alabaster], *ally* [ally], *angola* [angora, now usual], *any-think, archangel* [*ch* = (tj)] *archetype, architect, architecture, architrave, archives, aristocrasy, arnt* [aunt ant], *arrac* [now usual], *arrant* [errand], *arrer* [arrow], *ast* [ask], *attainer* [attainder], *axe* [ask].

B *babby, baggonet* [bayonet], *balcony* [now usual], *basilicum* [basilica], *beadle* [beetle], *bile* [boil], *Bishergate St.* [Bishopgate], *botherdash* [balderdash], *brachygraphy, brile* [broil], *broach* [brooch, now generally with (oo) not (uu)], *broccolo, Brummagem, Burgamy* [Burgundy], *burnfire* [bonfire], *berrin* [burying], *buzzum* pronounced *boosom* [seemingly meaning (buuz'm) bosom].

C *chaney* [China-ware, obsolete], *charmber* [obs.], *chimley* [chimney], *chisscake* [cheesecake], *comforts* [comfits], *crow'd* [crew], *curossety*.

D *democrasy, drugs* [dregs], *dysentery*.

E eddication [observe not edjication] i-thur [oldest form, still in use], -er for -ow in arrer beller feller holler narrer piller swaller willer, ere pronounced are [not clear], ewe is pronounced yeo [this must be common provincial (*300*) now unknown in London].

F feater [feature], Febberwary [February], figary [vagary].

G garp [(gaap) gape, common prov.], genus [genius], geographry, gobble [cobble], gownd [gown], Gracious St. [Gracechurch St.], grassplat for —plot [both usual].

H omitted in 'eart, put in in harm, etc., hankechur harbour [arbour], have rhyming to cave, hedge, heir [h with abnormal aspirate], Herkerlis [Hercules], his'n, holler [see -er].

I idear Mariar Louisar, ile [oil], imminent [eminent], Ingia [India], ingenious [ingenuous], instid [instead], irrepárable.

J janders [jaundice], Janniwery, jessamy [-mine], jest [just], jine [join].

K kittle [kettle, common provincial].

L larn larning, least [less], leef [sub. leave], leefftenant pronounced levetenant [leftenant, now usual], leettle [very little], lickerish [licorice], line [loin], lingo, live for lief, lozenger [lozenge].

M manifaeter, manifaeterer, marrow [marrow], massacree, materals [materials], meller [mellow], Mepomené [Melpomene], meracle maracle for miracle, mercántile, mezéreum, mischéevous, muckenger [muckender, obs. for mockadour, Fr. mouchoir].

N narrer [narrow], nater [nature], necessitate, nevvly, nowadays [no wise].

O obstroperous, oman "this error is constantly committed by the ordinary class of people," otherways [-wise], otter of roses, our'n.

P pantomine [-mime] peashuks [peashells], Penelopé, pertikalar, piller, pint [point], pi-son [poison] post-es persist-es and other words in -ist, preambulate, prejudiciary [prejudicial], pronounciation, pudden [pudding].

R redikerlous [ridiculous].

S salary [celery], salitary [salutary], sartin, sarve, sarvice, sawder [soldier], sentry [century], set [sit], shay [chaise], shemmy [chamois, applied to leather], shet [shut], should, could, would, sitteation [situation], sparrow-grass [or grass only, asparagus], spear [sphere], sperrits [spirits], spile [spoil], statute [statue], stenográphy, substraction, successfully [successively], sich [such], suddun, to summons, superflúous, supperate [suppurate], surgeon for Sir John, to swaller.

T taller [tallow], Terpsi-chore in three syllables, terrestrial [terrestrial], Thália, Toosday, topográphy, towards, trow [trough, a common provincialism].

U umberella, 'un [one], uvola [uvula].

V & W constantly confused, weal, winegar, vine, vind.

W warnt, Wensday, willer [willow], winder [-ow], wurt [wart].

Y your'n.

Z called izard in place of zed.

It is observable that in this list the great number of cases are not at all dialect, but are false appreciations of unfamiliar words. Sometimes they are genuine survivals, as *arrant* ags. æ'rende, in place of *errand*, falsely derived from *errandum* in imitation of *errant*. On the whole these are not Londonisms of the present day and are in that respect noteworthy.

§ 4. *Dickens' London Speech, 1837.*

We do not find the peculiar pron. piper for paper in Sam Weller's speeches in Dickens's "Pickwick," 1837, where it would have been immensely picturesque, and we may therefore infer that Dickens did not then know it. Indeed 11 years later in his *Haunted Man*, p. 66, 1st ed. 1848, where there was a splendid opening for it, it never seems to have occurred to Dickens. Adolphus Tetterby, the news-boy, varies his calling out of Paper! by changing "the first vowel in the word *paper* and substituting in its stead, at different periods of the day, all the other vowels in grammatical succession." The effects are written as "pa-per, pepper" not pe-per, "pipper" not pi-per, "popper, pupper." All this is natural supposing (pe'e'pe, pep'e, pip'e, pape, pep'e) to be used, the second and third being regular degradations of the first, but (pa'i'pe) would not come in anyhow. We may thus conclude that the pron. *pi-per* was not known 40 years ago in London.

In Sam Weller the principal fun is made out of the interchange of *w* and *v*, and while (*w*) is constantly used for (*v*) in D 9, Ke. and D 16, Ès., and also D 19, Nf., I have not found a certain example in the provinces of (*v*) being used for (*w*), and though I have for many years been on the look out for it, have never heard (*v*) used for (*w*) in *earnest* in London (see p. 132). Now Dickens's Sam Weller, who calls himself Veller, and says he spells his name with a *wee*, is full of this. I have noted the following examples of *v* for *w*: *vaggin*, *vouldn't*, *vy* [why], *vos*, *vorth*, *white*, *vidower*, *vidder*, *veskit*, *ve*, *vay*, *vile*, *vun*, *vunee*, *vich*, *Pickvick*, *Veller*, *Valker*, *vide*, *vhen*, *ven*, *vheel*, *Barnvell*, *Vellingtons*, *vorn*, *svear*, *vare-ever*; and the following *w* for *v*: *dewotion*, *wery*, *inwest*, *conwert*, *reverse*, *wictim*, *wisit*, *wessell*, *invention*, *woter*, *ventilation*. Sometimes, but rarely, *w* is preserved, as in *well*, *widder*, *washus* [wash-house].

The other words of S. and T. Weller have no great peculiarity, as: *babby* [incompatible with *bobby*], *feller*, *I des-say*, *fort'nit*, *biled* [boiled], *'ooman*, *see'd*, *hollering*, *bustin'* [the *g* not by any means always lost], *nothin'*, *anythin'*, *a'nt*, *ha'nt*, *'ansome* [handsome, Hansoms did not exist], *rayther*, *natur*, *imperence*, *dooties*, most of them common in all dialects. Most of these are merely conventional literary cockney, and it is only the absence of *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō* which is of any importance.

§ 5. *Thackeray's London Footman's Speech, 1845-6.*

In *Punch* for 1845-6, W. M. Thackeray first published his *Jeames's* [not *James's*] *Diary* in highly picturesque spelling, founded, of course, principally on phonetic habits, or it would have had no point. Now here I find no hint of *ā*, *ō* being called *i*, *ow*. He uses *y* for unaccented *a*, that is, (*i*) for (*ø*), in *gyzett*, *myjestick*, *yyponica*, *myommidn* [Mahometan], and also *nybobb* (*nibob'*), the accentuation (*nee'*bob) for *nawaw'ō* being quite modern, and from an Indian point of view incorrect. For *ā* he either uses *a*, as *infamation*, *gave*, *able*, *place*, *pane*, *hate* [eight], *chasely* [chastely], *phamously*, *shampagne*, *fate* [fête], *lazy fase*, *grasefly*, *labor*, *istate*, *gacing* [gazing], *sitawashns*, *A* [=hay], *taty taty* [tête à tête], or employs *ai*, *ay*, as *awailed*, *hordayshis*, *plait*, *payges*, *haypix* [apex], *gayv*, *layt*, *brayv*, *sayle*, *straynger*, *say*, *beayviour*, *sayber*, *fainted*, *narrait*, *gaytors*, *layborer*, *rayge*. For *ō*, which occurs seldom, he has *oa* in *roag*, *poaker*, *noas*, *toan*. The *w* for *v* is not very conspicuous in *wery*, *wulgar* [but also vulgar], *invite*, *wisit*, *convussing*, *weakle* [vehicle], *prevents*, *divine*. Of *v* for *w* I have found only one instance, *visper*, twice repeated. The euphonic *r* is common, *porring*, *pawring*, *hideer of*, *droving*, *sor 'em*; and the interchange of *or* and *ow*, as *por*, *lors*, *dror*, *enawmous*, *spawting*, *tawn*. The use of *j* for *d*, and *ch* for *t* is conspicuous in *hojous*, *juice*, *treemenjeeous*, *assijuously*, *jewties* [but also dooties], *enjurance*, and *coschewm*, *creechurs* [costume, once spelled *costewm*, and creatures]. The *i* for *oi* occurs in *pint*, *adjining*, *enjoy*. Thackeray seldom marks *-in'* for *-ing*, but this was mere carelessness. Much more might be cited, but the above will suffice to shew the common errors then, and to prove his ignorance of *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*.

§ 6. *Mr. Tuer's Cockney Almanac.*

Returning to recent times, in 1883 Messrs. Field & Tuer published "The Kaukneigh Awlmineck, edited by 'Enery 'Arris, down't-teher-now," in which what are supposed to be cockneyisms of pronunciation are for fun conspicuously exaggerated. It is therefore worth while examining these.

The principal fun of the book is made from the *ā* and *ō*, which become (*a*'i, *a*'u). Thus we have for *ā*: *sy* [say] *tyken eyen't* [ain't] *myke engyged opertyed relytions* *adjitytyng lydees* [ladies] *grytis* [gratis] *pygis* [pages] *ible wy plice dize* [days] *fital* [fatal] *fyver* [favour] *stytmintis risin'* [raising] *dy sitooyshun pytient* *edooeytion* [education] *brines* [brains] *py myde pice* [pace] *nyked wites* [waits]

gryte waist [ʔ an error for wyste] nyture rite [rate] 'a-penny ipnee [both half-penny] tyste flyver [flavour] stairkise pline pint [paint] vyper [vapour] pyppers pline sime fyth [plain same faith]. Then for *ō*, I find: knou own'y [only] tould moust ould now [no] stoun noutice [notice] gous gows [both meant for *goes*] down't sou grous bouth sowp [soap] nowsiz [noses] sowl oun lown [loan] bouns owm [home] smouke jouke wows [woes] Owb'n [Holborn] spouken. But the author, partly perhaps for lack of a convenient spelling, does not notice the corresponding changes of *i*, *ow*, but writes: minds lie eye fires nice, and thousand pound 'ow [how] down out cloud round, with the usual spelling of the diphthong.

Two vowels *ā* *ū* are both represented by *e*. The first must be (*æ*), but I am not at all sure what the second is, as different from my own (*ə*). These both occasion strange combinations. Thus for *ā*: bed men bellence edjityte [agitate] ket peek ven etteekin' [attacking] rets [rats], Elbert medder leshir ev [have] et [at] then execly beck kebbijez pession fremwize [tramwise] smeks kebs eccidints kerrijez Clep'em [Clapham] fet begs 'ets [hats] metches anxiety grend veccinid fect gremmer. And for *ū*: sembdy [somebody] kentry [country] metch [much] dezzin [dozen] nethink trenk Lendin [London] yeng nethir eneff enkemferble ether [other] shevving [showing] tetch ekkempneed sem [some] entil screbbed bleddy ren 'besses [omnibuses] Jengshin [Junction] glevs teng [tongue] semmers inselt frent [also spelled front] themb enderstends metherly epstairs kezzin [cousin] brether piblicytion pesshed [pushed for (*pəsht*)]. But either by accident or design *u* is written in: wuz [was], uv [of], drunk, 'ungry, 'unts gun 'underd gluttid, and *i* in sitch. I do not recognise the sound at all. It is, however, quite a novelty so far as neighbouring dialects are concerned. But see TH.'s cwl. p. 232, Nos. 632 and 633.

The *ō* before *s*, *f* becomes *aw* [AA], a common Es., form as: crawss auf [off] auf'en kauffey lawst craussin's tauss, to which the writer adds: dawg [dog, common], faugy [foggy, unknown] daunkey kaukneigh and faund [fond]. On the other hand short unaccented *ō*, *ōw* become *-er* [e], as innercent serciety; widdier winder yellor [ʔ yaller] sparrer barrer [barrow], which is common in every S. and E. dialect.

The use of (uu) for (iú) is quite customary everywhere, as: dooly gredooal doo [due] accoomoolyte [accumulate, evidently inferred] noozpyper [newspaper, one of the commonest words] amooz valoo [value, ʔ valley].

H is of course regularly omitted, in fact it is now so universally omitted, and has been for so long a time in old literary English, that its retention has become a mere artificial mark of breeding, so we expect: 'eard 'orses 'int 'evin [heaven] 'ow 'arf [half] 'ed 'i [high], and again: wot wair wite [what, where, white], these last being admitted in polite S. speech.

The *R* is of course not pronounced except before a vowel, thus: fust cowardly wuth wuss [first cowardly worth worse] and paw yaw [poor your], but it is euphonicly introduced after (AA) as in all the E div. as: sawr-a, draw-ring, jawrache [jaw-ache], strawr'et [straw hat]. Of course *-ore* (*ōor*, *ōor*) becomes simply (AA).

W, *V*. These are not interchanged at all in the *Cockney Almanac*, though *w* is put for *v* in one passage, apparently for the sake of a pun. It runs thus: "Veccinite from the calf direct if yer value yar infant's weal (veal)." In no case is *v* used for *w*. The contrast, then, between Mr. Tuer's and Dickens's Cockney is complete and very curious. In Dickens's the fun is made out of the interchange of *v* and *w*, and there is no hint of using *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*. Here the fun is made out of the latter, and the former is ignored. This shews a change in London habits as viewed by humourists in the last 50 years. Still more curious is it to note that the American humourists examined in Part IV. pp. 1224-1230, namely, Mr. Davis (Major Downing 1835), C. F. Brown (Artemus Ward 1860), Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick), and Bret Harte, make no fun at all of either interchange.

§ 7. Mr. Baumann's Londonisms.

Mr. Heinrich Baumann, head-master of the Anglo-German School, Brixton, a German who is thoroughly acquainted with English,

in 1887 brought out his book called "Londinismen, Slang und Cant" (Berlin, Langenscheidt), which, besides being exhaustive on Slang and Cant, gives the pron. of every word on the Lagenscheidt'sch system of notation. On pp. xc-xciv Mr. B. gives a summary of popular London pron., which I have still further abridged, adding brief observations in [].

A. *Consonants*. 1. *h* omitted and inserted [general dialectally]. 2. *r* vocalised and inserted [all the east coast]. 3. *ng* for *n* in a few words, *kitching*, *golding*, *certing* [frequent in literature, but I have not heard it, probably at most a misappreciation, not dialectal], and *n* for *ng* in participles [regular in dialects]. 4. *nn* becomes *nbl* in *chimbley* [frequent provincially]. 5. *ni* becomes *ng* in *ungans*, *ingans* onions [which Mr. B. pron. (əgʒənz, ɪgʒənz) in place of (ɪq'ənz), I do not know (əq'ənz)]. 6. *gn* reduces to *n* in *reckonise*. 7. *w* often omitted, as *old 'ooman*, *west'ard*, *innard* [to which he adds *hot'un* hot one, whereas here the *w* was the insertion] and used for *v* [as in all the Land of Wee, see D 9, D 16, D 19]. 8. *v* final omitted in *have* [general when unaccented]. 9. *t* omitted especially before *m* and *n*, *on'y*, *a'most*, *certn'y*, *Lor' A'mighty* [common everywhere]. 10. *d* final nearly inaudible, as *ole husbin'* [common after *n*] and *dreffle* dreadful [a special word, common in literature, merely assimilation]. 11. *dia* = (dɪ) in *Ingee* India, *soger* soldier [both common everywhere]. 12. Final *t* lost in *brekfus*, *fac* [breakfast, fact] and medial *t* in *gen'lman* [the old *gemman* of literature is not named]. 13. *tian* = (tjən) in *Christian* [common educated, as in question]. 14. *th* initial omitted in 'em for *them* [old English *hem*] *more'n harder'un*, more than harder than [quite common], *th* final omitted *wi' sou' wester* [common everywhere], *th* medial becomes *d* in *further*, *farden* further *farthing* [common everywhere], "isolated *th* becomes *r* in *wirrou* without" [arout known provincially, but not the other], "with old people becomes *f* as *nuffin* nothing" [also common]. 15. *k* occ. for *g* as *ekal* equal [I have heard this, but take it for an old and not London pron.]. 16. *y* added in *yearn* earn, omitted in 'ears years [common].

B. *Vowels*. 1. Long vowels shortened, *agen*, *babby*, *craddle*, *mebbe*, *thripund*, *fippence*, *tuppenny*, *I dun know*, again baby cradle may-be three-pounds five-pence, twopenny, I don't know [common, except *craddle*, even among better speakers]. 2. *e* for *a* in *keb*, *ketch*, *Stendard*, cab, catch, Standard. 3. *per* in *partickler* particular, (ɪ) for *a* in *extry*, *bony fide* [misappreciations of foreign words]. 4. *jest sech*, *jist sich* just such [common]. 5. (ee) is very commonly (éi), [already discussed], *ea* becomes (i) in *airey* area [this is merely an abbreviation, like *ide'* (e'idii) for *idea*, final *a* omitted, belongs to No. 3]. 6. *ar* for *ear*, *er* in *arn sarve* earn, *serve* [still common, but going out]. 7. *a* obscured to (ə) in (məm) for *ma'am* [merely unaccented obscuration, common]. 8. (i) for (ə, ə) in *kiver kimplete* [not confined to London]. 9. *heerd* for *heard* [common]. 10. *ile*, *pint*, *hist*, oil, point, hoist [common old]. 11. "ø [the *o* in *born*] is very common for *au* (AA) as in *cort* (kəət) for *caught*" (kAAət) [this I do not quite understand], "conversely *aw* (AA) is used for ø (ə) as *dawg* for *dog*" [not confined to London]. 12. (oo) becomes generally (oo-ə) as *road*, pronounced (roo-əd), unaccented *o* becomes (v) as *pertato* [p? pertater, tater] potato. 13. *doo* for *deu*, *insinivate*, *cowcumber* [the last old]. 14. *oo* for *ū*, *Rooshan*, *Proossian* [old], (*poo*, *shoo*) poor sure [unknown, but (pAA, shAA) known].

This is sufficient to shew that although these pron. may have been heard in London, they generally did not arise there, but were importations, or misappreciations of non-Saxon words common throughout England.

§ 8. Mr. T. Hallam's London Observations.

When TH., a Derbyshire man resident in Manchester, on different occasions visited London, he noted, as usual, differences of pro-

nunciation which he heard from the middle and lower classes. His notes are not complete, but they possess the value of observations made by a phonetist who was not a Londoner, and therefore I collect the examples without distinguishing the different speakers or occasions, as he has done in his notes. It will be found that his experience is far from yielding such pronounced results as the *Awlmineck*. The *ā* becomes (éi, êi, ɛ'í), the *ǣ* yields only once to (è), the *ō* is (ôu, ɔ'u), the word *road* as shouted at railway-stations by porters (who were very possibly not Londoners) giving a singular variety of forms, the *ī* becomes generally (ái), but once reaches (A'í) (I heard a very near approach to (óí) from a boy in Kensington today, 30th March, 1886), the *ū* is generally (ə), rarely reaching (ǣ), and the *ow* varies from (ɔ'u) to (æ'u). These pronunciations are, however, such as ME., D 16, would lead us to expect.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 téik. 5 méik mɛ'ik. — mǽstêk [mistake]. 24 shé,im. 31 lɛ'it. 34 laast. A: — [between] hæ'm, hɛ'm [ham]. — stênd [stand]. — kjæ'n, kaant [can't]. A'- — óú ɔ'u [oh!]. 67 góú, gɔ'ú [long o seems often to be (ɔ'u) perhaps (ǣ'o)]. 69 nɔ'u. 92 nóu. A': 104 [between] róud, ráud; róud ró,úid; [between] róud, rɔ'ud; [between] ró,úid, rɔ'ud; rɔ'ud; 117 wɛn. 122 nóu. 132 ɔt. — rɔ'ú [row rank]. Æ: 160 èg [nearly (ég)]. 161 dɛ'í. — bæ'g [bag]. — [between] æp'l, ɛp'l. 172 grâ's. — [between] æ't ɛt [hat]. 179 wɔd [what, before (dɛ)], wɔt [before a vowel]. Æ'- 195 mɛnɪ. Æ: 223 dhɛ. 224 wɛ. — strit [street]. E- 231 dhɛ. E: 261 sɛ'ɪ. — bed [bed]. 262 wɛ'ɪ. 263 ɛwéi' ɛwɛ'ɪ. 266 wɛl. — fiɛlz [fields]. — sell'ɪ,n [selling]. E'- 290 ii. 300 kiip. E': 311 tɛn. EA: 324 éit. — shaant [shan't] shæ'ɪ. 334 aaf. 335 ʌʌ AA'lwɪ,z [always, (AA')] "with a peculiar pursed rounding". 340 jaad. — paak [park]. EA'- 347 ɛhɛd [a-head]. EA': 352 red. 364 tɛp. 365 nɛr [near, ʔ (r)]. EI- 373 dhɛ. EO- 387 nù. EO: 388 mɪɪk. 396 wɛrk [the (r) doubtful, possibly (wɛrk)]. EO'- 420 fɔ. EO': 428 sii. 431 biɛ.

I- — liv [live]. 446 náin. 448 dhiiz. 449 gít ["even middle class people say (gít on)"]. 450 ti,úzdɪ. I: 452 ái [on one occasion, long i like (óí), nearly ái], [between] ɔ'í ái. 459 ráit, [between that and (ráit)]. 465 sɛtɪ. 477 fáind. 482 ɛnt ɛnt [ain't]. I'- 494 tɛ'im. I': 500 líik. 510 máin. O- — smɔ'ukɪ,n [smoking]. 520 :bɛ'u [the town]. — bi,fɔ [before]. O: 525 [off], ʌʌ'f, ʌʌf ɔf; [of] ɔv. — mɔɔni,n [morning "the analysis for these depressed vowels seems to be, tongue for (o), lips for (o) pursed"]. 554 kroozs [or] kroozs; [between] krɔ's, krɔs ["say (krɔs) with pursed lips"]. O'- 556 tɛ [unemphatic]. 557 tɛ. 559 mɛdɛr [ʔ (r)]. O': 571 gúnd. 576 wenzdɪ, 586 dɔ,ʌnt [don't]. 587 dɛn, du'ɪ,n [doing]. U- 603 kɔm. U: 612 sɛm. 631 thɛrzdɪ [ʔ (r)]. 632 [between] ɔp, ɛp; ɔp. 633 [between] kɔp, kɛp. 634 thɔrɛfɛr [thoroughfare]. U'- 643 [between] náae náa'ɔ; ná'ɔ, nɔ'u. — plɛm [plum, when intensive (plɛ'm)]. 650 ɛbáɛt. U': [(a'u) was heard as (áa) approaching áaɛ]. 656 ruum. 658 dæ'um. 663 áa'ɛs. 667 áa'ut; [between] áaɛt, áa'ɛt; áa'at; [between] ɔ'ut, á'ut; ɔ'ut. Y: 689 bi'ldɪ,nz [buildings]. — i'l ɪal [hill]. — shɛtɛrz [shutters].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 djæ'm. — sændwi'tɪ. — bærs [barrow]. — éist, ɛ'ist [haste]. I. and Y. — tɪtɪrɪ,n [tiring]. O. — [between] ɔof'n ʌʌ'f'n [often]. U. — fɛni, [funny]. — krɛsh [crush]. — shɛtɛrz [shutters].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 pléis plɛ'is. 822 méi. 833 tréin trɛ'in. — ɛər [air]. — pali,s. —

pal'mal' [Pall Mall, generally (:pel :mel)]. 841 tjåns. — bæænd [band]. — [between] maati:n, maati:n [marching]. — djæk'it [jacket]. — gæ'rd'nz [gardens]. — kjar'i:dj [carriage]. — paast [past]. — plætfoom [platform]. — stæ'i [stay]. E.. 869 vil. — ekó,u [Echo]. — vtënd [or (-ænd)]. — kententi,d [contented]. — tënt [tent]. 885 veri. — gæzət [gazette]. — aa'us [hour], áarz [ʔ r], æ'a'rz [ʔ Londoner]. I.. and Y.. 898 [between] ndis, náis. 903 [between] dáini:n, da'ini:n. — mi'ni:ts [minutes]. O.. — græmbli:n [grumbling]. — mæni:. — ói'rdər [order, ʔ both (r), possibly (AAdv)]. — fori:st. — pooshen [portion]. — transpóuz [transpose]. — grooser [grocer, at Bermondsey, no (óu), ʔ (R)]. 942 butjər [ʔ (r) at Bermondsey, must have been (R) almost]. — kələr [ʔ (r)]. — tarn [turn, ʔ (r)]. U.. — ekwæ'ri:em.

§ 9. Mr. J. G. Goodchild's East London Pronunciation.

Mr. J. G. Goodchild (:gutjái'l'd), who is an East Londoner by birth and education, has been at the pains to write a very long wl. of *his own* 'colloquial' as distinguished from his 'studied' pronunciation, as in lecturing, and as distinguished from low East London talk. As this was carefully written in pal., it is a document of considerable interest to shew the middle-class pron. of the district. It is not, however, dialectal, as is shewn by the same pron. being regularly assigned to vowels of very different origin. Hence it seems better to give it in classes founded on received pronunciation.

1. Long *ā* is always (é₁i) except before (v), where (e₁) is deeper than (e) and more like (e) or (æ) even, than (e), the circumflex shews the diphthong and medial length of the first element. But JGG. does not consider even the first element to be uniform; he thinks rather that beginning with (e₁) he glides to (e) and thence to (i); all this is, however, avoided before (v) representing final written *r*, and the vowel is then (ee) simply as in (éev) air. This long *ā* occurs in A- (bē,ik) bake, etc., A: (kē,im) came, Æ- (dr,é,i) dray, (hē,il) hail, etc., Æ: (dē,i) day, etc., Æ'- (nē,i) neigh, etc., Æ': (klē,i) clay, etc., E- (br,é,ik) break, (sē,il) sail, etc.; E: (lē,i) lay, (sē,i) say, etc., EA- (flē,i) flay, EA: (é,ít) eight, EA': (grē,ít) great, etc., EI- (dhē,i) they, etc., EI: (stē,ik) steak, etc. I: (wē,i) weight, etc. A. (tr,é,i) trade, etc. A.. (é,ib'l) able, etc. E.. djé,i, etc., where the etc. refers to other words in the class in the wl. thus headed, which have *ā* in rec. sp., but not to those otherwise treated. This long *ā* is evidently of E. origin. Before (v)=*r* we have A- (hēev) hare, Æ- (fēev) fair, Æ'- (wēev) were, Æ': (hēev) hair, (wēev) where [but (dhæ'v) there], E- (mēev) mare, (wēev) wear, (swēea) swear, EA- (kēev) care, [but EA: (dæv) dare], EI (dhēev) their. A.. (mēev) mayor, (pēev) pair, E.. (éev) heir. [Observe (éev) and not the rec. (éev)]. My own pronunciation has been subjected to so many influences in different parts of England, and abroad, and has been so artificially cultivated, that though I am a North Londoner, I refrain from citing it; but refer generally to Part IV. pp. 1090-1157, 1168-1173, 1206-1207, where Bell's, Haldeman's, Sweet's, Smart's pron. are also considered.]

2. Short *ā* is sometimes (ah) [which JGG. considers to occur in the local pronunciation of Bath (baahth), where I hear (bææth), a difference of appreciation simply, for both of us are well used to hear the name from natives], and sometimes (æ). Thus he has A- (hahv) have, A: (thahqk hahn'd lahn'd) thank hand land, etc., A: and O: (lahm) lamb, etc. A. (bahd bæd) bad, etc., A.. (bær'1) barrel, (kahr,ət kær,ət) carrot, etc.

3. Long *ē*, Æ'- (sii) sea, etc., Æ': (diid) deed, etc., E- (niid) knead, etc., E: (jiil'd) yield, etc., E'- (jii) ye, (fiid) feed, etc., E': (hiil) heel, etc., EA' (tiim) team, EO (binih) beneath, EO'- (bii) bee, etc., EO' (sii) see, etc., I- (dhiiz) these, etc. E. (skr,iim) scream, etc. E.. (ti) tea, (viil') veal, etc.

4. Short *ē*, E: (edj) edge, (men') men, etc., EA' (ded) dead. E. (beg) beg, etc. E.. (sens) sense, etc. Observe always (e) and not (æ); this is metropolitan.

5. Long *ī*, diphthong, is always (ái) which is broad, but not nearly so broad as

in Ht. and Es., EY (dái) die, I- (áiví) ivy, etc., I: (ái) I, (máit) might, etc., I' (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máit) might, etc., I' (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máit) mice, etc. I. (táini) tiny. I.. (náis) nice.

6. Short *í* is regularly (i), I- (git) get, occ. I: (wity) witch which, etc. Y: (bridj) bridge, etc. I. (píg) pig, etc. I.. (sistə'n) cistern.

7. Long *ó*, this is invariably (óu), except before (v)=r, s, f and th occ., in which case it is (AA, A'). But this (óu) includes at least three sounds (as in the case of long *á*), it "begins with (o) and goes on through (o) to end in (u)." This occurs in every case, thus A'- (góu) go, (móun) moan, etc., A': (ók) oak, O- (óup'n) open, etc. O'- (nóuz) nose. O. (póuni) pony, and it even occurs unaccented as (təlóu) tallow—before r, s, f, th it falls into (A, AA), the (r) becoming (v) when final and being omitted before another consonant, as A'- (lAA) lord, (mAv) more, (sAv) sore, A': (gAA) gone, (hAA) hoarse, (klAth) cloth, EA: (wAm) warm, EO: (sAA) sword, EO'- (fAv) four, (fAti) forty, EO': (fAAth) fourth, O: (kAf) cough, (bAt) bought, (thAt) thought, (br_cA't) brought, (r_cA't) wrought, (dAtv) daughter, (bAA) board, (fAA) ford, (hAA) hoard, (stAA) storm, (kAA) corn, (hAA) horn, (kr_{As}) cross; O': (sAt) sought, (fAAv) floor, (mAAv) moor, (swAAv) swore; U- (dAAv) door. O. (vAf'd) afford. A.. (pAAv) poor; O- (kA's) course coarse course.

8. Short *ó* is almost always (o), as O: (hóli) holly.

9. Long *ú* is regular (juu), and is so written after a consonant, as (njuu) new.

10. Short *ú* is regularly (u), but becomes (v, v') before suppressed r, as EO: (l'v'n) learn, (v'th) earth; O- (wvəl'd) world; O: (wvəd) word; U: (wvəth) worth, (fvədhə) further. E. (pə't) pert; I. (gə'l) girl, while all the unaccented final -ar, -er, -ir, -yr, -or, -ur become (v) unless a vowel follows and determines (v_c).

11. Incidental *ah* seldom arises [as in A- (r_cádhə) rather, \mathcal{A} E- (fádhə) father], without a suppressed r, but it is the regular form of ar, as in EA: (jaad) yard, (aam) arm, EO: (staav) starve, (faa) far, (staa) star, (hAAth) hearth, (faadhíq) farthing.

12. Incidental *aw* is regular for or, as in the examples to No. 7, but sometimes occurs otherwise, as EA: (fAt) fought, (wAk) walk, (fAA') fall, (wAA') wall; EA': (r_{AA}) raw, (str_{AA}) straw. A. (baal'd) bald.

13. Diphthongal *oy* is regularly (A'i) or (A''i).

14. Diphthongal *ow* is regularly (á'u), excluding the cases in which it belongs to No. 7. It is curious that diphthongal *i*, *ow* have a different first element, (a) in the first and (a') in the second, the first apparently to distinguish the sound from (é,i), and the second as a reaction against the common (éu).

15. The sounds (l, n) are lengthened before a following consonant, as (baal'd) lahn'd) bawled land, and often when final, as (AA') all. This of course is most conspicuous when the words are taken singly, and less so in connected speaking.

16. The *r* is at most (r_c) when preceding a vowel, or between two vowels. This imperfect (r_c) when vocalised and made syllabic as (r_c) is very difficult to distinguish from (v), and when no vowel follows is regularly suppressed; but on a vowel following, either in a new or the same word, it recovers its power. Now as the *r* when suppressed converts ar, or, ur into (aa, AA, v), it follows that when these sounds have otherwise arisen, the speaker inserts an (r_c) before a following vowel, thus saw, sawing, saw him, become (sAA, sAAr_ciq, sAAr_cim). This has been here termed "euphonic r," and it produces an unpleasant effect, which JGG. avoids, but the natural "East-Ender" and Eastern Counties man regularly introduces. The unaccented (v) usually written *er* ought not to insert a euphonic r, but even persons of high cultivation will often talk of (dhia'idí·v_r·v_vethi·q) the idea of a thing.

§ 10. Rural Speech.

For the rural portions of the SE. district, I have very slender information. My informants find a shifting population, and nothing distinctive to record. They imagine that if there is nothing different

to their hearing than uneducated London speech, there is nothing to report.

In *Bu.* the late vicar of Henley-on-Thames after 60 years experience had nothing to say. From Penn (se. High Wycombe) the Vicar after 17 years writes, "It would be useless to attempt to go systematically through the following list [wl.], as the dialect of this neighbourhood is of a very natural character, *i.e.* apart from a few vulgarisms there are very few (if any) pure provincialisms or archaisms. The only instance of the latter that occurs to me is *housen* for houses, and that is fast dying out." But he marks *I*, we, you, they *be*; *I*, he *were*; they, we, *goes*, those not used, *he do*, *he live*, *theirsell*, didn't *ought*, which shew a mixture of provincial *Bu.* With regard to the use of *I be* it disappears gradually s. of Penn (10 n.w. Eton); it is occ. heard between Beaconsfield (7 n-by-w. Eton) and Denham (7 ne. Eton), but further s. it seems lost.

In *Ht.* the late Rector of Bushey (2 se. Watford) says: "This place offers no opportunity of assisting your work. The inhabitants come and go, from various places, and remain but a very short time, but chiefly from London. I will not call this place a *colluvies omnium gentium*, but very much like it, and hence has no special language or dialect." But from Rickmansworth (3 sw. Watford and hence very near Bushey) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte obtained a few notes. *I be* is not much in use, *I are* is more common, and *we am*, *am you*? *I, we knows* are heard occ., *I says* frequently, *w* for *v* rarely if ever heard. The National Schoolmaster, who gave this information, kindly wrote a dt. for me where some ruralisms occur, as (o'i ro'it kumín skiúl gu'in róud aand so'id gin tíú wéx fo'nd weri wal wánt 'vgin beent triú) *I* right coming school going road hand side gone to where find very will won't again be-not true. He notes also *on*, *wrong* nearly like *an*, *rang*. All these have a stronger provincial tinge than might have been expected, but this does not represent the general language. From St. Albans, Ht., which *I* place on the borders, my informant after 8 years had only noticed *tale* pr. as *tíle*. From *Es.* *I* could get no information beyond the borderline marked. Even at Brentwood very little was obtained.

In *Mi.* from Harmondsworth (7 w. Brentford) the Schoolmaster gives me (aatu wánt fíl sa'íl híl híz'n a'uén juuén dhéevn míún níún spítún díú bín ee wAA kit'l va'is) after won't feel soil heal his ours yours theirs moon noon spoon do been have was kettle voice, and the phrases, *I* or *we wants*, or *does*, make *they* come, *we bin* [have been], *I is* [very doubtful], *we was*, *I*, he, *were*, *they is*, *for* to do it, *-in* for participial *-ing*. And he says that "*leasing* is used for *gleaning* exclusively," which is the only strict ruralism in the list.

From Ashford (7 sw. Brentford) the Vicar writes: "The inhabitants of this locality are *mainly* strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent *any* and *no* special pronunciation."

From Hanwell Rectory (3 nw. Brentford) *I* am informed that "the people speak what is commonly called the cockney dialect, the chief peculiarities of which are inability to pronounce *a* or *o* correctly. The former is turned into *ah-ee*, (*ái*), the latter into *a-ow* (*é'u*) and a tendency to add *r* to words ending in *aw* (*I sawr* a man, the *lawr* of). These defects are common in the lowest class, particularly the boys, but are less observable in the better educated."

At Willesden (5 nne. Brentford) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte made attempts to find native pronunciation and construction from the Vicar. He found *be* not used, but *I are* as well as *I am*, *I wur*, *we was*, *I loves*, *they loves*; *day say hay* may cake gate home, with the vanishes, he even writes "cike gite"; *wíper*, *wínegar*, vocalised final *r*; euphonic *r*; *I seen* for *I saw*, better *nor* me. Hence there was nothing distinctive, nothing rural. It was common London S.E., as was to be expected.

From "the chief mason at Enfield" [(5 e. Barnet), sometimes called (:e:nf'ul, :e:nf'l)], Prince L.-L. Bonaparte notes that *I be*, *I is*, *I are*, *we am*, are not found, but only *I am*, *I loves*, *we says*, *they gives*, *they was a goin*; *I got 'em*, *he do* (rarely, better *nor* me; and, as pronunciations, (AAkərd shAAə) awkward sure, (lísum, géit kéik déi séi méi héi) lithesome, gate cake day say may hay, (kit'l

tr̄imbl̄ kettle chimney. Hence this has fully the London SE. character, with no distinctive rurality.

As South Mymms (3 n.w. Barnet) lies in a corner of Mi., projecting into Ht., I hoped to find more of a rural character, but no perceptible differences from Enfield were found. The Vicar, however, noted that the village being on the old high road to the north, "the population has a large proportion of families originally from a distance."

This examination will shew that in so far as this northern part of the Metropolitan Area has any dialect at all, it is essentially ME. in its character. Even the (a'i, a'u) forms of long *a* and long *o* have an Eastern origin and are comparatively modern, within the memory of persons now living. They have of late years rapidly advanced in all the SE. district and in our Australian colonies. They threaten to become predominant in received speech, for habits of pronunciation work upwards, and in another hundred years the 'polite' pronunciation of *ā, ō* may become (a'i, a'u), while *ī, ōw* sink to (ɔ'i, ɛ'u), just as our received (*ee, oo*) have ousted (*a, ā*) and our received (a'i, a'u) have replaced (*ii, uu*). It is only quite recently that in such words as *boil, joint*, the present (ɔ'i) has replaced Pope's (a'i). We now think (ɔ'i) "polite" in *join* and (a'i) "vulgar." Pope thought just the reverse. And to all old people, like myself, of all generations, modern changes such as those just noted are simply excruciating.

AUSTRALASIAN SOUTH EASTERN.

English colonies, including the United States, whose independent government has of course not changed their origin, necessarily at first speak the English which they carry with them. That might have been originally any one of the forms of English contained in this book, or else of Irish English. This English alters in generations, and is much interfered with by constant immigration from the mother country. And now, when education is so prominent both in the mother country and the colonies, the speech of the colonists is modified artificially by teachers aiming at what each considers a "good" pronunciation, and the test of this "goodness" must necessarily be the habit of persons of "consideration," that is, social position, first in the mother country and secondly in the colonies themselves. Now the centre of English is London, which, as far as pron. is concerned, lies in the E. div., and, as we have seen, is at present, at least in its middle and lower strata, distinctly modified by the habits of the Eastern Counties. The habit of speech among the educated classes in London may be looked upon as the basis of "received speech and pron." It is, therefore, to be expected that the pron. of the colonies would, as a whole, tend to resemble it. On examination we find that the colonies speak generally such a form, with modifications belonging to a less artificial stratum. Thus, in the eastern United States, New York and Massachusetts, there is a tinge of Norfolk. In the Australasian colonies, that is, those in Australia, Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land) and New Zealand, there is more than a tinge of what is

commonly called "cockney," as exhibited in pp. 239-248. On the whole, therefore, a visitor from England to Australasia finds great resemblance to the mode of speech he has left behind him, and, struck by that, does not much observe the differences. So Mr. Froude says (according to the Australian *Daily Telegraph* of 29th March, 1886) that Australian English is "free from provincialism, not Americanised, of soft tone, good language and correct aspiration." And a letter in the same paper on the following day says that "after listening to the 'colonial' of various degrees of education in all parts of Australia, in the street, the coach, the steamer and the train, and particularly in the schoolroom, Mr. Sala's opinion is confirmed that their only peculiarity of speech is a very slight drawl in the school-attendant, which wears off and becomes imperceptible in manhood."

After such opinions from such well-known literary men, one might almost stay any further inquiry and put Australia on a par with London. But it must be remembered that, as just shewn, there are marked peculiarities at present in London among the mercantile and labouring classes at least, and the question arises whether these peculiarities exist in Australasia and to what extent. Persons who have visited Australia declare that there is a marked "cockney" element in its speech. Mr. Samuel McBurney, who was for several years principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, Victoria, and has travelled much about the Australasian colonies, where he has had the opportunity of examining schools and large classes of Tonic Solfa singers, is decidedly of the same opinion, and he made numerous observations in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand, from January to November, 1887, for the purpose of ascertaining real Australasian usage. The result of these observations he tabulated and sent to me in Dec. 1887, from St. Francisco, so that I received them in Jan. 1888, on purpose that I might insert them here. They are so full of condensed original information that I feel unable to do better than present them almost in their original form, transliterating the Glossic into palaeotype. His plan was to take a number of test words, and record the pron. in glossic, and then mark by symbols whether these were general, in the majority or minority, about half, or sporadic. In some cases he has even found it expedient to separate the habits of boys and girls in schools.

The following extracts from an article by Mr. McB. in the *Lyttelton Times*, Christchurch, New Zealand, will form a fitting introduction to these tables, and will explain their general tendency. I have introduced a few words in [], and given some pron. in pal.

" . . . It is generally supposed that two main influences affect pronunciation—*parentage and the teacher*. In the bush, where children hear only their parents, we may find broad Scotch, Irish, or provincial English, but in almost all other circumstances the influence of parentage is very slight, and generally acts by modifying the *general* usage, not by conserving the original type of speech. This decided variation from the parent speech is easily accounted for in some cases, as the universal tendency of all speech-alteration is towards what may be called 'the line of least resistance.' . . . Where the young colonial finds

himself understood by half the oral exertion necessary, he forthwith abbreviates. . . . 'Do you hear me?' becomes *jeer me*; pudding, *puɔn*, etc., and the strong trilled final *r* is avoided as an unnecessary exertion, when it is noticed that the majority of arrivals habitually neglect it. It is therefore quite common for the children to call farther *fahthu* (*u* of *but*) (*faadhə*) when the parent says *farrthurr* with a very loud trill (*fa.rdhə.r*); world, *wu'ld*, (*wald*) instead of *wurruld* (*wɑːrld*), and so forth. The insertion of *r* where it is not wanted, as in *idea-r-of*, is also explicable, as it is easier than to make the necessary hiatus between the two tongue positions of the several vowels. But why there should be a general tendency, as there undoubtedly is in Australia, to a Cockney pronunciation . . . is a mystery still to be explained.

"The modern Cockney . . . is of comparatively recent date, and is, I think, not to be found in Dickens [see p. 228]. Its leading features are—(1) The omission of the aspirate, and its occasional wrong insertion; (2) clipping *ing*, as *singin'*, *shillin'*; (3) alteration of *a* in *fate*, to nearly *i* in *bite*; (4) alteration of *o* in *hope*, to nearly *ow* in *how*; (5) alteration of the first factor of *ow* in *cow*, so that it is written *kyow*, or *caow* (*kjə'u*, *kə'u*); (6) a general drawing of the vowels, so that *dog* becomes *dawg*, coffee, *kawfy*, etc.; (7) insertion of *r* between the vowels, *I saw-r'im*.

"In Australia and parts of New Zealand, (1), (2), and (7) are of frequent occurrence, as in all parts of England, but they are decidedly less frequent in New Zealand, where (1) and (7) are rarely to be met, at least in flagrant positions. *Idea-r-of*, however, is pretty general. (3) and (4) are to be heard pretty often in Australia, but seldom in New Zealand. . . . (5) has nearly naturalised itself in Australia, and is extremely hard either to express or to get rid of. The first part of the diphthong is often so short that it is difficult to fix it. The ordinary English *ow* begins with *a* of *sofa*, *u* of *nut*, or *a* of *father*, tapering off to *oo* of *woo* (*ʊ'u*, *ə'u*, *æ'u*). The Australian begins with *a* of *cat*, or *e* of *get*, prolonged (*æə'u*, *æ'u*), while the New Zealanders give all sorts of varieties, but are, I think, settling down to a sharp *a* of *father*, followed by *oo* (*á'u*). One has only to hear "down town," "around and around," said by Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Colonials, to notice at least that there is a difference. The tendency to drawl the short vowels is noticeable in parts of Australia and Tasmania, *ha'nd*, *da'ug*, etc. (*hæənd* *dʌʌg*), but not, so far as I can discover, in New Zealand.

There is a strange development in the *oo* in *food*, *school*, *room*, to be found in Australia, the true sound being introduced by something like the French *eu*, forming a diphthong [(*ə'u*), (*œ'u*) or possibly (*œ'u*)], but this is quite absent in New Zealand, although there is in its place a peculiar shortening of the sound—of Scottish origin—*good food* being both given with the short *u* of *pull* [*gud*, *fud*], the first rightly, the second wrongly [not at all uncommon in London].

One thing in common with Australia is the broadening of *i* in *die*, which is a diphthong formed by a very broad *ah*, tapering to *ee* (*di*). This in Tasmania and parts of New Zealand even approaches *oi*, *I die* sounding *oi doi* (*á'i dʌ'i*). There is also in some places a peculiar final *r*, with introverted tongue modifying the previous vowel, especially *e* and *u*, as *fern*, *furnish*, taking the place of the rough Scotch *r* [apparently reverted (*n*)].

The only point that has struck me in New Zealand as peculiar is the short *u* in *but*, *tub*, etc., which has a much more open sound than I have been accustomed to, approaching the *a* in *father*, but difficult to describe [between (*ɔ*) and (*ə*)].

Throughout the schools a fair amount of attention is being paid to pronunciation, and I am told by the teachers that common errors eradicated in the lower classes, give very little trouble among the older children, and that the good habits formed in school are generally retained afterwards. I think, therefore, that we may hope for a very fair average pronunciation throughout the colony, which will compare favourably with that of any home district."

These conclusions are established in the following Table, itself a mere condensed abstract of many observations which it would be too lengthy to give in full. After the table will be found full explanatory notes relating to the separate entries and pronunciations.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AUSTRALASIAN PRONUNCIATION

Containing the results of observations on the pron. of each particular school with different classes, examined where possible in every town visited. These results have been condensed, and the main features of each district only are given. Where the pron. is *normal*, i.e. *received* in England, no note is made except where it is contrary to colonial usage.

The arrangement of the table is as follows :

In the first column in each page is a numbered set of words used as types, in *Italics*, the different pron. as estimated by Mr. McBurney being added in *ital.* in separate lines below each type.

The seven other columns in each page refer to the districts examined, and each column is headed by an abbreviation of the name of the district referred to.

The seven columns on the left-hand page refer to districts or towns in Victoria, the first two relating to Melbourne. Mr. McBurney drew up a smaller table of observations in this colony in Gippsland, made in July, 1886, for the towns of Sale, Maffra, Stratford, Travalyon, Walhallal, Warragul, and afterwards Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst, which he had visited, or resided in, and examined. But this table is superseded by the left-hand page of the present one.

The last seven columns of the right-hand page contain notes of the two Australian colonies of Queensland and New South Wales, as represented by Brisbane and Sydney, and general observations in Tasmania, with particular observations in New Zealand, in which the districts examined were large, occasioning the necessity for marking variations. In the W., Na. (Wellington and Napier) column, notes inclosed in () refer especially to Napier. In the Ne., Ch. (Nelson and Christchurch) column, notes in () refer to Christchurch, but those in [] to other unnamed districts, and in the Sydney column notes in [] refer to similarly unnamed districts in New South Wales.

The notes shew about the proportion of those school children examined who used the pron. in the given line. As a rule boys and girls are taken indiscriminately, but are sometimes distinguished.

Notes used in the columns.

- B boys } boys and girls frequently vary much ; in some cases the G were *finer*, as
 G girls } (x) for (æ), (éeu) for (á'w), (áai, á'i) for (dhi), in other cases they
 } were broader.
- g general or almost all, more than three-quarters.
 m many or more than half.
 e equal proportion, and hence if only one or two pron. are mentioned, half.
 s some or several, but less than half.
 f few, two or three, less than a quarter.
 ? doubtful if the proportion is rightly estimated.
 indicates no note made, and serves to guide the eye across the page.

Contraction of names of places at the head of the columns, in alphabetical order.

A. Auckland, New Zealand.	Me. Melbourne, Victoria.
Ba. Ballarat, Victoria.	Mo. Mornington, Victoria.
Br. Brisbane, Queensland.	Na. Napier, New Zealand.
Co. Collingwood, Me., Victoria.	Ne. Nelson, New Zealand.
Ch. Christchurch, New Zealand.	S. Sydney, New South Wales.
Dn. Dunedin, New Zealand.	T. Tasmania, general.
Dy. Dunolly, Victoria.	W. Wellington, New Zealand.
F. Frankton, Victoria.	Y. South Yarra, Me. Victoria.
Ma. Maryborough, Victoria.	

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	Dy.	MA.	BA.
1. <i>please</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
<i>pliz</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
2. <i>here</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>hiɪ</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
<i>iɪ</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>fiə</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>R</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>-i</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. <i>city</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>siti</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
<i>siti</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>si,ti</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. <i>new, tune</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>nuu, tuun</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. <i>'day say</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>B e</i>	.....	<i>B m</i>	<i>B e</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>dee déci</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>G g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>déi</i>	.....	.....	<i>G g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>dææ'i</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. <i>dare</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>dæɪ</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>dæɪ</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8. <i>die</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g m</i>
<i>dá</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
<i>dá'i</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
9. <i>my might</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>mái</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
<i>mái má'it</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
<i>má'i má'it</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>mái mǝ'it</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. <i>no</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>? g</i>
<i>noo</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>G m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
<i>ná'u</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11. <i>toe</i>	<i>B g</i>	.....	<i>B m</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>too</i>	<i>G g</i>	.....	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	.....	.....
<i>tá'u</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12. <i>tore</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>tAA</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>tAA'v(r)</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>tóov(r)</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>tóov</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. <i>now, town</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>éeu</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>B ? g</i>	.....
<i>ææ'u</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>áa'u</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>áu</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>ǝ'u</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. <i>woman</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>u_o</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pull</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....
<i>u_o</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
<i>u</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16. <i>pool</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>pǝ'uul</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
<i>puul</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
<i>pul</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DN.
1. <i>please</i>							
<i>pliz</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. <i>here</i>							
<i>hiɪb</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>iɪb</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	.....
<i>iiə¹</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	.....
<i>R</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>							
- <i>i</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>
4. <i>city</i>							
<i>siti</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>siti₁</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>
<i>s₁ti₁</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
5. <i>new, tune</i>							
<i>nuu, tuun</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
6. <i>day, say</i>							
<i>dee déei</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ʔem</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Bg, Ge</i>	<i>[G] m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>déei</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>Gs</i>	<i>Gs</i>
<i>dææ'i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
7. <i>dare</i>							
<i>dææR</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
<i>dææR</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
8. <i>die</i>							
<i>dai</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>Gg</i>	<i>Gm</i>	<i>Gg</i>	see
<i>dA'i</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>[s]</i>	<i>Bg</i>	<i>Bm</i>	<i>Bm</i>	note
9. <i>my might</i>							
<i>mái</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>Gse</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Ge</i>	.....
<i>mái má'it</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>Ge</i>	<i>Gm</i>	.....
<i>mA'i mA'it</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>[s]</i>	<i>Gm</i>	<i>Be</i>	<i>Bm</i>	<i>Bg [Gs]</i>
<i>mái má'it</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>Gm</i>
10. <i>no</i>							
<i>noo</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>ná'u</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>Gs</i>	.....
11. <i>toe</i>							
<i>too</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>(g)e</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>tá'u</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>Gm</i>	<i>s</i>
12. <i>tore</i>							
<i>tAA</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
<i>tAA'v(r)</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
<i>tóov(r)</i>	<i>ʔs</i>	.....	<i>ʔs</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
<i>tóov</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>Bm</i>
13. <i>now, town</i>							
<i>éeu</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>(P G m) f</i>
<i>ææ'u</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>áa'u</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>(h) m</i>
<i>áu</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>ó'u</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>ef</i>	<i>s</i>
14. <i>woman</i>							
<i>uₒ</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pull</i>							
<i>uₒ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
16. <i>pool</i>							
<i>pə'uul</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>Gf</i>	.....
<i>puul</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>pul</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
17. <i>rule</i>							
ruul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
réul	....	....	....	....	....	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
18. <i>food</i>							
fuud	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
fud	....	....	....	<i>m</i>	....	<i>f</i>	....
fa'ud	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
19. <i>law paw</i>							
pAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pAA'e	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	....	<i>f</i>	....
20. <i>floor</i>							
flAA	....	....	<i>g</i>	....	<i>e</i>	....	<i>g</i>
flAA'e	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
flóov	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
flóov	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
—R	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
—r	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
21. <i>poor</i>							
pAA	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	....
púuv	<i>e</i>	....	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	....
púuv	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
púuvR	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
22. <i>pure</i>							
pJAA	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>g</i>	....
púuv	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	....	<i>e</i>	....	....
púuvR	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
23. <i>sure</i>							
shAA	....	....	<i>f</i>	....	<i>g</i>	....	....
shúuv	....	....	<i>g</i>	....	....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
shúuvR	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
24. <i>more</i>							
MAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
MOO	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
móov	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
móov	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
MAA'vR	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
25. <i>morning</i>							
MAA-	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
MAA'—	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
MAAR—	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
26. <i>dance</i>							
dEENS	<i>f</i>	....	<i>f</i>	....	....	....	....
dEENS	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Gg</i>
da'ns	....	....	....	<i>f</i>	....	....	....
dæns	<i>e</i>	....	....	....	....	<i>e</i>	<i>Bg</i>
27. <i>hand</i>							
hEEND	....	....	....	<i>g</i>	....	....	....
hEND	....	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	....	<i>Bm</i>	<i>Gg</i>
hænd	....	....	<i>e</i>	....	....	<i>e</i>	<i>Bg</i>
hand	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
28. <i>saw him</i>							
SAAj'im	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
SAA-I'im	....	<i>f</i>	....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	....
SAA-R-im	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
29. <i>drawing</i>							
AA)iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
AA-I'iq	....	<i>f</i>	....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	....

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DN.
17. <i>rule</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
ruul	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
r�ul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
18. <i>food</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	(<i>g</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>
fud	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
is'uud	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>s</i>	.....
19. <i>law paw</i>	<i>m g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pAA	<i>s</i>	.....	[<i>m</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>s</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
pAA'�
20. <i>floor</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>e</i>	.....	(<i>m</i>) <i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	.....
fAA	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
fAA'�	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
f�ov	.....	<i>f[s]</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>p</i>
f�ov	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>p</i>
—R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—r	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. <i>poor</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>e</i>] <i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
pAA	.....	.....	.....	[<i>B s</i>]	.....	.....	.....
p�v�	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
p�v�	[<i>f</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
p�v�R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22. <i>pure</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
pJAA	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pJ�v�	[<i>s</i>]	.....
pJ�v�R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23. <i>sure</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f s</i>	G <i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
shAA	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	B <i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
sh�v�	[<i>f</i>]	.....	[<i>s</i>]	.....
sh�v�R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24. <i>more</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
MAA	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
moo	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
m�ov	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
m�ov	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....
MAA'�R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25. <i>morning</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>
MAA—	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
MAA'—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
MAAR—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
26. <i>dance</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
d�ENS	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
d�NS	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>g</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
d�NS (? a ¹)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>m</i>
d�NS	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
27. <i>hand</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....
h�END	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>
h�ND	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>
h�ND	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
28. <i>saw him</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
SAA'im	<i>s f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
SAA-r-im	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
SAA-R-im	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
29. <i>drawing</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
AA'iq	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
AA-r-iq	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Types.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	Dy.	MA.	BA.
30. <i>Ada has</i>							
dejhæz	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>G g</i>
ʒ-r-æz	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>B g</i>
ʒ-r-æz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31. <i>idea of</i>							
a'idiəjəv	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
—ʒ-r-əv	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>G B g</i>
—ʒ-r-əv	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32. <i>pearls</i>							
pəʊlz	.....	.....	<i>G g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
pərlz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
33. <i>ferns</i>							
fɛənz	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>B m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>? g</i>
34. —ing							
—iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
—in	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
35. <i>anything</i>							
—thiq	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—thiqk	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
36. <i>dog</i>							
dog	<i>g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
daʌg	<i>f</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>B s</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
dohg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
37. <i>H omitted</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
38. <i>wh—</i>							
wh—	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>G g</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
w—	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>B g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>
39. <i>wet</i>							
wet	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
40. <i>s</i>							
th,	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41. <i>tub</i>							
tab	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i>							
oh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i>							
ææ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boy</i>							
oi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Notes to the above Table.

The numbers refer to the numbers of the word types. The columns are, when necessary, indicated by the initial letters at their head, the pronunciations referred to are given in palaeotype.

1. *please*, (pli:z) was only heard from a few children, and I think always in singing, when it is much easier to take (ii) than (ii). There was a line to say that *ee* was (ii) generally.

2. *here*, three sounds are entered, of which (iie) seems the most popular, though (iiv) is not unfrequent. In rs. only (iiv) is acknowledged, but (iiv) is

more frequent. The sound (iia¹, iia), which is given only in Ne. and Ch., is well known as either an affected or vulgar sound in London, as *heeah!* for *here!* from a "swell," who has a difficulty with his *r*'s. The appearance of reverted (r), if rightly observed, here and in 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, is highly interesting,

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DU.
30. <i>Ada has</i>							
də'hæz	s	g	m	g	g	m	.....
ɛ-r-æz	m	f	[g] s	.....	f	s	.....
ɛ-r-æz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31. <i>idea of</i>							
a'idli:əv	f	? m	.....	e	e	^s [g] m	g
—ɛ-r-əv	g	s	g	e	(m) e	[g] m	G s
—ɛ-r-əv	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32. <i>pearls</i>							
pəʊəlz	f	e	f	.....	s	.....	.....
pərlz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	e	m
33. <i>ferns</i>							
fɛənz	m	e	g	g	g	(g) e	G m
34. <i>—ing</i>							
—iŋ	m	m	g	g	g	g	g
—in	f	s	f	.....	f	[m] f	.....
35. <i>anything</i>							
—θɪŋ	(?) e	.....	.....	.....	g	.....	.....
—θɪŋk	(?) e	f	f	.....	f	[m] f	f
36. <i>dog</i>							
dɒg	s	g	m	g	g	g	m
dʌg	m	f	f	.....	f	B m	.....
dɔŋ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	e
37. <i>H omitted</i>							
.....	m	? f	? f	.....	?	.....	.....
38. <i>wh—</i>							
wh—	f	s	f s	f	(G g) e	[f] m	G g, B m
w—	m	m	m	g	(B g) e	[m] s	B s
39. <i>wet</i>							
wet	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40. <i>s</i>							
θ	.....	.....	.....	f	B s	B s f	f s
41. <i>tub</i>							
tʌb	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i>							
ɔh	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i>							
ɛə	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boys</i>							
bɔɪz	.....	.....	.....	.....	(f)	.....	.....

but is possibly due to some colonists from our D. 4 or 11. See note on 24 floor, col. Dn.

3. *symplicity* with final *y* as (-i, -ii) and not (-i). This was not tested by Mr. McB. till he came to Br., and there he found it very common in Br., S., A., W. and Na., Ne. and Ch., and Dn. His attention had been drawn to it by two Englishmen as a colonial peculiarity.

4. *city*. There is a schism among English speakers as to the pron. of the *i, y* in this word. My (*i*) here is used for a sound between (*i, e*), which I am

loth to identify exactly with (*y*), the equivalent of the symbols Mr. M. Bell and Mr. McBurney use. Hence the observation on the great predominance of (*siti*) is interesting.

5. *new, tune*, the pron. (nuu tuun), which was found with comparative rarity by Mr. McB., is very common in London.

6. *say day* includes all the words usually having (*ee*) sounds, see p. 233, and forms one of the chiefly "cockney" tests, No. 3, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The sound given as (*ééi*) in the table may be, Mr. McB. says, (*EE'i*) or

probably (ɛ'i). In England certainly the sounds so vary. Mr. McB. also gives from Ba. (dææ'i græ'ev) day grave, with (i), and in all cases long first elements. In England they are heard with the first element quite short, as (dɛ'i, dæ'i, dá'i, dá'i) as shewn in D. 16. Mr. McB. says the (ee) is purer in New Zealand, although the (ééi, ææ'i, EE'i) are still to be heard. In Napier Mr. McB. did not notice any strong tendency to make (ee) into (a'i), but two Scotch teachers there told him that the children used to be very bad, reading (dhi a'ikaan gra'uz ɔn dhi sta'tli a'uk) the acorn grows on the stately oak.

7. *dare*, on the (r) see 2.

8. *die*, under Dn. he notes ɛ seem to have more (á), perhaps (á'i), ɪ (dái). At Ba. the *g m* for (dái) probably refer to different classes. The (dái) of ɛ was frequently (dAA'i) or (dah'i); Mr. McB. could not be sure which, but at any rate more (A'i) than (ái).

9. *my might* contrasts the treatment of (a'i) in open and close syllables, from which it appears that the latter generally have the finer sound.

10. *no*, and 11. *toe*. Mr. BcB. considers that the forms (ná'u, tá'u) which he wrote were uncertain, and that they may have been rather (áu) or something else. In *no*, *go*, *home* as a general rule it seems to be some form of (a'u); but in 11. *toe* there was generally a marked change, especially with ɛ.

12. *tore*. About final *r* see 2.

13. *now town*, this is another test diphthong (a'u), see No. 5, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The first element in (éeu) may be rather (EE), as in No. 6. *say day*. "In New Zealand," says Mr. McB., "this diphthong (a'u) was very varied. You never could guess how the next child would pronounce it, and (əə'u, dau, áau, á'u, ææ'u, EE'u, éeu) I think were all to be heard, but not, or rarely, (óou, áhu), which I have heard from Americans here [St. Francisco, Dec. 1887]. In New Zealand the (ææ'u, éeu) were not so marked as in Australia. They did not dwell on the first syllable with a drawl, but went rather quickly to the (u)." [In reference to this drawl Mr. McB. says: "A young intelligent American, who had travelled a good deal and walked 2000 miles through Europe, etc., told me that no Englishman could pronounce the *a* of *nasty*

properly — *laugh fast*, etc.!!! He pronounced it (nææ'sti) to the best of my hearing, with a nasal (æ) well drawn out." "The American [meaning the St. Franciscan] (a'u) is totally opposed to the colonial (éeu). I hear (háaus, háaus), and perhaps (hææ'us) around me, but nothing like our Australian (hææ'us). I am so far utterly bewildered in my attempt to analyse and localise American pron. People from all parts of the States and every nationality are here, and I feel thoroughly in a foreign land. I have a difficulty in understanding the people, and they evidently in understanding my simplest questions." On the east side of the continent in the States of New York and Massachusetts the case would have been different.

14. *woman*, and 15. *pull*, with (u_o). I almost fear that Mr. McB. got his notion of (u_o) from my *Pronunciation for Singers*, where it is written [ù] in glossic and described as the result of "giving the tongue a mid-back position and rounding the lips as for (u)." This I have subsequently found to be slightly in error, the tongue is still high-back as for (u), and the lips are placed as for (oo). See the introduction to the M. div., where it is fully considered. Hence I do not feel sure about this vowel, and it may be (u_i) rather than (u_o). To find this peculiar transitional vowel (u_o) in Australia is more than could be expected, although according to TH. it exists n. of the s. *södm* line 2 in the n. of Cb. Hu. and Nf. in the E. div., but quite out of ken of London.

16. *pool* (p's'uul) and 18. *food* (f's'uud). Mr. McB. writes the sound (œ'u) with (œ) short but accented, for which I have substituted (ə), which is the finer form of (œ). He says that it is common in Australia, especially in the word *food* (although not in all *oo* words), and was very marked in a Paramatta school (Sydney), but almost disappears in New Zealand, and becomes replaced by (*fud*) or (*fud*). This shortened form is not unfamiliar to me in London. The longer form (s'uū) I suspect to be one of the forms of my (ə'u) discussed in the introduction to M. div., which seems to have generated the Nf. (y_i). In its mildest form I hear it not unfrequently in London, especially in the words *too*, *afternoon*, where it is apt to generate (iu). At Ba. Mr.

McB. notes (féuud) singing in a large collective class. The sound is always difficult to analyse and necessarily unstable.

17. *rule* (rɛ'ul), and hence one of the forms of (a'u) in place of (iu). The form is remarkable, and does not occur very widely. I do not know it in England, but (ri'uul) is common.

18. *food*, see note on 16.

19. *paw*, the only thing to be noted is the form (pAA'v), which immediately suggests, perhaps occasions, a euphonic (r) as in 29. *drawing*.

20. *floor*, here we have both (flAA, flAA'v), where instead of (v) having been developed from the (AA), the latter was obtained by throwing off an (v), which replaced an (r), probably through (n), which still occurs occ. At Dn. Mr. McB. notes "final r throughout (r, r, v), each from several speakers." We have similar cases in Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24.

21. *poor*, the pron. (pAA) is known in London. The title of Mr. Burnand's burlesque of (pAA :klAA'diʌn), *poor Claudian*, written *paw Claudian*, was, however, little understood, and had to be explained in the newspapers.

24. *more*, 25. *morning*. Mr. McB. says "final (r) or (n) is common, especially in Dn., and the difference between *more* and *morn*, *oar* and *aur* and *aw*, is quite distinct, while they are almost indistinguishable in Australia and Tasmania. In Ne. district final (n) was very marked with a peculiar vowel preceding, perhaps *u* in *fur*, *pearl*. I have heard it before from Birmingham and elsewhere." This may have been merely (v) as modified by the following (n).

26. *dance*, 27. *hand*, both (ɛ) and (æ) were frequently nasalised in the colonies, as (dɛ̃ns dæ̃ns, hɛ̃nd hæ̃nd), but the two words belong to entirely different categories, *dance* is French and *hand* Ws., though the (n) has affected both alike.

28 to 31 are cases of inserted euphonic (r) which may be (n), the insertion of (r, r_o) is regular at many places in the E. div. and often heard in London.

32. *pearls*, 33. *ferns*. Mr. McB. has apparently appreciated the two vowels differently, but they may be only two different attempts to figure the same vowel. Probably I should have written (pɛ̃lz fɛ̃nz) or (pɛ̃lz,

fɛ̃nz) as he writes for the first at Ne. and Dn.

34. *-ing*, and 35. *anything*. Mr. McB. did not hear (-in, -thiɔk) himself, but took it on trust from the teachers in Ba., who gave both as used by several.

36. *dog*, 42. *water*, the writing (dohg) is rather an uncertain attempt to symbolise the sound heard. Mr. McB. calls it "an open o in *hot dog*, and sometimes also in *water*—like the Irish and American." He thinks it must be (oh), and says "it is quite a marked difference." It approaches (a), and he was about to write it (a') at first.

37. *H omitted*, as he heard in singing *God save the Queen* at Ba., "on 'er be pleased to pour."

39. *wet*, written in the table [e + u] glossic. But Mr. McB. says: "In some cases it seemed to lie between (e, a), perhaps (wa't), at another between (e, ə), perhaps (wət), as his 'Scotch ear,'" he says, "inclines, perhaps, to the broad (ɛ) for (ə)." But I know no such English sound for *wet*.

40. *s* (th), Mr. McB. says: "A peculiarity in the *s* struck me frequently in New Zealand, which I write *s'* but without certainty. The natives have no *s*, and they also produce frequently a strange *s* more approaching (sh), while the other *s'* approaches (th)." I have therefore written (th), the symbol for the Spanish *z*, which becomes (s) in Spanish America. He goes on to say, "The Maori *o* is, I think, in reality (o). The *t* = (t) or (t̃) generally, although some districts have the English (t̃). *wh* was at times decidedly (f̃), and at times, I think, a lip -f" = (ph). Although, as he says, this is *not* English dialect, it is worth preserving.

41. *tub*. "The *u* of *tub* struck me as very open, almost (a), in a large area of New Zealand, probably (a'), as (ra'ɪb v da'ɪb), rub a dub." The Germans find our *u* in *tub* the nearest approach to their *a* in *mann* (man), and so, possibly, they hit this sound in saying *tub*.

42. *water*, see note on 36.

43. *star*. "A strange (a) was to be heard in Auckland. The boys calling the *Evening Star* shouted out *sta* . . . , perhaps (stææ). It had a strange effect."

44. *boy*, *voice*. "oy most unfortunately escaped my notice, I know not how, but I have not heard anything

peculiar except in rare cases. Two teachers (Scotch) in Na. said it was habitually pronounced (*óoi*), as (*bóoiz*) (*vóoisiz*), boys' voices. I have noticed (*óoi*) but rarely."

This examination, conducted entirely by one man over such a large range of country, is entirely unprecedented, and furnishes the first trustworthy account that has been rendered of Australasian English. Mr. McBurney is a Glasgow man, but his parents belonged to Dumfries and Edinburgh; he lived in the Isle of Man for some years, and on his voyage to Australia studied Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, and, subsequently, my *Pronunciation for Singers*, adopting my glossic-writing in his reports, as most convenient for writing and pointing. This phonetic training was, of course, indispensable, and adds much weight to his testimony. I feel under great obligations to Mr. McBurney for his kindness in enabling me thus unexpectedly to complete my account of South-Eastern pronunciation.

D 18 = NE. = North Eastern, so called in opposition to D 17 = SE.

Boundaries. Begin at the sw. angle of Rt., near Rockingham, Np. Go ene. across Np. s. of King's Cliffe to the nw. angle of Hu., near Wansford, Np. Pass along the b. of Hu. to Peterborough (in the map, the line has been accidentally drawn a little s. of this border). Go all round Cb. to the ne. angle of Np., then proceed along the n. b. of Np. to the entrance of the inlet of Li. containing Stamford. Cut across that inlet to the opposite point of Rt., and then pass round Rt. to the starting-point.

Area. The whole of Cb. and Rt., ne. Np., and the Stamford inlet of Li.

Authorities.—See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ in systematic spelling, ° in io.

Cb. *general (Mr. Perkins, Prof. Skeat), †Cambridge, †°Chatteris, †Ely, °Haddenham, °†March, †Sawston, †Shelford, °Soham, †Whittlesford, †Willingham, °†Wisbech, *°Wood Ditton.

Li. †Stamford.

Np. †Ailesworth, †Castor, †Eye, †Peakirk, *†Peterborough, †Rockingham, †Wakerley, †Werrington, †Wryde.

Rt. *Cottesmore (:kotymóos), °Empingham, *Oakham, °Stretton, °Uppingham, °Whitwell.

Character. It is curious that Cb. differs from Hu., especially in the A- words, which are no longer (*éi*) as a rule, though of course there are exceptions near the b. of Hu., Bd., Ht., and Es., but are simple (*ee*), and this is also frequently the case for the ÆG, EG words, though these more frequently admit of (*æé'i*), or some such form. This astonished me very much when I first became aware of it, but it is an evident approximation to Nf. and Sf., across both of which Cb. lies.¹ The A' words have also (*oo*) rather than (*óu*, *óou*).

¹ It is, however, not quite uniform. (dæ'i) day, at Ely (stræ'it, pléis, wéi, meed, ee, k'éiz) straight, place, way, TH. noted at Willingham (8 n. Cambridge), (dæ'i ræ'in, téib'l mæ'æste) made, letter A, because, and at Cambridge rain table master, at Wisbech (æ'int) is-not?

The U' words take the general E. form (ɛ'u) or thereabouts. The U, however, changes, for the n. *sum* line 1 runs across the n. part of Cb. in a straight line from Sawtry, Hu. (9 nnw. Huntingdon), to just n. of Ramsey, Hu., and s. of March, Cb. (12 nnw. Ely), and then, turning suddenly northwards, passes just w. of Wisbech and proceeds to the ne. point of Cb., whence it pursues the b. of Nf. to the sea. All n. of this line is therefore in the *sðm* region. But the s. *sðm* line passes from Hu., goes s. of Ramsey, Hu., and passes between Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and Ely, then passing ne. to Downham Market, Nf. (6 s. King's Lynn). The intervening part of Cb. is therefore in the mixed region, so that s. of the s. *sðm* line we have pure (ə, æ), in the mixed region (ə, æ, u_o, o) and other intermediate forms, and in the n. part pure (u_o). But this seems to have no effect upon the rest of the dialect.

Remembering this, I was struck by the great resemblance of Rt. to Cb. pron. There are the same A- (*ee*), A' (*oo*), I' (*ái, á'i*), the same U' (ɛ'u). On the extreme of Rt. I noticed a slight tinge of M. in the use of (*shéi*) for (*shii*), as I had found in E. Haddon, Np., D 16, p. 213). This satisfied me that the portion of Np. intervening between Cb. and Rt. must present the same peculiarities. But my information from this region was far too scanty for me to judge till TH. at Easter, 1886, took a rapid phonetic survey of the country, and finding there the Rt. characters, I included it in D 18.

Cb. has many usages like those of the adjacent Nf. and Sf., such as 'together' as an address to several persons; 'come to mine,' that is, my house, 'he do' for he does. Also the words 'to do' are frequently (*tíu díu*), which is half-way to (*tíy₁ díy₁*), which will be considered in D 19. These do not appear to occur in ne. Np. and Rt. Hence we must distinguish three varieties, Var. i. Cb., Var. ii. ne.Np., Var. iii. Rt.

VAR. i. MID CAMBRIDGESHIRE dt.

pal. in 1879 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Perkins, of Downing College, Cambridge, who was very familiar with the peasant speech, but he could assign no particular locality.

1. *soo ái se*, meets, *ɛ'u sii nɛ'u dhæt ái)m ráit ɛbɛ'ut dhæt lít'l gæl kám'ín frəm dhɛ skuul hándɛ.*

2. *shi)z ɛ)gɔ'ín dɛ'ín dhɛ rood dhêv, thriú dhɛ red gɛ'ɛt ɔn dhɛ left hand sáid ɛ)dhɛ wee.*

3. *shúɛr ɛnə'f dhɛ tɟáid)z gan street ɛp tɛ dhɛ do'ɛr ɛ)dhɛ rɔq hɛ'us,*

4. *wêv shi)l bi shúv tɛ fáind dhæt def wiz'nd féls ɛ)dhɛ neem ɛ :tɔmɔs, dhæt)s ɔlɔs táit ɛz ɛ drəm.*

5. *we AAL noo ím vɛr,í wɛl.*

6. *woont dhi óud tɟæp suun tiitɟ [laan] ɛ not tɛ duu ít [dú)t] ɛgɛ'n.*

7. *lúk! ɛent ít truu.*

Notes to m. Cambridgeshire dt.

1. *so*, noted as usual pron.—*mates*, no vanish noted here or in other cases.—*yonder*, the aspirate is not usually dropped, but often wrongly inserted.
3. *child*, pl. (tjildən).
4. *wizened*, the word *shrivelled* not in use, the use of (shr-) seemed uncertain. Mr. P. gave (shrimps srimps, rām srāb, shrūu mē'us, srāgd) shrimps, rām shrub, shrew mouse, shrugged.—*that is always tight as a drum*, the people object to the word *drunk*.
6. *teach*, 'learn' is much more usual.

s.CB., SAWSTON (6 sse. Cambridge), dt.

pal. in 1879 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Mullett, native, 18, and 3 years latterly in Nt., son of the foreman to a paper mill.

1. nāu *di see, meetiz*, jə'u sɪ *di wɛr*, rɔɪt ɛbɔut dhat lɪt'l gjal ɛkɛ'mɪn frəm jon skuul.
2. shi)z ɛgu'ɪn dāun dhɛ rood dhɛs thruu dhat rɛd gjeet ɛ)dhɛ left and sɔɪd.
3. wɔɪ dhɛ tʃaɪld)z gɔn strɛ'ɪt tɛ)dhɛ dɔs ɛ)dhɛ roq *aus*,
4. wɛ'ɛ shi)l praps fɔɪnd dhat ɔud drɔk'n dɛf laqki tʃap ɛv)ɛ :tɔmɛz.
5. ju ɔɔl noo)ɪm wɛl ɛnɔ'f.
6. ɔnt dh)ɔud tʃap suun tiɪt)ɛr nɔt tɛ du)ɪt ɛgje'n, pɔs thiɪq.
7. lɔk jɛ ! *ɪt)s rɔɪt*, jɛ sɪl.

Notes to Sawston dt.

1. *now*, the diphthong (ɔu) is very doubtful. It most probably should be (ɛ'u) as in the surrounding districts.—*say*, no vanish written.—*that*, the (a) for (æ) is doubtful, and may have been a slip here and elsewhere.
5. *road*, observe the absence of vanish.
6. *won't*, the absence of (w) is noticeable.—*old*, the absence of (l) is suspicious.

se.CB., WOOD DITTON (3 sse. Newmarket, 13 e. Cambridge, on the b. of Sf.), dt.

pal. in 1879 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Walker, native, daughter of the then vicar.

1. nɛ'u ɔ'i diu see, tɛge'dhɛ, jɛ'u sɪi nɛ'u ɔ'i bi rɔ'ɪt ɛbɛ'ut dhæt ɛɛs lɪt'l gɛl [mɔdhɛ] kɛmɛn frəm dhæt ɛɛs skiul [dhɛ skiul jɛndɛ, hɪndɛ].
2. shi bi goo'ɪn dɛ'ɔn dhɛ rod dhɛs, thriú dhɛ rɛd gɔɪt ɔn dhɛ left hɛn sɔ'ɪd ɛ)dhɛ rod.
3. shiúɛ ɛnɛ'u dhæt tʃaɪld)z [dhɛ lɪt'l ɛn)z] gɔn strɔ'ɪt [rɔ'ɪt] ɛp tɛ dhɛ dɔs ɛ)dhɛ roq hɛ'us,
4. wɛs shi)l hɛp'n fɔ'ɪnd dhæt drɔk'n dɪf wɪz'nd fɛlɛ, ɛ)dhɛ nɛɛm ɛ :tɔmɛs.
5. wi ɔɔl noo ɛm wɛl ɛnɛ'u [wɛr)ɪ wɛl].
6. ɔont dhɛ ɔol tʃɛp siún teɪtj [laan] shi nɔt tɛ diú dhæt ɛgɪ'n, pɔs thiɪq !
7. lɔk, tɛge'dhɛ, beent *ɪt triú*.

Notes to Wood Ditton dt.

1. *now I say*, (soo) as it is called would not be used here, they (siú a dræs en sóou dhæ kor_on) they sew a dress and sow the corn.—*together*, the regular address in Cb. to more than one, (meets) is also used.—*I be*, 'I am' is also used, 'thou' is not in use.—*girl*, *mawther*, the latter word imported from Sf., *wench* is not used.—*that there school* is the usual phrase.

2. *road*, with a short vowel certainly, but doubtful if (o) or (ə).—*gate* clearly dictated as (gáit), possibly due to adjacent Sf., but (gævt) is also used.—*of the road* or (wææ) way.

3. *enow*, 'enough' is never used.—

door, they say (pá'us, fá'us) pour, four.

4. *happen*, used for 'it may happen,' perhaps.—*find*, the (A'i) was dictated clearly throughout, (v sá'it v piip'l) a sight, great number, of people.—*name*, also pronounced (nææ'im). The alternative forms (gævt ga'it, næm nææ'im) recall the succession of (e'i) to (éé) observed in Ht. (p. 196 d).

5. *very well*, given as an alternative, is the only example of (w) for (v) I have found in Cb., and it may be like *mawther*, an importation from Sf.

6. *teach she* for *her* is a suspicious S. form.

Miss Walker also dictated the following sentences and words :

1. (hándæ bii v de'u), yonder is a dove.
2. (wæ'v v jóu v goo'in tíú, bə ?), where are you going to, bo ? [lad, man, a Sf. word].
3. (A'i bi glad tíú sii shii), I be glad to see she.
4. (hæu shi 'diú gra'h), how she do grow, with an amount of wind following, like a guttural.
5. (diú jə'u goo vwee', doont ækt soo fuulish), do you go away, don't act so foolish.
6. (shi)z dhæt bæd), she is so ill.
7. (tə kop), to throw, (miz'n, miis), mice, the latter rare, (peez 'n beenz), peas and beans, (tamæts), turnips, (wæz'l), wurzel, (fæst, bæst), first, burst, (kidjð), only convalescent, in Nf. brisk.

n.Cb., MARCH (12 nnw.Ely), dt.

by the Rev. J. W. Green, Rector, pal. by AJE. from his notes; the words in [] were marked rp. and are retained in ordinary spelling, as the exact pron. intended could not be assigned.

1. [so I say, mates,] jə'u [see now that I am] r_odi't [about that little] gæl kəm'in fr_om [the] skiúl jindər_o.

2. shi biz goo'in [down the] róvæd dhaar_o [through the red gate on the left] hænd [side of the way].

3. [sure] vniú [the] tjdild hez [gone] stráit up tíú [the] dóvæ_o [of the] r_oæqg [house].

4. waar_o shi)l tjæntj [to find that] dr_oæqk'n [deaf] dr_oiz'nd fel_o [of the name of Thomas].

5. [we all] noo [him] vær_oi [well].

6. uunt [the old chap soon teach her not] tíú díu [it] gin, póvæ_o thiq !

7. læk, iint [it] tríu ?

Notes to March dt.

1. *you*, rh. *now*.—*right*, “the tip of the tongue is merely raised,” this must be (r_o) in all cases before a vowel, otherwise it is probably omitted; hence as the Rector always wrote the *r*, I have inserted (r_o) always.—*coming*, “first syllable as in *hum*, second sounded *in*.”—*school*, “pronounced *skewl* as in *skewer*.”—*yonder* “*yin* is the word used, and *yinder*.”

2. *She is*, “*be* is mostly used, *she bees*.”—*going*, “*a* is prefixed when the first person is used before it, as *I'm a goin*.”—*road* “*roh-ud*.”—*there*, rh. *tar*.

3. *enough*, “one form *enew* always used.”—*child*, “the vowel ‘*i*’ has a diphthongal sound as if *ei* ‘cheild.’” I have taken the (*ai*) from TH.’s observations at March.—*has*, ‘hez’ as in ‘*fez*,’ ‘have’ as in ‘*heav-en*.’”—*straight*, “*ai* as in the Greek diphthong *ai*,” as pronounced in England.—*up*, “vowel as in *full*.” Mr. Green marked the following words as having *u* in dull (ə), *us* husband dust love dove above hunger tongue sun under but butter *up* cup jump gun tumble thunder, and with *u* in full (*u*) bullock full. Thus he gave *up* differently in the list and the dt.—*to* “as in *tew*.”—*door* “as in *oar*.”—*wrong* “sounded with double *gg*, and the vowel as in *rung*.”—*house*, “and *home* are not commonly used, the pronoun *ours*, *yours*, *mine*, being commonly employed alone, as ‘*come to mine*,’ instead of ‘*my house*.’”

4. *where*, “*h* not pronounced, the vowel sounded as in *far*.”—*she'll*, “if emphatic sounded as *wul*” (wəl).—*chance*, pr. *chanch*.—*drunken*, “*dr* sounded with the tongue against the

teeth, *u* as in *sunk* ;” this dental *dr* must apparently be an error.—*shrivelled*, “the word used is *drizzend* ; *shr* is sounded in words of that beginning.”

5. *know*, ‘we know’ is the form used, vowel as in *over*.—*very*, “like *Harry*,” this is a very remarkable form.

6. *teach*, “*learn*, used instead of *teach*, is pronounced *larn*” (lar_n, laan).—*poor*, “as in *oar*.”—*thing*, “sometimes *k* instead of *g*, and sometimes *g* dropped, *somethin*, *anythink*.”

7. *look* “as in *luck*.”—*isn't* “as *ēnt*.”—*true* “as *treuw*.”

The treatment of U from the account of the Rector (except in the word *up* in the dt.) appeared to be the same as in rs. But TH. on visits made with the express purpose of verifying this point in 1881 and 1882, found generally (*u*_o) for short *u* and short *o* treated as *u*, as in *tumble* *stumble* *thunder* *gun* *up* *sun* *jump* *pump* *cup* *tub* *jug* *mutton* *some* *son* *crumbs* *couple* *another* *colour* *supper* *other* *sum* *duck* *brother* (m_u, m_e) [mustn't] *honey* *monkey* *trumpet* *plunder* *run* *stomach*. Once he got (o) in each of the words *tumble*, *cup*, *colour*, *others*, and once a vowel between (*u*_o, o) in *onion* (u_o n_o n). Hence I have placed March on the n. *sum* line I itself.

With regard to other sounds TH. found *ai*, *ay* (= *ee*) in way day say, with no vanish.

i, *y* long = (*di*) in die while time behind.

o long, *o-e*, *ow* generally (*oo*) without vanish.

ou and *ow* generally (ɛ'u), sometimes (ə'u), and sometimes an intermediate diphthong.

ne.Cb., WISEBECH, cwl.

Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech (:wizbitɪ), kindly filled up one of my old wl. He marked by far the majority of the words as having rp., and only those which follow had any indication of a dialectal change, except such minor points as *w* for *wh*, *g* and *k* omitted in *gnaw*, *know*, *knead*, etc., which are not distinctive. These now follow in the order of the cwl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 14 draa + r [before a following vowel]. 33 reedhe. 36 thoo. A: 47 wande. 54 want. A': 102 æks. 105 rid. 115 hēm. 118 bēn. 123 mathiq [p na-]. 124 stēn. 133 rit. Æ- 144 egi'n. Æ: 155 thæk. 173 waa. 118 pæd. Æ': 218 ship. E- 233 speak. 236 feevs. 248 maa. E: 265 stra'it. 270 belvz. 272 elv̄m. 273 mīn. E': 306 ha'ith.

314 hîvd. 316 neks. EA- 319 gaap. EA: 323 foot. 324 a'it. EA': 355 diif. 366 gret. 370 rið [written *rear*]. EO- 386 ja'u. EO: 389 jek. 396 wək. 397 sūvd. 400 évnest. 402 laan. 406 êsth [written *airth*]. 407 faad'n. EO': 434 bet. I- 441 siv. 442 a'iveri [written *ivory*]. O: 537 ma'uld. U- [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 600 *love* [a very slight approximation of the *o* to (*u*), scarcely perceptible; this expression must refer to one of the sounds intermediate to (*a*, *u*)]. 603 *come* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 605 *son* [rp.]. 607 *butter* [rp.]. U: [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 608 *ugly* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 612 *some* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 618 wa'und. 625 *tongue* [rp.]. 626 *hunger* [*u* approximates slightly to (*u*), not (*huuqgə*)]. 629 *sun* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 630 *won* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 631 *Thursday* [rp.]. 632 *up* [rp.]. 633 *cup* [rp.]. 635 wəth. 636 fəds. 637 təsh təsh. 639 *dust* [rp.]. U'- 653 *but* [rp.]. U': 662 *us* [rp.]. 666 *husband* [the *u* approaches (*u*) sometimes]. Y: 684 brig. 685 rīg. 688 biuld [written *beuld*]. 696 bath. 697 biuri [written *bevry*]. 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 na'iz. 769 məl. 790 ga'und. U. 808 *put* [rp.].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 916 iqɾən [written *ingyon*]. 919 a'intmēt. 920 pa'int. 923 ma'ist. 924 tja'is. 925 va'is. 926 spa'il. 947 ba'il. U.. 965 a'il. 968 a'istə.

Usages. I am, I are, we you they are, I be, I is [this must be imported], they is, he do, he live there, I am a-going.

Note to Wisbech cwl.

Mr. Little says: "In a district like this, with very little dialect proper, one has to consider whether individual peculiarities are not often due to some connection with either Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which approach so very closely, and which have distinct modes of speech. I was much influenced by this consideration. I therefore dwelled (mentally) as much as possible on the speech of a typical labourer or two of my acquaintance, rather than marked the numerous peculiarities of those who, in my opinion, or to my knowledge, had borrowed accidentally from our neighbours." Mr. Little, however, kindly went once more over the words which have (*u*, *ə*) in rs., and the result is given under U- U: U'- U':. Here he frequently recognises a tendency of (*a*) to pass, more or less, generally slightly into (*u*) and the consequent occ. generation of (*o*), see No. 637 *tusk*. This is the distinctive mark of the mixed area, in which therefore Wisbech is situate, the n. *sum* line passing just above it. TH., who visited Wisbech in 1882, must have fallen in chiefly with those who in Mr. Little's opinion were affected by neighbouring

Li. and Nf., both of which have (*u*_o), Wisbech being wedged between them, so that it could scarcely keep an (*a*) in the younger generation. Thus from a boy of 13, a native, TH. heard (*u*_o) in jump [with at one time a blending of (*o*, *ə*)], pump, cup, tub, jug, tumble, mutton, sun, son, duck, crumbs; but in *some* he heard a mixture of (*u*_o, *ə*) and in *colour* a mixture of (*o*, *ə*) while in *couple* the sound was completely (*o*). From a man of 39, a native, he heard (*u*_o) in jump, cup, mutton, some, sun, son, duck, couple, crumb, but a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in tumble, and complete (*o*) in pump, tub, jug, colour. The phenomenon was almost the same at Chatteris, which is 15 ssw. Wisbech, and hence not exposed to the Li. action, and is 9 m. from the Nf. b. Here TH. from a native, a roadman of 73, noted (*u*_o) in nothing, tub, some, crush, wonderful; but also (*a*) in nothing, just, a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in jump, cup, and of (*o*, *ə*) in crumble, crumbs, crumbly, but pure (*o*) in jug, tumble, mutton, gruffer, couple, colour, sun, son, scholar, and so on from others, shewing that Chatteris is in the mixed region, but just at the limit of (*u*_o).

Mr. Little says that "the fen country generally is the home of pure speech, by which I mean, of language but little differing from the ordinary literary English." It is an opinion held by many that "received speech is pure, and dialectal speech impure," forgetting that received speech has been highly "doctored" in the course of ages from some form of dialectal hereditary speech, and hence is really the impurest possible form of speech. Received English, however, probably descended from E. speech, especially the inland variety, and that would account for the marked resemblance between the two.

VAR. ii., ne.NORTHAMPTON cwl. containing :

Pt Peterborough, wn. by TH. at Peterborough and Werrington in 1881-2.
 Pe those observed by AJE. from Miss Furness, student at Whitelands,
 and the following wn. by TH. at Easter, 1886.
 A Ailesworth (5 w.Peterborough).
 C Castor (4½ w.P.).
 E Eye (3 ne.P.).
 P Peakirk (5½ n-by-w.P.).
 R Rockingham (8 n.Kettering).
 S Stamford, Li., from a Rutland man.
 Wak Wakerley (15 w.P.).
 Wer Werrington (3½ nw.P.).
 Wr Wryde, in parish of Thorney, Cb. (9 ene.P.).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 PWr beek. 8 ARE xv. 18 P kjeek. 20 PPe leem (with no vanish). 21 WakEPWrS neem. A: or O: 58 A thrēm. 60 AWerP lu,q. 64 ARWr roq, WakEWerS ru,q, R ruq, EP roq. A'- 69 WakREP noo. 74 C tzu tuu, R tuu. 76 Pe tood. 81 WakR leen. 82 A wu,ns. 86 Wer oots, AEPWr ots, CE outs. 92 E nooz. 93 AWak snoo, P snou. A': 104 AWak rood. 115 CP om, AWakREWerWr oom, Pt om, CPt om, P om. 117 C wa'n. 118 Wak boon. 122 WakREP no. 124 WakP stoon.
 Æ- 138 AWakREWerPWwr faadhæ. 142 APWakE sneel. 152 ARE waathæ. Æ: 162 CA dei, AWakREWerP dee. 172 Wak gras, RE gras. 181 Wak pad. Æ'- 197 CAEPWr tjiiz. 200 CREPWwr wit, AEP wiit. Æ': 209 WakPE nive. 223 CWakREP dhæ. 224 REP wiv+r, E wêv we'v.
 E- 233 CWakREWerP speek, A spæk, RP spiik. 241 C rêin, AR reen. 243 S plee'in. E: 261 A se', WakREP see, R sii, E see. 262 WakREWerPWwr wee, E wee. 263 P ewee, S ewei. 278 A wantjuz. E'- 290 AREPWwr i. 292 R mi. 299 WakREWerPWwr griin. E': 314 A e'lrð, E e'lrð, WakREP fæd, R œd.
 EA: 322 WakREPPtWr lâf. 324 EP e'it. 326 WakREP ödld. 328 Wer kóudd. 335 A aal. 338 A kaalín. EA'- 347 AWakEPWr èd, R èd, Pt. e'id. EA': 361 AWakEWer biin. 366 WakPWwr greet, E græt. EO: 394 C jonde, Wer jonds, AEWak jonds. 395 ARWerP ju,q. 402 Wak la'lrni,n, REP løn, E Wer laan. EO'- 411 C thrii. 412 R shi, EPWr shi. EO': 428 A sii. 437 Wak trúuth, PWwr tréuth. EY- 438 RE dai, WakWer [between] da'i dai, P da'i dai.
 I: 458 WakREWerP náit, Wr nait. 465 WakES sitj. I'- — [name of the letter] A ai, Pe ai. 494 P ta'im, WakEPWr tím. I': 500 AWakE láik.
 O: — Pe sru,b [shrub, shr- never used]. 531 CAREWerPWwr daathæ. O'- 555 AEP shuu. 559 PE madhæ, A [between] madhæ modhæ, E modhæ, Pt modhæ, Wr meðhæ. 562 WakREWerPWwr muun. 564 P suun. 568 AR

bru_odhv. O': 579 WakE vnu_of, Pe vniá. 587 WakREP dän, Wr dän. 588 WakREWerPW_r nuun.

U- 605 WakREWerPS sū_on. 606 AWakREWerP dōv+r. 607 R bu_ote. U: — P tū_omb'l [tumble]. 629 Wer sū_on. 632 AWakRPS u_op. 633 Wr ku_op. U- 641 A E'u, Wr ə'u. 643 AE nāu. 650 S əbāt. U': 658 R dām, E dāun, P dīe'um. 659 E tāun, P tīe'um, Wr [between] tē'um tē'um. 663 AWak ə'us, WakWerWr [between] ə'us, ə'us, RE áus, P [l]i'us [A E'uz'n, Wak ə'uz'n].

Y- 673 WakE mu_otj. Y': 712 AWak máis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 Pe gjel [Miss F. had not heard *wench*]. O. 791 ARE bói, WakP bói. U. 794 Pt djūg. 803 Pt djūmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 A fās. 866 Pe pōov. I.. and Y.. 901 AE fáin. O.. — CAPWr bif [beef]. 947 AR bóil, Wak bóil. U.. 965 A ôil.

VAR. iii., RUTLAND.

The short *u* as dictated to me in Ru. seemed to be rather (*u*₁) than (*u*_o), due perhaps to the neighbouring Li., but as a compromise I have used only (*u*). Ru. is quite distinct from adjoining Le., where according to TH. (*u*_o) prevails. See Introduction to M. div.

COTTESMORE, RT. (4 nne.Oakham), dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, who resided there till 14, but had been absent 14 years, and was then teacher at St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea. The *r* was not particularly observed.

1. soo A'i see, butiz, jə séi nā'u dhət A'i)m rA'it vba'ut dhat lit'l gel kumən frəm jən [jən] sk'i'uul.

2. shéi)z go'ven dā'un dhv rood dhév thruu dhv rəd geet on dhv left and sA'id v)dhv wee.

3. shéi'úer vnu'f dhv tJA'ild vz gon street up tə dhv dá'vər v)dhv roq ə'us,

4. wiv shéi)l tJA'ns to fa'in dhat dru₁qk'n def sriv'ld fēle v)dhv neem v : tōmvs.

5. wi AAL noo im weri wēl.

6. wuunt dhv ool tJap s'i:uun tiitj v not tə duu it vgi'n [age'n], pōv thi'qk!

7. luuk, eent it truu.

Notes to Cottesmore dt.

1. *so*, *say* without vanish; whether (*see*) or (*see*) was said is not absolutely certain, but I have generally marked (*ee*), and so I retain it in preference to (*ee*), as there was no trace of a following (*i*).—*see*, both (*séi*, *sii*) seem to be used, the (*séi*) is of course a M. encroachment.—*girl*, (*wentj*) *wench* is used affectionately.

2. *she*, (*shéi*) was heard here, but in

par. 4 (*shii*) *wrs* also given.—*on* rather (*on*) than (*on*).

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not used.

4. *shrivelled*, the word is common, and so is (*wiz'nd*) *wizened*.

5. *know*, occ. *knows*.—*very*, inclined to (*weri*), but not very certain, (*wit'lz*) *victuals* is the only instance of (*w*) for (*v*) quite certain.

OAKHAM, RT., dt.

pal. by A.JE. from the writing of Miss Kemm, native, teacher at Whitelands, assisted by her wl. which had been corrected from dict.

1. *soo áí sééí*, meets, *ju síí ná'u dhét áí)m ráít* ebe'ut dhat-êv lät'l gæl, *kumín thrum dhv skuul*.
2. *shii)z)ego'in dá'un dhv rood dhêv*, thriú dhv ræd gééit on dhv left and *sáid* ev dhv wéet.
3. *shûv enáf*, dhv tjdild *íz gon stret up* tē dhv dôv ev dhv ruq *æ'us*.
4. *wiv shi)l tjaansh* tē fáind dhat *drv, nk'n diif* [def] *sriv'ld fêlv* ev dhv neem ev :tómæs.
5. *wi hAAAL* [ðv] *noo)im veri wel*.
6. *wuunt dhv hoold tjav suun laan)æ* not tē duu *ít* ege'n, *pôv thiq!*
7. *luuk!* eent)it triú?

Notes from Miss Kemm.

R as Miss K. pron. was when initial a decided (r), when final it was untrilled and mostly like the vowel (v) as in London.

The cwl. is made up from Miss K.'s observations on old people, especially shepherds, which she had observed from childhood.

H. is generally omitted in the right and inserted in the wrong place, the latter especially when the speaker is emphatic and slow, and is anxious to speak well, as (*hov koos*) of course.

Irregular (strong) verbs are often made regular (weak).

Th and F are not confused, we have neither (throks) frocks, nor (fis'lz) thistles [but observe (thrum) from, par. 1].

Many is called (*meeni*) by old and antiquated people.

Cl, Gl initial become (tl, dl).

Old, well-educated peepole say (*fift sikst eet náint*) fifth sixth eighth ninth.

Noise is used for sound.

Proud is expressed by (*di en lofti*) high and lofty.

Though *ointment* is not used, they speak of (*v ná'inted raaskel*) a 'nointed rascal, one who has been well thrashed.

To *addle*, earn, is not common, but has been heard.

* * I cannot be sure of my notes for (*ee, ee*), as they were not distinctly separated, and hence have generally used (*ee*) even when perhaps (*ee*) or (*éei*) was said.

RUTLAND cwl.

C Cottesmore (:kótəmðv) wl. pal. by A.JE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell in 1882, as above.

O Oakham (:uukəm) wl. pal. in 1877 by A.JE. from dict. of Miss A. Kemm, as above. This is town pron., and in some respects refined. Miss K. says: "The provincialisms are not glaring, they consist chiefly in the use of old Saxon words, and the peculiar sound of *u*" as (*u*). Oakham was celebrated for its holm-oaks, as at Ashwell (3 n. Oakham) there are beautiful ash-trees. S Stretton, as given by the then Rector, Rev. E. Bradley ('Cuthbert Bede').

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 O beek. 4 C tek. 5 CO mek. 6 O meed. 7 O séeik. 8 CO ev. 9 C bi,æ·v, bi,ee·v. 10 O ðv. 12 O sðv+r. 13 O nðv+r. 14 O drðv+r. 17 O lðv+r [sometimes]. 18 O keek. 20 CO leem. 21 CO neem. 22 O teem. 23 CO seem. 24 CO sheem. 28 êv. 32 C beedh. 33 COS reedhv, O radhv. 36 O thðv. 37 O klðv+r. A: 39 O kuum. 56 C wæsh, O wæsh.

A: *or* O: 58 C *thròm* [has been heard from poor people], O *thròm thròm*. 60 C *lòq*, O [between that and] *lòq*. 61 CO *vmuq*. 62 O [between] *stròq* *stròq*. 64 O [between] *roq ruq*. 66 O [between] *thoq thuq*.
 A'- 67 O *goo + u* [in the pause]. 69 O *noo + u* [in the pause]. 70 O *too + u* [in the pause]. 71 O *woo + u* [in the pause]. 72 C *oo*. 73 O *soo + u* [in the pause]. 74 C *too*, O *too + u* [in the pause]. 75 O *strook*. 76 O *tòvd*. 77 O *lòvd*. 81 C *lèen*. 82 O *wàns*. 84 O *mòv* [like 12]. 85 O *sòv* [like 12]. 86 C *oots*. 87 C *klooz*, O *tlooz*. 89 *booth*. 92 O *noo*. 93 O *snoo*. 94 O *kroo*.
 A': 101 O *ook* [but old-fashioned people call *Oakhām* (:unkəm)]. 102 O *aast* [both pres. and pret., old people say (aks)]. 104 CO *rood*. 105 CO *rood*. 106 CO *braad*, O *bròvd*. 107 C *loof*, O *laf*, *luf*. 108 O *dòv* [(*peest*) more common]. 111 O *òvt*. 113 CO *al* [*hwi* is not so pronounced, as it is in Nf.], O *hul*. 115 O *um* [with or without (h)], S *wum*. 116 O *uum* [rarely used]. 117 O *wan* [never (*wun*)]. 118 C *boon*, O *boon*. 122 CO *nəm* [(*nan*) in Le.]. 123 CO *noot*, *nuthiqk*. 124 O *ston*. 125 O *ooni*, *ooni*. 126 O *òv* [like 12]. 127 C *òus*, O *òesti* [occ.]. 129 O *goost*. 132 O *ot*. 134 O *òvth*.
 Æ- 138 C *faadhv*, OS *feedhv*. 139 O *dree*. 141 CO *neel* [no vanish]. 142 CO *sneel*. 143 CO *teel*. 147 C *breen*. 148 O *fèv*. — a'nt [ant, oftener (*pismáiv*)]. 149 C *bleez*. 152 C *watv*. Æ: 155 C *thak thək thətj*. 158 O *haatenuun* [afternoon, very common]. 161 CO *dee*. 163 O *lee*. 164 CO *mee*. 166 C *meed*. 171 G *béli*. 172 C *grès*. 173 CO *waa*. 181 CO *pad* [regular form]. Æ'- 182 CO *sii*. 183 C *teetj*, O [(*laan*) learn, used]. 184 O *liid*. 185 C *reed*, *rèd* [pt.], O *riid*, *rèd* [pt.]. 186 O *brèdth*. 187 C *leev*, O *liiv*. 188 C *nee* [(*wini*) more common], O *nèei wini* [both used]. 189 C *wee*, O *wèei*. 190 CO *kii*. 191 *ii*. 192 C *meen*, O *miin*. 193 O *klwq* [heard from an old lady near Uppingham, who was 90 when she died]. 194 C *oni*, O *eeni eni*. 195 O *meen* [old], S *moni*. 196 O *ái waa*, *wi waa*, *dhe waa* [I was, we they were]. 197 C *tpeez*, CO *tpiiz* [C both used]. 199 O *bliit*. 200 C *wiet*, O *wiit*. 201 CO *iidh'n*, C *eedh'n* [C both used]. 202 O *iit*. Æ': 204 O *diid*. 205 C *thrid*, O *thred*. 207 O *nid'l*. 210 C *klee*, O *kléei*. 211 C *gree*, O *gréei*. 212 O *wéei*. 213 S *eedhv*. 216 CO *dii*, C *dèl* [C both used]. 218 O *shíp*. 219 CO *sliip*. 221 O *fiv*. 222 O *èv*. 223 CO *dhèv*. 224 CO *wiv*. 226 O *moost*. 227 O *wet*. 228 C *swot*, O *swet*.
 E- 232 C *breek*. 233 C *speek*, O *spéek*, *spok* [pret.]. 234 C *nid*. 235 O *wiiv*. 236 O *fiiv*. 238 O *èdj* [always, compare 257]. 239 C *seel*, O *sèil*. 241 C *reen*. 243 C *plee*, O *plèi*. 246 O *kwiin*. 247 O *wiin*. 248 O *mèv*. 249 O *wèv*. 250 O *swèv*. 251 C *meet mèt miit* [all used], O *miit*. 252 O *ket'l* [never (*kit'l*)]. 253 O *net'l*. 254 O *lèdhv*. 255 O *wèdhv*. E: 257 *hèdij* [(h) frequent]. 258 O [(*flagz*) always used]. 260 O *léei*. 261 C *see*, O *séei*. 262 C *wee*, O *wéei*. 264 C *eel*, O *éel*. 265 C *street*, O *strèt*. 268 O [(*oldest*) used]. 272 O *hèlm* [in one syllable, not (*hèlvm*)]. 273 O *mèn*. 276 O *thiqk*. 278 O *wèntj* [in a good sense for grown girls]. 280 O *lèb'm*. 281 O *lèqkth*. 282 O *strèqkth*. 284 C *thresh*. 285 O *kriis*. 287 CO *biiz'm*. 288 O *læt*.
 E'- 290 C *i*, O [(*him*) more frequent]. 291 C *dhi*, O [not used]. 292 O *mi*. 293 C *wi*, O *wi*. 294 CO *fiid*. 296 C *bileev*, CO *biliiv* [C both used]. 298 C *fiil*, O *fiild*. 299 O *grüin*. 300 C *kéep*, O *kiip*. 302 CO *miit*. 303 CO *swiit*. E': 305 C *ha'i*, O *ái*. 306 C *éest*. 307 C *na'i*, O *nai*. 308 CO *niid*. 309 O *spiid*. 310 C *iil*. — O *bráiv* [and (*briv*) about Belton (7 ssw.Oakhām) = *briar*]. 313 O *haak at*. 314 O *ivèd*. 315 CO *fiit*.
 EA: 322 O *laaf*. 323 *fòvt*. 324 O *eet*. 325 O *waak*. 326 CO *ool*. 328 O *koold*. 331 O *soold*, *seld*. 332 C *tèld*. 333 O *kaaf*. 334 C *AAF*, O *aaf*. 335 O *òvl* [(*Aals*) always]. 336 *fòvl*. 337 O *wòvl*. 342 C *aam*. 343 C *waam*. 345 O *dèv* [pres.] *dèest* [pret.]. 346 CO *geet*. EA'- 347 C *red*, O *èd*. 348 O *ái* [almost (*A'i*)]. 349 O *fiú*. — O *sriik* [shriek]. EA': 350 C *dèd*, CO *dèd* [last commonest]. 351 CO *lèd*. 352 O *rèd*. 353 CO *brèd*. 354 O *shiif*. 355 C *dèth dèf* [mixed], O *diif* [old and common]. 357 O *dhóov*. 359 O *neebe*. 360 C *tèem*, O *tüm*. 361 C *bien*, O *biin*. 365 O *nèv*. 366 CO *grèt*. 367 O *thrèt*. 368 O *dèth*. 370 O *ròv*. 371 O *stròv*. EI- 372 O *ái*. 373 O *dhee*. 374 O *nee*. 375 O *reez*. 379 O *beet*. EI: 377 O *steek*. 378 O *wiik*.

EO- 385 O binii·th. 387 O níu. EO: 388 O milk. 390 O shud. 394 O inda. 396 CO wuk, O wèuk. 397 O sòud. 399 O bráit. 402 C laan [used for teach]. 403 CO fæa. 404 CO staa [also to (staar et piip'1)]. 406 C aath. 407 O faad'n. EO'- 409 CO bií. 411 C thréi, O thrii. 412 C shéi. 413 O divil [jocular], dæv'l [angry], dævel [solemn]. 414 C flá'i, O flái. 415 O láí. 416 O díu. 417 O tjiu. 418 O briu. 420 O fðv. 421 O fðvti, fAAti. EO': 423 O thái. 424 O ruí [(ruuf) roof]. 425 O láit. 426 C fa'it, fit [fought], O fáit. 427 CO bi. 428 C séi, O sii. 429 O fiind. 430 CO frend. 431 O bñe. 432 fðst. 434 i bæt mi et kriket [he beat me at cricket]. 435 O ruu [usual], joo [from old people], jã'u [in contempt]. 436 C truu, O triu. 437 O triuth. EY- 438 C dá'i, O dáí. EY: 439 O trust. I- 440 C wik. 442 C A'iveri, O áivi, S ívi. 444 C sta'il. 448 O dhiis íe [always]. 450 O tíuzde. I: 452 C A'i. 455 C lá'i, O láí. 457 O máit. 458 C ná'it, O náit. 459 C ra'it [never (re'it)], O ráit. 462 O sáit. 465 O sitj, O sutj. 466 C tja'ild, O tjáild. 467 C wa'ild, O wáild. 472 O sriqk. 473 C bla'in, O bláin [occ. (blá'in)]. 477 C fa'in, O fáin [occ. fa'in]. 484 O dhis íe [always so]. 485 O this'í [not with (f)]. I'- 490 C ba'i, O báí. 493 C dra'iv. 498 C ra'it. 499 O biit'l. I': 500 C la'ik. 503 C la'if, O láif. 505 C wa'if, O wáif. 506 O [(oold umm) old woman, rare]. 508 C ma'il, O máil. 514 O háis. 517 O jiu. O- 520 O ba'u. 522 CO ap'n. 523 CO oop, O hup [also]. 524 wraald. O: 526 C kof kaf [both used], O kof. 527 CO baat [O children say (bòut) at times]. 528 O thaat. 529 CO braat. 531 C daate, O daate. 532 O kool. 536 O goold. 537 O moold. 538 O wuuld [in reading]. 539 C bool. 540 C oli. 542 O boolt. 545 C op. 547 O hòud. 549 O ðud. 550 O wraad wèed [not (wraad)]. 552 O kòen, kaan. 553 O ðen. 554 kros. O'- 555 CO shuu. 557 C tuu, O [(vèn AAL) much used]. 558 CO luuk. 559 CO modhe. 562 C má,uum, O muun. 563 O munde. 564 C sí,uum, O suun [more frequently 'after a bit']. 565 O nooz. O': 569 CO buuk. 570 O tuuk. 571 O gud. 572 CO blud. 573 CO flud. 574 O bruud [generally 'a hatch']. 575 CO stud. 576 O wenzde, C wenzdi. 577 O ba'u. 578 O pla'u. 579 O enuf, eniu [pl.]. 580 O tuf. 581 O sòt. 582 O kuul. 583 O tuul. 584 O stuul. 586 CO duu. 587 O dum. 588 O [noon is always spoken of as 'dinner-time']. 589 C spí,uum. 590 O flòv. 592 O swòv. 594 O buut. 595 C fat, O fat. 596 O ruut. 597 C sat, O sxt. U- 599 O ubuuv. 600 O lev. 601 CO fa'ul. 602 O sa'u. 603 O kum. 605 CO sun. 606 C dùv, O dòv. 607 CO bute. U: 608 O hugli. 609 C fæl, O fæl. 610 O wæl. 611 C baløk, O buløk. 612 O sum. 613 O druqk. 614 O x'und [P (x'u-)]. 615 O pæ'und [P (x'u-)]. 616 C gra'un. 619 C fa'un, O fæ'und [P (x'u)]. 622 CO unda. 625 O toq. 626 O uggev. 628 O nun [same as 122]. 629 CO sun. 631 O thèvzde, thævzde. 632 C up, O hup. 633 CO kup. 634 C thruu, O thriu. 635 O wraath. 636 C fæde, O fæade. 637 O tusk. 638 O busk. 639 O dust. U'- 640 CO ka'u [not (kæ'u), which was repudiated by C, and so throughout]. 641 C a'u, O a'u [P]. 643 O na'u. 644 O duv. 646 O ba'u. 647 O ha'ul. 648 O a'us. 649 O tha'uzvend. 653 CO but. U': 654 C shra'ud. 655 O fa'ul. 656 O ruum [sitting-room called *house*, bedroom *chamber*]. 657 CO bra'un. 658 CO da'un. 659 CO ta'un. 660 O ba'us. 661 O sha'us. 662 O huz [when emphatic at the end of a phrase]. 663 CO a'us, O a'uz'n [houses]. 665 O mæ'us. 666 O uzbvend. 667 CO a'ut. 670 O buudh [rarely used]. 671 C mæ'uth. 672 O sa'u wæst [south-west]. Y- 673 O mutj. 674 O dun [done used for did]. 676 C lig, O láí. 679 CO tjutj, C tjetj [also]. 682 O liit'l. Y: 686 C ba'i, O báí. 689 C bild. 690 O káind. 691 O máind. 693 O sin. 696 O bèuth baath. 697 O bæri. 698 O mèuth mèuth [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 700 C wus, O wæw wèw wæw [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 701 C fus [(fæg) first 'go' at marbles], O fas fêw fêw. Y'- C ska'i, O skái. 706 O wái. Y': 709 O fáiv. 711 C lá'is [O uses *dicks*]. 712 C má'is, O máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 O treed. 722 O dreem. 723 O dèvri. 724 O baald. 725 O seel.

728 O sham. 733 O skiv. 734 O daan. 740 O weev. 741 CO meez, O miiz. 742 C leezi. E. 746 O briidh. I. and Y. 753 O tit'l. 754 O pig ['swine' is not used]. 756 O srimp [no (shr-) used]. 758 O gæl. O. 761 O lood. 767 O na'iz. 769 O mooldiwaap [moldywarp]. 772 O bæanfîv [? burn-fire]. 778 O vðvð. 779 O ôuts [rare]. 781 C bødhe. 782 C podhe. 787 O sa'us. 790 CO gæ'und. — C tæ dræ'und [to drown]. 791 CO bûi. U. 793 O ug. 794 O djug. 795 CO sruq [no (shr-) used]. 799 O skul. 802 O räm. 803 O djump. 805 O këvz. 806 CO fus. 807 C pus [(pas) is purse]. 808 C pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. O heeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 CO plees. 812 C lees. 813 C bëuk'n, O beek'n. 814 O mees'n. 816 O feed. 818 O eedj. 819 O reedj. 822 CO mee. 823 C bee. 824 CO tjev tjev [both used, the latter by old people]. 828 O eegi [old]. 829 O geen. 830 CO treen. 832 O mæv. 833 O pæv. 835 C reez'n, CO riiz'n [both used]. 836 C seez'n, CO siiz'n [both used]. 838 O triit. 840 CO tjeembv. 841 C tja'ns, O tjaans, tjaansh. 843 O braantj. 845 C eenshent. 846 O tjaandlv. 847 C deendje. 848 tjeendj. 849 C streendje. 850 C da'ns. 851 O aant. 852 O hæpvn. 853 O baagin. 857 O kees. 858 O breev. 859 O tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 O teest. 862 CO seef. 863 O tjeef. 865 O falt. 866 CO pøv.

E.. 867 C tee, CO tii [C both used]. 868 CO djee. 869 O viil. 874 C reen. 875 O feent. 877 O hev. 878 O salri. 879 C fimeel. 880 O egzaamp'l [or pattern]. 888 O sêutin. 890 C bîest biizez [pl.], O biist. 891 O fiist. 892 O nevî. 894 C diseev, CO disiiv [C both used]. 895 O risii'v.

I.. and Y.. 898 O náist. 899 O niis. 900 O pree. — C pa'int [pint]. 904 C va'ilet. — C wit'ls [victuals, about the only word in which (w) replaces (v)]. 910 O dja'ist. 911 O sisten. 912 O róis.

O.. 913 O kootj. 914 O brootj. 915 O staf. 916 C anjvn, O unjvn. 917 O roog. 918 C feeb'l, O fiib'l. 919 O [(saav) salve used]. 920 C páint, O pa'int. 922 C bash'l, O bushel. 923* O ma'ist. 925 O va'is. 926 C spáil, O spa'il. 927 O truqk. 928 O a'uns. 929 C ka'ukembv, O kiukembv. 930 O la'in. 931 O [(kündjrvv) conjurer, used]. 932 O vma'unt. 933 O frant. 934 O bæ'unti. 935 O kumtri. 938 O kómv. 940 CO koot. 941 O fuul. 942 C batje, O batje. 943 O tutj. 947 C báil, O ba'il. 948 CO bæ'ul [also used for to (ba'ul) bowl at cricket]. 950 O supv. 952 O koos. 953 CO kuz'n. 954 C kashvn, O kushvn. 955 O dá'ut. 956 CO kivv. 957 O implái [old].

U.. 961 O grivjil. 964 O sívjit. 965 C áil, O a'il. 966 O friut. 967 O sínt. 968 O A'istv. 969 O shüv. 970 O djüst. 971 O fiut.

Notes. C no euphonic (r), (naa)iq, draa)it) gnawing, draw it. I am, I are in answer to a question, I (waa) for was, we goes, he do, he live, theirsens. Intonation rough thick clear drawing, sinking at end. O in place of either they say 'one on em, one or t'other.'

D 19 = EE. = East Eastern.

Boundaries. Those of Nf. and Sf.

Area. The whole of Nf. and Sf., commonly known jointly as East Anglia.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || systematic, ° in io.

Nf. * County, † Ashill, † Binham, † Brancaster, ° Burnham, † Buxton, ° Congham, † Diss, ° Ditchingham, † Downham Market, ° † East Dereham, † Fakenham, † Gaywood, † Great Dunham, * Great Yarmouth, † Hardingham, † Heacham, † Hempton, ° Hemsby, † Holme, † Hunstanton, ° Ingham, * Kimberley, † King's Lynn, * Kirby Bedon, † Marham, * Mattishall, † Middleton, † Narborough, † North Elmham, † North Tuddenham, ° North Walsham, ° * † Norwich, † Old Hun-

stanton, °Ovington, °Ringstead, †Snettisham, *† Stanhoe, †Stoke Ferry, †Stow, †Swaffham, †Terrington St. Clements, †Thetford, †Tivetshall, °Tuttington, †Walsingham, °Warham, †Watton, †Wells-next-Sea, †Wiggenhall St. Germans, °Witton, †Wolferton, †Wymondham.

Sf. °Boyton, °Bradwell, * Framlingham, †Great Bealings, °Great Finborough, °Hemingstone, * Orford, * Pakenham, * Southwold, °Stowmarket, °Ufford, °Yaxley.

Due attention has also been paid to R. Forby's *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, whose prefixed treatise on Nf. pr., with all its examples, was revised with the help of Rev. Philip Hoste (see p. 264), and to Moor's *Suffolk Words* (p. 286).

Character. Every one has heard of the Nf. 'drant,' or droning and drawling in speech, and the Sf. 'whine,' but they are neither of them points which can be properly brought under consideration here, because intonation has been systematically neglected, as being impossible to symbolise satisfactorily, even in the rare cases where it could be studied. The next salient point is the French (y), of which every one speaks. This sound, whatever it may be, certainly replaces O' in: shoe, too (and also the Ws. A' in *two*), school, bloom, moon, soon, brood, cool, tool, stool, to do, noon, spoon, moor, boot, root. When habit has shortened the long O', this (y) effect is not produced, as in: look, mother, Monday, book, took, good, blood, flood, stood, done, foot, soot. Even when the vowel remains long, it is occ. unchanged, as in nose, floor. Shortening does not destroy a similar effect in L., hence the origin of this so-called (y) is probably different in the two cases. It has in neither anything to do with the old Ws. Y=(y). It is, indeed, of recent origin in Nf.

The author of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440, says: "Comitatus Northfolchie [or as another MS. has it, 'comitatus tamen Orientalium Anglorum'] modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi," but he writes: schoo, scole, blome, mone, sone, brode (the same spelling for *brood* and *broad*), coolynge, tool, stool, doon (inf. form of *do*), noone, spone, moore, bote, rote. It is evident, therefore, that he still pronounced long (oo) here as well as in the words where the vowel is now shortened, as he writes: loke (the same spelling for *look* and *lock*), moder (the same spelling for *mother* and *mawther*), book (or boke, according to another MS.), goode, blode, flode, foot, soot. As oo was not used for (uu) till the xvth century, it is evident that 400 years ago the vowel in these words was (oo), and that even the change to (uu) had not then taken place.

Now I was very much struck by the fact that in the numerous words collected by TH. in Nf., not one case of the so-called French (y) occurred. He not only found the usual (muun, suun), but such forms as (môun, skôul), which remind us of the *Promptorium*. He, however, also found (æ'u) in (dæ'u, næ'un, mæ'uzik), see his cwl., p. 262, under O'. Now this seemed to me the key of the whole mystery. This (æ'u) is a very common glide, arising from beginning to say (un) with the mouth too open and closing it as the speaker proceeds. It is also unstable; it has a tendency to (iu, ô'u), and to unpractised ears gives at times not a bad imitation of French (y). Then I reflected that all the authorities on whom I relied for the sound were educated people, and that TH. had been in direct communication with the uneducated, while he was, from his Midland antecedents, quite familiar with (æ'u). Also I remembered that the sound I myself heard in Nf. was certainly not (y), but

something much deeper, which I write (y_1). Again, this sound is apparently often fractured by beginning with the mouth too open, giving to my ear (iy_1), which, again, is readily confused with (iu). All dialect writers represent it by *ew* or long *u*, as *tew*, *shues*, too, shoes, and *sune*, *mune*, *skule*. In Sf. as well as Nf. I found this (y_1 , iy_1) from my authorities, educated natives, but in w.Sf. the vicar of Pakenham entirely repudiated it, saying it was a Norfolk pron. The exact analysis of this curious sound is still to be made.

When the drant and French (y) are passed over, there is very little left which distinguishes D 19 from D 18. The general characters of both are as follows:

The A- words are (*ee*, *æ*) in place of (*æe*), and the ÆG, EG words are (*ææ't*, *æei*), at least in ne.Nf.

The A' words have (*oo*) without the vanish, as (*boot*) boat.

Many of the E- words have (*ee*) as (*speak*) to my ear, others hear (*ee*).

The long I' words are uncertain, (*æ'i*, *æ'i*, *æ'i*, *æ'i*) being all found.

The long U' words also vary, as (*æ'u*, *æ'u*, *æ'u*, *æ'u*). See this discussed in the notes to the Stanhoe cwl., p. 268, where Forby's remarks are particularly considered, p. 270.

The *r* is treated as throughout the E. div. The *h* is generally aspirated. The *v* in Nf. at least becomes regularly (*w*), while the (*v*) for *w* appears to be a modern refinement, the speaker knowing that many of his (*w*) should be (*v*), but not knowing which they are. This (*w*) for *v* has been given me also from Sf., where it is generally repudiated, but as it exists in Ke., Es., and Nf., Sf. could hardly escape having had it, though it may now be 'corrected.' The illustrations, cs., dt., cwl., with the notes, will tell the rest.

There are many peculiar words, of which (*mæædhæ*) contracted to (*mæ*), especially when applied to little girls, and with a euphonic (*r*) before a following vowel, and (*bæ+r*) applied to men and boys, and rarely to women, are remarkable. The (*mæ*), written *mor*, seems to me a form of *mother*, here often pronounced (*mædhæ*), see p. 260, l. 35. The (*bæ*) is usually written *bor*, and associated with *neighbour*. This is more than doubtful. There is no trace of (*bæ*) in the *Promptorium*. It is amusingly said that 'together' used in addressing several people is the plural of (*bæ*). 'Come to *mine*' for 'my house,' and 'he *live* there he do,' are, as we have seen, pp. 197, 222, 249, by no means peculiar to Nf., but are there very marked.

In this very large district there must be several varieties. We may assume two principal ones, Nf. and Sf. In Nf. we may take a ne. form and nw. form, and a s. or general form. It would, however, be difficult to draw lines of demarcation or to formulate the differences, except in the nw., where, thanks to TH.'s efforts, we know that U becomes transitional, from (*æ*) in the s. through (*o*) to (*u*) in the n. This is an entirely new discovery, not alluded to in any account of the dialect. Could it have escaped notice? Possibly. A woman of Middleton (4 se. King's Lynn) married a man of Narborough (9 se. K. L.). The woman called *cup* (*kæp*), the man (*ku*p), and they had never noticed that they spoke differently, so that TH. had the greatest difficulty in making the woman recognise the distinction. The b. of the nw. variety is, therefore, the s. *sööm* line 2 as determined by TH.'s personal observations. The ne. variety may be presumed to extend to about Buxton (9 n. Norwich), and the s. variety to occupy the rest of the county.

In Sf. it seems necessary to distinguish two varieties, e. and w., which appear to be tolerably distinct. At least the w. form, as

illustrated by the Pakenham specimen, differs materially from the e. form as contained in the Framlingham and Orford specimens and the Southwold cwl.

The order in which these varieties will be treated and discussed is: Var. i., nw.Nf., as nearest related to the n. varieties of D 18; Var. ii., ne.Nf., of which I have the most complete account; Var. iii., s.Nf., where I first wrote dialect from dictation in 1868; Var. iv., e. Sf., of which I have three accounts; and Var. v., w.Sf., where I have only one example, but that is highly characteristic.

VAR. i. nw.NORFOLK FORM.

This was examined by TH. in 1882-3 from three centres, King's Lynn, Swaffham and Hunstanton. The dt. from Narborough, p. 263, gives the general character of the whole variety. As it seems unnecessary to distinguish the places in this limited variety, I have placed them in three groups, as marked by the letters L, S, H in the following cwl. At first, of course, each place had to be carefully distinguished, in order to ascertain if there were any differences.

nw.NORFOLK cwl.

formed from wn. by TH., in the neighbourhoods of King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Hunstanton.

H Hunstanton with Heacham, Holme, Old Hunstanton and Snettisham.
L King's Lynn with Marham, Middleton, Terrington St. Clements, Wiggenhall and Wolferton.
S Swaffham with Ashill, Downham Market, Great Dunham and Narborough.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 L *neem*. A'- 67 LS *gōun* [going]. 81 H *læ'in*. 93 H *sná'u*.
A': 104 LS *rood*. 115 HLS *oem* [Holme is called (:oem)]. Æ- 138 HLS
faadhe. Æ: 161 LS *dee*, H *de'i*. Æ'- 185 L *riid*. 200 L *wiit*, S *weet*.
Æ': 223 L *dhe'e*. 224 L *wæ'e*. E- 233 S *spiik*. 251 S *meet*. E: 261
L *see*, S *se'i*. 262 L *wee*, HS *wæ'i*. E'- 299 S *grin*. E: 314 S *iæd*.
EA'- 347 L [between] *ed e'd*, S *e'd*. EA': 353 S *bræd*. 366 LS *græt*.
EO: 395 L [between] *joq juq*. 396 H *wak*. 402 L *laan læn*. EO'- 419
L *jaa* [your]. EO': 437 L *trūth*. EY- 438 L *dái*, S [between] *dái da'i*
dæi. I'- 494 S [between] *táim ta'im*. I: 500 S *læ'ik*. O: 531 L
daats, LS *daats*. O'- 555 LS *shuu*. 556 S *tæ'u*. 557 L *tíu*. 559 S
madhe. 560 LS *skuul*. 562 H *mám*, S *muun*. 564 H *suun*. 566 S *ædhæ*
u_odhæ. 568 L *brædhæ brodhæ bru_odhæ*. O': — H [between] *grá'u gra'u*
[grow]. 586 HL *díu*. 587 S *dún*. 588 H *næ'un*. U- 605 S *sú_on*. 606
LS *dóv*. 607 H *botæ*. U: 612 L *sú_om*. — L *tæmb'l tomb'l tæ_omb'l*. 629
S *su_on*. 632 L *op op u_op*. 633 L *kæp kop ku_op*, H *ku_op*, S *kæp ku_op*. U-
643 S *na'u*. U': 658 S *dæ'un*, H *dæ'un*. 659 L *tæ'un*. 663 LS *æ'us*.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 S [between] *ndíz na'iz*. 790 L *gjs'umd*. U. — L *tæb tob tæ_ob*.
796 L *blæ'un*. 803 L *djæmp djæmp djæ_omp*. — L *tæ'un* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — S *pleez* [please]. E.. 869 H *wiil*. — S *preetj* [preach]. 885
H *wæri*. I.. and Y.. 901 S [between] *fs'in fa'in*. O.. — L *pæmp*
pæmp pæ_omp. — L *mæt'n mot'n mu_ot'n*. U.. — S *múzík*, LS *mæ'uzík*
[music].

Notes to *nw. Norfolk cwl.*

The uncertainty in the use of (ə, o, u_o) was very great, as shewn in several cases in the cwl. These pron. came generally from different people at the same place. See the case of the woman from Middleton (4 se. King's Lynn) and her husband, a native of Narborough (6 se. Middleton, 9 se. King's Lynn), on p. 261, l. 11 from bottom. In the following dt. from Narborough only (æ) and not (u_o) is used. From the same place TH. got the sentences (gji)mi v kɔp' v)ti) give me a cup of tea, (kət dhat tri də'u) cut that tree down, (di)l flee v ə v'iv) I'll flay you alive, (və skə'undrəl, ju)l kət v m ə l ə p) you scoundrel, you'll cut them all up, (ja vərə'men, əi)l kjil)jə) you vermin [ob-

serve v not w], I'll kill you, (ə'i want v ə'u tɔps tə gə v də'ikən) I want you chaps to go a diking or ditching.

For the use of (w) for (v), TH. was told the following at Holme (16 ne. King's Lynn), (Nelson wəz v wəri wəliənt mən, əi wə'ù, i séild in v wəsəl kə'ld dhə Wiktəri) Nelson was a very valiant man, I vow, he sailed in a vessel called the Victory.

The omission of the *s* in the 3rd pers. sg. of verbs was shewn by (mæ'i shù fi)mi) my shoe fits me, (i lèv əp [əp] dhiv) he lives up there, (ə ekspekt it də'u) I expect it does. The last word illustrates the treatment of *O* as TH. heard it. It would be usually heard and treated as (dyi, diy, diu).

NARBOROUGH (9 se. King's Lynn) dt.

pal. in 1883 by TH. from dict. of Robert Cater, 70, native, who had lived there 30 years, and then at Swaffham 30, and at Norwich 10, farm-labourer, retired.

1. sɔ ə'i sə, tɔgje'dhə, luk év, ju)si nə'u dhət)ə'i)m rə'it v bə'ut dhat lèt'l maa dhə kəmən frəm skuul jəndə.

2. shi)z gðen də'u)n dhə rood dhəv trə'u dhə)red gjət on dhə left and sə'id v)dhə)wə'i.

3. ə'i)l bi bləud, dhə lèt'l maa dhə v)gan stre'it əp tə)dhə)rəq dūv [ə'us],

4. wəv shi)l vərə lə'ikli fə'ind dhat drəqk'n def fəlv v)wi)ə l ə l ə əld :tom, i)z gjət'n lə'ik v)skjelit'n, tɔgje'dhə.

5. wi)ə l ə l ə n ə u | h i m vərə wəl.

6. wənt dhə əld tɔp suun tɪt)ər, fər)not tə)du)it eni məv, pūv maa dhə!

7. luk év ! it)s trə'u wət ə'i sɛ'd.

The following words omitted from the dt. were supplied afterwards: 1. (mets) mates, (gɛl) girl. 3. (shə'və) sure, (vəf) enough; (tɔ'əld) child.

4. (trəns) chance, and for shr-, (shrimps shra'ud) shrimps shroud; (nəm) name. 6. (thiq). The (ə'i) seemed at times to tend to (ə'i).

VAR. ii. ne.NF. FORM.

For this I am principally indebted to the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham, Surrey, a native of Stanhoe (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea), from whose dictation I pal. the complete wl. in 1877, and the dt. in 1879, and with whom I went over all Forby's account of Norfolk pronunciation, which I have introduced in the cwl. Mr. Hoste was full of enthusiasm on the subject, and obligingly came up to London expressly on two occasions and worked with me many hours each time.

STANHOE (:stæ'nə) dt.

pal. 1879 by A.J.E. from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native.

1. so ái see'i, meets, ja'u sii ne'u dhæt ái)m r_o'e'it ebe'ut dha't
lét'l mAAadhæ kæmæn fr_om dhæ skíy,l jøndæ.
2. shii)z egoo'en dæ'un dhæ r_o'oo'd dhé'e'æ t[r_o,y, dhæ _ed gæt on
dhæ left ha'nd sè'id ev dhæ wé'i.
3. syy,er ænsf dhæ mAAadhæ hæ gon stræ'i't æp tæ dhæ dæuæ_r_o v dhæ
r_o'q v'us,
4. wéev shi)l t_jaa,ns tæ fáind dhæt dr_o'qk'l'n dæ'f shr_o'iv'ld fáiv v
dhæ néeim v :tómæs.
5. wi aal næ'u im wer_o'i wé'l.
6. woont dhæ óuld t_jæp syy,in tæ'tj æ_r_o not tæ dy,)it ege'n, pduæ
thi'q !
7. luk)v eent it tr_y,1 ?

Notes.

1. coming, but the a- reappears comes (ma'æ) in calling. 6. won't
in I see her a-coming (ái sii æ_r_o (woont) becomes (oont) when not be-
ekæmæn). 3. mawther (mAAadhæ) be- ginning a sentence.

STANHOE cwl.

pal. by A.J.E. 1877, from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, to which are added the words from Forby's account of the Norfolk pron. that Mr. Hoste acknowledged (* prefixed), or for which he gave with a different pronunciation († prefixed). I cannot always be certain of (ee æ) or (e æ) or (æ, a'). On (ou, æ'u), see p. 268. All the (r) are really (r_o). The frequent "gradual glottid (j)" seems to have been a personal peculiarity. I retain it, but it may be neglected. The (u_i) is a deeper (u), see Introduction to Midland div. Forby's name is contracted to F, and Mr. Hoste's to H. There are also added:

B words from Burnham (4 ne.Stanhoe, 5 w.Wells-on-Sea), given me in writing by C. H. Everard, Esq., native, acquainted with the dialect 28 years, then at Eton Coll., only the differences from Mr. H. are noted.

W Rev. C. T. Digby, long rector of Warham (2 se.Wells-next-Sea), gave a long wl. mainly agreeing with this, a few differences are inserted.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bee'ik. 4 tee'ik. 5 mee'ik. 6 meed. 7 see'ik. — †kreed'l [cradle, F has (kriid'l)]. 8 *hev *hez [has; (hiav) W]. 9 bi)heev [bi)ieev W]. 10 hAA [(ho'izez) B, pl. only]. 12 sAA [(sAA'in) has no euphonic r]. 13 nAA. 14 dAAA. 16 daad. 17 laaa, laa+r [before a vowel]. 18 keek. 19 tee'el. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sheem. 25 meen. 26 ween. 27 neev. 28 héev. — *staa [stare]. — *flaa [flare]. 31 leet. 32 beeth. 33 †rædhæ [rædhæ reedhæ B]. 34 la'st. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 tlee. A: 40 koom. — *swæn [swan]. 41 *thæqk. 43 hænd. 44 lænd *lond [more gen. in Sf.]. — *sondi [sandy, more gen. in Sf.]. 47 *wa'ndæ. — *kin [can, unemphatic]. 51 mæn. 53 kæn. 54 †wa'nt [(wænt) F and W]. 55 æshez. 56 wæsh *wæsh. 57 [(d)æki used for ass]. A: or O: 58 †fram [(fram) F]. 57 læm. 60 loq. 61 æmæ'q [æmæ'q B]. 62 stroq. 63 throq [troq W]. 64 roq. 65 soq. 66 thoq.

A'- 67 góou. 69 nóou. 70 tóou. 71 wóou. 72 híyy. 73 sóou. 74 tiyy. [tiu B]. 75 str_uu,ik. 76 tuu,d. 77 lóoud. 78 æ'u. 79 æ'un. 80 olædi. 81 leen. 83 moon. 84 móov. 85 sóov. 86 úvts. 87 tlooz. 88 tloodh. 89 booth. 90 blæ'u. 91 mæ'u. 92 næ'u. 93 snæ'u. 94 króu. 95 thra'u [tra'u W]. 96 sæ'u. 97 sæ'uld [soold B]. 98 næ'un. 99 thra'un. 100 sóun. A': 101 ook. 102 æks. 104 rood. 105 rid W. 106 brood.

107 *luu*f. 108 *da'u*. 109 *la'u*. 110 **nat* [especially by the women]. 111 *v'ut* [(*s'ut*) F]. 113 **hu*l. 114 **məl* [? if it is mole in this sense]. 115 *uu*m. 118 **bu*n. 119 *gu*n. 122 *nan*. 123 *nəthin* [(*nə'ut*) F]. 124 **sta*n [(*stan* BW)]. 125 *u*,*ni wən* [only one, (ondle) W]. 126 *oo*v. 127 *hoo*vs. 128 *dhoo*z. 129 *guu*st. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 *hot*. 133 *root* [generally (*rit*) W]. 134 *u*th [not (*wəth*)]. 135 *tla*ath.

Æ- 138 *faadh*v. — †*lædh*v [ladder, F. writes *lutther*, which may be a misprint for *latther*]. 140 *hæ*'il. 141 †*næ*'il [(*nail*) F]. 142 [(*dodmən*) used for *snail*]. 143 *tæ*'il. 145 *slæ*'in. 146 *mæ*'in. 147 *bree*'in. 148 [? (*faa+r*) F, see after 887]. 149 *bleez*. 150 *læst* [(*leest*) B]. 152 *waate*. 153 *sæt*di. Æ: 155 *thet* [thæk W]. — **sta*'f [(*staff*)]. 157 *reev*'n. — **gædh*v [gather]. 158 *aav*v. 160 *æg*. 161 *de*'i [(*dee*) W]. 163 *læ*'i. 164 *mæ*'i [(*mii*) B, written *mæ*]. 166 †*mæ*'id [(*maid*) F]. 167 :*bæ*mən :*də*bdi [(*Burnham Deepdale*)]. 168 *tæ*l [(*tol*) B]. 169 *wən* **wæn*. — **wæsp* [wasp]. 170 *aav*st. — **baa* [bare]. 171 *baali*. 172 *graas*. 173 *woz*. 174 *esh*. — **gl*'s. 175 *faaj*st. 178 *næt*. 179 *wot*. 181 *paath*.

Æ'- 182 *see*. — **blit* [bleach]. 183 *tee*'tj. 184 *leed*. 185 *reed*. — **rid*i [ready]. — †*sprid* [(*spreed*) F]. 186 *bræ*th [(*brēth*) W]. 187 *leev*. 188 *næ*'i. 189 †*wæ*'i [(*wāi*) F, not known to H]. 190 *kee*. 191 *hi*'l. 192 *mæ*'n. 193 *kleen*. 194 *eni*. 195 *mæ*ni [(*mæ*n) W]. — **æ*rænd [(*errand*)]. 196 *wéev*. 197 *tjæ*'z. 199 *bleet*. 200 *weet*. 201 *heedh*'n [(*hædh*'n) W]. 202 *heet*.

Æ': 203 *spee*'tj. 204 *dii*'d. 205 **trid*. 206 *ræd*. 207 *nid*'l. 208 **ivv*. 210 *klæ*'i. 211 †*græ*'i [(*gree*) and (*grāi*) F, not known to H]. 213 **eed*ha [(*aid*) F, not known to H]. 214 **need*h. 215 *tæ*at [(*teet*) used]. 216 *dii*'l **de*l. 217 **itj*. 218 *shp*. 219 *shlip*. 222 *hæev* [(*hiiv*) written *heer* B]. 223 *dhæev*. 224 *wéev*. — **a*'li **œ*li [early]. 225 *flesh*. 226 *moost*. 227 *wæt*. 228 *swæt*. 229 *bræ*th. 230 *fæt*.

E- — †*tred* [(*trid*) F, tread]. 233 *speek*. 234 *need*. — **wædh*v **wædh*v [weather]. 235 *weev*. 236 *feev*v. 237 *blæ*'in [usually called (*kw'ibz*)]. 238 *hæd* [(*hid*) W]. 239 *sæ*'il. 241 *ræ*'in. 242 †*twæ*'in [(*twāin*) F]. 243 *plæ*'i. 246 *kw*in [queen, but *quean* is not used]. 247 *ween*. 249 *wéev* [(*wiiv*) W]. 250 *swéev* [(*swiiv*) W]. 251 *meet*. 252 **kit*'l. 253 *næt*'l. — **fædh*v [feather]. 254 **lædh*v [F says often (*lædh*) especially in Sf]. 255 [(*wadha*) wether sheep, according to F, not known to H]. — [(*bats*) better F].

E: 257 *æd*j. 258 *sæd*j. 259 *wæd*j. 260 *læ*'i. 261 *sæ*'i. 262 *wæ*'i [wee W]. 264 *æ*'il. 265 *strejt*. — **fi*ld [field]. 267 **vid*. 268 *eldest*. — **sild*m [(*seldom*)]. 272 *elm*. 273 **mān*. 274 *bent*j. 275 *stent*j. 276 *thiq*k. 278 *went*j. 280 *læv*'n [(*læev*'n) B]. 281 *læq*th. 282 *stræq*th. — **hin* [(*hen*)]. 283 *mæ*ri B [written "*merrer*, so final y always"]. — †*mæ*sh [(*marsh*) F, (*mæsh*) as I got from *Enfield*, Mi. p. 235]. 284 *thresh* [here (*thr-*) is used, not (*tr*), but (*trsh*) W]. 285 *kriisez*. — **baast* [(*burst*)]. 287 *hære*. 287 *bæes*m [(*besom*) not used, B]. — **sæt*'l [(*settle*)]. 288 *læt*.

E'- 289 *jii*. 290 *hii*. 291 [*thou, thee* are not used]. 292 *mii*. 294 *fid*. 295 *bræd*. 296 *bilæev*. 297 **fæ*v. 298 *feel*. 299 *grii*n. 300 *kāp*. 301 *hiiv* **hæev*. 302 *meet*. 303 *swee*'t. 304 *bee* t'l. E': 305 *hæ*'i. 306 *hæ*'it [(*hæith*) W]. 307 *næ*'i. 308 *need*. 309 *spee*'d spid. 310 *heel*. 311 *tæn*. 312 *hæev*. 313 [*hear*'ken not used]. 314 *hiud*. 315 *fit*. 316 *næ*kst.

EA- 317 *flee* [(*fii*) B written *flee*]. 319 *gaap*. 320 **kjæ*'v. EA: 321 *saa*. 322 *laaf* [(*laaf*) F]. 323 *fæ*'ut. 324 *æt*. 325 *wæak*. 326 †*æ*'uld, [(*occ.*) **æ*'ud. 327 *bæ*'uld. 328 †*kæ*'uld **kæ*'ud. 329 *fæ*'uld. 331 †*sæ*'uld **sæ*'ud. 332 *tæ*'uld **tæ*'ud. 333 **kaa*'f. 334 *aa*'f. 335 *aal*. 337 *waal*. — **bæev*d [(*beard*)]. 340 *jaad*. 342 *aa*[*r*].*m*. 343 *waam* [(*waam*) B]. 345 **daa*. 346 *gæet*. — **wæks* [wax].

EA'- 347 **hid*. 348 *v'i*. — **aa+r* [ear]. 349 *fæ*'u [F.'s third sound of *ou*, (*fyy*) B]. EA': 350 †*deed* [(*diid*) F]. 351 *leed*. 352 *ræd*. 353 *breed*. 354 *sheef* [(*shoft*) W]. 355 †*dæf* [(*diif*) F]. 356 †*leef* [(*liif*) F]. 357 *thæ*'u. — **æf*v [heifer]. 359 †*næ*'ibv [(*neebe*) and (*nāibv*) F, not known to H, (*niabv*) W]. 360 *teem*. 361 **been*. 362 *slæe*. 363 *tjæep*. 366 *grit*. 367 *trit*. 368 *dæth*. 369 *slæ*'u. 370 *raa*. 371 *staa*.

- EI- 373 dhæw *dhee. 474 nœw. 375 rœwz. 376 bræt [ba'it W]. EI:
 377 steek. 378 week. 381 swœen. 382 *dhæw dhæa', *dhœw.
 EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 *hiv'n. 385 binee'th [binee'n W]. 386 *jæ'uu.
 387 n'iy₁. EO: 388 milk. 389 jook [jalk W]. 390 shæd, *shæd [occ.]
 — *sælvæ [silver]. — †jælvæ [yellow, F (jælvæ)]. 394 jændæ. 396 wak
 [wak W]. 397 swad [B merely says "pronounce w"]. 398 staa. 399 bræ'it.
 — baa'n [burn]. 400 *aanest. 401 jaan. 402 *laan. 403 faa. 404 staa.
 405 haathstæ'n [not used without stone]. 406 *éæth †a'th. 407 faad'n.
 EO'- 409 bæ'. 411 trii. 412 shii. — *bæd [bid]. 413 divil. 414 fæ'i.
 415 l'æ'i. — [(fræ'iz) freeze F, not known to H]. 416 déew. 417 tjæ'u W.
 418 br'iy₁. 420 fa'u'æ [fæus W]. 421 fœostæ [fæustæ W].
 EO: 423 thæ'i. 424 ræf *ræ'u. 425 l'æ'it. 426 fæ'it. 427 bii. 428 see.
 429 find. 430 *frind. 431 *bœew. 432 fœooth. 433 *brist. 434 beet.
 435 jæ'u. 436 tr'iy₁, tr'iy₁th. EY- 438 dæ'i [dæ'i B]. EY: 439 træst.
 I- 440 wik. 441 siv. 442 v'ivæ [(æ'iværi) always B]. 443 fræ'ide. 444
 stæ'il. 446 nœ'in [nœ'in B]. — *jæis [yes]. 448 dhiz. 449 git. 450 tyjzdi.
 451 sœ'u.
 I: 452 v'æ'i. 454 witj. 455 l'æ'i. — *thæa'd [third]. — *bæa'd [bird].
 457 mæ'it. 458 nœ'it. 459 ræ'it. 460 wæet. 462 sœ'it. 464 witj. 465
 sæ'tj. 466 træ'ild. 467 wæ'ild. 468 tjældræn. 471 tæmbæ. 472 shriqk.
 473 blæ'ind [no æ W]. 474 ræ'ind. 475 wæ'ind [not (wind)]. 476 bæ'ind
 [no æ W]. 477 fæ'ind [no æ W]. 478 græ'ind [no æ W]. 481 fiqgæ. 484
 dhæis. 485 thæ'is. 486 jæst [jæst B]. 487 jæstædæ [jæstædæ B]. 488 *jæit.
 — *sæst [sit]. — *dæa't [dirt]. — *tæit [teat].
 I'- 490 bæ'i. 491 sœ'i. 493 dræ'iv [pret. *(dræw) drove, not the noun
 (droov)]. 494 tæ'im. 496 v'æ'æn. 497 sœ'æ'iz. 498 ræ'it. I': [B "all the
 i's = o'y" (o'i)]. 500 l'æ'ik. 501 wæ'id. 502 fæ'iv. 504 nœ'if. 505 wæ'if.
 506 wæ'mæn [wæmæn W]. 507 wæ'mæn. 508 mæ'ild. 509 wæ'il. 511 wæ'ind.
 512 spæ'ir. 513 wæ'æ'æ. 514 v'æ'is. 515 wæ'is. 516 wizdæm.
 O- 520 bœ'u. 521 fool. — *dræ'p [drop]. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524
 wæld [wæld B]. O: 526 kœ'f [kæaf B]. 527 bæat [(bæ'ut) F]. 528 thæat
 [(thæ'ut) F]. 529 bræat. 530 ræat. 531 dæat. 532 kœol. 533 dæl [dæl B].
 534 hæu'l. 536 græ'ild. 537 mæ'ild. 538 wæd *wæd [occ.] 540 hœli [in
 e.Nf. (hælvæ)]. 542 bœ'lyht. 545 hœp. 547 bœ'œd. 548 fœ'œd. 549 hœ'œd.
 550 *wæ'd [wæd W]. 551 stæam. 552 kæan. 553 hæan. — mæanin
 [(maanin) morning F]. 554 kæas.
 O'- [B says: "all u's pronounced in correct Engl. oo, Norfolkers pronounce
 ü," that is, O' = (yy₁)]. 555 shyy₁. 556 tæ. 557 tyj₁. 558 luk. 559 mæ'dhæ.
 561 blyy'm. 562 *mæ'yy'n. 563 mæ'ndæ. 564 *sæ'yy'n. 565 nooz. 566 ædhæ.
 O: 569 buk. 570 tæk [(took) F]. 571 gæd. — *hæd [hood]. 572 blæd.
 573 flæd. 574 bryy'd. 575 stæd. 576 wænzdi. — *sæ'ft [soft]. — *ræf
 [roof]. 577 bæ'u. 578 plæ'u. 579 wæ'af [sg.], wæ'u [pl.], [(wæ'u), and (wæ'u)
 F pl.]. 580 tæ'u [rare], tæf. 581 sœ'ut [(sæ'ut) F]. 582 kæ'yy'l. 583 tæ'yy'l.
 584 stæ'yy'l. 585 *bryy'm [F. also has 'a harren brum' = (æ hæ'r'n bræm), but it
 is not known to H]. 586 dyy₁. 587 dæn. 588 næ'yy'n. 589 *spæ'yy'n, *span-
 fæl [spoonful]. 590 fœ'œ. 591 [(mæ'yy'æ) F, H says not in use, F. also gives
 (mœ'œ)]. 592 swœ'œd. — *gæ'yy's [goose]. 593 mæst. 594 by'it. 595 *fæ.
 596 ryy'it. 597 sæt.
 U- — *wæd [wood]. 599 wœ'œv. 600 læv. 601 fæ'ul. 602 sœ'u. 603
 kæm. 605 sæn. 606 dæ'u,æ. 607 bæ'tæ.
 U: 608 ægli. 609 fæl, *fæl. — *pæl [pull]. 610 *wæl. 611 bulæk.
 612 sæn. 613 dræqk. 614 hœ'ænd [hœ'œnæ W, perhaps (hæ'æn), and so for 615,
 617, 621, 601, 602, etc., see p. 268]. 615 pœ'ænd. 617 sœ'ænd. 618 wœ'ænd.
 619 fæ'ænd. 620 græ'ænd [græn W]. 621 wœ'ænd. 622 ændæ. 625 tœq. 626
 hæqgæ. 628 næn. 629 sæn. 630 wæn. 631 thæzdi. 632 æp. 633 kæp.
 634 tr'iy₁, [= 436]. — *kæa's *kæas *kæ's [curse]. 635 wæth. 636 *fædæ
 [but F considers this as an alteration of further]. 637 tæsk [tœshæz, pl.].
 638 bæsk. 639 dæst.
 U'- 640 kæ'u. 641 hœ'u. 643 nœ'u. 645 dæ'u. 646 bæ'u. 647 væ'u.
 648 æ'æv. 649 thæ'æzænd. 652 kæd *kæd [occ.]. 653 bæ't. U': 654
 shræ'æd. 655 fæ'æl [= 601]. 656 ræmm. 657 bræ'æn. 658 dæ'æn. 659 tæ'æn.

660 bə'us. 661 shau'v. 662 as. 663 v'us, v'usez. 664 lə'us. 665 mə'us. 666 hɔzbənd. 667 v'ut. 668 prə'ud. 669 ɔnkjy,th. 670 by,th. 671 mə'uth. 672 sə'uth.

Y- 673 matj. 676 lə'i. 677 drə'i. 678 dɔn [(dɔlə) dolour, used for noise]. 679 tɔtj. 680 bizi. Y: 683 mɔndj W. 684 brɔdj. 685 rɔdj [rɔndj W]. 686 bə'i. 687 flə'it. 688 bɔld. — *kɛl [kiln]. — *mɛl [mill]. 690 kə'ind. 691 mə'ind. 693 sɔn. 696 bəθ [bath W]. 697 bɛrɔ [bare W]. 698 mɔθ. 699 rə'it. — *haanet [hornet]. 700 wɔs [also (waa's) F]. 701 fɔst. — *shɛt [shut, F also gives (shɛt)]. 703 *pɛt. 704 wɔksɔn [only applied to a woman, the animal is called by the labourers a (bɔtj fɔks)]. Y' 705 skə'i. 706 wə'i. 707 θattɔn. 708 hɛ'i.v. Y: 709 fə'i.v. 711 lə'is. 712 mə'is [but I have (mɔs) from s. and e.Nf.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l [to thrive as plants]. — *wæd'l [waddle]. 717 djeed. 718 treed. 719 tæd'pɔl. — *ra'ft [raft]. 720 fæg. 722 drɛɛ'in. 723 dɛɛrɔ. 724 bɔald. 725 seel. 727 dɔrɔm. 728 shæm. 729 freem. — *swæmp [swamp]. — *glə'ns [glance]. 730 kəntɔ. 733 skɔnd [scared]. 734 daan. — *hæsh [harsh]. 735 smæsh. — *grə'sp [grasp]. — *draa'ft [draught]. — *saa'ntɔ [saunter]. 739 mæadhv. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 leezɔ.

E. — †instead [(ɔnstii:d) F, instead]. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tjeet. 746 breedh. 747 †ɛndi:vɔ [(ɛndii:vɔ) F]. 748 ɔnfɔrdj [the negative un- is always (ɔn)]. — *tjɛɛs [cheer]. — *hɛɛv [to hear]. — *snɛɛs [to sneer]. — *flɛɛv [to floor]. 749 lɛft. 750 bæg. — *mælv [mellow]. — *ældv [elder, tree]. 751 pɔtɔ.

I. and Y. 753 tɔ'l. 755 fɔlbɔt. 756 shrɔmp. — *stɛnt [stint]. 757 tɔ'ini. 758 gæl. 759 fɔt.

O. 761 lood [luud W]. 762 ook'm. 763 room. 764 kɔd'l. 767 nɛ'iz. 768 kook. — *skɔrd [scold]. 769 mɔl. — rɔl [roll]. — [(skrɔl) F, scroll]. 771 fɔnd. 772 bɔnfɛ'v. 773 dɔki [compare (dɔkɔ) 57]. 774 hɔbi [the form used]. — *nɔy,ɔ [noose]. 777 shɔp. — *slə'p [slop]. 778 v'fɔɔd. 780 dɔs'l. 783 pɔltri. 784 bə'uns. 786 dɔ'us. 787 sɔus. 789 rə'u. 790 gɔ'und.

U. — *skwæb [squab]. — *pæd'n [a pudding]. 793 hæg. 794 dɔrɔg. 795 shrɔg. — *pəlɔ [a pulley]. 801 rɔm. 802 rɔm. — †band'l [(bænd'l) bundle F]. — †bɔntj [(bɔntj) bunch F]. — †pɔntj [(pɔntj) punch F]. 805 *[(kæ'dz) F, not known to H]. — *bɔsh [bush]. — *pɔs [purse]. 806 fɔs. 807 †pɔs [(pɔs) F]. 808 pɔt. — [(bɔtɔ) butty, comrade].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 eeb'l. — *sɛk [sack]. 810 fees. 811 plees. 812 lees. — *kɔtj [catch]. 814 meesɔnɔ [sim. (my,zi:shɔnɔ) musician]. 815 fæks. 816 feed. 817 *rɛdɔsh. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 dilɛɛ'i. 822 mɛɛ'i. 823 bɛɛ'i. 824 tjɛɛs *tjɔa. 826 eeg'l. — [(dɔin) deign F, unknown to H.] 827 eegv. 828 eegv [=827]. — †fɛɛ'ɔl [(fɛil) F]. 829 †grɛɛ'in [(gɔin) F]. — *plɛɛ'in [(plɔin) F, plain]. 830 trɛɛ'in. — [(tjɔin) chain F, is, H says, going out of use]. 832 mɛɛs [F gives (maa+r) generally, but the (mɛɛv+r) of Norwich, and Lynn]. 833 paa+r. — *plɔzɔ [pleasure]. — †faa'zɛnt [pheasant, (fæzɛnt) F]. — *plɔzɛnt [pleasant]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 837 lees [of birds, but (leesh) of hounds]. 838 trɛ't. 839 beel. 840 tjambɔ. 841 tjɔans. 842 plæqk. 843 braantj. 844 trɛntj. — *paa'ntj [H nasalises (aa')]. 845 anshɛnt. 847 dandjɔ. 849 strandrɔ. 850 *daa'ns. 851 *aa'nt [(H nasalises (aa')]. — *dɔi'nɔwɔri [January]. 852 eepen. — *maatɔnt [merchant]. 853 baagin. 854 barɔl. 855 kɛrɔt. — *skees [scarce]. 856 paa't. 857 kees. 858 breeɔ. — ka'sk [cask]. 859 tjɛɛs. 860 peest. 861 teest. — †nɛty,rɔl [natural, F (nɛ-)]. 863 tjɛɛf. 864 kɔz. 865 fæat. 866 †pɔuv [(pɔv) F].

E.. 867 tee. 868 djɛɛ'i. 869 wee'l [(wiil) written weel B]. 870 by,ɔtɔ [biuti B]. — †glɛɛb [glebe (glɛ'ib) F]. 871 vgrɔi. 872 tjɔf. — [(vɔin)

vein F, not known to H]. 875 fajht. 876 deenti. — [(obái) obey F, not known to H]. 877 éev. — †pɛɛ'in [(páin) F]. 878 saleri. — *trɛmb'l [tremble, (dídə) didder used]. 879 feemeel [not in use]. — *tæmpɛ [temper]. 880 egzaa'mp'l. 881 sens. 882 pænzi. 884 prɛntis. — †sa'ltj [(séetj) F, search]. 887 tlaadj. — *waamint [vermin, F does not mention the initial *w* or final *nt*, see p. 263, col. 2, l. 1]. — *saamint [sermon]. — féev [a fair, (fiiv) W]. 888 saatin. 889 see's. — *mazɛ [measure]. 890 beest. 891 feest. — [(latɛ) letter, F]. 892 nɛve. — *fɛ'íl [foil]. 893 flá'u.v. — [(kənsáiv) conceive F, not known to H]. 894 dsee'v. 895 riseev'v [(risáit) receipt F, not known to H].

I.. and Y.. 897 dilɛ'it. 898 nɛ'is. 899 nee's. 900 pree. 901 fɛ'in. 902 mɛ'in. 904 wɛ'let. 905 rɛ'it. 906 wɛ'ipɛ. 907 trɛ'is. 908 ɛdwɛ'is. 909 bree'z. 910 dɛ'ist. 911 *sɛstɛn. — *strav [strove, a false pret. of *strive*, which should be *strived* or *striv*]. 912 rɛ'is.

O.. 913 kówtj. 914 bróotj. — *sɛ'íl [soil]. 915 staf. 916 inɛvɛn. 917 roog. 918 feeb'l. 919 ɛ'intmɛnt. — dɛɛ'in [join]. 920 *pɛ'int. 921 ɛkwéint. — *pɛ'iz'n [poison]. 922 *bɛshɛl. — [(léizɛ) leisure F, unknown to H]. 923 *mɛ'ist. 924 trɛ'is. 925 wɛ'is. — [(drɔl) drole F]. 926 *spɛ'íl. — [(bám) bomb, F]. 927 trɛqk. 928 ɛ'uns. 929 kɛ'ukɛmbɛ. 930 lɛ'in. 931 dɛ'glɛ. 932 ɛmá'unt. 933 *fránt. 934 bɛ'anti. 935 kántri. 936 *fant. 937 kɔk. 938 káanɛ. 939 tlóoz. 940 koot. 941 *fíyyil. 942 batɛ. 943 tatj. 945 wɛ'u. 947 *bɛ'íl. 948 bɛ'ul [(tɛ bɛ'ul ɛ hyyip) to bowl a hoop]. — *nas *naas [nurse]. 952 kóos [coarse]. 953 kɛz'n. 954 kɛsh'n. 955 dɛ'ut. — *práw *práf [prove proof]. — *máw [move], F has also occ. (miiv)]. 956 k'ivɛ. 957 ɛmplɛ'í. 958 frɛɛ'í. 959 kɛnwɛ [(kɛnwá) F, not known to H].

U.. 960 kii [in e.Nf.]. 961 grɛy'el. 963 kɛw'it. 964 syy'et. 965 ɛ'íl. — *distɛr'í [destroy]. 966 fríyyit. 967 síyyit. 968 ɛ'istɛ. 969 syy'ɛ. 970 dɛ'ɛst. 971 flíyyit.

Mr. Everard (B) says intonation "thin, clear, rising in pitch at end," and that "the high key, the length of time they dwell on the accented syllable, are the most marked characteristics."

Notes made from interview with Rev. Philip Hoste, 15 Nov. 1877.

The aspirate is very fairly pronounced, but is occasionally put in the wrong place. Mr. Everard (B) says it is always rightly used.

cl-, *gl-* become (*tl-*, *dl-*).

(w) is always used for (v), but not conversely.

205. (Thr-) is frequent enough, as (thrɛ'shɔld), but (tr-) is regular in some words, as (trɛ'ii trɛ'ip'ɛnɛ trɛ'ídɛ), three threepenny threads. 367. (hi trɛ'it'nd mɛ bɛ'dli, hi d'd), he threatened me badly, he did.

R is generally treated as in London, final and before consonants, and is at most (*rɛ*) before vowels.

The diphthongs (a'í, a'u) seem to have several different forms. The (a'í) when standing for *I* is (á'í) or (ɛ'í), and the latter seems the regular form. I could not determine whether (á) was used by mistake or not. When standing for *ÆG*, *EG*, it was generally (ɛ'í, ɛɛ'í), as 141, 262, (nɛɛ'íl, wɛ'í), nail, way. The word *pay* was generally (pɛɛ), but when joined to a word gave (pɛɛ'í)mɛ, pay me; again, (fɛ'í ɛ'ut dɛɛ

hɔl), fay [or clean] out the holl [or hedge]. The (a'u) has the forms (ɛ'u) and (á'u) as nearly as I could distinguish. The (ɛ'u) seems regular for U, ÉOW, EÁ'W, and (á'u) regular for A'W, thus: (shi sɛt oo'vɛ dhi fɛ'ir ɛ-sɛ'u'in ɛ pɔkɛt-haqkɛɛ, ɛn dhi faa'dhɛ hii wɛnt ɛ'ut tɛ sɛ'u dhi kóosɛn), she sat over the fire a-sewing a pocket-handkerchief, and the father *he* went out to sow the corn. The (á'u) is sometimes difficult to distinguish from (ɔu), thus to throw, to sow, when compared seem to give (thrɛ'u, sɔu). Generally (ɛ'u) sounded like a faint (éu), but at other times I found it difficult to distinguish (ɛ'u, ɛ'u), as in 645, 108, (dɛ'u, dɛ'u), dove, dough. Mr. Hoste, however, seemed to have no hesitation, and was consistent. See Forby's remarks, p. 270.

O' regularly generates (íy_i) or (yy_i), a deeper (y), sometimes begun with the mouth open. Mr. Shelly, a Nf. man, long resident in Plymouth, finds Nf. (y_i) resemble Dv. (y_i) p. 163, but in Dv. (íy_i) does not occur. I use identical symbols in Dv. and Nf. because I cannot

formulate the difference. The A' words *who two*, owing, perhaps, to the influence of *w* on the vowel, become (híyy₁, tíyy₁) occ. (tyy₁). I noted (555 shyy₁, 557 tyy₁, 561 blyy₁m, 562 míyy₁n, 564 síyy₁n, 574 bryy₁d, 582 kíyy₁l, 583 tíyy₁l, 584 stíyy₁l, 586 dyy₁, 588 níyy₁n, 589 spíyy₁n, 594 byy₁t, 596 ryy₁t) shoe too bloom moon soon brood cool tool stool do noon spoon boot root. 585 *broom* was (bryy₁m) when alone or initial, as in (bryy₁mstik₁), but (bram) final, as (héevbram) hair broom. If the vowel O' had become shortened or compounded with (gh), this effect was lost, as (558 luk, 559 mæ₁dhe, 563 mæ₁ndí, 566 ædhe, 570 tuk, 571 gud, 572 blæ₁d, 573 flæ₁d, 575 stæ₁d, 577 bæ₁u, 578 plæ₁u, 580 tæ₁u, 595 fat, 597 sæ₁t) look mother Monday other took good blood flood stood bough plough tough foot soot, and (579 vne₁u æ₁n'em, vne₁fæn₁it) enough of them, enough of it.

The numerals (wæn tyy₁ tr₁ji fæ₁uæ fæ₁'iv sik sæv₁n æt næ₁'n tæ₁n læv₁n twælv thati hæ₁nrød).

The following words and phrases were also noted.

(:nə₁r₁id₁, bæ₁ti, læ₁stwæ₁, bæ₁'e, :sændrinæ₁ paak) Norwich, butty, leastways, beer, Sandringham park.

(hi æ₁d v stæn ætjæ₁m) he hurled—pitched, chucked—a stone at them.

(fæ₁ɛt lit₁l mæ₁ædhæ) fete or pretty little girl.

(læ₁tæ, nœ₁væ₁mbæ, disæ₁mba, tæ₁mpæ, bræ₁d v₁n tje₁'z) letter, November, December, temper, bread and cheese.

(v₁u d₁je fiæ₁ tæ dyy₁?) how do you fare to do?

(v₁ réæ₁ fantii₁g) a rare state of mind.

(v₁ fe₁u bræ₁æth) a few = some, broth.

(ræ₁f, v₁ hæ₁æn æ biiv, tje₁'mbl₁i, bræ₁m'lz, kmaæ₁dhæ, wæ₁æiiz) roof, a hand of barley, chimney, brambles, come hither, (go) ways; these last said to horses to order them to come to or go from the driver.

(v₁ tje₁tjæ₁mæn, v₁ lees v₁ bæ₁ædz, v₁ leesh v₁ hæ₁'æ₁mdz) a churchman = a clergyman, a leash of birds, a leash of hounds.

Examination of Forby's Pronunciation.

In Forby (contracted to F.) it is said that "in the neighbourhood of Lynn all short *a* are *e* (æ), as *a bed men*, a bad man." TH. observed none such there, but heard (a) in back, apples, understand, that, man.

The vowel marked (a¹) is described by F. as midway between (aa, ee), and "like the bleat of a very young lamb"; this would be rather (ææ) than (a¹), but I take the pronunciation of Mr. Hoste (contracted to H.). Using *b* for before and *a* after a number, it occurs in b157 staff, a174 glass, 333 calf, a719 raft, a729 glance, a735 grasp, 850 dance, a851 cask.

F. gives *snare spare* apparently as (snææ spēæv). I neglected to obtain Mr. Hoste's pron. of them, but judging by care (kjææ'v), they would probably be (snææ spēæ'v).

F. says the pron. of "pit kiln silver stint bid mill cistern sit," with (æ) or perhaps (e) in place of (i), is not very general, and more in Sf. than in Nf.

F. pron. Nor-folk with (naæ-), H. with (nœæ-), TH. heard (næ₁'r₁-fæ₁k). After saying long *o* in *shrove, drove* = (æ), F. adds, "It has the same sound in *hither* and *wither*," unintelligible unless *It* be a misprint for *I*.

F. states and H. agrees that negative *un-* is always (æn-).

F. says that (shæt) shut is universal in Sf. and Nf.

F.'s Italian *ai* in plain gain pain fail nail twain snail, where H. has (æ'i), is, H. thinks, due to F.'s deficient knowledge of Italian, and as for (bœ'it) bait, H. has never heard of it. F.'s (aa) in may play pray stay, is H.'s (æ'i), and similarly in pay=(paa) in Sir T. Smith, and as was given me at Norwich, H. hears only (pæ'i). F. also says that (ái) is occ. found in deign, either, leisure, conceive, vein, weigh, neighbour, receipt, grey, convey, obey, but these S. habits are unknown to H. F. does not mention in what part of East Anglia they are found.

F.'s account of the pron. of *straw law* is unintelligible, but may mean the actual (straa laa) with, before a vowel, euphonic (r₁), which he seems to think is represented by the *w*. H. does not allow euphonic (r₁) unless there are separate words, thus (saa'iq), but (saar₁)it).

F. gives the (íy₁) words as having long u (iu), which I assume to mean (íy₁).

F. gives three sounds of *ou*, *ow* = U', which are difficult to understand by his description. H. knew only two (*ɔ'u*, *æ'u*), but I also constantly heard (*ɛ'u*, *æ'u*). F. says: "1. A broad twanging sound somewhat, but not exactly, as if it were written *au-w*." This should be (*ɔ'u*), and probably means (*æ'u*), which H. used in (*læ'u*, *dæ'u*, *mæ'u*, *æ'u*, *sæ'uld*) low, dough, mow, owe, soul, which are some of F.'s examples; his *ought*, however, seemed to be (*ɔ'ut*), which may be an error, as this was his sound of *out*. "2. The second considerably narrower, and may be attempted by endeavouring to sound the open *a* with *w* after it." This should give (*âu*). Of the examples he gives, 'shower, our' were (*shæ'uv*, *æ'uv*) according to H. Hence this would be the same as the last. His other examples are power sour devour scour, not given by H. "3. The third is narrower still, and may be described as about midway between the legitimate sound of *ou* and that of long *u*," that is perhaps between (*a'u*) and (*iu*), which might be very various, for the "legitimate sound of *ou*," whatever that be, is itself very various in the mouths of different speakers. His examples, cow sow (pig?) how proud, are given as (*ke'u* *sæ'u* *hæ'u* *præ'ud*) by H., but plow (plough) is (*plæ'u*), and crowd does not occur in H.'s words. Hence the three are to H. 1 and 2 (*æ'u*), 3 (*ɔ'u*) as given above. But this does not exhaust the question. At Mattishall I had uniformly (*ɔ'u*), at Kimberley (*ɛ'u*), and at Kirby Bedon (*æ'u*), (*æ'u*) occurring in *you*. At Buxton (8½ n. Norwich) TH. got (*æ'u*, *ɔ'æ'ut*), at Diss (15 e. Thetford) on the border of Sf., TH. had (*kjæ'u*, *dæ'un*) cow down, at Downham Market (10 s. King's Lynn) TH. chiefly records (*ɔ'u*) as at Mattishall, from Narborough TH. got (*æ'u*). At Old Hunstanton (14 n. King's Lynn, and 9 nw. Stanhoe) TH. heard (*dæ'un*), and at Stanhoe itself he heard (*dæ'un* *æ'u*). Hence the sounds of (*a'u*) = U' must be considered variable, (*ɔ'u* *ɔ'u*) may be meant for the same sound, (*æ'u*) is a variety of (*ɔ'u*), and (*ɛ'u*) seems to be a variety of (*ɔ'u*). But the information at my disposal is not sufficient to localise or classify these sounds, and F., whose observations extend over all East Anglia, rarely localises.

In the consonants F. and H. hear

(f) for *v* in vane, vetch, vat and [F. not H. in] vagary.

F. finds *ng* = (qg) medially apparently in *bring*ing, *fling*ing (*brigg*in, *fligg*in), and finally before a vowel, as (*fligg:qg*)*ut*) flinging out; H. does not know it, and it has not been heard vv.

F. finds *l* dropped in old, cold, told, sold, hold, and H. also occasionally, *ol* becoming (*æ'u*).

F. and H. both find *thr*- invariably (tr-) as in throat, thread, threaten, through. See p. 268, note 205.

F. finds *v* and *w* "uniformly substituted for each other," H. only finds (*w*) uniformly for *v* initial. F. adds: "In general *w* for *v* is used by rude rustics, and *v* for *w* by those whose diction has been polished by town breeding." This means that (*w*) is the only hereditary sound, and (*v*) is a new one, and the latter once acquired, is through ignorance used in the wrong place. From Ke. to Nf. is the land of *Wee*.

F. then gives a number of words and corruptions that I have not been able to verify, but many still exist. I palaeotype his spellings as well as I can. (*æshɛp* *æshɛp* *æshɛp*) ash-heap, (*mækɛp*) muck-heap, (*nætəs* *nætəs*) neat, or cattle, house, (*dafes* *dæ'u*) dove-house, (*wædəs*) woodhouse, (*se'idəs*) sideways, (:*bræ'id*l) Bridewell, (*oləs* *oləs*t) always, (*wænm'l* *tpiiz*) one meal cheese, (*shaa'nt* *shæænt*), shan't, (*kaa'nt* *kæænt*) can't, (*oont* *woont*) will not, (*dint* *dænt* *deent*) did not, (*shant*) should not, (*want*) would not, (*maa'nt* *mæænt*) may not, (*waant*) were not, (*iint*) is not, (*eent*) am not, (*heent*) has not, (*ha'nt* *hænt*) had not, (*tət*) to it, (*dət*) do it, (*wət*) with it, (*hət*) have it, (*tæbɪn*) it has been. Final *-ive* (-*a'iv*) with stress, as *expens'ive* *abus'ive* *nati'ive*. Final *-able* (-*ee'bəl*), as *lamentā'ble* *abominā'ble*. Final *-ly'* (-*la'i'*), as *continually'* *certainly'*. Final *-le = ul* (*vl*), as *possible*. These words not having been written phonetically, I can only conjecture the value of the illustrative syllables and cannot make a guess at the others.

Corruptions as given by F. mostly affect Romance words; only a few are given in the wl. when recognised by H. and are marked *. I do not attempt to phoneticise them.

I. *-a*, *-t* added, *attac-t*, *close-t*, *drown-d*, *epitaph-t*, *gallon-t*, **gown-d*, *margen-t*, *nice-t*, *paragraph-t*, *regi-*

men-t, scholar-d, *sermon-t, Simon-t, *soul-d, surgeon-t, talon-t, *vermin-t, *wine-d.

2. -er added, *mason-er, musician-er, physician-er, team-er.

3. s- prefixed, s-noose s-notch s-quench s-quink s-quit.

4. first syllable changed, the usual form prefixed: bay- bagonet, ca- capacity, coat- coart-of-arm, in- discom-mode, di- digest, de- dismollish, im- eminent, mo- mislest, pro- perdigious, per- preverse, stark- starnaked, vocation.

5. last syllable changed, the usual form subjoined: agash -gast, ballat -ad, becase -cause, bedisle -dizen, chaply -el, chimibly chimly -ney, clash -ss, conquest -course, delightful -ful, drugster -gist, effidge -igy, fancical -ful, frustrate -ter, jaunders -ice, luxurious -riant, moral -del, notage -tice, othergwest -guise, portmantle -teau, quite -et, refuge -fuse sb., rheumatics -tism, successfully -ively, timor-some -rous, topsitivity -turvy.

6. superfluous letters inserted, italicised: bachel^dor, bing, cavalry, commonality, confiscate, destolate, dilantory, disposial, duberous -biuous, enormous, flagitious, frairy, furbelow -lough, industerous -trious, mander = manner, partender, proprietior, ruinate, solentary = solitary, speckled, stupenduous, stuprify, sudges = suds, tremendous.

7. letters omitted, inserted in parenthesis: (to)bacca-o, chai(se), christ(i)an, cur(i)osity, cur(i)ous, debili(t)ate, fic(t)itious, ingen(i)ous, necessi(t)ate, ruffi(a)n, ted(i)ous [probably (tū)ges], ve(he)ment, (uni)versal, volum(in)ous.

8. Latin corruptions, correct in italics: arcyfarsy *vice versa*, cavy *peccavi*, cersary *certiorari*, crissy *crisis*, davy *affidavit*, diddimus *dedimus*, hizzy-prizy *nisi prius*, hoxy-croxy *oxyeroceum*, hoizon *horizon*, nolus bolus *volens volens*, nonplush nonplunge *non plus*, primmery *primminery premunire*.

9. Unclassed. F.'s phonetic spelling, which I cannot always decipher, prefixed, usual form added in italics: acquese *acquiesce*, artiflexy *apoplexy*, bewiddle *bewilder*, blather *bladder*, brefkes *breakfast*, cartract *cataract*, coalesce (in two syllables) *coalesce*, crowner *crounier coroner*, cutriments *accoutrements*, farisee *fairy*, farrage *fairing*, fidgy *effigy*, fishorate *officiate*, gashful *gashlyghastly*, hobble *hovel*, howsomedevever *howsoever*,

hume *hymn*, inquisition *inquiry*, intoscicate *intosticate*, intrust *interest*, jocotious *jocose*, juggler's vein *jugular vein*, liceners *license*, miscomfortune *misfortune*, miscomhap *mishap*, narrow-wriggle *earwig*, neckthorn *nectarine*, newelty *neweltry novelty*, nottomy *anatomy*, numpost *imposthume*, obligate *oblige*, odious *odorous*, obstropulous *obstreperous*, oudacious *audacious*, palarratock *paralytic*, permiscuous *promiscuous*, plumpendicular *perpendicular*, porpus *pauper*, portingal *portugal*, pumgenet *pomegranate*, quivy *equivocate*, rale *real*, semblitude *similitude*, sinnable *syllable*, sinni-fy (-fire) singa-fy (-fire) singma-fy (-fire) *signify*, scrummage *skirmish*, speciously *especially*, spettacle *spectacle*, surficate *snufficate suffocate*, tater *tate potatoe*, timate *intimidate*, trinkle trittle *trickle*, turpentine walk *serpentine walk*, vimment *vomit*, viper's dance *St. Vitus's dance*, imbombinable *abominable*, upper hand *apprehend*, upperlet *epaulet*, wagabone *vagabond*, who-what- when- somedevever, *who-what-when-soever*.

It is evident that all these forms 1 to 8 are not distinctive of any dialect. They were, at least originally, mere mishearings and misrenderings of unfamiliar words quite out of the speaker's range, and though they may have been handed down from parent to child, they are not the property of any one locality, but are more or less common property. Having been collected, however, probably from actual hearing, by F. and his informants, they are worth repeating, to shew the extraordinary way in which words can be disfigured and twisted when unfamiliar.

F. adds something about Nf. grammar. Some of the things may be noted.

the, omitted before familiar objects after prepositions; walk into house, go up chamber, put the apples into basket, turn the dog into yard, come out of barn. H. says this is going out of use. substantive pl. in -en, housen, closen, cheesen, only.

adj. in -en, hornen spoons, tinnen pots, glassen bottles, eldern berries, Eastern Sunday.

superlatives: lessest, worstest, littlest, as old as old, bone-dry, gall-bitter, slug-slow, frog-cold, dog-tired.

pronouns: the woman what came; let us go, shall us go, my missis and me is going, Mr. S. he came, his

family they are all out, them are the women I meant, I saw them boys, give me them there books.

be in indic. rare except in here he be, used in subj.

war for was.

Nf. folks say (1) sell selled, tell telled, catch catched, teach teached, seek seeked, work worked; (2) snow snew snown, mow mew mown, row rew rown, sow sew sown, hoe hew [which H. has heard] hown; (3) rise ris, ride rid, rive riv, stride strid, smite

smit, drive driv (never *drove*, sometimes *druv*); (4) bid bod, give gov, sit sot, swim swum; (5) giv gav gov, gin gan gon [H. hears: giv giv gin], ming mung [to knead bread, ags. *mengen*], ding dung [to throw or hurl], weave weft, save seft, wave weft [H. does not know the last three], and come, bid, see, run, are used as pres. pret. and pp.; steal, staul [H. (*stul*)], shriek shruck; (6) taking taken not distinguished; kilt = killed, spilt = spilled, spilt = spoiled.

Nf. Notes and Sentences by TH.

TH. having visited Stanhoe in 1883, a few of his observations are added.

Stanhoe was called (:sta'ne). The general use of (ə, ɛ) for U: was confirmed with variants between (dək, dok) duck, between (gən, gæn) gun and (du, mpl'n) dumpling. TH. heard (snəu) not (sna'u).

Instead of (y₁, i_y₁) in this district

also TH. heard (uu, ə'u, iu) as (djuun dʒə'uun) June, (:rə'us'l) Rushall, (bi'uti) beauty, (jis it də'u) yes it does, not (di'yy). He also heard (ple'əs) for (plees) place, (pə'ek) pork, and from a woman of 89, (kəm ju ɛv, mɛ') come you here, maw'; (pleez) please; (ɛ'i kjetɪt sɛ'it ɒn im), I caught sight of him.

ne.Nf., NORTH WALSHAM (14 n.w. Norwich).

Test written by R. S. Baker, Esq., J.P., who had lived there all his life, pal. by A.J.E. from Mr. Baker's own orthography and notes, bearing in mind vv. information. The (r) = (r_c).

1. soo ə'i SEE, təg'i'dhɛ, ʒə'u sii nɛ'u dhɛt ə'i ɛm rə'it ɛbɛ'ut dhæt lɪt'l gæl (maa'dhɛ) kəm'in fræm dhɛ skyy'l ʒəndɛ.

2. shii iz ɛgoo'in dɛ'un dhɛ rood dhéev trɛ'u dhɛ rɛd rɛt ɒn dhɛ left hænd sɛ'id ɛ)dhɛ wái.

3. shyi,r ɛnɛf dhɛ tʃə'ild hev gAAN stráit ɛp ty, dhɛ dóovɛr ɛ)dhɛ rɔq hɛ'us,

4. wéev shii)l tʃɛns (hɛp) ty, fə'ind dhæt draɔk'n diif shriv'ld fælv ɛ)dhɛ nɛem ɛ :tɔmɛs.

5. wi AAL noo hɛm wɛr'i wɛl.

6. oont dhi ool tʃæp syi,n laan hɛ nat ty, dyy, it (dɛ)t ɛgɪn; pɔv thiq!

7. luk, ɛnt it try₁?

Notes to North Walsham dt.

1. I am, you are, he is the man, here he be, I aan't, 'táant.—*now* (nɛ u) ow like owl, lips nearly closed, lower teeth thrust forward. This description being incomplete, (ɛ'u) was taken from elsewhere.

2. *hand*. "The habit is to pro-

nounce the aspirate correctly in all cases." But "h is never sounded after w."—"W never becomes V, but V always becomes W. We cannot see any difference between the letter W and the letter WE," = V.—*enough* (ɛnɛf) with sg., (ɛnɛ'u) with pl. nouns.

VAR. iii. s. NORFOLK FORM.

MATTISHALL, KIMBERLEY AND EAST DEREHAM CS.

This version was originally written by Miss Buckle, a native of Mattishall (:mæts'1) (12 w. Norwich), acquainted with the dialect from childhood, and pal. by A.J.E. from her vv. explanations Oct. 1877. As I pal. in 1873 a vv. version of the same from Kimberley (10 wsw. Norwich and 5 s. Mattishall) by George Ashby, who, however, had been 33 years away from his county, then gardener to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and had obtained a careful version in his own orthography, with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew, 60 years acquainted with the dialect as spoken at East Dereham (:dêsrəm) (15 w-by-n. Norwich and 4 nw. Mattishall), and a version by Miss C. M. Day, of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich), supplemented by long explanations and a vv. wl. given elsewhere, I take Mattishall as a centre, and give the variants of the other versions, when the difference is marked, in subsequent notes, in which K. means Kimberley, D. East Dereham, and B. Kirby Bedon. I have no guarantee that the pron. was purely local, but it must closely resemble all s.Nf. The (r) was not particularly observed, but was probably (r_c).

0. wái :dʒən æ)noo də'uts.
1. wæl, naa'be, ʒə'u ən hii ma booth laaf ət dhis niúuz v máin. hi'y₁ kjíéev ? dhæ)s naadhv héev nɛ dhíiv.
2. fə'u mɪn dáí bikoz dh)aa laaft ət, wi noo, dóvnt wi ? wæt shud meek)əm ? teent we'ri láí'klɛ, is)t ?
3. ha'u sɛmde'vɛ dhiiz a dhv fæks v dhv kjæes, soo [so, so] dʒɪst hə'ud ʒa nóiz, frɪnd [bɑ], ən be kwáit tɪl ái hæv)dæn. lɪs'n.
4. ái)m saa'tɪn ái hii'd ɔm see—sɛm ə dhɛm fæks dhɛt wænt trɪy₁ dhə hæl [hæl] thɪq frɛm dhv fæst dhɪmsɛ'lvz—dhæ'r)áí díd.
5. dhæ)dhv ʒəq'ges sən hɪzse'lf, v græt bóoi v náin, nood)iz faadhvz wóiz ɛt)wans, dhoo t)waz so kwéevr ən skwée'kɪn, ɛn)ə'íd træst 'hɪm tɛ spɛk dhv trɪy₁,th ɛ'ni dee, aa, ə'í 'wud.
6. ən dh)ool wu'mæn hæs'lf wul tɛl ɛ'ni ɔn)ʒv dhɛt laaf nə'u, ɛn tɛl ʒv street ɔf, tɪy₁, ɔrə'u't mætɪ bə'dv i)ʒv)l oo'nli aask ha, oo' oont shi ?
7. liistwái'z shi tə'ud it 'mii wɛn ái aast ha, tɪy₁, v trii táimz oo'vɛ, shi díd, ɛn 'shii ə'u't'nt tɛ bi rɔq ɔn sɪtɪ v páint ɛz dhɪs, wɔr)v ʒə'u thɪqk ?
8. wæl, ɔz ə'í weer ɛsɛv'ɪn, 'shii)d tɛl ʒə'u hə'u wéevr v wɛn shi fɔnd dhv dræqk'ɪn bæst dhæ)shi kAAL har)æz'bən.
9. shi swóov she sii hɪm wí)ar)ooon áiz, lee'ɪn strɛtɪt ɛt ful læqkth ɛ)dhv grə'und, ɪn hɪz gɪy₁d sən'di kuut, tɪvs bə'í dhv dAAR)ɛ)dhv ə'us, dɛ'ɪn i)dhv kAA'nɛr ɛ)ʒv)l léevn.
10. hi wəz blaar'ɪn awaa', sez shii, fɔr AAL dhv wæ'vɛld lə'ik v sɪk tɪáíld ɔr)v lit'l gæl (maadhv) ɪn)v tɛmpv.
11. ɛn dhæ'r)æp'nd, ɛz shii ɛn ha daatɛr)í)lAA kəm trɪy₁ dhv bæk-ʒaad frɛm hæq'ɪn ə'ut dhv wɛt tlooz tɛ drái ɔn ə wɔsh'ɪn dee,
12. wáil dhv kɪt'l wɛz báil'ɪn fA tii, wən fáin bráit sɛm'v aateníy₁,n oo'nli v wiik əgɔv' kɪm nɛks thæ'zdee.
13. ɛn dɪy₁ ʒv noo ? ə'í nɛ'vɛ laand ɛn'í móov nɛ dhɪs v dhæ)bi'znɪs ɛp tɪy₁, tɛ-dee, ɛz shíy₁,ɛr ɛz mɛ'í neemz :dʒən :shɛp'vɔd, ɛn ə'í dóvnt wænt tɪy₁ áí)dhv (aa'dhv), dhéev (dhíiv) nə'u !
14. ɛn soo ái)m goo'ɛn huum [həm] tɛ hæv)ɛ sɛp'v. gɪy₁d náit, ɛn dóvnt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo oo'vɛr v bɔdi ɛgɪ'n, wɛn hi tAAk ə dhɪs, dhæ't v tadhv.

15. t)iz v week f)ýl dhut g)ssip wi)ó'ut reezn. en dhæ)s m)ó'i laas wæd. g)ýl d) báí.

Notes to *Mattishall* cs.

0. *why* (wái), this diphthong (ái) was not always steadily pronounced and at times sounded (éi), but I got (ái) from K. and B.—*has*, (æ) or (a') (it was difficult to say which Miss B. said) short and run on to the next word for *have* used for *has*. This abbreviation, which occurs frequently here, was not given me elsewhere. B. insists on (hæ) with h.—*doubts* (d)é'uts), this diphthong (é'u) was given me as (é'u) at Kimberley, and (æ'u), or more frequently (æ'u), at Kirby Bedon. I think this (æ'u) or (æé'u) is what was meant by the sound written (næw) for *know* at East Dereham.

1. *well* (wæl), in others (wæl).—*neighbour* (naabe), so also D., but K. gave only (b)óow) or (ba), B. had (n)jaabe) and (baa).—*may*, B. (mái).—*both* (buth) B.—*who* (h)íy₁), as far as I could make out the fracture arose from commencing with the mouth open and then closing, it was therefore (íy) or (íy₁), but the first element was indistinct, and so I have marked it only (íy₁). From D., *who do through noon fool* were reported to “resemble French *eu* or long *u*,” but the information was on paper only. At B. I heard (byyts, shaz, t) t)j, styl, stjypid) for *boots, shoes, two, stool, stupid*. From K. I heard (huu) simply.—*cares* (k)j)éev), at K. (k)j)éev), at D. apparently (kaa), written *car*, but the writer employed *ar* for (aa), at B. (k)éevz) with the (z) at the end, but Miss B. said they never used that form if they could avoid it.

2. *few* (f)é'u) was (f)é'u) apparently at K. Possibly the difference was only in my perception.—*because* (b)ikAAZ, v)kAAZ) B.—*know* (noo) B.—*don't we* (d)óent wi) was written *d)ónt ús* (d)óont) at D. This very Southern (es) is certainly doubtful. I don't get it elsewhere in Nf. and Sf. But Forby talks of ‘shall us go.’—*make them* (m)ee)k)em), whether (m)ee)k) or (m)ee)k), must be considered doubtful. At K. the speaker insisted on (dhem).—*very* (w)é'r)í), the short *e* was, I think, generally rather (x) than (e). The (w) for (v) is the rule among peasants, says Miss B., and both D. and K. give (w)ó'is) in par. 5. Miss B. says (w)ád) v) hæt) is the *verge* or brim of a hat.

3. *your* (ja) for unaccented *your*, was insisted on here and at K., and similarly (ha) for *her*.

4. *heard* (h)íed) D., but (haad) K., (h)éev) B. The initial (h) is insisted on by most Nf. people, but often vanishes.—*say* (s)ee), from K. (s)éei), but my D. informant insisted on (saa), as also on (maa) for *may*, and made *day* into (d)áai). In xvth century we had (saa) regularly, at present there seems to be much confusion, and the received (s)ee, s)ee'j, s)éei) are approached; also (s)éi) at Stanhoe.—*folks* (f)uks), so also at K., from D. I got *f)ó'ks*, which may or may not mean the same thing.—*through* (tr)íy₁), but (thr)é'u) D., (tr)é'u) K., (tr)é'u) B. It would seem as if (tr)é'u) tr)é'u) were older forms and (tr)íy₁, thr)íy₁) more recent.—*whole* (h)ul, h)al), both were given, (h)ul) B.; (h)ul) as a remnant of (h)úel), the regular S. change from A', is perhaps the older form, and (h)al), which may come from (h)ool), or be merely the regular change of (u) into (x), may be more recent.—*safe enough* was allowed to stand at the end of this paragraph by others, but Miss B. said the phrase was not used as an affirmative, and that *enough* was not said.—*that I* (dh)æ'r)ái), and afterwards, par. 7, (w)ó'r)é) = *what do*. This *r* seems to be a mere euphonic insertion, the *t* or *td* being omitted, so (g)er)up) = *get up* in Leeds, D 24, where more examples will be quoted. In Nf. and Sf. this omission of the final *t* is frequent in (dh)æ)s) for (dh)æt)s), with which compare par. 0 (æ)noo), par. 3 (h)æ)dan), and par. 5 (dh)æ)dh)é). The insertion of euphonic *r*, as in (s)AAr)in) = *sawing*, is almost universal in E. div. Compare also (s)re'u't) = *athout* = *without* in par. 6.

5. *youngest* (j)æ)q'ges) comes from D. in the form (j)æ)q'g)rest), my authority saying that “Nf. people are fond of indulging in ultra-superlatives,” but probably they are seldom heard.—*truth* (tr)íy,th) distinctly so pronounced, but K. seemed to give (tr)áuth), possibly meant for (tr)é'uth), (tr)uth) D. looks like a modernism for (truuth), the vowel being shortened to save it from falling into (íy₁).—*day* (d)ee) distinctly, (d)éi) K., (d)ái) D. and B., probably stages of variation from (daa)—*aye* (aa),

K. (jes), D. (·dhæt), Miss B. says *aye* is not used.

6. *will* (wul) K. (wē'ul) ? D. (ʼl).—*of you* (on)jə), so at D., but K. (ɔf jə'u), a syllabic form.—*off* (ɔf), K. (ɔf), D. (on).—*body* (bɔ'de) or (bAA'de), but D. and K. (bɔdhə).—*ask* (aask), K. (æks), D. (ækst).—*without* (əwə'u't) = *athout*, with (dh) omitted and euphonic *r* inserted. K. and D. give *without* simply.—*won't* (wont), so the others. At the beginning of a sentence (*woont*) would be used.

7. *told* (tə'ud), so D., but (*toold*) K., evidently modern.—*she did* (shi did), the original had *did she*, but all agree in the other order, Miss B. stating that "dialect does not allow the nominative to be placed after the verb."—*three* (tri), all agree in *tr-* for *thr-* initial.—*point* (pəint), so D. B., but (pɔ'int) K., modern form.—*what do you* (wɔr)ə jəu), but D. K. B. have (wɔt di) jə'u).

8. *she would* (·shii)d), so D., but (shi wē'uld) K.—*found* (fɔnd), D. *feound*, which may = (fɔ'und) K.—*drunken* (dræ'qkɪn) looks like an error for (dræqk'n), as in the others, as if confused with (driqkɪn).—*her husband* (har)ɜz'bən), the *r* is quite euphonic, owing to the omission of *h* in *husband*, which is as common as *my good man*.

9. *saw* (sii), common, (siid) D. = *see'd*.—*with her own* (wi')ar'əʊn), the *r* is euphonic, the syllabic division being (wi-a-rəʊn).—*lying* (lee'in), *laying* is always used for *lying*; so the others.—*ground* (grə'und), (grɛ'und) K. B., *greound* D., probably the same, as my informant could not analyse the diphthongs on paper better than *eu-w*.—*close* (tlus), of course (tl-) for (kl-) was not acknowledged, but was heard; the vowel agrees with D. B., but K. has (kloos).—*door* (dAAr) = *door*, the *r*

is euphonic, D. and K. give (dɔw+r).—*lane* (leeən). I noted that the (*ee*) was very light, more like (*ii*), but this was probably accidental, for K. has (*leen*), which is more analogous. D. gives *loke*, a common East Anglian word for a lane without a thoroughfare.

10. *whining* (blaa'rin). "Calves, sheep, asses, and children are all said to blare." *Moor*. D. gives *winnien* from Forby's "*Whinney*, to snivel and whimper like a child." K. has (pái'nin), B. has (wái'nin, pensin, páinin).—*away* (awaa'), this is a remnant of the old (waa) = *way*, K. (əwee').—*world* (wæ'uld), (wɔld) D., (wæld) K. B.—*child* (mAA'dhɜ+r), the regular Nf. and Sf. word for girl, the (dh) is weakly pronounced and often quite lost.

11. *that* (dhær), euphonic *r*.—*happened* (æp'nd), (hæp'nd) K., (hæpt) D.—*daughter* (daa'tər), euphonic *r*, so D. B., but (dAA'tər) K.—*came* (kæm), (kæm) D. K., which is most common, (kæmd) B.—*clothes* (tlooz), the (tl-) not acknowledged.

12. *tea* (tii), so K., but (tee) D. B.—*come* (kim), but (kæm) D. K. B., which is more regular.—*thursday* (thæ'zdee), the final syllable distinct (*ee*), not (*i*), but K. and D. have (thaa'zdi).

14. *home* (huum, hām), *home*, probably the correct form is (hæm) B. for A', modernised to (hām) D., (hoom) K. is quite modern. From Stanhoe, p. 265, No. 115, comes (*uu,m*).—*have my* (hæ)mə), these words are omitted in E. D. and K.

15. *good bye* (gý,d bái) said only when parting for a long time. E. D. has (gu)bái), which is more regular.

'I are to go' is common. The Nf. *drant* (draant) is rough, thick, glib and quick, yet drawing, and the pitch does not rise at the end of a sentence.

KIRBY BEDON, NORFOLK.

Words pal. in 1868 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, daughter of Rev. Edward Day, then rector of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich), where she had resided from childhood, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with the peasants.

K is added to words given by Mr. Keith, of Norwich.

L is added to a few words from Miss Day's sister, Mrs. Luscombe.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 miák [ʔ]. A'- 74 tɔ [(tj)j] K. 92 noo. A': 102 aks. 111 ə'ut. 115 hæm [(h)om] K. 117 wæn. 124 ston. Æ- — staaz [stairs]. Æ: 161 dáai. 173 wAA wAAnt [was not]. Æ': 208 ævə. 213 eedhə K. 214

needhø K. E- 232 briik. — piis [a pear]. — biis [to bear]. 251 meet. E: 263 ewái. 265 street. — twælv [twelve]. 270 bælvz. 273 mín. 280 læv'n. 281 læqkth. — trøsh'l [threshold]. E'- 301 héev. E': 312 héev [I have heard (iis)]. 316 nækst. EA: 324 eet. — aan [earn]. EA'- 347 heed. — éev [the ear]. EA': 353 breed. 359 nævbø njæba njæabø. 361 been. EO- 383 sæv'n. 387 niy₁ L. EO: — ba'nem [burning]. 402 laan. EO'- 411 trii. 416 déev. 420 fæ'vø. EO': 431 béev. I- 446 næ'in. I: 452 ái [I have heard (ói, ái, á'i)]. — liid lid [lid]. — bad [bird, (bød) K]. — wíndø [window]. — fiish fish [fish]. — síks [six]. I'- — thati [thirty]. I': — diik dik [dyke]. 502 fæ'iv. — háai [hay]. O- 524 wæald. — trøt [throat]. O: — træ'u [trough, same as *through* 634]. 527 bæ'ut. — bors [borrow] borsin [borrowing]. — sors [sorrow]. O'- 555 shøz [shoes, probably (shy,z) was said]. O': 577 bæ'u. 584 styy₁l. 592 swóov. 594 byy₁t. 595 fat. 597 sæt. U- 603 kæ)ba L [come, bo']. U: 615 pæ'umd L. 618 wæ'umd [or 621]. 621 wæ'umd [or 618]. 634 træ'u [same as *trough* after 524]. U'- 640 kæ'u. Y- 679 trætj. Y'- 707 that'n that'n [(thot'n) K]. — driip drip [drip].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — snéest [snast, burnt wick or snuff of candle]. — tjeets téevts tjéevts. 739 maaðhø L. E. — mals [mellow]. — indjín [engine]. — klævø [clever]. O. — doog [?' (dø'g) dog]. 791 bwø'i [has heard (bát)]. U. — onlæs [unless]. — fæ'nep [turnip]. — bæsh [bush]. 808 pæt. — krøtj [crutch].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 824 tjiv. — kléev [clear]. — pleez L [please]. 840 tjambø tjambø. 848 trandj. — randj [range], vrandj [arrange]. — pjeeps péevps pjéevps. — tos'l [tassel]. — sælwee'shen [salvation]. 862 staf [?]. E.. 869 weel. 870 bæstifø [beautiful]. — envá'es [envious]. 885 weri. — saavnt saavis [servant service]. 890 beest L. — weks [vex]. I.. and Y.. — wíngur [vinegar]. 910 dja'ist. O.. — dja'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 923 má'ist. 929 kæ'kembø. 938 kaaabø. 947 bæ'il. — deen [dean]. U.. — traant [truant]. — stjy,pid [stupid].

Euphonic (r), (æ'i saar)im in dhø draarin røm I saw him in the drawing room. *on-* negative always (*on-*).

EXAMPLES FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NORWICH.

mostly pal. by A.J.E. from oral and written communication of various informants, 1868.

I. Dict. of Dr. Lomb.

- (ə'i see, ba, dyy₁ jy₁ sii dhat dhø mee'vish ə-næp'in dhat dhø dødmen on v støn ?), I say, bor, do you see that there thrush a-napping that there snail on a stone ?
- A. (doo)n)s'n hæl'in !, don't stand hurling or throwing !
B. (hyy₁)z v'hæl'in ?, who is a-hurling ?
A. (jæ'u wəz v'hæl'in), you was a-hurling.
B. (ə'i waa)nt v'hæl'in), I was-not a-hurling.
A. (tel jəu jə wəz, fə jæ'u hit)mə in dhø ə'i wídh)v gyyy₁z-ber'i), tell you, you was, for you hit me in the eye with a gooseberry.
- (waaat)v jə goo'in tø)dhø faa, ba, wídh dhem)dhø shíp ?), what-are you going to the fair, bor, with them-there sheep ?

4. dhə shɪp ɪz plænˌjæn, wen ɪt féɪ ty₁ bii káɪnd)ʊ dæz'ɪ), the sheep is "plaignant"=unwell, when it fares to be kind of dizzy.

II. From Mrs. Luscombe.

5. (əi wʌʌnt)ʊ, hi ka'nt dæ)t), I warrant you, he can't do it.
6. (duu)t raa,n, bʌ? ʒes, ɪt dyy₁), do it rain, bo'? Yes, it do.

III. Dictated by a middle-aged passenger in the omnibus going from Norwich to Cromer on an expedition during the British Association, 27 Aug. 1868, a dialogue which he said he had overheard between two farmers at a pot-house, when he was a boy.

7. A. (wáɪ doont-ʒə paa)mi dhat)dhə tyy₁ pɛ'ʌnd ʒə)oo)mi fə dhɛm)dhə tyy₁ shɪp?), why don't you pay me that two pound you owe me for them-there two sheep?
B. (ə'i doo)nt oo ʒə'u noo tyy₁ pɛ'ʌnd), I don't owe you no two pound.
A. (ʒə'u dyy₁), you do. [Pause, A. goes on smoking.]
B. (ə'i)d nok dhat)dhə pɛ'ɪp ɛ'ʌt)ʊ ʒə'v mɛ'ʌth, ɪf ə'i dáʌv), I'd knock that there pipe out of your mouth, if I dare.
A. (aaɪ! ʒə)ʊv daak ɛnɪf, :hɪndrɪ, bʌ, ʒə'u)ʊ blá'k ɛnɪf. ʒə'u ʒwʌd, ʒe ʒə'u ʒdáʌv, bʌt ʒə'u daa's)nt), Ah! you're dark enough, Andrew, bo', you're black enough. You would *if* you dare, but you durse'n't. [Brings down his fist on to the table, which he upsets, spills the liquor and breaks the glasses.]
B. (dhɛʌ, bʌ, ʒə'u)v dɛ'n)ɪt nɛ'u, ee)nt-ʒə? ʒə'u)l ha'v tɔ)paa fə)dhat nɛ'u, bʌ!), There, bo', you've done-it now, have-not-you? You'll have to-pay for-that now, bo'. [A fierce altercation ensued, during which the listener decamped.]

IV. Communicated by Rev. T. Burningham, formerly Rector of Charlwood (6 s.Reigate, Sr.), conjecturally pal. by AJE.

8. (ə'i káɪnd)ʊ shək so), I kind-of shook so.
9. (lʌʌ, mʌʌ, doo's'n blee'rən ɛ)dha't)nɛ), lawk, girl, don't stand bellowing of that-way.
10. (wɛl, ə'i wɛ fɔ'skɛɛ ʒiʌs laas fa'sgɛn tyy₁zdi, wɛ'da tɔ)ʒiʌs bi hɔ'ɪ)n ɛ loo)n), well, I was four-score year last Paschal Tuesday, whether this-year be high-'un or low-'un, i.e. leap year or not.

V. Street cries heard repeatedly at Norwich by AJE. in 1868.

11. (néy₁ bloo'tɛz ɪv, fáɪn blo'tɛz, :ʒaa'mɛth blóitɛz ɪv!), new bloaters here, fine bloaters, Yarmouth bloaters here!
[Observe three different pron. of 'bloaters' from three different men]. (míɪlk! mɛ'ɪlk fóɪn!), milk, milk fine.

VI. Notes and Sentences from TH., m. and s.Norwich.

12. *Buxton* (8 n.Norwich). (wɛl, :bɪl, bɑː, ar)ʒə ɡoʊən hoʊm), well, Bill, bo', are)you going home ?
13. *Diss* (19 ssw.Norwich). (mɑːdɦɔː)z mɔst ɜ dhɜ wæd), mawther)is most of the word, the word most generally used.—(nɔ dɜ'ik nɜr ʒit ɜ drɛn), no dyke nor even a drain, at Diss.—(ɑr ʒə kɑmən dhɜs waa ?), are you coming this way ?—(mɜ'it ɜv kʒɛp ɜ hoʊm), might have kept a home. [The man from whom this was taken was a native of Diss, where he lived 24 years and then lived at March, Cb., 45 years, and he seems to have lost much of his dialect. I doubt, therefore, his furnishing true Diss speech.]
14. *Norwich*. *h* not aspirated in the city of N.
15. *Wymondham* (9 wsw.Norwich). TH. finds that a majority of U- words have (ə), but older men use (u_o) and a small number use (o). Of course (u u u_o) are the older forms, and gradually lead to (o), and thence to (ɛ ə). This seems the direction of change, but we cannot consider the sporadic (u_o) of any value against Mattishall and Kimberley, knowing nothing about it. Compare (nuun nɜ'un), leading to (nyy₁n niyy₁n).

GT. YARMOUTH, s.Nf. AND n.Sf.

dt. written by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the School House, Gt. Yarmouth, since 1885 Rector of Fressingfield (8 n.Framlingham), St., pal. by A.J.E. in 1879 partly from vv. directions.

1. suu ɛ'i sái, baaz, ʒə sii nɛ'u ɛ'i)m rɛ'it ɜbɛ'ut dhæt)dhɜ lit'l ɡæl ɜkɔmən frɛm dhɜ skyy₁l [skíul] hɛndɜ.
2. shii)z ɛgo'in dɛ'un dhɜ ruud dhɜ trɛ'u dhɜ rɪd ɡɛt ɔn dhɜ lɛft hænd sɛ'id ɜ dhɜ wái.
3. shyy₁r ɛnɛf dhɜ tʒɛ'ild)z ɡaʌn stráit ɔp tɜ dhɜ daʌt ɜ dhɜ rɔq hɛ'us,
4. wɛu shi)l tʒiʌns tɜ fɛ'ind dhæt)dhɜ drɛk'n dɛf shrɪv'ld fɛlɜ ɜ dhɜ neem ɜ :tɔmɜs.
5. wɛ úuəl noo)im vɛrɜ wɛl.
6. oont dh)ɛ'uld tʒɛp s'yy₁n teetʒ [laan] hɛr nɔt tɜ d'yy₁ it ɛg'i'n, pɔɔs thiq.
7. lɜk, eent it tr'yy₁ ?

Note.—The 'aristocracy' in Yarmouth say (ɔɔv flɔɔɜz) our flowers. (hɛ) is used for women as well as men. The manner of speech seems much the same as over ne. and m.Nf.

s.NORFOLK cwl.

collected from TH.'s observations in 1881-2-3. wn. at

B Buxton. Nt North Taddenham T Thetford.
 D Diss. (4 nw.Norwich). W Wymondham.
 E East Dereham. N Norwich.
 TH.'s (r) not before a vowel is at most (r_c).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T nè'm, W nè'im. A: 56 D wash. A'- [T (âi), letter A]. 74 DT tí,uu. 91 D moo'en [mowing]. A': 102 D aks. 104 W rood. 115 D òm, NtW oom. 125 D oonli. — D ròp [rope]. Æ- 138 D faadhæ. 152 B wa'ter. Æ: 161 D dee, Nt de'i. Æ'- 187 D leev. 193 D kliin. 197 D tjiiz. 200 Nt wit, T wiit. Æ': — D miil [a meal]. 223 T dhêu. 224 T wêu. E- 233 T spiik. 241 D reen. 251 Nt meet. 252 B kjit'l. 254 D lødhe. E: 261 Nt se'i. 262 D waa, Nt wæ'i, T wâ'i. 263 D ewee'. — D filz [fields]. — B hìn [hen]. E'- 299 DT griin. 301 E hêu+r, Nt à+r. E': 305 D hái. 314 D êur_d, Nt aad. EA: 326 D ôud. EA'- 347 BW hæd, D èd. EA': — D is [year]. 366 TW grét. EO: — B ban [burn]. 402 B laan, T læan. EO'- 419 B júur, N jaa. EO': 428 B sù. 431 DNt bìur. 435 N jæ'u. 437 D truuth, T trø'uth. EY- 438 D dái, Nt da'i, T [between] dái da'i. I- 446 T na'in. I: 452 B æ'i. 458 D nø'it. 459 B ra'it. I'- [T (A'i), letter I]. 494 D ts'imz, T [between] tA'im tåim. — D riip'n [reaping]. I': 500 B læ'k. O: 531 D daater, F doots [nearly (AA) with pursed lips], Nt daate [and in some villages] daats. — B hos. O'- 555 D shuuz, T shæ'u, W shæ'ù [decidedly]. 557 B tù. 559 D mædhæ. 560 D skuul. 562 Nt muun, TW muun. 566 D enæ'dher [another], E enæ'dhæ [one person]. 568 Nt brodhæ. O': 579 D enæ'f. 587 DT dæ'n. 588 NtT nuun, W næ'un núun. U- 603 D kom. 605 T sæ'n. 606 NtW dæu. 607 D bæ'ter, W botæ. U: 612 ET sæ'm, Nt sòm, Nt sū,m. 616 D græ'und. 629 T sən. 633 E kə'p kə'p kop [occ.] kə,p. 636 N fæder. Ú'- 640 D kjæ'u. 641 B æ'u. 643 B næ'u. 648 D [unemphatic] wæ. 650 B [between] bæ'ut, bæ'ut. U': 663 D æ'uss, T ø'us, W læ'us. Y- 673 B mætj, T mu,tj. 679 N tjatj.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 D dreen. I. and Y. 758 D gjalz. U. 803 E djə'ɒmp djə'ɒmp djɒmp [occ.] dju,mp. — T tí,uun [tune], W tæ'un.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 D pleezæ. — B pæ'i [pay]. — Nt. plá'inli. 862 D seef. E.. 867 B tii. 869 N wiil. — D fatjæz [vetches]. — N wents+r [venture]. I.. and Y.. 901 D fæ'in. O.. 935 D kæntri. 950 D sæpær, Nt. soper. U.. — W dlæ'ù [glue]. — D wæ't'n [waiting]. — W. mæ'uzik. 970 D djæs.

VAR. iv. e.SUFFOLK FORM.

FRAMLINGHAM (18 n.Woodbridge) cs.

written by Mr. Jas. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), and a frequent visitor at Woodbridge, when a boy, and long resident at Stowmarket (14 nw.Woodbridge), pal. Dec. 1881 by AJE, from his dictation.

0. wái :djan hiint gət no de'uts.

1. wæl, naabæ, jæ'u en hii ma buth laaf et dhis híu ný₁z e máin. hí₁, kéev? dhæ)s nædhæ híu næ dhéev.

2. fīy, mīn dái koz dhée)ʷ laaft ʷt, wii noo, dóoʷnt wi? wot shəd meek)ʷm? tiint wer-i láik-lí, iz it?

3. hēʷse-ʷe, dhiiz fīer ʷ dhē fæks, su djes hood ʷe nóiz, bāʷ, ʷn bi kwáit tīl ái ʷ dan. lēs-n.

4. ʷm saa-tín ái híed ʷm séeʷ, səm ʷ dhēm faks ʷt went thráʷu dhē hál dʷob from dhē fást dhese-lvz, dhæt ʷ díd, síy,ʷ ʷnāʷu!

5. dhæt dhē jaggist sən hízself ʷ gréet búí ʷ ndíen, níy,ʷz faadhēz vóis dhéer ʷn dhēn, dhoo tē-ʷoz su kwíer ʷn skwíeken ʷn a)d trást)ʷm tē spēk dhē tríy,th, ʷni déei, dhæt a wud.

6. ʷn dh)ood wámən ase-lf ʷl tēl ʷn-i ʷn-ʷe ʷt láaʷf nēʷu, ʷn tel ʷe rait ʷf, tíy,ʷ, ʷdhēʷt matʷ bódhē, ef jó)el ʷni aʷsk)ʷ, ʷont shí?

7. liistweez shi tood mi wen ái aast)ʷe tíy,ʷ ʷ thrii taimz ʷva, ʷn shii ʷʷtʷnt tē bi rəq ʷn sítʷ ʷ póint ʷz dhís híer, ʷʷt shi, wot d)ʷeʷu thíqk?

8. wēl, ʷz ái wēz ʷ)seeʷn shii)d tel)ʷe hēʷu, wéer ʷn wēn shi fēʷm]d dhē drəqkʷn biist shi kAAL ʷ hēzbēnd.

9. shi swóʷe shi síi)im ʷdh ʷr ʷon áiz ʷ)leeʷn strətʷt fwl leqkth ʷn dhē grēʷm]d ʷn iz sən-déi kluuz klus bi dhē dúur ʷ dhē ʷus deʷm ʷgín- dha kAANer ʷ dhē léen hāndə.

10. híi wēz ʷ wáinən ʷwéer, sez shii, fər ʷal dhē wáeld láik ʷ sīk tʷáild ʷr ʷ lītʷl gæl ʷ frēten.

11. ʷn dhæt dhéer hēpʷnd dʷes ʷz shii ʷn ʷ daa-tərín]ʷ kəm thráʷu dhē bækjaad aatə dhee)d hēq ʷʷt dhē wēt kluuz wān wōshən déeʷ,

12. wáil dhē kítʷl wēz ʷ báilʷn fē tii wān fáin sāmʷer aatēn)ʷn ʷni ʷ wíik ʷgu kəm thaazdi.

13. ʷn díi ʷe nōu? ái níʷe híed nō mīʷer ʷ dhæt biznis tēl tē dee, ʷz síy,ʷer ʷz mái neem)z :dʷən :shēpəd, ʷn ái doont wōnt nādhe, dhéer nēʷu!

14. ʷn sōu ʷ) ʷm ʷ gooʷn hum tē səpə. gud náit ʷn dúent ʷeʷu bi sē rídʷi tē droo ʷvʷer ʷ tʷəp ʷgín- wēn i tAAk ʷ dhís, dhæt ʷ tād)ʷe.

15. hí)z ʷ wíik fíy,l dhēt préet ʷdhēʷt ríizʷn; ʷn dhæ)s mái laast wād. gw)bái.

Notes on the Framlingham cs.

0. *has not* (hiint) for have not, they use the plural form in the singular, and never omit (h).—*doubts* (dēʷts), the sound was decidedly not (dóʷts, dāʷts), but whether the first element of the diphthong was quite (ʷ) I could not feel certain. Mr. Grant has been many years in London, and this may have affected his utterance of the sound. But the approach to (ʷ) is noticeable in respect to Southwold.

1. *you* (ʷeʷ) was clear, and quite different from (ʷeʷ).—*news* (níy,z), this was the nearest representation I could give of the diphthong; it was certainly not (níuz).—*that is*, (dhæ-s). The (æ) throughout is rather uncertain, as there was a suspicion of London influence.

2. *know* (noo), I did not always hear (noo, but sometimes (noo), sometimes (nó)ʷ).—*it is not* (tiint).—(wer-i), this use of (w) for (v) is very general, but not used in every case; *violet* is (wáilet). I could not be certain whether Mr. G. intended (e) or (ʷ) throughout.

3. *bor* (bāʷ) and (bāʷ, bAAʷ), according to circumstances often sinks to (bA) when spoken rapidly.—*I have done* (ái ʷ dan), properly I are done, (ái dan it) is often used for I did it.

4. *that* (ʷt), relative.—*enough enow* (enəf, enəʷ) are sometimes distinguished for singular and plural nouns.

5. *son* is not distinguished from *sun*.—*boy* (bái), or nearly (bói) at times.—*it* (tē), this form of *it* is curious, and is recognised by Forby.—*day* (déei)

very distinctly here, but it may have been an error, as Mr. G. would not allow that "y was sounded in *day*." (*déev*) seems more usual, see last word of par. 11.

6. *you will* (*jo*vəl) was meant to be a shortened form of (*ja'u'l*), produced by absence of emphasis.

7. *three* (*thrii*) not (*trii*), as it is generally in Nf. and at Southwold.—*over* (*uv'a*) over, Mr. G. perhaps said (*ov*), but he insisted on (*a*) not (*v*).—*point* (*póint*), like (*vóis*) and not (*páint*), which is reserved for *pint*.

8. *found* (*fə'un*d), Mr. G. insisted upon a suspicion of a (*d*), without any recoil, and just touched; that is, the nasality of the (*n*) was momentarily lost.—*husband* (*haz'bænd*), this word is in common use.

9. *clothes close* (*kluuz klus*), observe the distinction of vowel length. Mr. G. sometimes made it (*klooz klös*), but I believe the first to be most correct. I have used (*kluuz*) in par. 11 as a

compromise.—*yon* (*hin*) is also used for *yon, yonder* (*hinde*), is generally an adverb, and then we have (*v dhv løv hinde*).

10. *world* (*wáeld*) or (*wərld, warld*), the word was rather uncertain, perhaps (*waald*), at Southwold (*wæld*).—*girl* (*gæl*) is more common than (*máadhə*) now, but the latter word is still used, and old farmers apply it to grown girls of five-and-twenty.

12. *boiling* (*báil'vən*), and so (*spáil áis'tv áint'mvnt*), but not (*páint*) for *point*.—*Thursday* (*thaa'zdi*), the acknowledged sound for *er, ur* in Sf. seems to be (*aa*), hence perhaps (*waald*) in par. 10 as there suggested would be more correct.

13. *do* (*dii*) is an abbreviated way of saying (*díy, jv*) when asking questions.—*know* (*no'u*) is the best representation of what I heard, but I think it is not quite right; see (*noo*), par. 2.—*name* (*neem*) not (*náaim*) as I got from Pakenham.

SOUTHWOLD, and 12 m. round (on the coast 12 ssw.Lowestoft) cwl.

pal. 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallet, teacher at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, who had known the dialect all her life.

Words preceded by H were obtained by TH. in 1876 from an old native of Great Bealings (6 ne. Ipswich), then living in London.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bêek*. 4 *têek*. 5 *mêek*. 6 *mêud*. 7 *sêek*. 8 *ev*. 9 *bøjeev*. 10 *hAA'v*. 12 *sAA*. 14 *drAA* [(*draarin*) drawing, H (*draa'vrv*)]. 16 *daan*. 17 *laa*. 18 *kêek*. 19 *têel*. 20 *léem*. 21 *nêem*. 22 *têem*. 23 *sêem*. 24 *shêem*. 26 *wêen*. 27 *nêev*. 28 *êv*. 31 *lêet*. 32 *biidh*. 33 *radhv*. 34 *laast*. 35 *aal*. 36 *thôv*. 37 *tlaa*. A: 39 *kam*. 40 *kum*. 41 *tha'qk*. 43 *a'nd*. 44 *la'nd*. 46 *ka'nd'l*. 47 *wa'ndv*. 48 *sæq*. 50 *tøqz*. 51 *ma'n*. 52 *wa'n*. 54 *wont*. 55 *a'shez*. 56 *wesh* [H (*wosh*)]. 57 *aas*.

A: or O: 58 *from*. 59 *la'm*. 60 *loq*. 61 *vnrq*. 62 *strøq*. 63 *trøq*. 64 *røq*. 65 *soq*. A'- 67 *guu*. 69 *nuu*. 70 *tuu*. 71 *wuu*. 72 *wyy*. 73 *suu*. 74 *tyy*. 75 *strøk*. 76 *tuud*. 77 *laad*. 78 *ðun*. 79 *ðun*. 80 *olvde*. 81 *lêen*. 83 *mæen*. 84 *móov*. 85 *sóov*. 86 *uts*. 87 *tlooz*. 89 *buth*. 90 *blôv*. 91 *môv*. 92 *nôv*. 93 *snôv*. 94 *krôv*. 95. *træ'u* [(*æl*) hurl more used]. 96 *sôv*. 97 *sôeld*. A': 101 *vk*. 102 *ast*. 104 *rud*. 105 *rud* [(*rid*) gen.]. 106 *braad*. 107 *lav*. 108 *dôv*. 109 *lôv*. 110 *not*. 111 *æt*. 112 *êel*. 113 *hæl*. 115 *vm*. 116 *yy*. 118 *bun*. 121 *gAan*. 122 *nvn*. 123 *nothvn*. 124 *stvn*. 125 *vnlv*. 126 *óov*. 127 *AA'vs*. 129 *gust*. 130 *but*. 132 *ot*. 133 *rut*. 134 *uth*. 135 *tlaath*.

Æ- 138 *faadhv*. 139 *dræei*. 140 *éel*. 141 *néel*. 142 *snéel*. 143 *téel*. 144 *vgi'n*. 145 *sléein*. 146 *méein* [=the sea, not used for very]. 147 *bréein*. 148 *fêev* [? meant for "a fair," after 887]. 149 *blêev*. 150 *leest*. 152 *watv*. 153 *sa'dvde*. Æ: 155 *thætj*. 157 *rêev'n*. 158 *aatv*. 160 *é eig*. 161 *déeei*. 163 *léei*. 164 *méei*. 165 *sæd*. 166 *méeid*. 167 *dêel*. 168 *ta'lv*. 169 *wen*. 170 *a'vust*. 171 *baali*. 173 *waz* [(*éi waant*) he was not]. 174 *a'sh*. 175 *faast*. 178 *na't*. 179 *wot*. 181 *pa'th*. Æ'- 182 *sêv*. 183 *têetj*. 184 *liid*. 185 *rêed*. 186 *br'idth brætth*. 187 *lêev*. 188

néei. 189 wéei. 190 kèu. 191 iil. 192 mēun. 193 klēun. 194 nni.
195 mēni. 197 tēsz. 199 blēt. 200 wēt. 201 ēudh'n. 202 eet. E':
203 spētj. 204 dēud. 205 tr_{id}. 206 r_{æd}. 207 nēud'l. 210 klēei. 211
gr_{eei}. 213 áidhu. 215 teetj. 216 dēul. 217 ēutj. 218 shēup. 219 slēup.
221 fēv. 222 ēv. 223 dhēv. 224 wēv [H wíer]. 225 flāsh. 226 must.
227 wēt. 228 swēt. 229 br_{æth}. 220 fa't.

E- 232 br_{æk}. 233 sp_{æk}. 234 nēud. 235 wēv. 236 fēv. 237
tjilblēin. 238 éeidj [=257]. 239 séeil. 241 r_{éein}. 243 plēei. 246
kwēun [queen]. 247 wēun. — pēu [a pear]. 248 mēu. 249 wēv. 250
swēv. 251 mēt. 252 kit'l. 253 nēt'l. 254 ladhu. 255 wadhū. E:
257 éeidj. 259 wādj. 261 séei. — leeg [leg]. 262 wéei. 264 eeil. 265
street. 267 jild. 268 seldus. 270 bælsiz [a pair of bellows], bæli [belly].
272 ælem. 273 mīn. 274 bæntj. 276 thiik. 277 drintj. 278 wæntj [a
term of reproach]. 280 læv'n [(læv'nziz) beer and cake at 11]. 281 læqkth.
282 str_{æqkth}. 283 mært. 284 tr_{osh}. 285 kr_{iis}. 286 ærs. 288 læt.
E'- 290 éi. 292 méi. 294 fēud. 295 brād. 296 belēv. 298 fēul. 299
grēun. 300 kēup. 302 mēt. 303 swēt. 304 bēt'l [mallet]. E': 305
di. 306 éeith. 307 nái. 308 nēud [=knead in sound]. 308 spēud [=spade
in sound]. 310 ēal. 311 tæm. 312 ēv. 314 ēud. 315 fēt. 316 næks.

EA- 317 flii. 319 gēup. EA: 321 sii [pres. tense gen. used for past].
322 laaf. 323 fr_{ut}. 324 ájyt. 325 wAAk. 326 ood. 327 boold. 330
ood. 331 sood. 332 tood. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 AAL. 336 fAAL. 337
wAAL. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 wAAM. 345 dēv [(r_æ'u dæ's'nt) you dare
not]. 346 gēt. EA'- 347 hid [town], hēud [country]. 348 ái. 349
fyyi [or (f_æ'y_i), perhaps there is a slight movement of the tongue, possibly (f_æ'u)].
EA': 350 dēud. 351 læd. 352 ræd. 353 brēud. 354 shēuf. 355 dæf.
356 lēuf. 357 dhoo. 359 nēubv. 360 tēum. 361 bēun. 362 slēei. 363
tjēup. 365 nēv. 366 grēt. 367 tr_æt. 368 dæth. 369 slōu. 370 rōov.
371 strAA.

EI- 372 ee, éei. 373 dhéei. 374 néei [rare]. 375 reez. 376 bēt.
EL: 377 stēuk. 378 wēuk.

EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 æv'n. 385 andvæeth [underneath]. 386 ja'u.
387 nuu. EO: 388 milk. 389 jalk. 390 shud. 394 indv. 396 waak.
397 sōvd. 398 staa. 399 br_{æt}. 400 aanest. 401 jaan. 402 laan. 403
faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faad'n. EO'- 409 béei. 411 tr_{ii}. 412
shéi. 413 dæv'l. 414 flái. 415 líi. 416 dēv. 417 tjoov'u. 418 bra'ù.
420 faa [wæn tyi, trii faa=1, 2, 3, 4, H (f_æ'er)]. 421 faati. EO': 423
thái. 424 raf. 425 láit. 426 fáit. 427 béei. 428 séei. 429 find [an
angry name for a mischievous teasing child]. 430 frind. 431 bēv [but (v baal
v bēv) a barrel of beer]. 432 faath. 433 brist. 434 bēt. 435 ja'u. 436
tra'v [Miss M. had marked this and the next as having French v, but this was
what she dictated]. 437 trooth. EY- 438 dái. EY: 439 tr_æt.

I- 441 siv. 442 áivri. 443 fráidi. 444 stáil [(v filstái) a field style]. 446
nain. 450 tuuzd. 451 soo. I: 452 ái. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459
r_{æt} [(r_æ) gen. before vowels]. 460 weeit. 462 sáit. 466 tjáild. 467 wáild.
468 tjildn. 471 timbv. 472 shr_{iqk}. 473 bláind. 474 r_{in} [of cheese,
apple peel (A'p'l pí)]. 475 wind. 476 báind. 477 fáind. 478 gráind. 481
figv. 484 dhis. 485 this'l [children (fis'l)]. 486 rist. 487 ristedi. —
sæks [six]. I'- 490 H báí. 491 sái. 493 dr_æv [dr_æ'iv, dr_æ'v]. 494
fáim. 496 ájun. 498 r_{æt}. I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 504
náf. 505 wáf [not much used, gen. (iz misis) his missis]. 506 wummen [but
(ool)wummen]. 507 wimen. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáin. 512 spái'v.
513 wáiv. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóou. 521 fyyl [=fool in sound, inclined to (f_æ'y_il)]. 522 up'n.
523 up. 524 wáid. O: 526 kAAwf. 527 boot. 528 thoot. 529 broot.
530 root. 531 daatv. 532 kóov'l [H. (kuul)]. 533 dæl. 536 góovld. 538
wud. 539 ba'ul. 540 [holly is only called a (krizemv bush) Christmas bush].
542 boot. 545 op. 547 bAAd. 548 fAAd. 550 wAAd. 551 stAAM. 552
kAAN. 553 AAN. 553 æs [horse]. 554 kr_{AA}vb. O'- 555 shyyi. 556 tv.
557 týi. 558 luk. 559 mædhv. 561 bl_æ'ym [camomile blōvs (blōouv) used
for blossoms]. 562 myyn. 563 mændi. 564 syyn. 565 nuuz. 566 ædhv.

O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gud. 572 blād. 573 flād. 574 brud. 575 stud. 576 wænsdi. 577 ba'u. 578 pla'u. 579 enæf [sg.], enæ'u [pl.]. 580 taf. 581 sôt. 582 kyy,l. 583 tyy,l. 584 styy,l. 585 br_opy,m. 586 dyy. 587 dan. 588 nyy,n. 589 spy,n. 590, flôov. 591 maa. 592 swôov. 593 mast. 594 byy,t. 595 fut. 596 ryy,t. 597 sat. 598 suth.

U- 599 ebæv. 600 lav. 601 fa'ul. 602 sa'u. 603 kām. 605 sām. 606 daa'u. 607 bate. U: 608 agli. 609 fal. 610 wul. 611 balæk. 612 sam. 613 dr_oqk. 614 a'un. 615 pa'un [H. páund] 616 gra'und. 617 sa'und. 618 wa'und. 619 fa'un. 620 gra'und. 621 wa'und. 622 ondæ. 625 tǫq. 626 æqge. 628 nām. 629 sām. 630 wām. 631 thæzdi. 632 æp. 633 kǫp. 634 tr_oa'u. 635 wath. 636 fads. 637 tǫsk. 638 bask. 639 dæst. U'- 640 ka'u [H. (káu)]. 641 a'u. 643 na'u. 645 dæv. 646 ba'u. 647 a'ul. 648 a'w. 649 thæ'uzvnd. 652 kud. 653 bat. U': 654 sr_oa'ud [in both senses]. 656 r_oy,m [r_o'um]. 657 br_oa'uen. 658 dæ'uen. 659 ta'uen. 660 baa. 661 shaa. 662 æs. 663 a'us, [pl.] a'uzen. 664 la'us. 665 ma'us. 666 æzbæn [my man, my old man, my husband, have all been heard; the last is refined]. 667 a'ut. 668 pra'ud [gen. (stæk æp)]. 669 onkuth. 670 bæth [not in sg., but (byy,dh) in plural]. 671 ma'uth. 672 sa'uth [æsth èst] south-east, (sædhan bæi sa) southern by south?].

Y- 673 motj [H. mu,tj]. 674 [(dan) used for dīd]. 676 lái. 677 dr_oái. 678 din. 679 tǫatj tǫatj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 br_oidj. 686 bæi [H. bæi]. 687 flæt æv bædz [flight of birds]. 689 bild. 690 káind. 661 máind. 693 sin. 696 bath. 697 bæri. 698 math. 699 weel_oait [wheelwright]. 700 wæs. 701 fast. — H. tǫist [chest]. 703 pit. 704 wiksen. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thattiin. Y': 709 fáiv. 711 liis. 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l [adj. bad, only]. 717 djæd. 718 træd. 720 feeg. 722 dréin. 723 dêw_oi. 724 baal. 725 sêul. 727 djæm. 728 shæm. 729 fræm. 733 skæ. 734 daan. 735 smæsh. 737 méut. 738 præt. 739 maadhæ maa. 740 wêv. 741 mæsz. 742 læzi.

E. 743 skr_oæm. 744 mæsz'lz. 745 tjæst. 746 br_oædh. 747 endævæ. 748 onflædyd [all un- become (on)]. 750 beeg. — mælv [mellow]. 751 paat.

I. and Y. 753 tit'l. 754 peeg. 755 filbæt. 756 sramp. 757 táini. 758 gæl. 759 fit.

O. 761 luud. 762 ukæm. 763 r_ouum. 764 kod'l. 767 náiz. 768 kuk [same as cook]. 769 muul. muul-ilz [molehills]. 771 fōnd. 772 bunfáiv. 773 [(diki) used for donkey]. 774 puuni. 775 buubi. 777 shōp. 778 vfaa'd. 779 aats. 780 djos'l. 781 baadhæ. 783 pootr_oi. 785 landj. 789 ra'u. 790 gra'und.

U. 792 skwob'l. 793 æg. 794 [(gotj) used for jug]. 795 srig. 799 skæl. 800 skæl. 801 r_oam. 802 r_oam. 803 djæmp. 805 kædz. 806 fæx. 807 pus. 808 pæt [used as a subst. for an old-fashioned labourer, a putt].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 èeb'l. 810 fêes. 811 plêes. 812 lêes. 813 bèvk'n. 814 mèesun. 815 fæks. 816 fêud. 817 rædish. 818 èvdj. 819 rèvdj. 822 méei. 823 béci. 824 tjêe. 825 wêuf [(wips en strêez) occ. for waifs and strays]. 826 eeg'l. 827 eegu. 828 eegu. 829 géein. 830 tréin. 832 mèe. 833 pèe [H. pæer]. 834 v puu shæe [a post chaise, (en as en shæe) a horse and chaise]. 835 rêezen. 836 sêezen. — H. wæs'l. 838 trêet. 839 bèut. 840 tjeembæ. 841 tjaans. 842 plæqk. 843 br_oaantj. 844 tr_oaantj. 845 èunshent. 846 tjaandlæ. 847 deendjæ. 848 tjeendj. 849 straandjæ. 851 aant ænt. 852 èvpen. 853 baagin. 854 baal. 855 kaat. 856 paat. 857 kèes. 858 brêes. 859 tjêes. 860 pèest. 861 tèest. 862 sêuf. 863 tjeef. 864 koz. 865 folt. 866 paa.

E.. 867 tæe. 868 djæe. 869 wêul. 870 byy,tj [(bhyy,-) used, sounded very like (buu-)]. 871 vgréei. 872 tjêuf. 874 rêen. 875 feent. 876 déeinti. 877 èv. 878 sælvri. 879 fiimêel. 880 egzaa'mp'l. 881 sæns. 884 præntis.

885 H. veri. 887 tlaadi. 888 saatin. 889 sêus. 890 bêust [pl. not known].
 891 fêust. 892 navi. 893 flaa'v. 894 disêuv. 895 risêuv.
 I.. and Y.. 897 dilái't. 898 náis. 899 nêus. 900 prêei. 901 fain.
 902 máin. 904 wo'ilet. 905 rái'et. 906 wáipv. 908 edwái's. 909 brêez.
 811 sisten. 912 ráis.
 O.. 913 kutj. 914 brutj. 915 staf. 916 anven. 917 rug. 918 fêub'l
 [=fable]. 919 áintment. 920 páint. 921 ekwee'nt. 922 bash'l. 923*
 máist. 924 tjaís. 925 wáis. 926 spáal. 927 tr_osqk. 928 a'uns. 929 ka'u-
 kembv. 930 láin. 931 djagle. 932 emá'unt. 933 frant. 934 ba'anti.
 935 kantri. 936 fant. 937 kók. 938 kaanv. 939 klus. 943 kut. 941
 fyy,l. 942 butjv. 943 tatj. 944 vla'u. 945 wa'u. 946 mo'il. 947 báil.
 948 ba'ul. 950 sspv. 951 kap'l. 953 kaz'n. 954 kash'n. 955 dá'ut.
 956 kive. 957 implái'. 959 kewe'e'ns [conveyance].
 U.. 960 kii. 961 gr_ouu-el. 963 skwat. 965 áil. 966 fr_oyy,t. 967
 syy,t. 968 áistv. 969 shúuv. 970 djest. 971 fyy,t.

Notes and Examples to the Southwold cwl. by Miss Mallet.

1. (mæls pêuz), mellow pears, always used for ripe pears.
2. (gyy,zbrez, raasbrez), gooseberries, raspberries.
3. (v gèl fr_oem dhv sath êust), a gale from the south-east.
4. (jæu dæs'nt, éi waant), you dare not, he was not.
5. (aa JEU agaa'n tæ tjatj tædéei?), are you a-going to church to-day?
6. (wyy₁)z dhæt? dhv nêushenel skyy,l têtjv), who's that? The National School teacher.
7. (shéi)z dripen wæt!), she's dripping wet=drenched.
8. (list, wul)jv), listen, will you.
9. (ái)m vgaan vmaa'keten tøndit wi mái óud mæn), I'm a-going a-marketing to-night with my old man=husband.
10. (hæ jæ'u sîn mái jæq)en? héi)v bín v-pleei'en en truuntæn is maaen), have you seen my young one=child? He has been a-playing and truant-ing this morning.
11. (mái madhv kæp méi t)um tæ næs dhv bêsbí), my mother kept me at-home to nurse the baby.
12. (pæt dhis kíls ín dhv weshv), put this cooler (=washtub) in the wash-house.
13. (gét dhv big báilv tæ pæt dhv syy,p ín), get the big boiler to put the soup in.
14. (éi áld v stæn vgin dhv baaz en maaaz), he hurled [=threw] a stone against the bo's and mo's. Bo' is used for either sex, chiefly male, and for any age, *together* is its plural in addressing people. Mo', a contraction for *mawther*, is used especially for a young girl.
15. (ái)m v goo'in em), I'm a-going home.
16. (was)en æt), worse than that.
17. (v tripeni tríd, doont tred oovs dhv trøsh'l), a threepenny thread, don't tread over the threshold).
18. (wul jæ'u paa)me fa dhem tyy₁ shéep?), will you pay me for them [=those] two sheep?
19. (teent noo foot v máin), it'ain't no fault of mine.
20. (æt iz leeg), hurt his leg.

Usages. I am, we you they are, I beant [not I be], he is, I he we they was, he do [common], he live there, I am a-going, theirsells, he didn't ought [never, he hadn't ought].

Intonation. Suffolk people drawl very much, and their voice rises in pitch towards the end of their sentences. [This is the Sf. whine.]

Notes on Southwold from Miss Mallet.

1. At (:wɔ:ləwig) Walberswick (1 s. Southwold) "they speak frightfully." (:ees'n :brAAD) Easton Broad [piece of water] is 1 n. Southwold.
2. *v* is distinctly (w).
3. (tjam) chum is used rather than mate at work.
4. (a'uzen) houses is used, but Miss M. had not heard *place-n*.
5. There is no reverted (r), but the *r* entirely disappears after (aa, AA) when a consonant follows, and at most becomes (ə) after other vowels and before consonants; before vowels it is the imperfect untrilled (r_o) and then very light indeed.
6. A hale old man (see p. 281, No. 112) is a (kɛdʒ) kedge.
7. The negative *un-* is always (ən-).
8. (ə mæ'ʊthfʊl) is a mouth which is full, [a mə'ʊf'l] is a mouthful.
9. Initial *thr-* *shr-* are always (tr_o sr_o) respectively.
10. In *broom* [br_oyy₁m] there is said to be a little action of the throat which makes it more like (br_ouum, br_oum); perhaps it is the (r_o).
11. *cow* (kə'u) has never been heard from a Sf. man, but has been noticed in Nf. people.
12. *shoe* (shyy₁), do (dyy₁), the sound is deeper than the French (y), and is certainly not (ʃu', with which it is confused, (gɪv mi tyy₁, tyy₁) give me two, too.

ORFORD (6 ssw. Aldborough) near the coast, with SUDBOURNE (2 n. Orford) and neighbourhood, dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native, and frequent visitor, at interviews in 1879 and 1881. The (r) is (r_o).

1. soo ái SEE, ood fəleʒ, ʒə sii nɛ'u dhət ái)m ráit ɛbɛ'ʊt dha't lét'l gja'l [mAAadhɛ] kəməŋ frəm dhɛ skuul hɛnds.
2. shii)z gu'ən dɛ'ʊn dhɛ rʊd dhɛɛ'ɛ thrɛ'y₁ dhɛ rɛd gɛt ɛ)dhɛ lɛft hɑ'n sáid dhɛ wɛɛ.
3. shy₁'ɛr ɛnɛf dhɛ tʃá:ld)z gʊn ráit [street] ɛp tɛ dhɛ dAA'ɛ ɛ)dhɛ rɔq hɛ'ʊs,
4. wɛɛ'ɛ shi)l hɑ'p'n ɔn dha't drɔqk'n dɛf shrɪv'ld fɛle ɛ)dhɛ nɛəm ɛ :tɔmɛs, [hii lɛv dhɛɛ'ɛ, hi dʒy₁].
5. wi AAl noo ɛm wɛrɪ wɛl.
6. ɔnt dh)ood tʃa'p sɔn laan hɛ nɔt tɛ dʒy₁ ɛt ɛgɪ'n, púʊz thɪq !
7. lʊk, i)nt ɪt try₁.

Notes on Orford dt.

1. *I*, either (ái) or (ái) here and elsewhere.—*now* (nɛ'u), decidedly not (nɛ'u).—*I'm*, use of *I* *be* not recalled.—*right*, the initial (r) or (r_o) very lightly touched, throughout.—*that* (dhæt) at the first and (dha't) at the second interview, when all the (æ) were made (a').—*school*, originally dictated (ský:l), but afterwards altered to (skuul) and stated to be an exceptional word.—*yonder* (hɛ'ndɛ), this is a somewhat unusual form. The (h) preserved, though at Southwold it was uniformly omitted.
2. *three*, (tr-) for (thr-) not admitted here or elsewhere, (thrɪd) not (trɪd) for *thread*.—*gate*, the fracture (ɛə) very short.—*way* (wɛɛ) very broad and with

no vanish in (v, i), but in ÆG words as *tail* (tæ'el), (i) was admitted.

3. *gone* (gwn), also used for gave, given; A' regularly becomes (u), as (rud, stan, rup, hum), road, stone, rope, home.—*door*, (dAA'v) without euphonic (r), though a vowel follows, similarly (draa'bn) drawing, not (draarbn).

4. *he live(s) there, he do(es)*, this was introduced to illustrate the use of the plural verb with the singular noun.

5. *very well, right well* (rá'it wël) is more usual.

6. *learn, not teach*, in Sunday Schools the children say (táitv).—*do* (d'iy), at the first interview (duu), but at the second (d'iy), at the same time (sk'iy), was made (skuul), the pret. of to sow seed, to mow grass, was also given as (syy, m'iy); and in (i'y) the sound was certainly diphthongal, the (i) very short and the (y) deeper than French (y).

e. SUFFOLK cwl.

Some of Moor's "Suffolk Words" collected from specimens given in the Glossary so called, and conjecturally pal. by A.J.E., the original spelling being prefixed in italics. Only such words as have an altered spelling are selected, and the pron. is conjectured from vv. specimens. But Moor is on the whole very phonetic in his orthography, especially in often not writing the *r* when not pronounced.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 *heent* hiint [has not]. — *star* staa [to stare]. 33 *rutha* radhr. 36 *thow* thóou ['rh. mow'] *thew* thyy, [pret.]. A: *hanspeke* ha'nspeik [hand-spike]. A'- 72 *hew* hyy, *howes* ha'uz [whose]. 82 *noonce* nuns [in the phrase *for the nonce=for then once*]. 90 *blew* blyy, [pret.]. 91 *mew* myy, [pret.]. 93 *snew* snyy, [pret.]. 94 *crew* kryy, [pret.].

Æ- 144 *aginn* egi'n. Æ: — *heft* heft [haft]. 158 *aatunne* aatenyy,n [afternoon]. 163 *lah* laa. Æ': — *midda* mids [meadow]. 205 *thrid* thrid. 208 *ivva* ivver ivs+r. 209 *nivva* nivv. 218 *ship* ship.

E- — *heevy* hiivi [heavy]. — *brumble* bramb'l [bramble]. — *butta* bate [better]. E: — *neb* nab [nib]. 261 *sah* saa. — *red* rrd [to rid]. 262 *wah* waa. — *shell* shl [shell]. 273 *min* min. — *ind* ind [end]. — *hin* hin [hen]. — *pin* pin [pen]. 284 *throsk* throsk [to thrash in the sense of to drub]. — *neest* niist [nest]. E'- 297 *fulla* falv. E': — *bliss* blis [bless].

EA: 328 *cowd* ka'ud. 330 *howd* ha'ud. — *bard* baad [beard]. — *ex* eks [axe]. EA'- 347 *hid* hid. EA': — *lick* lik [leek]. 354 *shoof* shuuf. — *tares* t'ez [tears, sb.]. EI- 372 *aah* aa. EO- 384 *hivvin* hivin. 386 *yow* ja'u. EO: 397 *swäd* swa'd. — *baum* baam [barm, yeast]. — *brunn* brän [burn]. EO'- — *frize* fráiz [freeze]. — *shute* shyy,t [shoot]. EO': — *hild* hild [held]. 428 *sin* sin [seen=saw or have seen]. 435 *ya yah yar* jaa [your, 'rh. a in far'].

I- — *äs* ävs [yes, "long and drawly"]. I: — *bahd* baad [bird]. — *led* led [lid]. 465 *sich* sitj. — *feller* felv [filler, or thiller, that is, shaft-horse]. 469 *t'wool* t'wul [it will]. 488 *yit* rit. — *set* set [sit]. I'- — *thahty* thaati [thirty]. I': 507 *wimmin* wimin. — *whitster* witste [whitesmith].

O- — *sheow* show shau [to shovel, 'rh. now, a shovel is *showl* (sh'ul). — *ifore* ifaa [afore]. O: 532 *daata* daate. 536 *gowd* ga'ud. — *cowt* ka'ut [colt]. 544 *thin* dhin. O'- 555 *shue* shyy, [this sound written *ew* never occurs before final *d, f, k, m, p*; but is sometimes found before *l, n, s, t*, but not in wool, full, bud, foot, loan, moan, root, love]. 557 *tew* tyy, 559 *mooda* mudv [mother]. 560 *skule* skyy,l. 562 *mune* myy,n. — *moonth* munth [month]. 564 *sune* syy,n. 565 *nuse* nyy,z. — *smuthe* smyy,th [smooth]. O': — *ruff* raf [roof]. 582 *cule* kyy,l. 583 *tule* tyy,l. 584 *stule* styy,l. 585 *brum* bräm [see Forby's *harren brum*, p. 266, No. 585]. 586 *dew* dyy, 588 *nune* nyy,n. — *guse* gyy,s [goose].

U- — *spahs* spaaz [spurs]. U: — *sheowder* shv'udv [shoulder]. 634 *threw* thryy, 645 *dow* da'u.

Y- 674 *ded* däd. — *heev* hiiv [hive]. — *boondle* bund'l [bundle]. — *is*

is [hiss, "short and sharp"]. Y: 684 *bradge* brædj. 685 *redge* rædj. — *fell* fæl [fill]. — *kell* kæl [kiln]. — *mell* mæl [mill, but] *mulla* mælu [miller]. — *then* thæn [thin]. — *hahnet* haanet [hornet]. — *brussels* bræs'lz [bristles]. — *shet* shæt [shut]. 703 *pet* pæt. Y: — *deeve* diiv [dive]. — *dreep* driip [drip]. 711 *leece* liis. 712 *meece* miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 *led* læd. — *kiddier* *kidyer* *kidjer* kidræ kidræ [cadger]. 722 *dreen* driin. — *busk* bæsk [to bask]. — *spraaowls* språaulz [sprawls]. — *greeze* griiz [graze]. I. and Y. — *stelt* stælt [stilt]. — *stent* stænt [stint, or allotted day's work]. — *glent* glænt [glint]. — *sturrup* staræp [stirrup]. — *shivera* shivæ [a shiver, or slice]. O. 769 *maxl* mæal. — *snuze* snyuz [snooze]. — *tawtah* tæatæ [totter]. 791 *baw* bæa [but in the Sf. sense of any man]. — *frawn* fræan [frozen, but this is from the proper pp. *frozen*]. — *boke* bok [bulk]. — *boonch* bunç [bunch]. — *poonch* punç [punch]. — *reesty* riisti [rusty, applied to bacon].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 820 *gah* gaa [applied to coloured pictures in a book]. — *pah* paa [to pay]. 828 *agah* eegu. — *cheen* tjiin [a chain]. — *saas* saas [sauce, said to rh. brass]. — *keeve* kiiv [cave]. E.. — *pill* pil [peel]. 874 *reens* riinz [reins]. — *hahnsey* haanse [heronshaw]. — *concite* kōnsait [conceit]. I.. and Y.. — *hume* hyyim [a hymn]. O.. — *aint* aaint aint [anoint, to drub]. 926 *spile* spail. — *crunya* krænɹæ [coroner]. — *pahpus* paapæs [purpose]. 941 *fule* fyyil. — *jahney* djaani [journey, or day's work]. — *meeve* miiv [to move]. 956 *kieva* kive. U.. 965 *oyle* ail. — *stry* strái [destroyed], *stryance* strái'ens [liability to be destroyed]. — *consummd* kōnsi'md [consumed]. — *ponish* ponish [punish]. — *mosick* moostic [music, pron. quite uncertain].

VAR. V. W. SUFFOLK FORM.

PAKENHAM CS.

originally written by Rev. C. W. Jones, native and vicar of Pakenham (5 ene. Bury St. Edmunds) since 1861, and revised from his dict. 24 Oct. 1873, and again 19 Oct. 1886. Some of the points in which this pron. differs from that of e. Sf. are mentioned pp. 288, 289.

0. wái :dʒon hænt gət nɛ dɛ'uts.
 1. wɛl, bɑ, ɹɑ'u ɛn hii mɛ booth ɛn ɹɛ lɑ'f ɛt dhɛs nɪuz ɛ mɑɪn.
 hɪu kɛɛ? dhæt beent nɑdɦɛ hɪɪ nɛ dhɛɛ.
 2. fiu fooks dái thriú bɪn lɑ'ft a't, wi noo dhat, doont ɔs, tɛgɪ'dɦɛ?
 wɔt shɔd meek)ɛm? lɑ'kli bii ɛt?
 3. hɛ'usɛmɛvɛ, dhɛs iz dhɛ trúɛth ɛ)dhɛ dʒɔb, soo ɹɑ'u dʒest hɑ'ud
 ɹɛ nɑiz, tɛgɪ'dɦɛ, ɛn bi skwæt tɛl dái)ɛ dæn.
 4. dái)m saa'tɪn ɛ hiiɛd)ɛm sɑ—səm ɛ dhɛm fooks wɔt gɔn thriú
 dhɛ hɔl dʒɔb frɛm dhɛ fast dhɛsɛlvz—dhæt ɛ ded, siuɛ ɛnɛ'u.
 5. dhɛt dhɛ ɹɑ'qɛs sɛn izsɛlf, ɛ grɪt bói ɛ nɑɪn ɹɛr ɑ'ud, nood iz
 fɑ'dɦɛz tɛq ɛt wanst, dhoo dhæt wɛr dhæt kɪuɛrɛs, ɛn skriikɛ, ɛn
 dái)d træst hii tɛ speek dhɛ trúɛth ɛnɪ dái, dhæt ɛ wud.
 6. ɛn dhɛ ɑ'ud w-mɛn hɛsɛlf ɛl tɛl ɛnɪ ɔn ɹɛ ɛz lɑ'f nɛ'u, ɛn tɛl
 ɹɛ ráit ɛwæ', shɛ wul tɪu, ɛdhɛ'ut no nɔrɛ'shɛn, ɛf ɹɑ'u)l ɔnɪ aks)ɛ,
 sii ɛf shɛ doont.
 7. liiswáiz shɛ tɑ'ud mi dhæt tɪu ɛ thrii táimz ɔvɛ, shɛ ded, ɛn
 shii doont ɔ'ut tɛ bɛ rɔq ɛv sɪtɹ ɛ páint ɛz dhɛs hɪɛ, díu shɛ nɛ'u?

8. wɛl, ɛz dɪ wɔr ɔsæ'ɪn, shii)d tel rɛ hɛ'u wɛɛɛ ɛn wen shɛ fɛ'un dhat drɔk'n beest shɛ kəl v mæ'n.

9. shɛ swaa shɛ sii hɪm ɔv ɛr oon dɪz, lee'ɪn stretɪt f'ut fɛl lenth v dhɛ grɛ'un ɪn ɛz gud sændi koot, kloos ɛgɪn dhɛ daar v dhɛ hɛ'us, dɛ'un v dhɛ kaanɔr v hɪn lɪɪn.

10. Hii wɛr v wɪɪnɪn ɛwææ, shɛ sɛææ, sɛ)shii', fɛr aal dhɛ wald lɪk v sɪk tɪdɪld ɛr v lɪd'l maar ɛv)ɛ frɛt.

11. ɛn dhat hæp'n ɛz shii ɛn v dɛ'utɛlɛ'u kɛm thrɪu dhɛ bak jaad frɛm hæqɪn f'ut dhɛ wɛt klooz ɛv v wɪ'shɪn dɪɪ,

12. tɪɪm dhɛ kɪt'l wɛr v bɪɪlɪn fɛ tee, wan brɪɪt fɪɪn samɔr ɛtɛnɔn ɔni v wiik ɛgɪr kɛm nɛks thɛzɪɪ.

13. ɛn dɪ oont tel noo lɪɪz, v nɪvɛ laant nɛ maa nɛ dhɪs v dhɛt dhɛɛv dɪɔb tɛ dhɪs hɪfɛ dɪɪ, sɪuɛr ɛz mɪɪ nɪɪmz :dɪɔn :shɛ'pɛd, ɛn v doont wɛnt tɪu nɛdhɛ, dhɛɛv nɛ'u !

14. ɛn soo dɪ)m ɛgɪ'ɪn hoom tɛ gɪt mɛ sɛpa. gud nɪɪt, tɛgɪ'dhɛ, ɛn doont ɪɪ'u bii sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo ɔv'ɛr v tɪɪp ɛgɪn, wen i taak v dhɪs v dhat v tadhɛ.

15. dhat)s v week fɪl, wɔt pɛrɛt ɛdhɛ'ut rɛɛz'n. ɛn dhat)s mɪɪ las wɛd. fɛɛv dhɛ wɛl.

Notes on the Pakenham cs.

On my remarking to Mr. Jones that this specimen was very different from the e. of Sf., he wrote, "I should have been quite ashamed of myself if you had not found a marked difference between my pronunciation and that of Framlingham, Southwold and Orford, supposing these latter to have been well reproduced to you." Whence it appears that Mr. Jones himself recognised a great difference between the w. and e. of Sf., and he continually, also, drew attention to the difference between w.Sf. and Nf. As here presented, the absence of (y₁) and the presence of (ɪu) in its place, and the use of 'together,' resembles Cb. The use of (lɪɪn nɪɪm) lane name is like Hu. or Es. The use of (dɪɪ) day looks S., but may have been similarly derived to the other two. Still, the use of *be* and *don't us* are also S.

On the other hand, (sææ, ɛwææ) for (saa, ɛwaa) belong to (paa), got from s.Nf. and also in old times to Li., and see *Moor*, p. 286, Nos. 261, 372, and p. 287, No. 820 and next word. But (ɛwɪɪ) was also used.

I was regularly (dɪ), which Mr. Jones wrote *oy*, but careful examination seemed to shew that it had not reached that point, which, however, I have to admit in D 16, 18. The sounds are certainly difficult to distinguish. On the other hand, (ɪɪ) was used for *boil*, *point* (bɪɪl, pɪɪnt), being decidedly different.

U was (ɛ'u) regularly, but (ɪ'u) was used in *you told* (ɪɪ'u tɪ'ud), this is a common distinction. In (dɛ'utɛlɛ'u) daughter-in-law, the first (ɪ'u) is usual enough, the (lɪ'u) for *law* looks like a variation of (lɪ'u), but Mr. Jones was very particular about it.

The following are the principal differences between w. and e.Sf. P Pakenham, F Framlingham, S Southwold, O Orford.

A	<i>hasnot.</i> P hànt, F hiint.	<i>home.</i> P hoom, F hɔm, S um.
	<i>law.</i> P lɪ'u, FS laa.	<i>whole.</i> P hol, FS hul.
	<i>name.</i> P nɪɪm, F nɛem, S nɛɛm.	<i>lane.</i> P lɪɪn, FS lɛɛn.
	<i>washing.</i> P wɪɪshɪn, F wɔshɛn, S wɛshɛn.	Æ <i>day.</i> P dɪɪ, F dɛɛi, S dɛɛɛi.
A'	<i>booth.</i> P booth, FS bɔth [Stanhoe and Mattishall], booth.	E <i>say.</i> P sɛæ, F sɛɛv, S sɛɛi, O sɛɛ.
	<i>who.</i> P hɪu, F hɪyyɪ, S wyyɪ.	<i>away.</i> P ɛwææ ɛwɪɪ, F ɛwɛɛv, S ɛwɛɛi, O ɛwɛɛ.
	<i>two.</i> P tɪu, F tɪyyɪ, S tyyɪ.	<i>speak.</i> P spɛk, FS spɛk.
	<i>ought.</i> PFS ɔ'ut.	<i>length.</i> P lɛnth, F lɛqkth, S lɛqkth.

EA	<i>old.</i> P a'ud, FS ood. <i>hold.</i> P ha'ud, FS ood. <i>told.</i> P ta'ud, FS tood.		
EA'	<i>few.</i> P fiu, F fii, S fyi, f'ly.		
EO	<i>yon, yonder.</i> P hin, F hinde, S inde.		
EO'	<i>she.</i> P shii, F shi, S shéi, O shi. <i>you.</i> PFS ja'u.		
	<i>truth.</i> P trúath, F triy,th, S tróuth, [Stanhoe] triyy,th.		
I'	<i>woman.</i> P wamen, FS wamen.		
O	<i>folks.</i> P fooks, F fuks. <i>world.</i> PS wald, F wáuld.		
	<i>over.</i> P ove, F uve.		
O'	<i>too.</i> P tíu, FS tíy.		
	<i>swore.</i> P swaa'v, F swóov, S swóov.		
			<i>noon.</i> P nun, F níy,n, S nyy,n.
		U	<i>through.</i> P thriu, F thra'u, S tra'u, O thriy.
			<i>door.</i> P daa'v, F dáuv.
			<i>tongue.</i> P taq, S taq.
			<i>Thursday.</i> P thazdi, F thaazdi, S thazdi.
		A..	<i>reason.</i> P reez'n, F riiz'n, S rëezen.
		E..	<i>tea.</i> P tee, F tii, S tée.
			<i>beast.</i> P beest, F biist, S bêust.
		O..	<i>coat.</i> P koot, FS kut.
			<i>close.</i> P kloos, FS klus.
			<i>fool.</i> P fuul, F fíy,l, S fyy,l.
			<i>doubt.</i> PF da'ut, S da'ut.
		U..	<i>sure.</i> P síuv, F síy,v, S shúuv, O shy'v.

IV.

THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 20 to D 29 as shewn on the map.

Boundaries. On the s. first the n. *sum* line 1 from its w. commencement on the Dee to Watling St., Np., and then going ne.-wards by the w. b. of Np. and round Rt. to the b. of Cb. which pursue to the sea. On the n. the n. *theeth* line 5. On e. and w. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ch. Db. Le. Li. Nt. St., the n. of Wo. and most of Wa., s. and m. La., the ne. of Sh., all detached or English Fl., a small part of main or Welsh Fl., and of Dn.

Sections. Dialectally this area falls into two distinct and apparently unrelated sections, an Eastern comprising Li. D 20, and a Western comprising all the rest. The several districts of the Western Section have a strong family resemblance, but they nevertheless fall into three tolerably distinct groups, the Northern, Mid and Southern. The Northern comprises s. and m.La., s.Yo., and n.Db.; the Mid contains Ch. and n.St., s.Db. and Nt.; and the Southern contains s.St., English Fl., and a small part of Welsh Fl. and Dn., ne.Sh., n.Wo., most of Wa. and Le. Nt. was more related to the other Mid M. districts forty years ago than it now is.

Districts and Groups. As will be seen by the map and key, the M. div. is separated into ten districts, D 20 to D 29, all provided with geographical names. These districts form four groups. 1. The B.M. or Border Midland comprises D 20 only. 2. The N.M. or Northern Midland comprises D 21 to D 24. 3. The M.M. or Mid Midland contains D 25 to D 27. 4. The S.M. or Southern Midland contains D 28 and D 29. Particulars of each district are given below.

Character. The M. div. not being homogeneous, we cannot look for any one pervading character. It is best defined by negatives. It is decidedly different from its neighbours, the W, S, E, on the s., and the N on the n. The basis of the language spoken was not the Wessex, but the speech of various tribes scattered over a large country, and most probably differing considerably in different parts. The following are some of the most important points to which attention should be directed.

VOWEL FORMS (*u, u₁, u_o, æ'u. i'i, a'i*).

(*u, u₁, u_o*). At the present day one of the characters which first strikes a Southerner in Midland speech is the total absence of (æ, æ) for *u* in *up*, called (æp) in educated London, and (æp) in the provinces, and in these regions represented by *u* in full, or nearly so. A similar representation of this vowel frequently occurs s. of the M. div., between the transverse lines 1 and 2. In that region, however, the sound of (æ, æ) is still more or less heard. Again, for the greater

part of the N. div., s. of the transverse line 8, there is a similar total absence of (ə, æ). Hence the mere absence of this sound is not enough to characterise the M. div. In fact, we are rather concerned with accounting for the *presence* of (ə, æ) anywhere than for its absence somewhere. There can be no doubt that short U was originally some variety of short (u) universally in English Britain, how then did it become (ə, æ)? Are there any existing recognised intermediate sounds between (ə, u)?

In the M. div. as here defined we must distinguish at least 3 forms representing short U and its congeners. First (u) as in *full*, which is not (u), the short sound of oo in *fool*; compare French *foule poule* (ful, pul) with Eng. *fool pool, full pull* (fuul puul, fūl pūl). The sounds (ful, pul) are even difficult for an Englishman to produce, and a Frenchman finds equal difficulty with (fūl, pūl). The difference between the two consists in what Mr. Melville Bell calls 'widening,' the 'physical cause' of which he finds in the 'retraction of the soft palate and expansion of the pharynx' (Visible Speech, 1867, p. 71). On the other hand, Dr. Sweet says 'in forming narrow sounds' [such as (u)] 'there is a feeling of tenseness in that part of the tongue where the sound is formed, the surface of the tongue being made more convex than in its natural *wide* shape, in which it is relaxed and flattened,' and he does 'not believe that the shape of the pharynx, the approximation of the palatal arches, etc., have any distinctive effect in producing distinct vowel sounds' (Handbook of Phonetics, 1877, p. 9). That there is a distinction between the two vowels of each of the pairs (i i, e e, æ æ, o o, u u) is undoubted. The first of each pair is called by Mr. M. Bell 'primary' and by Dr. Sweet 'narrow,' and the second is called by both 'wide,' but whether the distinction is of the same nature in each pair, and in what it really consists, has not been at present satisfactorily ascertained. It is sufficient for our present purpose that such a state exists.

There is also a state of *higher* and *lower*, generally supposed to result from bringing the highest part of the tongue nearer to, or further from, the palate. This we mark by ¹ and ₁, as (i¹), which approaches (i), and (u₁), which approaches (o), and indeed is hardly separable from (o¹) or an (o) approaching (u). We thus obtain the form (u₁) as a very low or deep form of (u).

Lastly, there is the different effect of 'rounding,' as Mr. M. Bell calls it, that is, of the greater or less closure of the lips. Mr. M. B. distinguished only 3 degrees of rounding, those for (A, o, u), but there are of course any number of such roundings, and especially we may endeavour to speak vowels with other than their usual roundings. Thus (u) has the lips drawn closely together. Let them be more opened. The result is written (u_o), where (o), the inverted mark of degrees (°), is not meant to be the letter (o), but merely a sign that (u) is uttered 'with more open lips.' From numerous observations on himself and others, TH. thinks that the position of the tongue is halfway between those for (o) and (u), and the position of the lips that for (o) but slightly flatter. Whatever it be precisely, the effect of this wider opening of the lips is to alter the value of (u) considerably. In fact, (u_o) is a very unstable transitional form, which, according to the consonants with which it is connected, simulates (æ, o, u). To TH. the sound is native, and he has kindly allowed me to study it from his lips on several occasions for many hours. At different times the resemblance of (u_o) to one or other of these sounds seemed to vary, and on the very last examination his (u_o) sounded to me very much like German ö in können, Bötticher, that is, closely resembling but by no means identical with (æ). I seemed never able to hit the sound to TH.'s satisfaction, but I succeeded best when bearing this sound of (æ) in my mind, and giving it more of an (u) flavour. I got TH. to say (u_op, up, ap) and so on for many words, and the distinction of one vowel from the other was complete. Then I got JGG. to observe this uttered vowel carefully in my absence, and he considered it as "a higher and rounded form" of (æ). According to Mr. M. Bell, (o) is the natural rounded form of (æ), hence the amount of rounding used by JGG. must have been different. He says, indeed, that in his imitation of the sound he does not round more than for (A, o), which is very little. He places it second in the series of sounds (not positions) which he wrote (æ, u_o, o¹, u₁, u), shewing his views of the passage from (æ) to (u), and of the natural transitional character of this remarkable vowel. TH.

recognised in actual speech while travelling over the region between the transverse lines 1 and 2 many intermediate forms between (α , u_c), so that, allowing for the natural difficulty arising from the sound being native to his own organs, and hence likely to be recognised when not precisely used, there was continually some hesitation as to whether a sound heard was (α) or (u_c), and there was so much difficulty of separating (u_c , u), that notwithstanding that he made several journeys for the purpose, he was unable to determine any boundary between them.

In order to print my book it was of course necessary to come to some practical conclusion respecting the use of (u_c , u , u_1). Those who have not an opportunity of carefully studying the sounds from native speakers and hearing them in general use, may be contented to use (u) as received (u) in full in all cases. I write (u_1) in D 20, and (u) in D 24, and also in Ru. D 18. In the rest of the M. div., and in the intermediate zone between the transverse lines 1 and 2, I write (u_c), as this is the usage of TH., to whom I am mainly indebted for information. But it cannot be supposed that in such an extensive region this peculiar transitional sound (u_c) remains absolutely the same as TH. uses, and hence, of course, hears it, or that it is formed always by the same precise action of the organs of speech that he employs. I mean then merely to imply by the use of (u_c) that through this region generally the sound is transitional between (α) and (u), and is sufficiently like the sound used by TH. to be accepted by him as the same. TH., as stated above, heard many other transitional sounds, and is under the impression, founded upon his observations, that there is a mixed region within which both (u , u_c) are heard, bounded on the n. by a line from about Gainsborough, Li., to about Ulverstone, Ia., and that northward of this line (u_c) and its congeners disappear and (u) remains. This will be further considered in D 24 and D 31. The use of (α , α , u_c , u) does not separate dialect districts, as we have already found (p. 16).

This delimitation of (u_c , u , u_1) would require long special study to settle, and must be accepted as simply the nearest approximation to the truth that my present materials allow me to make.

($\alpha'u$). As (u_c) appears to be a variant of (u), caused by *keeping* the mouth too wide open, so ($\alpha'u$) is a variant of (uu) caused by *beginning* it with the mouth too wide open, and gradually but rapidly closing it down to the position for (u). I met with a similar action in Ledbury ($\alpha'ou$), p. 73, note to par. 9, and it is very common among rec. speakers in such words as *oh! no!* ($\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, $n\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$). While uttering (uu), open the mouth suddenly quite wide, the result is a sound something like (α) or (α), which I therefore write (α). If we take various smaller openings, the sound approaches (u_c). Now begin with (α), tongue as for (u), and rapidly close the lips to (u). An intermediate gliding sound is heard connecting the two extremes, represented as usual by ('), so that ($\alpha'u$) represents the whole phenomenon. When I studied this sound from TH.'s lips some years ago, I repeatedly observed that his lips distinctly did not touch one another in any spot at the beginning of his utterance. In later observations I found that he began with a partial rounding. He himself writes ($u_c'u$), believing that the tongue is a little more advanced than for (u_c), and the vowel is wide, while the opening of the lips is that for (α) and the lips are slightly flatter. But, except on pp. 322-329, I retain my old symbol with which I had written all the examples, and which is based on what I consider the complete phenomenon. It must be remembered that the initial (α) is very short, and the final (u) often long, as ($\alpha'uu$), but as this varies from time to time according to circumstances, no notice is taken of it in writing. The ordinary dialect speaker generally considers that he says (uu). The result of JGG.'s examination of TH.'s pron. of ($\alpha'u$), his ($u_c'u$), was that it sounded like ($\alpha'u$), "that is, a low form of the French *e* in 'que je me repente' [Volney's example], accented and sliding through (u) to (u) pure," and he does not consider that the initial vowel was (u_c). The first element is, however, not always low, it is sometimes quite high, depending upon the extent to which the mouth is opened at first.

Although not entirely peculiar to the M. div. ($\alpha'u$) is a very distinctive phenomenon. It is extremely unstable, varying to (iu , iy , yy , $\alpha\alpha$) or thereabouts on the one hand and ($\alpha'u$) on the other. It attacks principally O'- words, which must have been first reduced to (uu), but it does not at present attack original U'- words, which will be considered presently. Hence it must be a comparatively

recent phenomenon in England. In France some such intermediary possibly changed Latin *ū* into French *u*, that is, (uu) into (yy). The change into (iu iy yy) occurs in D 19, into (ə) in the L. div., into (yy₁) in D 10, 11, into (æ'u) in D 26. It is kept pure in D 21, 22, 25. It does not seem to affect D 24 or the N. div. I have not observed it in D 20. Sporadically instances of it occur in D 6, 7, and even with careless speakers in rec. speech. This is an example of *inchoant* diphthongs, arising from altering the *commencement* of some long vowel, of which the conclusion is retained. Such diphthongs are a fertile source of change, and their actually observed occurrence solves many riddles in the alteration of words.

(i, a'i). Another inchoant diphthong is (i), the first step in the change of (ii) to (a'i). This sound (i) is difficult to appreciate at first hearing, and is liable to be taken for (ii) or (ii). The speaker usually considers it as (ii). When once set in motion the subsequent changes are rapid, as (i, i₁, é, é₁, æ'i), all actually in use. This is the utmost extent to which E' is affected after becoming (ii), and hence, as in the case of the change of O' into (æ'u), I consider it to be recent. This theory of the generation of (æ'i) from E' through (i) does not exclude the generation of (éi) from (ee) by terminal addition, as seems to have occurred elsewhere very recently in (ee'j), sometimes appreciated as (éi). See especially D 16, 17 (pp. 196, 218, 226). But the initial change must have affected original I' long before, so that at present this appears already in the stage of (æ'i) and passes on to (æ'i, á'i, ái), and thence to (ái, A'i), all of which occur, while (á'i, ái) vary as (ə'i æ'i), common forms in the S. div., with various other forms of the same kind as (æ'i, æ'i, æ'i).

When, however, the forms of (a'i) have once been reached, the dialectal changes are not over. The final (i) may be degraded to (v) as (áv), and then the (v) altogether omitted, so that (aa, aa, AA) result as an alteration of (ii), an almost incredible but completely established fact.

(a'u). The change of U' to (a'u) through (ú,u) will be considered in the N. div., although it seems to occur in the M. and even E. div. as (úu). We may, however, consider in the M. div. that we begin with (áu), as in D 23. This falls into (áæ áæ áæ), and on arriving at (áv), another transformation is ready. As in the E. div. (léim) became (léim), so here (áv) becomes (áí). This remarkable form of U' is dominant in D 25. But it goes no further, it does not become (ái, A'i), which would clash with the representation of I'. Another change of (áv) arises from the omission of (v), so that U' is represented by (aa). This is strongly marked in D 24. Hence both I' and U' tend to become (aa) in the same div., but not usually in the same district. It would seem that confusion could no further go than that I' and U' should both be confounded as (aa), which, however, does not represent A', for this original sound becomes (úv, óv, uv, ov). But, in fact, the changes are not ended. In (áv) the (a) becomes thinned to (á'), and (á'v, æ'v, æ'v, év) and even (íæ) result as may be found in D 22 and w.D 24. In at least some of these forms (v) becomes lost, and (aa', ææ, ææ) result. These are the forms most prevalent in D 22. The (ææ) is the proper representative of the La. spelling *eaw*, invented, I believe, by Mr. Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), in whose region, however, at present they do not say (ææ), but (æ'u), another variety of (áu). The U' = (ææ) and I' = (aa) are compatible and are used together in part of D 22.

These are the principal vowel changes in the M. div. and they are interesting for their preservation of forms which explain the transition from the old to the new value of the letters.

CONSONANT FORMS (r, h).

(r.) The letter *r*, when not before a vowel, is entirely vocalised in D 20 as there explained, in the other districts it is asserted to have consonantal value, yet from several informants I got *corf* as the phonetic form of *calf* meaning (kaaf), which shews that they at least did not hear an *r*. Mr. Darlington, D 25, a native of s.Ch., acknowledged that Ch. *r*, when not before a vowel, had very little power, and was more felt by speaker than listener. TH. says he has paid particular attention to educated pronunciation, and has, during observations, continued for many years, recorded special points from more than 400 public speakers, and

is thus enabled "to say confidently that the Midland *r* before a vowel is the standard English *r*, and likewise that *r* before a consonant and *r* final are generally the same as when before a vowel in n.Db. Ch. La. and St." Consequently he writes (r) in every case. Although entirely disagreeing with him in this opinion, so far as standard English *r* is concerned, I have necessarily been unable to take any other course but to follow his example with this explanation. In discussions, however, I shall use (r) both before and after a vowel to indicate TH.'s sound, considering the printed (r) as (r) with the left-hand top corner removed (r) so as to be imperfect, and I write *r* with a stroke over it, \bar{r} . This new symbol I call the Midland *r*, without pretending to define, because I have not ascertained, the exact mode of its generation. The "imperfection" of (\bar{r}) is in respect to the "perfection" of the Italian *r*, the true value of (r). Certainly when not before a vowel the use of (r), without some explanation, is grossly misleading, to any one who reads phonetic writing according to its professed rules, or say to a Scotchman or Italian. The *r* in such cases is very much like a coarse (e), and even in Yo. Cu. We. and Du. it is hardly perceptibly consonantal—at least to my ears.

I thought it best to take JGG.'s opinion on the *r* used by TH. He says: "his *r* is to my ear an inner buzzed $r=(r_{\circ})$, identical with the *r* I have heard wherever I have been in Ch. St. Db. or La." After mentioning two persons, whom he knows well, that use it, JGG. proceeds to say: "The place on my series is between the Wl. *r* and the n.We. or Swaledale *r*, and also my own *r* before a vowel. I should say it is exactly intermediate between these two." JGG. concludes by saying that he hears TH. "pronounce the *same* in initial, medial, and final positions, with a few exceptions." TH. says that as he is a native of Db., and has resided 42 years in La., he is "in a much better position to say what is the analysis or formation of the Midland *r* than any one who is not a native, and who has not resided in the district or whose visits have been only occasional." But it is well known that it is extremely difficult to shake off one's original habits of speech, and that without great practice in acquiring facility in using new sounds, the ear is apt to be misled. Owing to this initial "personal equation," the same sound will be appreciated differently by different observers who have studied the subject. Thus TH. and AJE. differ materially as to "the standard English *r*."

Generally *r* causes great difficulty to the phonetist. Mr. Melville Bell defines it as made by "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gums." This entirely eliminates the conception of trilling, and he therefore has a separate mark corresponding to my (\dot{d}) called "vibrator" and "trill" and defined as "vibration of the organ symbolised." (See the discussion in Part IV. pp. 1341-4, especially p. 1344, 9g.) For myself I consider vibration or trilling, or as I now prefer to call it *flapping* (caused by the passage of air over a loose flexible body, as linen flaps on a clothes-line or a flag flaps on its staff), the essence of all *r* sounds. This flapping may be produced by many organs, and the statement of the organs specifies the kind of flap. This is precisely the converse of Mr. Melville Bell's and Dr. Sweet's views. In England where no vowel follows, the flap is usually replaced by an obstructive position of the tongue which does not flap, but yet is not hard and rigid. Of course the non-flappable is somewhat different from the flappable position. When flatus only is driven through such a passage with non-flapping tongue, we have simply a hiss, one of the very numerous tribe of (s); when voice passes, we have a sound approaching in various ways to (e, æ, œ) or even (z). These replacers of (r) are usually symbolised by (x, r_o), etc., shewing what form of (r) is replaced, and for convenience the (o) is usually omitted after the replacement has been explained. In England we must distinguish at least Italian (r), Scotch (.r), Irish (r) [written (r) in Part IV. p. 1232], the Southern (x), Midland (r), Northumbrian (r, r_w), different from the hard metallic Parisian and guttural North German uvular (r, r_u). All of these may be flapped or unflapped, and flated or voiced, and among the unflapped forms, produced by keeping the tongue or uvula in approximately the same position as if it were intended to flap but stiffened so that it cannot do so, are the Southern (x_o) degenerating to the Eastern (r_o), for both of which the tip of the tongue is raised, and the Midland (r_o). This list is very far from

exhaustive. There is probably a Northern unflapped (r^0), a strongly flapped and a "soft" Spanish r , of which the latter may be the same as the Northern unflapped (r^0), an alveolar and dental r (r , r), an American r , various French and German r , besides the Polish rz (zrh) and the oriental mixtures of (r , r^l), the defective lip r , the North German glottal (τ) and its Arabic form (g) with (krh , grh) and the corresponding Dutch g and Greek γ , and others. Many of these have still to be analysed, and the mode of production of the un-flapped replacers of flapped r presents problems of extreme difficulty.

This difficulty is seriously increased by the habits of reading, where the one symbol r is naturally associated in the speaker's mind with the sounds, or various sounds which he from local habit assigns to it, and hence as naturally hears from all others. In my *Pronunciation for Singers*, pp. 136-8, I distinguish 26 cases which require consideration in received English speech. They are here given in a condensed form, illustrated merely by examples, which the reader may exercise himself in distinguishing, and determine if possible what is the value of his own r in each case.

1. word journey furnish spurn. 2. myrrh guerdon. 3. recurring spurring purring blurring slurring demurring. 4. preferring conferring referring erring deterring. 5. near beer here we're pier. 6. eery era weary peeress. 7. care pair air prayer there their bear mare mayor. 8. canary fairy therein bearing. 9. boar o'er door floor borne torn sore corps pour towards. 10. glory soaring pouring. 11. poor moor tour sure lure allure. 12. poorer surer assuring tourist. 13. cure pure endure immature your ewer. 14. fury purer enduring immuring. 15. hard clerk heart guard. 16. stary tarry (adj. not vb.). 17. wax ward swarm extraordinary George order born. 18. warring abhorring. 19. fire lyre quire choir chorister hire. 20. wiry wery fiery. 21. hour power ourselves ours flour flower. 22. dowry flowery showery. 23. paper circuitous answer martyr altar alter grammar particular (last syllable) peculiar spectator tailor razor orator. 24. azure fissure measure nature feature stature figure. 25. barbarian particular (first syllable) partake marquee. 26. ornate ordain organic orthography orthoepy.

(h) The aspirate is altogether neglected in the M. div. The speaker has no sensation of omitting it, any more than a received speaker thinks (notwithstanding the orthography) that he is omitting h in his pron. of *hour*, *honest*, *honour*, *it*. In the last word indeed few of even received speakers are aware that an h has been omitted. This omission of (h) is also the case in Antwerp, Flanders, Belgium, Brabant, see Part IV. p. 1421 *a*. Of course *wh* is called (w), though this is a different case, which is phonetically (not historically) similar to the use of (z) for (s) initial. This absence of aspiration penetrates to well-educated classes, and may be even heard from the pulpit. In Le. the aspirate is, however, occ. wrongly inserted.

CONSTRUCTIONAL FORMS [*the*. -*en*. *I am*].

[*the*]. The definite article *the* has four forms, (dhə dh th t'), in the NM and MM groups, D 21 to D 27, but they are differently employed in different districts, and in the SM group D 28 and D 29 only (dhə) seems to be used. The rule is that (dh) is heard before vowels, and (th) before consonants, while "suspended t" or (t') occurs by assimilation, and (dhə) is employed only in particular cases. Both (th, t') are common in D 21 and D 22. In D 24 (t') is almost solely employed, except on the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. *The* is sometimes assimilated to other letters, as (frəm)s $\dot{k}\dot{a}e'u$ from the school. This power of assimilation is interesting as still existent in dialectal speech. Numerous examples occur in the subsequent illustrations.

[-*en*]. The chief constructional peculiarity is the verbal plural in -*en* (wi noon, jo noon, dhi noon), we know-en, you know-en, they know-en. This is universal in D 21, D 22, D 25, D 26. In D 23 the people think that it is not used, but it still exists in a few contracted forms as (an jo? du \dot{u} \dot{n} jo?) have-n you? do-en you? In D 24 it is only found at the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. In D 27 it seems to be practically lost, but there is evidence that it did exist some years ago. In D 28 it is plentiful. In D 29 it chiefly exists

in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e., but even in Le. there are traces of it.

[*I am*]. The verb substantive is *I am*, which separates the M. from the N. div. where for the most part *I is* is heard. *I be* is seldom used, and most frequently in the negative *I ben't*, and is confined to SM., which borders the S. div. *I are* seems to be unemployed.

PECULIAR WORDS [*hoo*, *shoo*].

[*hoo*, *shoo*]. In vocabulary, the use of *hoo* pronoun, variously called (*uu*, *æ'u*, *æ'u*, *iu*), the Ws. *hœð*, she, is prevalent in D 21, 22, 25, 26, although it is superseded, in several constructions, by what at least is assumed to be *her* (*ær*, *ær*), both for nom. and acc. But in D 24 appears the form *shoo* (*shuu*, *sho*, *shæ*), which, like *she*, is usually referred to Ws. *seð*. I am inclined, however, to believe that *shoo* is also a form of *hœð*, through some such form as (*gjhoo*). In the other districts *she* or rather *her* are in general use. For girl, *wench* is most usual, without any offensive suggestion.

NEGATIVE CHARACTER.

There is therefore no one particular character, phonetic, constructional or vocabularian, by which the whole M. div. (even excluding D 20) can be separated from adjoining regions. But there are very numerous even merely phonetic characters by which any district can be separated from non-Mid. divisions, as will appear from the following details. The M. div. is therefore, as already stated, rather negatively than positively characterised. It has not the S. W. E. or N. characters. But it has generally the vowel (*u_c*) and occ. (*u*, *u_i*) for U and wonderfully varied forms of U', I', with occ. peculiar O' (*æ'u*) and extensive, but not universal, use of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Collectively these form very distinctive characters. The striking uses of (ii) for A-, ÆG, EG and (*éi* *æ'i*) for E', ECG are too much confined to portions of D 25, D 26, D 28, D 29, to be relied upon as a general M. character.

D 20 = BM = Border Midland.

Boundaries, those of the co. of Li.

Area, the co. of Li.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH, ‖ in systematic, ° in io. Li. °Aisthorpe, °Alford, °Axholme Isle of, °Barnoldby-le-Beck, †Barrowby, °Beckingham, *Billingborough, °Blyton, °Bracebridge, *Brigg, °Brocklesby, °Caistor, °Coningsby, °Crowle, *Epworth, °Faldingworth, °Fillingham, °Friskney, °Fulstow, °Gainsborough, *Grantham, °Great Coates, °Great Grimsby, *Halton-Holegate, °Haxey, °Healing, °Horbling, °Horncastle, °Keelby, °Killingholme, °Kingerby, °Laceby, †Lincoln, °†‖Louth, °North Hykeham, °North Kelsey, °Saxby, °Scarho, *Scotter, °Scunthorpe, °Skellingthorpe, †Sleaford, °Snitterby, *Somerset, °†Spilsby, °Springthorpe, °Stallingborough, †Stamford, °Thorseway, °Thornton, °Uleby, °Usselby, °Waltham, *Winterton.

Character. There is a certain degree of homogeneity of sp. throughout Li., which renders it difficult to subdivide the district, but we may roughly distinguish three varieties: Var. i. s.Li. Form, prevailing to just a little n. of Sleaford (11 ne. Grantham), and Boston, and perhaps as far n. as Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet). Var. ii. m. Li. Form, prevailing over the whole county from the last-

named places to the *s. hoose* line 6, which cuts off the *n.* of *Li.* Var. iii. *n.Li.* Form is very clearly marked by the use of (*uu*) in *U'* words, *n.* of the *s. hoose* line 6.

Li. more closely resembles the *E. div.* than the *M.*, although it is quite distinct from the *E.*, as it is from the adjoining *Nt.* and *Yo.* The great and peculiar character of the whole district is the marvellous quantity of fractured vowels. There are plenty of fractured vowels in *Yo.*, but, as will be seen under Var. iii., they are of a different nature from the *Li.* fractures.

The latter are regarded by the natives merely as 'drawls,' and several, in writing to me, indicated this drawl by an added *r*. Thus Mr. Bogg (:boog) then of Louth, writing in Glossic, and meaning that *air eer our* should sound as in *pair peer roar* (pē pē rōv), not (rAA'v), in ordinary received speech, without the shadow of a trill (for trilled *r* is unknown in *Li.*, except, perhaps, before a vowel, and then it is very light), writes consistently throughout his translation of Lord Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style *awair sair pairnz brairnz airdher toodair sairnts tairk mairks kwairker laird mair-be maird tairl nair mairz brairk sairm fairdher laizi* for Lord Tennyson's *awaay saay paaains braains eather todaay saaints taak maakes quaaker laaid maade taail naay mays* [=makes] *breäk saame feyther laazi*. Certainly this expresses the sound perfectly to a *Li.* man or a Londoner, though it renders the *look* of the words unintelligible. Mr. Bogg has also *weerk speerk beern seerd weernt deerd breerd reerzen eerd steertz meertz leerst seer their meernz leerv* for Lord Tennyson's *weäk speäk beän* [been] *see'd* [see'd for saw] *weänt* [won't] *deäd* *breäd* *reäson eäd* [head] *steäls meäls* *leäst* *see thee* means [the fracture unmarked in these three words] *leäve*. Also *woar boarth goar doarnt thoart noart oart noarn koarts noar noarshenz* for Lord Tennyson's *woä* [cry to stop a horse] *boäth* *goä* *doänt* *thowt* *nowt* *owt* [fracture not marked in these three words, and not usual] *noän* *coäts* *noä* *noätions*.

These words carefully pronounced will give an excellent notion of the peculiar *Li.* fracture. Compare *aware* *away*, *dare* *day*, *bairns* *pains*,—*seed* *sear'd*, *reed* *reared*,—*oh!* *oar*, *moan* *mourn* [avoiding London (MAAN)], *coat* *court* [avoiding London (KAAT)]. Londoners have quite lost and vocalised the *r*, so have *Li.* people, but the vocal (*v*) glides closely on to the preceding vowel. Thus in London *brewer* *poor* (bruu,v pūv) do not rhyme, and *idea* *near* (á'idii,v nēv) also should not rhyme, though they often do; in 'the prayer of a prayer' (dhv pree,vv v v pēv), the two words 'prayer' have different sounds as well as meanings, the (*r*) due to the following vowel may be disregarded, but observe the vowel change (*ee* *ê*), and the absence of a glide in the first and its presence in the second. In the *S.* and *E. div.* we have had numerous examples of (*êv*), as in (*lêsm*) *lame*, without the disappearance of an (*r*), but not of the other fractures except through such a disappearance; in *Li.*, however, there is a constant tendency to this development after every vowel. The fractures elsewhere seem to have arisen from initial alterations of the vowels, but in *Li.* from mere additions, more comparable to the 'vanishes' of the south, and exactly equivalent to its 'numerous diphthongs.'

It is a singular thing that the vowel on to which this murmur is tagged is, as a rule, the same as in received speech, and may be 'widened' as for the murmur diphthongs, thus (*wiik*) becomes (*wiëk*) or (*wiëk*), (*stiil*, *stiäl*) or (*stiäl*), and so on. And it is no doubt to this cause that the *Li.* conception that the vowels are merely drawled is due. The *Li.* speech is slow and drawly, but here we have not the mere drawling of a vowel, we have the real addition of another vowel on to which the first glides, and part of the length of the first vowel seems to be absorbed into the glide in the process.

This peculiar fracture, and the vocalisation of *r* into (*v*) or its omission after (*aa AA*), are the main characteristics of this district. The *U*, as explained on p. 292, is taken to be (*u₁*). The *h* is uncertain; as a rule it is disregarded unless the speaker is excited,

and then often wrongly inserted. Particulars are given below, as I have been able to illustrate the dialect very fully.

VAR. i. SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

FRISKNEY (3 sw. Wainfleet) spec.

Examples written by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vicar, and conjecturally pal. by A.J.E. from the informant's indications, who describes the intonation thus: "The utterance is loud, full, and coarse, with strong hard emphasis. The voice rises in pitch towards the end of each period. It is also slow, a broad heavy drawl with an unpleasant nasal twang (specially in the *ow* sounds [ʔ niâu], in the case of women it amounts to a whine). In exception to the slow nasal drawl, in the words in *ass*, as *lass glass*, the *a* is short and sharp, as in our *mass* [la's dla's]. Long vowels and diphthongs and compound vowels always drawled, the former generally and the latter always resolved into two vowels." This is illustrated by the following words, those marked * being considered as exceptions:

A- 5 mèuk, 33 *rèudhæ. A'- 67 góv, 104 rôud. Æ- 138 *fèudhæ. 152 *watæ [almost (wotæ)]. Æ: 166 mêul, 175 *fast. Æ': 218 *ship. E': 312 iæ+r. EA: 338 kAA'el. EI- 373 dhéev. EO: 428 siæ siæn. I: 452 AA'i. U: 614 háuænd. E.. 895 risiev.

1. (hood jaa nóiz, i jaad me), hold your noise, he called me; *yah*, in place of *you*, as a sign of contempt.
2. (hɪ)z got'n thru:f), he has got through=he is dead.
3. (miu, snfu, géen, bak end), mowed, snowed, near, autumn.
4. (wot dhæ plèen du,ist dhæ mæn?), what the devil do you mean?
5. (wat'l déevz, ræmb'l, hu:g), weekdays, move, carry.
6. (it tiænd en sáild æ ræn, it)s stréendj mu,ki hóuri wedhæ), it emptied and sieved of rain [the rain came down as if poured out or run through a sieve], its strange mucky dirty weather.
7. (jæn)z æ stréendj æmèvzin píet béen æ jaan), yon=that is a strange amazing pert bairn of yours.
8. (óí nobet akst im tæ tak dhis íer ood prAANKæS dóun dhi smúet), I nought-but=only asked him to take this here old donkey down the lane [narrow covered alley],
9. (en í nípt u,p en staatið æ ledhærin dh)ood hæS en méud im hu,k'l en æbu,v æ bit, en ru,n striet u,p dhæ ra'mpæ), and he jumped up and began beating the old ass, and made him jog on above a bit, and run straight up on the high road; *np* is a word very variously used, but (*nípæ*) nipper is a little boy that runs errands; (*hu,k*) huck is the hip-bone; *rampæ* is the *rampart*, always used for turnpike-road in Li.
10. (a méud súe i)d a tompoo'kt dhæ lét'l lad óer iz íed), I made sure he'd have capsized the little lad over his head.
11. (i)z æ wak'n lét'l tjap, óí)l up)ood i)l téuk noo payment), he's a wide-awake little chap, I'll uphold he-l take no harm or damage, common expression.
12. (óí ku,m, túenæ fróide or sèthæde), I come either Friday or Saturday, Peacock writes *toner*, the one or the other.
13. (óí thíqk noot tu)it), I think nothing of it.
14. (díd jær ad'l oot?), did you earn ought?
15. (sh)z æ wa'qk'l lét'l wentj), she is a wankly little wench.

BILLINGBOROUGH EXAMPLES.

Words and sentences by Mr. T. Blasson, resident surgeon, native, pal. by AJE.
from his dictation.

1. Alphabetical names of A, E, I, O, U (êv ii ói oo íu).
2. Counting (won tuu thrii fîv fo'iv síks sev'n êst nóin ten lev'n twelv that'i footi u,ndəd).
3. (du,z dhv sêvm lêvm man bêk dhv brəd vñ kêvks vñ dhv ood plêvs j'i,t? i duu), does the same lame man bake the bread and cakes at the old place yet? he do, occ., but only in answers; more frequently (i du,z).
4. (wot's iz nêvm? ói dûvnt noo), what's his name? I don't know.
5. (ói sêv, ba, wîvz dhv mu,dhv? jəndə), I say, bo', where's the mother? yonder. The word *bo'* is occasionally used by very old people, and was actually heard.
6. (iz fêvdhv dhîv? noo—jîis), is father there? no—yes.
7. (wîvj wêv aa dhv go'in tə dêv? ói ka'nt sêv, ói ênt—bêvnt—shûv), which way are they going to-day? I can't say, I am-not—be-not—sure. The use of *I be not* is uncommon, but exists.
8. (dhîv)z v grît snáil in dhv pa'd, aa)və fróit'nd [frít]? ói aa), there's a great snail in the path, are you frightened? I are. (snáil) is invariable, but this does not occur in any other ÆG-words. *I are* is rare, and used only in emphatic answers.
9. (goo vñ bóí v thrîpni thrîd), go and buy a threepenny thread.
10. (uu siiz dhîvz grîin trîvz?), who sees these green trees? Here (grîin) is used, but in 'the trees are green' (grîvñ) would be said.
11. (i braat hām dhv buuts i baat on iz ffit), he brought home the boots he bought on his feet.
12. (wîvət úvts baali vñ biəvz), wheat oats barley and beans.
13. (doont stand əlín stəvz vñ mói wîndəvz), don't stand hurling stones at my window, exactly the same use as at Nf. (p. 276, I, 2), but (don't stand) distinct and not reduced to (doonstəvñ).

SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE CWL.

The unmarked words are chiefly from Mr. Blasson for Billingborough, corrected vv. in 1886, but some are from Horbling (15 e.Grantham) by Henry Smith, Esq., and Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet) by Rev. H. J. Cheales, which are grouped as being practically identical.

L indicates the late Dr. R. G. Latham's Folkingham (9 e.Grantham), his native place, given in his *English Language*, 5th ed. p. 391, and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

H gives some wn. by TH. at Barrowby (2 w.Grantham).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bék. 4 tek, L tek. 5 mek. 7 séuk. 8 hev. 9 bihêv. 10 hoo.
11 maa. 12 saa [with euphonic (r)]. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa.
18 kéuk. 19 tēul. 20 lêvm. 21 nêvm. 22 tēvm. 23 sêvm. 24 shêvm.

25 mēun. 26 wēun. 27 nēuv. 28 hēu. 31 lēut. 32 bēudh. 33 reedhe
rēudh. 34 la'st. 25 aal. 36 thoo. 37 klAA.

A: 39 ku₁m kam. 40 kúum. 41 tha'qk. 43 ha'nd. 46 ka'nd'l. 47
wa'nde. 50 tu₁qz. 51 ma'n. 52 wa'n. 54 wa'nt. 55 a'shez. 56 wēsh.
57 a's.

A: or O: 58 [accented] fru₁m, [unaccented] frum thrum thum. 59 la'm.
60 loq. 61 vnu₁q, L vnu₁nt. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. 66
thoq [it sounded to me most like (o), not (o), but it may have been (a) as in other
cases].

A': 67 goo. 69 noo. 70 too. 71 woo. 72 uu. 73 soo. 74 tuu. 75
strúuk. 76 túud. 78 oo. 79 óen. 80 ha'ladi. 81 léun. 13 múun. 84
núv+r. 85 súv+r. 86 úets. 87 klúez [Mr. B. insisted on (kl)], H tlúez.
88 klúudh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96
soo. 97 súel. 98 núen. 99 throon thrúen. 100 súen.

A': 101 úek. 102 a'sk. 104 rúud, H rúud. 105 rúud. 106 brood. 107
laf. 108 doo. 109 loo. 112 hēul. 113 hal [(h) always pronounced in this
word]. 114 [both this and the animal are called] múul. 115 ham, H úum.
118 búun. 121 ga'n. 122 nu₁n. 123 nu₁thiqk. 124 stúen. 125 úenli.
126 úv+r. 127 úus. 129 gúust. 130 búut. 131 gúut. 132 ot. 133 rúut.
134 úeth. 135 tlaath.

Æ- 138 fēudh. — lēdhv [ladder, same as leather]. 139 dree. 140 hēul.
141 nēul. 142 snáil [commonest], snēul. 143 téul. 144 egen. 145 sléun.
146 méen. 147 brēun. 148 fēu. 149 bléuz. 150 lúst. 151 lét. 152
wa'te, H wate+r. 153 sa'tedi.

Æ: 155 thetj. 157 réuv'n. 158 aats. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 méev.
165 sēd, L sēd. 166 mēed. 167 de'el. 168 ta'le. 169 wēn. 170 haevest.
171 baali. 172 grēs. 173 wAA₁r [an (r) was felt and was most like (r_o)]. 174
esh. 175 fa'st. 178 na't. 179 wot. 180 ba'th. 181 pa'th pa'd.

Æ': 182 sii. 183 tēty. 184 lēd. 185 rēd. 187 lēv. 188 nee. 189
wee. 190 kii. 191 hēul. 192 mēun. 193 tlēun, HL tlēun. 194 eni. 195
mēni. 196 wAA [as in (dhv wAA dhv) they were there]. 197 tēuz. 199 blēt.
200 wēt. 201 hēudh'n. 202 hēt. 203 spētj. 205 thred thrid. 206 rēd.
207 niid'l. 210 tlēs. 211 grēs. 212 wee. 213 eedhve ēudhve. 215 toot.
216 déul. 217 itj. 218 shēp. 219 slēp. 222 hēv+r. 223 dhv+r.
226 múest. 227 wēt. 228 swēt. 230 fa't.

E- 232 brék. 233 spék. 234 nēd. 235 wēv. 236 fēv. 237 blēun.
238 hēdj. 239 sēul. 240 léun. 241 rēun, L rēun. 242 twēun. 246 kwēun.
247 wēun. 248 mēv. 249 wēv+r. 250 swēv+r. 251 mēt. 252 ket'l.
253 net'l. 254 lēdhv. 255 wēdhv.

E: 257 edj. 258 sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lēv. 261 sēv. 262 wēv. 264
ēul. 265 strēt. 267 jēld [the (j) distinct]. 270, i. bēus, ii. bēli. 272 elēm.
273 mēn. 274 bēsh. 275 stēsh. 276 thiqk. 277 drēsh. 278 wēsh.
280 lēv'n. 281 lēnth. 282 stēnth. 283 mēri. 284 thrēsh. 285 kres.
286 ha're. 287 biz'm. 288 lét.

E'- 290 hii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fēud. 295 brēd. 296
bēfēv. 298 fēul. 299 grēun, L grēun. 300 kiip. 301 hēv+r. 303 swēt.
304 bēt'l [the insect also so called].

E': 305 hói. 306 áit. 307 nōi [(nói en duu) nigh and do, a common reply,
meaning 'I should think so, rather,' that is, very much, completely]. 308 nēd.
309 spēd. 310 hēul. 311 ten. 312 hēv. 314 hēd, L hēd. 315 fiit. 316
nekst.

EA- 317 fleē. 319 gēep. 320 kaa+r.

EA: 321 sAA. 322 laf. 323 foot fit. 324 èvt. 325 wAAk. 326 ood.
327 búuld. 328 kood. 329 food. 331 sood seld. 332 teld. 333 kAAf
[exactly like *cough*; a doctor asking a man if he had a *cough*, was answered yes,
a fine one to sell; (ku₁f) is Li. for cough, see 526]. 334 èvf. 335 aAL. 336
faAL. 337 wAAL. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 waam. — L lēpín [leaping].
345 daa+r [and you (dās'nt, daad'nt) durst not]. 346 gēvt, H gēvt.

EA'- 347 hēd hēd. 348 ái [“this and I are pronounced very like the
(English) Greek *oi*, only broader”; this ought to make it (á'i)]. 349 fiu.

EA': 350 dēd dēd. 351 lēd. 352 rēd. 353 brēd. 354 shēf. 355 dēf

def. 356 líef. 357 dhaf. 359 náibþ+r. 360 títum. 361 bítan. 362 slee. 363 títþp. 365 nþv+r. 366 grét grít. 367 thrit. 368 dath. 369 sloo. 370 rAA. 371 strAA.

EI- 373 dhee. 374 nee. 375 révz. 376 bést. EI: 377 stéuk. 378 wíuk. 379 éel [same as 140, used only in Bible reading]. 381 swéen swíen. 382 dhíþ+r.

EO- 383 sþv'n. 384 hev'n. 385 bæníeth [but (*u*,ndæníen) underneath]. 386 joo. 387 nðu [very distinct (*i*)].

EO: 388 milk. 389 jek. 390 shu,d shu,ld. 393 þerj'nd. 395 L ju,q. 396 wak. 397 swad swaad. 398 staa. 399 bróit. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 405 aath. 406 íuth, L íuth. 407 faad'n. 408 níu.

EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. 414 flái. 415 líi. 416 dþ+r. 417 tþu. 418 bríu. 420 fáiþ+r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thái. 424 ru,f [or (ræ'f) between, (raf, ru,f)]. 425 láit. 426 fáit. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fíund. 430 frænd. 431 bþ+r. 432 footh, foot. 433 brést. 434 bét. 435 H jaa [(jæ) unemphatic; when used in anger, the (aa) is much prolonged, with a significant intonation]. 436 tríu. 437 tríuth.

EY- 438 do'i [between (a'i, o'i), but most like (ó'i)]. EY: 439 tru,st.

I- 440 wíuk. 441 siv. 442 óivi. 443 fróidi. 444 stóil. 446 nóin. 448 dhíez. 449 grít. 450 tuzdi [see 387]. 451 soo.

I: 452 ái. 454 wítj. 455 líg. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 réit. 462 sóit [see 438]. 465 sitj. 466 tjóild. 467 wóild. 468 tþilden. 471 tímþv. 472 sriqk. 473 bláind. 474 ráind. 475 wóind. 476 bóind. 477 fóind. 478 gróind. 479 wóind. 484 dhís. 485 dhís'l. 486 íest [no initial (j)]. 488 jít.

I'- 490 bói. 491 sói. 493 dróiv. 494 tóim. 495 wóin. 496 óien. 497 eróiz, L eróiz. 498 róit.

I': 500 lóik, L lóik. 501 wóid. 502 fóiv. 503 lóif. 504 nóif. 505 wóif. 506 wu,mæn. 507 wimín. 508 móil. 509 wóil. 510 L móin móin. 513 wóiv+r. 514 óis. 515 wóiz. 516 wízdem. 517 jiu.

O- 519 L avv. 520 boo. 521 fúel. 522 op'n [p'(æp'n)], H op'n. 523 hþp. 524 wald.

O: 526 kof ku,f [see 333]. 527 baat. 528 thaat thoot. 529 braat. 531 daatv, L daatv. 532 kúel. 533 du,l. 534 húel. 536 gúuld. 537 mæ'uld. 538 wu,d. 539 búel. 542 boot. 547 búud. 549 hæad. 550 wad. 551 stAAm. 554 haan. — hos [horse, not (æas)]. 554 kros. — foks [fox, (hiidhþ) male, see No. 704].

O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 558 luuuk. — L fodhvd [fothered]. 559 mu,dhv. 562 mþv. 563 mu,ndi. 564 sþv. 565 nþvz. 566 u,dhv.

O': 569 buuk. 570 tu,k [never (tuuk)]. 571 gu,d. 572 blu,d. 573 fúud. 574 brúud. 576 wad'nzdi. 577 bæ'u. 578 plæ'u. 579 nu,f. 580 tu,f. 582 kúel. 584 stúel. 585 brþem. 586 duu. 587 du,n. 588 nþv. 589 spþv. 590 fúv. 591 mþv. 593 mu,st mu,t. 594 buut. 596 ruut. 597 su,t. 598 sþth.

U- 599 ebu,v. 600 lu,v, L luuv. 601 fe'ul. 602 se'u. 603 ku,m kuum, L ku,min. 605 sþ,n [see 629, the difference not quite certain]. 606 dþ+r. 607 hu,tv.

U: 608 u,glí. 609 fu,l. 610 wu,l. 611 bu,læk. 612 su,m. 613 dru,qk. 614 e'und. 615 pe'und. 616 gre'und. 617 se'und. 618 we'und. 619 fe'und. 620 gre'und. 622 u,ndv. 625 tu,q. 626 hu,qgv. 628 nu,n. 629 su,n [see 605]. 630 wu,n. 631 thasdi. 632 u,p, L u,p. 633 ku,p. — L u,pþn [up-]. 634 thraf. 635 wu,th. 636 fu,dhv fu,dv. 639 du,st.

U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 642 dhe'u. 643 ne'u. 645 du,v, L du,v. 646 be'u. 647 e'ul. 648 e'uv+r. 649 the'uzvnd. 653 hu,t.

U': 654 sre'ud. 655 fe'ul. 656 rþem. 657 bre'vn. 658 de'vn. 659 te'vn. 660 be'uv+r. 661 she'uv+r. 662 u,z. 663 he'us [pl. he'uz'nz]. 664 le'us. 665 me'us. 666 hu,zbend. 667 æ'ut. 668 pre'ud. 670 bávdh. 671 me'uth. 672 se'uth.

Y- 673 mu,tj. 676 líi. 677 drái. 678 din. 679 tþtj. 680 biz'i. 682 lít'l [(v lít'len) a little one, suspend (*t*)].

Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bái. — H mu,k [muck]. 687 flóit. 689

biid biuld. — *ku,mli* [comely]. 690 *káind*. 691 *máind*. 693 *sin*. 696 *beth* [rh. with *death*]. 697 *berí*. 698 *math*. 699 *ráit*. 700 *was*. 701 *fast*. 704 *fóks shiidhe* [(*hiidhe*, *shiidhe*) are applied to the genders of animals].

Y' 705 *skái*. 706 *wái*. 707 *thattin*. 708 *háiv*.

Y: 709 *fáiv*. 711 *láis*. 712 *máis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 717 *déed*. 718 *tréed*. 719 *ta'dpául*. 722 *drén*. 723 *díeri*. 725 *séul*. 729 *fréem*. 733 *skaa*. 737 *méet* [common]. 740 *wéev* [Mr. B. considers that all such words involve *r*, but his *r* is simply (v)]. E. 743 *skriem*. 744 *mez'lz*. 745 *tjæt*. 746 *bríedh*. 748 *flagd*. 750 *bag*. I. and Y. 753 *tít'l*. 756 *srímp*. 757 *táini*. 758 *gxl*. 761 *lúed*. 762 *úekem*. 763 *rúem*. 768 *kávk*. 769 *múel* [see 114]. 774 *páuni*. U. 792 *skwa'b'l*. 793 *haug*. 794 *dju'g*. 799 *sku'l*. 800 *sku'l*. 801 *ru'm*. 803 *dju'mp*. 805 *kadz*, *kru,dz*. 806 *fu,s*. 807 *pu,s*. 808 *pu,t*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *éab'l*. 810 *féus*. 811 *pléus* [pl. (*pléuz'nz*)]. 812 *lêus*. 813 *béuk'n*, H *bw'ek'n*. 814 *méus'n*. 816 *féud*. 817 *redish*. 818 *évdj*. 819 *réudj*. 822 *mêu*. 823 *bêu*. 824 *tjéu*. 828 *héuge*. 829 *gèun*. 830 *tréun*. 831 *distréun*. 833 *pêu*. 834 *shêu*. 835 *rîuz'n*. 836 *sîez'n*. 838 *trîet*. 840 *tjéumbu*. 845 *éunshunt*. 847 *déendjé*. 849 *sréendjé*. 851 *a'nt* [same as *ant*, for which *pismire* is used only by old people]. 852 *éepun*. 853 *baagin*. 857 *kéus*. 858 *bréus*, L *embréusez* [embraces]. 859 *tjéus*. 860 *péust*. 861 *téust*, L *téust*. 862 *séuf*. 863 *tjéuf*. 864 *bikoz*. 865 *foit foot*.

E.. 867 *tii*. 868 *djæu*. 869 *vîul*. 870 *biuti*. 871 *ugrii*. 872 *tjæf*. 874 *réun rien*. 875 *féunt*. 876 *déunti*. 878 *sa'leri*. 879 *fi'méu'l*. 884 *prentis* [in the v. to (*prentis*) always; in the noun (*prentis*) occ.]. 887 *kladji*. 888 *saatin*. 889 *séus*. 890 *béust*, H *bîes'* [com.]. 891 *fîust*. 893 *neft*. 894 *distuv*. 895 *risîev*. 896 *béuve*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *diláit*. 898 *náis*. 899 *nîus*. 900 *prêe*. 901 *fáin*. 902 *máin*. 903 *dáin*. 904 *vóilet*. 908 *edváis*. 909 *bréuz*. 912 *ráis*.

O.. 913 *kúetj*. 914 *brúetj*. 915 *stu'f*. 916 *u,næn*. 917 *rúeg*. 918 *fæb'l*. 919 *óintment*. 920 *póint*. 921 *ekwéunt*. 922 *bu,sh'l*. 925 L *vóis*. 926 L *spóil*. 929 *ka'ukembu* [heard, but (*ku,ge*) most common]. 930 *lón*. 937 *kok*. 939 *klæs*. — L *rôez*. 940 *kúet*, H *kúet*. 941 *fâul*. 943 *tu,tj*. 948 *be'ul*. 952 *kúers*. 953 *ku,z'n*. 955 *dis'ut*.

U.. 960 *kéu*. 961 *gríuel*. 963 *kwóiet*. 964 *siut*. 969 *shûe*.

Var. ii. MID LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

Great interest attaches to the pronunciation about Somerby (13 nw.Wainfleet) as the birthplace of Lord Tennyson, whence he derived the dialect in which he has written OS.=Northern Farmer Old Style (in the vol. containing the 'Enoch Arden,' 1864), NS.=Northern Farmer New Style (in the vol. containing the 'Holy Grail,' 1870), NC.=Northern Cobbler, and VW.=The Village Wife or the Entail' (both in the vol. of 'Ballads and other Poems,' 1880), and SS.=The Spinster's Sweet-arts (in the volume containing 'Tiresias,' 1885).

In view of the present work Lord Tennyson (then untitled, to whom I shall refer as T. simply) did me the favour to give me an interview lasting 1^h. 40^m. on 23 Mar. 1881, in which he kindly read over to me most of OS. and some of NS., referring me for other information to Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Raunsley, late rector of Halton Hologate (8 nw.Wainfleet), who he said had much more recent knowledge of the dialect than he had.

The information which this lady kindly gave me in two long interviews will be added hereafter. On account of the copyright, it is not possible to transcribe any one of T.'s five Li. poems at length; but I am permitted to give short extracts, and I prefix certain notes and observations which I made at the time and extended immediately afterwards. The poems are referred to by the above initials, the stanza and line of the stanza.

OS.=NORTHERN FARMER OLD STYLE.

T. pronounced the diphthong written *oi* not quite as ($\text{a}'i$), but rather as (*di*); Mrs. D. A.'s sound was much finer, rather (ái , $\text{á}'i$). All the long *i* in the poems are (*ái*, ái , dái).

T. pron. the diphthong *ow* as ($\text{a}'u$) in *nowt* OS. ii. 1, x. 3, *nowt* vi. 2, xiii. 2, *yows*=ewes x. 4 (the *cow*, *now* x. 1, 2, xiii. 3, 'ow xiv. 1, were errors for *coo*, *noo*, 'oo), *plow* xi. 2, *thowt*, *owt* v. 4, *howd* xv. 2, *owd* xvii. 2. Possibly this was a Southernism, as T. has lived so long in the S. div. It varied at times to (*du*), but this he repudiated. In NS. all his *ow* were ($\text{a}'u$). Mrs. D. A. used (*áu*) as (*náu háus*) now house.

The *un* used for *im* in OS. iii. 4, v. 2, vi. 4, viii. 2, 3, 4, ix. 1, 3, etc., is a Southernism, which, as T. pointed out to me, should be corrected. Similarly *thof* iv. 3 T. said should be *tho* (*dhoo*), but Mr. Peacock gives *thoff* in his Glossary for n.Li., and Mr. Blasson gave (*dhaf*), p. 301, No. 357, in s.Li.

Throughout, *ä* is used for diphthongising (*v*) as OS. i. 1 *beän meä aloän*, viii. 3 *moäst* (*bten mte elöen möest*), in such words as *saäy awaäy laäid* v. 3, 4, vi. 1, *naäil* ix. 3, the *ä* is pron. last (*sêv wvêv lêud nevl*). But *looök* x. 1 (which should have been *looök*, compare *booök* in VW. xi. 1 and elsewhere) only means that the *oo* in both words is to be pron. long, as (*luuk buuk*), or possibly very long (*luuuk buuuk*), and not with a short vowel as in *rs.*, nor as (*lu₁k bu₁k*). But *öä* and *aw* are used in the same sense (*ö_v*, *ö_v*), and not (*AA*), hence OS. i. 3, *says that I moänt 'a naw moor yaäle* (which should have been *aäl*, T. said, as in VW., and in the same way *yeäd* v. 2 should be *eäd*) means (*sêzv dhst äi môent v nôv mûv évl*).

The short *u* in these poems was always (*u₁*), much thicker than (*u*) in T.'s speech, as also in Mrs. D. A.'s.

The fracture (*i₁v*) began with so deep an (*i₁*), as in *seäd* (*s₁i₁väd*), that I often mistook it for (*e*), and in the case of unfractured (*m₁i₁i*, *s₁i₁i*) me see, NS. xiv. 3, 4, I quite did so.

The *h* was generally omitted, but introduced emphatically in the wrong place. In the 1864 ed. of OS. xiv. 3, 4, we have 'All all rhyming; in the new ed., as T. pointed out, it is 'All *hall*, meaning *Hall all*, the last emphatic.

As for final *r* not before a vowel, I heard no trace of it either in T. or Mrs. D. A., but T. thought he heard or felt a trace of it in OS. iv. 1, 2 *larn barn* (*laa₁r₀n baa₁r₀n*), certainly with no trill, but this seemed merely an orthographical suggestion, and at most

resulted in (láaen báaen). Mrs. D. A. says that (bēen) and not (baan) is the word.

OS. was originally written with *ow* for all the U' words, the custom of T.'s own district from Horncastle to Spilsby being to use (*á'u, áu*), but T. said that a friend (not named) persuaded him to change *ow* into *oo* as giving the poem a more antique and northern flavour. Unfortunately the change was not made consistently, as T. himself pointed out to me. Thus we have *oo* in *about*, *oot* viii. 3, 4, *doon* ix. 2, x. 4, *doot* xiv. 2; but *ow* in *cow*, now x. 1, 2, now, *cows plow* xiii. 3, 4, where *observe plow* is not (*pluu*) but (*pliu*) in n.Li.

T. said he did not know the dialect of n.Li., but, as we shall see, except as respects U' words, which have (uu) in the n., the pron. is practically the same.

The peasants speak slowly, and T. read vi. 3, 4 very slowly, with lengthened final consonants.

(sívēr dí káp ím, dí káp ím, máí las', dhē mu₁n u₁ndēstand,
ái du₁n máí díuti báí ím—ēz áí—ē du₁n—bái dhē lēn'd.)

[however I kept him, I kept him, my lass, thou must understand,
I done [have done, did] my duty by him, as I have done by the land.]

ix. 2. *enemies* was a joke of T.'s, and should have been *emenies* = *anemones*.

ix. 3. (:nôeks ē :thimb'lbí—toonēr ēd shot ím ēz dí,ēd ēz ē nê₁ēl);
meaning: Nokes or Thimbleby, *toner* = one or the other, had shot him as dead as a nail.

x. 4. (su₁m on ít duun in sí,ēd), some of it down in clover.

xii. 1. (duu :godēmáí'tí nōv wot ē)z duu₁n tēē'kín ē m₁ē), does
God Almighty know that he's doing a taking of me? This was actually said by an old bailiff.

xiii. 2. (ēv ē m₁'ut ē tēēk'n :robínz—ē nīvē mēndēd ē fēns), or he
might have taken Robins, he never mended a fence. This was actually said.

xiv. 1-4. (luuk u kwoletí smáílz wēn dhē sí,ēz mē ē pásín báí,
sez tē dhēsēn nōē duut 'wot ē man ē bí₁ síwēláí!'
fēr dhē nōēz wot áí bí₁n tē :skwáíē sín f₁st ē k₁md tē
dhē AAL,
ái du₁n máí díuti báí :skwáíē, ēn—ái du₁n—máí díuti—
bái HHAAL!)

[look how quality smiles, when they sees me a passing by,
says to themselves no doubt, 'what a man he be sure-ly!'
for they knows what I (have) been to Squire since first he came to the Hall,
I (have) done my duty by Squire, and—I (have) done—my duty—by all!]

xv. 4. *noither a moänt*, now altered to *noä*, *nor a moänt* = no, nor he mustn't.

NS. = NORTHERN FARMER NEW STYLE.

In 1871 Mr. Bogg, a surgeon, native of and at that time resident at Louth, assisted by his brother, who had studied the

pron. of a labourer from Donnington-upon-Bain (5 wsw.Louth), had the kindness not only to write me out the pron. of NS. in glossic, but to answer a long string of questions upon it. From this I obtained a very correct conception of m.Li. speech, but as I have since had the advantage of referring all doubtful points to Lord Tennyson himself, I give the notes I made on reading portions of this poem with him.

- i. 1, 2. (du₁z'nt dhæ'u i₁æ mæi æseiz lægz ez dhe kantæ æwææ'æ?
propu₁ti, propu₁ti, propu₁ti! dhat)s wot æi i₁æz æm sææ'æ.)
Doesn't thou hear my horses legs as they canter away?
Property, property, property! that's what I hear them say.

T. had actually heard a Li. farmer make this comparison between the sounds of his horses feet and word 'property.' T. used (o) always and not (ö) as far as I could hear, but he made no statement concerning it. The word *horse* T. writes 'erse, there is no trilled (r) or buzzed (r_o) in his pron., but to my ear only the long vowel, which was fine like (æəs) and not coarse like (æəs). The sound in other words, however, varies.

- vi. 2. *laaid by* (léæd, léæd, læ'æd), the length and quality of the first element was very variable.
vi. 4. *a lass as 'ant nowt* (æ la's' ez aant næ'ut), (aant) means *has not*, (æent) *is not*.
vii. 1, 2 (paas'nz la's' aant næ'ut, æn shi₁ wi₁ænt æ næ'ut wæn i)z di₁æd, mæ₁n bi æ gu₁vnes, lad, æ su₁mæt, æn ad'l æ br₁iæd.)
Parson's lass has not nought, and she won't have nought when he's dead,
Must be a governess, lad, or something, and earn her bread.

(sh₁i₁æ) is more common than (sh₁i) for *she*. T. never said pure (shii), though he thought he did.

- vii. 3, 4. (wæi? fæ i)z nobæt æ kiuret, æn wiænt niæ git noo æiæ,
æn i mæ'æd dhæ bæd ez i lægz on æfææ i ku₁md tæ dhæ shæiæ.)
Why? for he's nought but a curate, and won't never get no higher,
And he made the bed as he lies on afore he came to the shire.

I asked T. whether the people of Li. ever said (sháiæ), he said he hoped so, for the sake of the rhyme, but admitted that only the educated would say so, and he uses the right sound (sh₁i₁æ) spelled *shere* in VW. iv. 6:

(æn æi ôæps ez i bi₁ænt buuk-laand, bu₁t i du₁z'nt ku₁m fro dhæ sh₁i₁æ,
wæ)d æni₁ æ dhat wi dhæ :skwæææ, æn wi hæts buuklaanin i₁æ.)

And I hopes as he be-not book-learned, but he does not come from the shire,
We'd enow of that with the Squire, and we hates book-learning here.

And SS. iv. 3, 4, where it is also spelled *shere* :

(æi's dhóæ dhe kaad mi₁ ez preti ez oni la's i dhæ sh₁iæ,
æn dhæ'u bi ez preti æ :tabi, bu₁d :robi æi sii₁d thru₁f æ dhæ.)

Yes, though thou called me as pretty as any lass in the shire,
And thou be as pretty a Tabby, but Robby I see'd through you there.

The pron. (*sháiv*) is very recent; before Shire Lane by Temple Bar (now the "Griffin") was pulled down for the new Law Courts, it was always called (:shíe :leen). The usual indistinct (-shv) -shire, derives from (*shíe*) not (*sháiv*).

- viii. 2. (*en ð aant got shu,t on em jæt*), and he has not got shot—quit—of them yet, which should be (*ji,t*) for the dialect.
 viii. 4. (*wu₁s' nør v faa'wælted*) or (*fæ'uwælted jæ'u*), worse than a capsised ewe, lying on its back in a furrow and unable to rise. I could not determine whether T. said (*je'u*) or (*jóu*).
 x. 1, 2. (*·ee, en dhái mu,dhø sez dhæ'u wants tæ mari dhø la's, ku,mz øv v djænt'lmøn bææn, en wí bôeth on u,s thiqks dhø en a's.*)

Ay, and thy mother says thou wants to marry the lass,
 Comes of a gentleman born, and we both on us thinks thee an ass.

born. The writing (*bææn*) should imply that the sound was chiefly (*æ*), but that there was a tinge of (*u*) running through it, but I could not properly imitate the vowel; it would require a prolonged study, and the hearing of it from many people to do so. Similarly (*mææn*) morn (NC. viii. 4), but I appreciated (*mú,ænín*) morning from Mrs. D. A. in NC. vii. 1. T. writes all these words with (*ur*), burn, murnin, thurn (NC. viii. 3, VW. xiii. 1)=born, morning, thorn.

- x. 4. (*dhø biiz iz øz fæl øz æ'ut*), the flies are as fierce as anything; *flies* are always called *bees*, and *rooks* are called *crows*, so the *crows* fly from a *rookery* in Lockesley Hall, v. 68.
 xii. 2. *regular*, so written for the metre is called (*reglæ*).
 xiii. 3. (*fædhør ød o'møst næ'ut*) father had almost nothing.
 xiii. 4. *tued* sounded very like (*tyy₁d*) or (*ty'₁ød*) at times, but never (*tíud*).
 xiv. 3, 4. *see, thee* (*sii, dhii*), almost (*see, dhee*), and quite distinct from (*sii, dhii*).
 xv. 3, 4. (*ku,m up, propu₁ti, kantær en kantær øwæe'ø*) come up, property, canter and canter away.

These notes and extracts contain everything of interest in Lord Tennyson's own pron. The difficulties of NC. and VW. I inquired of Mrs. D. A., but they are all included in the above. The SS. was not then published. Instead, then, of going further into T.'s poems, I proceed to the special information obligingly communicated by Mrs. D. A.

HALTON HOLEGATE (1 e.Spilsby) dt.

pal. by A.JE. from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector, who had paid great attention to the dialect and made many notes before she had married. Her dialect had the true 'ring' in it.

1. *sóv ái sév, mévts, jø sju náu dhat ái)m reet øbáut jon lét'l gel ku,mín frø dhø skuul jonds.*

2. shi)z gu'in dáun dhi rûed dhê, thru,f dhê rêd géet on dhê left and saíd dhê wés.

3. shúuer [síuer] enu,f dhê bêen ez gon stréet u,p tæ dhê dúer v dhê roq háus.

4. wts me)bi shii)l fáind [me hap tæ fáind, tæ láit on] dhat dru,qk'n def wíz'nd ood tþap v dhê néem v :tu,mæs.

5. wi AAL NAAZ im rîel wel.

6. wtent dhê ood tþap [man] suun laan v not tæ gu dhêter egen, pús tháq!

7. luuk! eent it truu?

Notes.

1. *see*. All the (*é*, *és*, *ia*) were decidedly less broad than Lord Tennyson's, which seem to have been rather strained.—*mates*, a common word.—*now* varied as (*náu*, *náu*, *ná'u*), but was not not (*nóu*).—*right*, probably (*réit*), see cwl. p. 309, No. 459, but I first wrote (*reet*) and then (*reet*) without any (*i*).—*yonder*, more common than *that*.—*going*. Mrs. D. A. said (*go*, *gu*, *gós*, *gús*) at different times, apparently according to construction.—*hand*, the (*h*) is pretty correctly inserted except from nervousness.

3. *sure*, (*shûer*) was dict. with (*shû*), but subsequently the word cropped up with distinct (*siu*). This seemed to depend on the position of the word.—*enough*, (*enáu*) was known, but not any distinction of sg. *enough*, pl. *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* was not known, but (*shr-*) initial falls into (*sr-*) generally, as (*srimp*) shrimp.

5. *we knows*, in conjugating the verb the 2nd pers. sg. ends in (*st*) and the rest in (*s*, *z*). T. uses (*st*) or (*s*) in '*asta*=hast thou or has thou, with (*th*) assimilated to (*t*) after (*s*), OS. i. 1, but he has *thoort*=thou art OS.

i. 2; *tha knows*=thou knowest OS. vi. 1; *d'ya moind*=do you remember OS. viii. 1; *what atta stannin' theer for and doesn bring ma the aál*=what art thou standing there for and dost not bring me the ale OS. xvii. 1; *dosn't thou 'ear*=dost not thou hear NS. i. 1; *thou's an ass*=thou art an ass NS. i. 3; *thou'll*=thou wilt NS. ii. 3, xiv. 3; *thou thinks*=thou thinkest NS. iv. 2; *thou can luuv*=thou canst love NS. ix. 1; *thou wants*=thou wantest NS. x. 1; *wiltha*=wilt thou NS. x. 4; *tha sees*=thou see'st NS. xiii. 1; *if thou marries*=if thou marriest NS. xv. 2; *if tha seeäs 'im an' smells 'im*=if thou see'st him and smell'est him NC. xi. 6; *if tha wants*=if thou wantest NC. xx. 3; *tha dosn' know*=thou dost not know VW. iii. 1; *thou knows*=thou knowest, VW. v. 4. It is evident therefore that T. does not follow Mrs. D. A.'s rule for the 2nd pers. sg.—*real well*, the common affirmative adverb, (*néeshen*) damnation is also used, but *very* is not common.

6. *learn* (*laan*), I could hear no (*r*) or even (*r*).

TEST SENTENCES.

- (*lév dhê fáulz dáun if jáu plêz*), lay the fowls down if you please, emphatic (*jáu*), enclitic (*þv*, *v*).
- (*shê)z dhê! wts?*), she's there! where?
- (*dþv stv áuv thrêv trêz?*), do you see our three trees?
- (*ái bi ood en lêem, téek mi hóm*), I be old and lame, take me home; the last word is pron. in several ways, but (*hóm*) is most common. *I be*, *I am* are used indifferently, but *I am* seems most common. T. uses *beánt* freely, but that, like *un* (acc. *hine* for *him*), may be a Southernism.
- (*ái sêv, ladz, ru,n v wêv en plêv*), I say, lads, run away and play.

6. (wíev got'n nu₁n, áíev du₁n, wii mæs gôv), we have gotten none, I have done, we must go; should it not be (wii mæn) or (mu₁n)? see 8.
7. (hí ka'nt en sha'nt, áí wíent tenáit, áí dú₁ent máind), he can't and shan't, I won't to-night, I don't mind (remember).
8. (hí mu₁n dáí [dóí] tédêv, so dhe sêv), he must die to-day, so they say.

Fragments of Spilsby talk from Mrs. D. A.'s note book, pal. from her dict. by AJE.

1. Chasing the Sun.

A book called "Chasing the Sun, or a Voyage due West," had been lent to an old woman by Mrs. D. A.'s sister, and this was the comment:

(áí díd'nt lárk dhat buuk stúel ez júv sístê broot mæ. ít wes 'tjêssín dhe su₁n,' en áí doont thiék nu₁thiék tu tjêssín dhe su₁n. tjêssín dhe su₁n, indiid! áí thiék :godemáí'tí el suun let fooks nôv ez tjívez ím. híil bí téskín en pu₁tín ít su₁mwíer els, áí rek'n. tjêssín dhe su₁n, indiid! áí doont lárk síty wêvz.)

I did not like that book at all as your sister brought me. It was 'Chasing the Sun,' and I don't think nothing to [have no good opinion of] chasing the sun. Chasing the sun, indeed! I think God Almighty will soon let folks know as chivies [chases] him. He'll be taking and putting it somewhere else, I reckon. Chasing the sun, indeed! I don't like such ways.

2. Two old crones meet.

(1. sôv púv :dáínv)z dívd. 2. jis, en áí)v djíst ku₁md frê lígín on er áut, en dhe)z nobu₁t wu₁n thí,q múer, en 'dhat :mr. :raanslí wíl duu fêr)er. híi)l djíst hap er u₁p.)

1. So poor Dinah's dead. 2. Yes, and I've just come from laying her out, and there's nought but one thing more, and that Mr. Raunsley [the rector] will do for her. He'll just heap her up [bury her].

3. For the Baby.

(if dhe ka'nt.karí nê múv dhísen, dháu máit tlam ood on v pívs fê dhe béebi, áí tel jê.)

If thou can'st carry no more thyself, thou might clam [seize, snatch] hold on a piece for the baby, I tell you.

4. Independence.

(nee, áiv noo kaal to bí bíhoold'n tu fooks, áí)d reedhê kamp ín dhe pínfôld, sív.)

Nay, I've no call [desire] to be beholden to folk, I'd rather camp [lodge] in the pindfold, howsoever. The last word is constantly added, as *whatever* is by Welsh speakers, as it were, 'at any rate, in any case.' The 'pindfold' is the village *pound* (pínd), under the charge of the pinder.

5. Nervous as a Cat.

(ám so naaves! gít ewêv wí jê! ka'nt ebíe jê. shíi)z ez naaves ez en oold kát.)

I'm so nervous! get away with you! I can't abear [abide] you. She's as nervous as an old cat.

6. A butter-woman says of a customer :

(sh)z fít fə noot bu,t misin v dets. shìz dhə hAAkedest, hAAtìest, hAAf'lest wu,mən in dhə táun, ku,mín ən flíqín dhí bu,tər ebáut mái shop biko'z ái wu,d'nt téek ít bak wən v nasti béenz vð bín hu,gín on ít. dhən héef ən áuər aftə, shi ku,inz mínsín ən gréusín láik v hēsndy'l fər enu,dhə heef páund.

She is fit for nothing but missing of debts [? not paying them]. She's the awkwardest, haughtiest, awfulest woman in the town, coming and flinging the butter about my shop, because I would not take it back when her nasty bairns [not (baanz), as T. said] had been carrying of it. Then half an hour later she comes mincing and gracing like an angel for another half pound.

7. Old epigram on Boston, Li.

(oo! :bos'n, :bos'n, dháu)z nóut tə boost ən
bu,t v gràn slúes ən v hái stíep'l,
ən v kúest əz sóulz v lost ən.)

Oh! Boston, Boston, thou hast nought to boast on [of]
But a grand sluice and a high steeple
And a coast as souls are lost on.

MID LINCOLNSHIRE cwl.

wn. in 1878 by TH. from Rev. William Jackson, native of Spilsby (14 sse. Louth), Principal of Didsbury College (4 s. Manchester), and three students from Sleaford (16 sse. Lincoln), Lincoln and Louth [:láuθ]. There was a fourth student from Brigg, but his special words are omitted. The informants all spoke rec. English, and hence the dialect was a reminiscence. TH. wrote the equivalent of (*u*), which may have been due to Manchester. I change it to (*u*) to agree with my own observations.

TH. marked in the (r) final constantly, but it is certainly not pron. in Li., and hence has been omitted.

Phrases. (i)z tɛ'ən is'ən' əf, he-has taken himself off; (i)z gən rêv'ɪn mad', he's gone raving mad.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — tɛ'ən [ta'en, taken]. 19 tɛʊl. A: or O: 60 loq. 61 vmoq. 62 strɔq. A'- 86 wats. 91 moo. 92 nAA. A': 104 róvd róvd. 110 nóut' [nought, ? (nɔ'ut)]. 124 stóun. — rósp'.

Æ- 138 féudhə+r fadhə+r. Æ: 156 dlád'. 160 ɛg'. 161 dee dee. 172 gras'. — kar.t kát'. 178 nat'. Æ': 208 ivv. 209 nívv. 210 tlee. 218 shíp. E- 241 re'ən. 251 míst.

EA- 320 kjéev. EA: 324 éit' n'it'. 326 óud. 328 kóud. 331 sóud. 332 teld. 338 kAAAL. EA'- 347 ívd. EA': — kreem [cream]. — ívp' (heap). 366 gríst. EO- 386 joo. EO'- 411 thrii. 419 jāv jāv. [your]. EO': 422 sík'.

I- 445 i[(dhi wéeə mən) hie thee away man]. I: — thɔ'rɔd [(thɔəd) third]. 458 nít. 459 réit. — driqk [drink]. I'- 494 táim. I': — de'ík [dyke]. 517 íð.

O- — stoon [stolen]. O: — sru:b [shrub]. 527 bóut'. 528 thóut'. 538 wu,d. — tóul [toll]. 550 wɔ'rɔd [(wɔəd) "with a little rounding"]. — mɔ'r.nín. — ɔsíz [horses]. O'- 559 mædhə+r. 562 muun. O': 588 nuun. 595 fít'.

U: ku,p. U'- 648 áuv+r. 650 vbóut. U': 658 dóun. 663 óus. 667 óut. Y: — mu,ki [mucky].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *tétiz* [potatoes]. I. and Y. 756 *srimp*. O. — *dog'*. U. — *tub tu,b* [tub]. — *manz* [manure].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *pêud* [paid]. 830 *træn*. 851 *ant*. — *gàr,d'n* [gaad'n]. E.. — *isb* [herb]. O.. — *bîef* [beef]. — *djA'ins+r* [joiner]. 939 *tlóeziz* [closes, fields]. — *róeziz* [roses]. — *bru,shiz* [brushes]. 947 *ba'il*. — [between] *tæm toon* [written between (ta'rn tòrn) turn]. U.. — *wæ'sted*. 965 *A'il*. 969 *sius+r*. — *miuzik*.

VAR. iii. n.LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

This is well marked by lying to the n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, which was traced with great care with the help of numerous clergymen, as already described (p. 19). But the change of (æu) or (áu) into (uu) does not affect the dialect in other respects; the nature and multiplicity of the fractures is not at all changed. The inference from this is that the dialect was established before the change of (uu) into (a'u), and that this n.Li. variety is a nearer approach to the old speech. Hence I have been forced, here, as also on the w. of England, to disregard this line for divisions of districts, as I did also the n. *sum* line 1 through Np. and the s. *sódm* line 2. They shew how far the change of (U' U) from (uu u) to (a'u ə) has proceeded northward, leaving the dialect otherwise unchanged. Unfortunately Gill, though a Li. man, is of little or no assistance. The only examples of his northern dialects which refer especially to Li. (suprà Part IV. p. 1250) are (*tóaz hóaz*), meaning probably (*tôuz hōez*) toes hose, indicating an existing fracture. His other northern words are not necessarily Li., but his (*dhóu jóu*) thou you, may refer to it, and if so would indicate that the (æ'u) diphthong was fully in use in his time. But he may be referring to Nf., and his (*gyyd kyyk*) good cook may belong to that locality, as well as (*paa saa*) for (*pái sái*) pay say. Sir T. Smith (suprà Part I. p. 121b) says that (*paa daa waa maa laa*) pay day way may lay, were used by the Scotch and those living beyond the Trent. I have only once got (*paa*) pay from Nf., and never heard of the other words either in Li. or Nf.

As the pron. (uu) for *ow* would naturally lead to the supposition that the n.Li. variety was more related to the N. div., and hence to class it under that rather than the M. div., the following comparison between Brigg in n.Li., D 20, and Holderness in s.Yo., D 30, where the speech is also full of fractures, will shew the striking difference of the dialects. It must be recollected that the broad Humber rolls between them, with no possible bridge.

A-	<i>máde</i>	<i>tále</i>	<i>thaw</i>			
Brigg.	<i>méud</i>	<i>téul</i>	<i>thoo</i>			
Holderness.	<i>míud</i>	<i>tíul</i>	<i>thóu</i>			
A'	<i>no</i>	<i>toe</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>stroke</i>	<i>oak</i>	<i>home</i>
Brigg.	<i>nóe</i>	<i>tóe</i>	<i>sóe</i>	<i>s,t,róek</i>	<i>òek</i>	<i>òem</i>
Holderness.	<i>níe</i>	<i>tíe</i>	<i>síe</i>	<i>sthrúek</i>	<i>jak</i>	<i>wom</i>

O-	<i>foal</i>	<i>hope</i>	<i>nose</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>fóel</i>	<i>óep</i>	<i>nóez</i>
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>fúel</i>	<i>wop</i>	<i>núez</i>
O'	<i>book</i>	<i>took</i>	<i>foot</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>buuk</i>	<i>tuuk</i>	<i>fuut</i>
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>bíek</i>	<i>tíek</i>	<i>fíut</i>

Brigg has, with no great certainty, (t,r-, d,r-). Holderness has (thr- dhr-).
 Brigg uses (dhr) generally for the def. article, and (t') rarely by assimilation.
 Holderness generally omits the def. art. altogether, or at most uses (t').
 Brigg has always *I am* (a)m). Holderness always *I is* (a)z).

Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, the author of the Glossary of Manley and Corringham Wapentakes, Li., has fully illustrated the n. Li. form, and he and his daughter also most kindly went vv. through a wl. for me, and furnished me with a dt. Miss Mabel Peacock has subsequently published "North Lincolnshire Dialect: Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-speech," 1886.

In Mr. Peacock's Glossary, first ed. 1877 (the second was announced but not published when this was printed), a large number of words are spelled with *ou, ow*, apparently directing them to be pronounced with (á'u), and in several instances this pronunciation was added in glossic by Prof. Skeat. I therefore took the trouble of extracting all such words as were not derived from *-ol, -ough*, etc., and sent them to Mr. Peacock, who kindly marked them for me, and at the same time said that they had been so written inadvertently. But as the pronunciation (á'u) or (óu) or (áu, áu) is prevalent over the greater part of Li., that is, s. of the s. *hooze* line 6 which cuts off only a small portion of n.Li., it is very necessary to bear the distinction carefully in mind, and persons who consulted the glossary might consider that the *ewl.* here given is incorrect. The following is the result:

1. (u_i) written *oo* in flood, hood.
2. (uu) written *oo* in coo [cow], cool [a lump on the head], coop, coot, crook, crooked, croon [crown], croopy, dogmooth [dogmouth = snapdragon], doot [doubt], floor, foot, hoos [house], to hooze [to house], i'noo [just now], loonging [should have been *loongin'* = lounging], moo [bellow as a cow], moon, meose [mouse], mooth [mouth], moozles [stupid] noodle, nook, oot [out], hoors [hours], shoot, smook [smoke], smoor [smother], to smooth, smooting and smoochin [narrow passage between houses], soot, stooks [sheaves of corn], stool, tooken [taken], tool, tooth, tooth-houd [(tuuth á'ud) = tooth-hold = something to bite], toozle [touzle], Wroot [in Isle of Axholme (8 e. Doncaster, Yo.)].
3. (uu) written *ou, ow* in benow, be out, bouncing, bounder, bow, breast plough [pluu øpliu], brown [clock, linnet, study], to butter down, by now, a or to clout, clout-nails, count, countess-closes, court, to cow, cow-cotton, cow-gate, cow-grass, cow-lady, cow-lick [observe a *cow* is spelled *cow*], cowl [for chimneys], crowle [crawl], crown [also written *croon*], coronation, crowner, dogmouth [also written *-mooth*], to do out [to clean out], to doubt [=to fear], to dout [extinguish], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (á'u)], down [ill], downcome, downfall, down-ligging, down to the ground [completely], :dowsabell, dowse, to drownd, drownded, enow [just now, also written *i' noo*], flout, flowler [flutter], foul, foul-tongued [these were marked as both (fá'ul, fuul)], hound, house, house-boot, house-row, housen, how, howerly [dirty, muddy, indecent], lout, louting, 'lowance [allowance, and also with (á'u)], nows and thens, out and out, outcasts, outing, at outs, outwen [backwater], to owse [to bail water], to plough (ploo, pliu), powse [(pá'uz, puuz) rubbish], proud, round, rousin, rout [noise], rout about, scour, shroud, souter-hole, a sow, to towel [to beat], a towil [a troublesome boy], a town.
4. (oo) written *ou, ow* in bout [a struggle], bowk [the belly], fower [four], goule [outfall of a drain], gowl [lump or swelling on the body], grout [thin mortar for concrete], growsome [fit for growing], growzle [to eat noisily], howle [wooden water tunnel], howler [the alder tree], howmswever [howsoever], insouling [outfall

of a ditch], knowl [toll a bell], koush [=kewse=hemlock], loup [leap], to low [blaze], and adj. low [both also (AA)], lowse [loose], nowstril [nostril, a blow on the head], owen [over], ower [over], oweralls [overalls], oweraken [overtaken], owler [alder tree, also written *howler*], powl [pole], rowl [a roll of paper], rowler [a roller for crushing], rowly powly pudding, a snowler [something large and powerful], southing [noise of the wind], to sowle [to assail], stour and daub [also stud and mud, building of laths, wattles and mud], stowp [post], to thow [thaw], i' tow, a yow [ewe].

5. (AA) written *ow* in know, to low [and also with (oo)], to own, throw.

6. (u) written *ou* in double rough (ru,f).

7. (æ'u) written *ou* or *ow* in bouge out [bulge], bough-pot, boulder [a bolder], coult, dowdy, dowly [weak], to dowk [duck], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (uu)], Howbeck dale [probably], 'lowance [allowance, both (æ'u) and (uu)], a power, to power [to pour], a rowel, sour [said of hay and clover], souse, towze, to yowl [howl], yowls [lands in certain parishes].

8. (o) written *ow* in knowledge-box.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE dt.

Manley Wapentake, about Brigg (24 nne.Lincoln).

Written by E. Peacock, Esq., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, and pal. by A.J.E. from his indications and vv. wl.

1. sôs ái sêv, méts, jə sîv nuu, dhət ái)m réit ɛbuut dha't lit'l la's ku,mín fra t' skuul jəndə.

2. shii)z ɛgə'in duun dhə rɔəd dhîs thrif jən rəd jét ɛ)dhə left and sáid ɛ)dhə wév.

3. sîuər unîf dhə bêen ɛz gôen stréit u,p tɛ)dhə dâur ɛ)dhə rɔq uus,

4. wîə shi)l tʃantj fînd dhat dhə dru,qk'n dîɛf wiz'nd fêls kAAD :təməs.

5. wî AAL NAA ím VERÍ WEL.

6. wîent dh)ɛ'ud tʃap suun laan)ɛ nɔt tɛ duu dhat ɛgîen, pûə thîq!

7. luuk, iz'nt it tríu ?

Notes to n.Li. dt.

1. *I* (ái) apt to run to (*ái A'i*).—*I am*, "is, are, be, not used," but (*béent*) be not seems to be occasionally used.—*from the*, the (t') is very doubtful, and (*dhə*) is more probable.—*yon* (jən) is commonly used for *that, yonder* is not so common.

2. *through*, this form is also given in Mr. P.'s Glossary, Brogden gives

(thru,f).—*hand*, in his wl. Mr. P. always inserted (h), here he notes "(h) never used, but in anger." Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, a native of n.Li., always omitted (h) in dialect.

4. *chance, maybe* would be more usual.—*called* more usual than (*ɛ)dhə néəm ɛ*) of the name of.

5. *very*, also called (*vari*).

WINTERTON (22 wnw.Gt. Grimsby) cs.

written by Rev. J. J. Fowler, sometime curate of Winterton, and corrected from his dict. in 1873 by A.J.E.

This cs. was also read to me by the daughter of a labourer from Epworth (9 nnw.Gainsborough), who was servant at Mr. Spencer's Hotel, King's Cross, London, a Lincolnshire house. The servant had been a year only in London, but her dialect was not certain and was confused, partly apparently from original

proximity to Doncaster (14 w. Epworth), which probably affects the whole of the Isle of Axholme, partly from London speech, and greatly from inability to understand what was wanted. Hence I subsequently felt that her version was not sufficiently trustworthy. Mr. Fowler himself was not always quite certain. Under these circumstances I give only an abridged form of Mr. Fowler's version.

1. wel, néebə, juu en ii mə bōeth laf. ús kēez ?
2. dhat shəl bi tríu. *it iz'nt v vari láiklí thiq, juu mə pend.*
3. djest dhuu od dhi dēn, mēn, wáil a)m vte·lín dhē.
4. a)m síue ái tēd v m sēv—dhat a díd, síuēr enif—
5. vt-t'ju, qgest s_un izsē'n, v gríet lad v nán jíer ood, níu iz féudhēz t_uq tēreklí [*directly*], v n ái)d tr_ust 'im tē spēek tríuth oní dee, éi, dhat wod)í.
6. v n dh)ood w_u, mēn v sē'n 'l tel oní on jē, íf jē)l nobēt aks)v, éi ·dhat shē wil,
7. tuu v thrii táimz ovēr v n aal.
8. uu *it waz en wíer it waz en wen it waz et shē f_un dhat dhē dr_u, qk'n bíst v z shē kaa)z v r u, z bēn.*
9. shē síid)ím wí v r aan iiz, lígín u₁p)v)dhē gr_und *i iz g_ud s_u, nde kúet, klúes v gíen dhē dúe stēd, duun bí)dh kaa)er v t jon dhíe léen end.*
11. *it waz djest v z dhē :bíl wáif v n v wēz v k_u, mán uut o)dh téeti gath [potato yard] frē íqín uut t' klóez,—dhē)d djest bín duu·ín v bí v wēshín, v n v d aadlínz gēt'n dhēr anz uut v dh wēsh t_u, b,*
12. v n)dh ket'l waz bóilín, v n dhē wēz djest v go·ín tē v v v k_u, p v tív.
13. v n íf juu)l belíi·v 'mii, a níve naad noo móer, nē dē·z'nt want tu nēvdhēr, sōe nuu jē naa.
14. a m_u, n v wēe' dēv tē gít v bí v s_u, pēv a)í·v v, sōe a m_u, n bí wíshín jē g_u, d níit.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE CWL.

written by Mr. Peacock, and corrected from his dict. in 1877 by A.J.E. Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, also gave me a wl. for Scotter (19 n.w. Lincoln), which I corrected v.v., and when the pron. differed from or supplemented Mr. Peacock's, the words are here annexed with F. prefixed.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 ta'k téek. 5 ma'k méek. 6 méed. 7 sa'k séek. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 10 haa [no tendency to euphonic (r)]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kéek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shéem. 25 méem. 27 F néev. 31 léet. 32 bédh. 33 reedhē raadher. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom k_u, m. 41 theqk [occ. probably a modern vulgarism]. 43 ha'nd. 44 la'nd. 46 ka'n'l. 51 ma'n. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 íra'. 60 loq. 61 vmoqst. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. A: 67 gōv. 69 nōv. 70 tōv. 71 wōv. 72 uu. 73 sōv. 74 tuu, F tōv. 75 s_t, rōek. 76 t_u, v d, F tōv d. 78 aa, v aavz mē [he owes me]. 79 aav. 81 leen. 82 [no (w_u,nst) is heard]. 83 móen. 84 móv+r. 85 sōv+r. 86 óuts wots. 87 tlóez [(tl) for (kl) initial, always]. 89 bōeth. 90 bla. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 99 thraan. 100 saan. A: 101 óek. 102 aks. 104 róed. 105 róed. 106 bróed. 109

1AA. 111 a'ut. 113 óel. 115 óem. 118 bóen. 121 góen. 122 nóen. 123 F na'ut. 124 stóen. 126 F óv. 127 [(v óest) a cough]. 128 dhóez. 129 góest. 130 bóet. 131 góut. 133 root reet. 134 F óeth. Æ- 138 feadh+r févdh+r. 139 dréu. 140 éul [ale, ail pron. in same way]. 141 néul. 142 sniil snéul. 143 téul. 144 F ógéun. 145 sléun. 146 F méen. 147 F bréun. — a'nt [(pismáiv+r) more common]. 149 F bléuz. 152 wa'te.r. 153 se'te.rdi. Æ: 155 tha'k. 158 ef'te+r. 161 déu. 164 F méu. 166 méud. 168 ta'l'e. 169 wa'n. 172 gres. 173 waa+r. 174 bsh. 179 wa't. 181 pa'd. Æ'- 182 F síu. 183 tíetj. 191 íel. 192 míen. 194 éni. 195 meni. 199 blíet. 200 wíet. Æ': 205 thríed. 210 tléa. 213 évdh+r. 215 F tAAat. 216 díel. 226 móest. 227 wíit. 228 swíet.

E- 232 bríek. 233 spíek. 234 níud. 240 lèun. 241 réun. 242 F twèun. 243 plèu. 247 F wíen. 249 wíe+r. 250 swíe+r. 251 míet. E: 260 F lèu. 262 wèu. 265 street. 267 jíild. 270 bælos. 274 bintj. 284 thresh. E': 314 híed. EA- 319 géup. — kéu+r. EA: 321 [(sid) used]. 323 la'f. 323 fa'ut. 326 ood. 327 bood. 328 kood. 330 ood. 331 seid. 332 teld. 333 kaaf, F kAAaf. 334 évf. 335 AAL. 340 F jaad. 343 waa'm. 345 daa+r. 346 jéut. EA'- 347 híed. EA': 350 díed. 351 líed. 354 shíuf. 355 díuf. 356 líuf. 357 dhóu. 361 bíen. 362 sléu. 363 tíep. 366 gríet. 367 thríet. 368 díeth. 369 slaa. 371 stróu, F strAA'e. EI- 372 ái, ee. 373 F dhéu. 374 F néu. 376 br'ek. EI: 377 ste'ek. 378 wa'ek. EO- 384 hev'n. 385 biniin. 386 joo. 387 níu. EO: 388 milk. 390 shu,d. 397 swóed. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 405 aath. 406 íeth. 407 faad'n. EO'- 413 dív'l. 414 fíi. 421 foti. EO': 423 thii. 426 F féit. 430 fránd. 432 fóet. 434 bet. EY- 438 díi.

I- 442 áivin. 444 stíil, F stáil. 446 náin. I: 452 ái [(v) unemphatic]. 455 líg. 458 níit. 459 réit. 461 eliit. 462 síit. 465 síitj. 466 tjáild [but (b'æn) bairn, used]. 468 tjíld+r. 471 tímj be+r. 472 sriqk. 473 blínd. 475 wáind. 476 bínd. 477 fínd. 478 gráind. 479 te wínd. 486 íest [F (baam) used]. 487 jístedi. 488 F jít. I'- 491 F sái. 493 F dráiv. 494 F táim. 496 áivn. 468 F ráit. I': 500 F láik. 501 F wáid. 502 F fáiv. 504 F náif. 505 F wáif [occ. (waif wa'if)]. 506 wu,mén. 507 wímin. 508 máil. 511 wáin. 512 F spáiv+r. 515 wáiz.

O- 520 ba'u. 521 fíel. 522 op'n. 523 hóep. 524 wóeld waald [first commonest]. O: 526 kof. 527 ba'ut. 528 tha'ut. 529 bra'ut. 530 ra'ut. 531 da'ute+r. 532 kóel. 534 hóel. 536 ga'ud, F guuld. 537 ma'ud, F muuld. 538 wa,d. 539 buul. 540 F olí. 542 ba'ut. 550 wad. O'- 558 luuk. 563 F mu,ndi. 565 nóuz. 566 F u,dhe+r. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 F gu,d. 572 F blu,d. 573 fu,d. 575 stuud. 576 wenzdi. 577 bíu. 578 plíu [always, never (pléf)]. 579 éni'f [sg.], éniú [pl.]. 580 kof. 581 sa'ut. 587 da,n. 592 swAA'e. 594 buut. 595 fuut. 597 suut.

U- 599 vbuun. 600 F lu,v. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 ku,m. 605 su,n. 607 bu,te+r. U: 608 F u,glí. 612 su,m. 613 dru,qk. 615 pu,nd. 616 gru,n. 618 wa'und. 619 fu,n. 621 wu,n. 625 tu,q. 629 su,n. 631 thazdi. 632 u,p. 633 ku,p. 634 thrif, F thru,f. 635 wóth. 636 faade+r. U'- 643 kuu. 641 F huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 646 buu. 649 thuuzend. 652 ku,d. 653 bu,t. U': 654 shruud. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 662 F u,z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 677 F drái. 679 tjéty. Y: 685 rig. 686 F báí. 689 bíild [rarely, and (byld)]. 690 máind. 691 káind. Y: 700 was. 701 fast. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 F thottin. 708 háiv+r. Y': 709 fáiv+r. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 F bad. 714 F lad. 717 díéed. 718 tréed. 719 [(bu,lhed) used]. 722 drién, F dréan. 723 F déuri. 725 séul. 729 fréem. 733 F skéu+r. 735 F smésh. 737 F méut. 738 F préut. 742 F léuzi. E. 743 skriem. 744 mészinz. 745 tjíet. 748 u,nflígd [unfledged]. 751 píet. I. and Y. 756 simp [occ.]. 758 gal [(wántj) much used]. O. 761 lóed. 763 F róem. 768 kóek.

769 ma'udiwaap, ma'ud. 772 boonfáiv+r. 773 [F only (djak-as) jack-ass used]. 774 póem. 778 v'fóed. 779 F óts [usually (lievínz)]. 780 F djós'l. 783 pu,ltri. 784 F bu,ns. 786 F duus. 787 F suus. 789 F ráu. 790 guun [(d) never added], F gáun. — druund, druundəd [drown, drowned]. U. 792 F skwab'l. 793 F u,g. 794 F dju,g. 795 F sru,g. 801 F ru,m. 802 F ru,m. 803 F dju,mp. 805 F kru,dz. 806 F fu,s. 807 F pu,s. 808 pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 F féus. 811 F pléus. 812 F léus. 813 F béak'n. 814 F méus'n. 815 F fa'ks. 816 feed. 817 redish. 827 F eegv+r. 828 F eegv. 834 sheez. 838 tréut. 839 béel. 840 tjaambv+r, F tjeembv+r. 852 a'pən. 853 baagzn. 857 F kéus. 858 F bréus. 859 F tjeús. 860 péast [used for dough]. 861 téast. 864 bikos. 865 falt. E.. 874 re'en. 875 féant. 876 déunti. 878 sa'ləri. 887 tlaadji. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. 893 fláuv+r. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 899 niis. 904 F váilet. 910 djáist, F djáis. 911 sæstən. O.. 913 kóetj. 914 bróetj. 915 F stu,f. 922 F bu,shel. 927 F tru,qk. 928 u,ns. 929 F kuukəmv+r, kə'u-. 931 dju,gle+r. 935 F kuuntri. 939 tlóus. 940 kóet. 942 bu,tjv+r. 943 tu,tj. 944 F sluur. 950 F su,pe+r. 951 ku,pl. 952 kóus. 953 F ku,z'n. 954 F ku,shen. 955 duut. 956 F ku,vv+r. U.. 963 kwáiet. 966 F fruut. 967 F suut. 969 súen. 970 F dju,st. 971 F fluut.

D 21 = s.NM. = southern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the confluence of the Irwell with the Mersey, then go n. over Chat Moss just e. of Astley and Tyldesley, through Peel (3 s. Bolton). Turn ne. and pass se. of Bolton, nw. of Bury and se. of Bacup to the b. of La. at Todmorden. Then go s. along the e. b. of La. to Ch. just n. to Mosley. Turn across Leatherbed Moss, Ch., to the ne. b. of Db., and pursue the e. b. of Db. to Stanedge or Stanage. Go. w. to the s. of Bamford and Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Man Tor. Here turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest liberty to Hay Dale, and then w. to Black Edge (1½ n. Buxton). [This b. from Stanedge to Black Edge is also the b. between (d,r, t,r) on the n., and (dr, tr) on the s.] Go nw. over Combs Moss to its nw. point; then just w. of Chapel-en-le-Frith, and keeping n. of Combs Edge township go nw. to the b. of Db. at Whaley Bridge (9 se. Stockport). Pursue the w. b. of Db. to the ne. horn of Ch., just at the junction of the Etherow and the Goyt near Marple, Ch. Then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to just w. of Stockport joining the Mersey and pursuing it to the starting-point at the affluence of the Irwell.

Area. The se. corner of La., the ne. horn of Ch., the High Peak or the nw. of Db. The s. slopes of the Peak are in D 26.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * indicates vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ° in io.

Ch. † Stockport, partly in La., † Stalybridge, partly in La., and incidentally with † Glossop Db. are given Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Hattersley, etc. to Compstall.

Db. † Chapel-en-le-Frith, † Edale, † Glossop (including Hadfield, Padfield, etc.), † Hope Woodlands, † Peak Forest.

La. † Ashton-under-Lyne, * Bury, † Failsworth, ° Manchester (twice), ° Moston, † Oldham, † Patricroft, † Rochdale, † Rayton, † Stalybridge, partly in Ch. It will thus be seen that practically I am almost entirely indebted to T.H. for information on this district, and he is the only informant who was capable of giving the necessary minute information.

Character. This district lies in the middle between the NM. group, D 20 to D 24, and the MM. group, D 25 to D 27. It is not itself perfectly homogeneous, but very nearly so. Two principal varieties may be distinguished. Var. i. the La. Form which

prevails in La., Ch., and the s. bank of the Etherow, and Var. ii. the Peak Form. Var. i. is strongly distinguished from the surrounding districts, by the use of (æ'u) for U' in place of (aa') in D 22, the great variety of sounds for U' in D 24, and the use of (âi) for U' in D 25. Var. ii. is not so strongly distinguished as Var. i., because it uses (âu) for U', which is not an unfrequent variety of (æ'u) everywhere, and as already shewn (p. 293) is really on the way to (aa) and (âi) through (âæ). In the present participle Var. i. uses (-i,qk), a very characteristic La. form, but Var. ii. has (i,n), for the usual form (-iq). In the three interlinear cs. given presently it will be seen that these are practically the only points of difference.

For the meaning of (u_o), which is here universal, see p. 291, and for (æ'u) see p. 292. Both are here pure, and as D 21 is TH.'s native district, his pron. of these sounds must be received as normal. On (r), which must be considered in the illustrations to represent (r), following TH.'s writing, see p. 293. On (h) see p. 295. The final -ng becomes generally (-qg), except in participles, where it is usually (n) in Db. as in most places, but occ. becomes (-qk) in the La. and Ch. portions of D 21.

The following peculiarities of TH.'s notation, but not his (u_o), have been strictly observed in this his native district :

1. TH. has been very particular in marking *the medial length of vowels* as distinguished from long or short, both when occurring independently and as the last element of a diphthong. But this is by no means a peculiarity of any particular district, as appears from his continually marking the same kind of prolongation in every place which he visits. It is very rarely that I find any inducement to make this distinction in my own writing, but, except in the final element of diphthongs, which is frequently prolonged at pleasure, I follow his orthography when quoting him. TH. is very anxious to have it understood that the medial lengths he marks are strictly dialectal, and that to use either short or long quantities in their place would be inaccurate. Old John Hart, 1569, considered the second element of all diphthongs long, as (âi âuu), and certainly whenever a diphthong is much prolonged or emphasized, the second element is necessarily lengthened, an elocutionary device by which its character is not altered, whereas its character is always much changed by more or less lengthening the first element, as (âi âai, âu âau). Hence I mark initial but do not mark final lengthening of the final element of a diphthong, just as I do not mark elocutionary devices in general.

2. TH. much insists on his *notation of unaccented (i)*, as I write it, which he considers should be (i) or retracted (i̇), especially in final syllables. Thus he would write *infinity* as (infîn·i̇ti). Here I do not follow him, but write (infîn·iti), considering that any difference of sound is an accidental, neither intentional nor invariable, effect of the absence of accent, which always obscures the sound and makes it difficult to appreciate. At first I thought it was a local peculiarity, but when I found that TH. recognised it from all speakers, peasant or educated, local or general, and in myself also, where I failed to perceive it, I concluded that it was a mere difference of appreciation and ceased to use (i̇), which as contrasted with my own habits of writing would have produced the impression of a difference of pron. which did not really exist. A glance at the following cs. will shew the undesirability of such a notation.

3. TH. not only marks the medial length of vowels, but the *prolongation of final consonants*, especially "(1) in the pause after short and sometimes medial vowels, and diphthongs having both elements short, and (2) occasionally in connected speech." In the case of (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r, l, m, n, q) of course they can be prolonged and often are prolonged even in received speech, especially in the pause or when dictating isolated words and aiming at distinctness, as (looth') loth, (loodh' loodh'th') loathe, but this is elocutionary and not dialectal or permanent, that is, the consonant is not invariably so prolonged whenever the word is used. Again in the case of mutes as (p, t, k), which of course having no

sound cannot have their sound prolonged, the configuration may be suspended and released on flatus, thus (*noot* t') note, for which (*noot*') would be written. [The French release on voice as (*not*').] But this again is elocutionary, not permanent, and its more or less frequent use does not belong to any special dialect. In noting down a person's pron. it is unobjectionable to mark it, as well as other passing usages, but in printing dialectal specimens it would be misleading, because it would acquire the appearance of permanence, which it does not really possess. Hence, as a rule, I omit them altogether. Of course TH. holds a different opinion and says that in all cases where he marks this prolongation of consonants, the phonetic representation of the dialect would be imperfect if they were not prolonged. Nevertheless I prefer not marking prolongation, but leaving it optional.

For a specimen of TH.'s complete style of writing palaeotype, which I do not find it right or convenient to adopt generally, see the Chapel-en-le-Frith dt. and cwl., pp. 322-329, which being written by himself after consultation with his friends there resident, is worth preserving as a portrait. I have also used his marks of prolongation and retraction in the three interlinear cs. here given, in the eight interlinear cs. of D 26, and the Combs Valley dt. in the four interlinear dt. in D 25, so that the full effect of these (to my mind individual and not dialectal) prolongations and suspensions may be readily seen. But beyond the particular specimens named, I shall omit them.

The suspension of consonants, however, is quite different from the *suspended* (t') for the definite article, which here occurs sparingly, but is universal in D 24, 30; 31. The mode in which it makes its presence felt is peculiar. When it is possible it hangs on by a glide to the preceding vowel or consonant, as (*in*)t' kart) in the cart, but in (t')kart)s ku,min) the cart is coming, this is impossible. It then modifies the position of the organs for (k), so that the glide on to (aa) in (t')kaa) is quite different from that in simple (kaa). Before (t, d) as (t' tu,q, t' dæg) it intensifies the (t, d) in a remarkable manner. It never properly runs on to the following vowel, (t' óud tʃap) the old chap, and (t'óud t' tʃap) told the chap, have different effects as well as meanings. The (t'óu) then more nearly resembles (t'óu), but is not so intense. In no case must voice or flatus intervene. To say (t'dæg, t'túed, t'kaat) the dog, the toad, the cart, with introduced (') or ('), would be quite wrong. It is almost hopeless to understand (t') without studying its effect from native lips.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

- S Stalybridge, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1876 from the dictation of John Marsland, Esq., J.P., b. 1817, cotton spinner, native and resident.
 G Glossop, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1874 from the dictation Mr. Samuel Lyne, native of Hollingworth, Ch. (4 wnw.Glossop), b. about 1808, who has resided in the neighbourhood all his life, lodge-keeper at a large cotton-mill. Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Mottram, Hattersley, etc., to Compstall, in the ne. horn of Ch., and Hadfield, Padfield, etc., on the Db. side of the Etherow Valley, have all the same peasant speech.
 C Chapel-en-le-Frith (5 n. Buxton, Var. ii. pal. by TH., native, from personal knowledge. In this version the roman superiors ^{a, b, c}, etc., refer to the variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which are also given in D 25 as variants from Pott Shrigley; they consist chiefly in the use of (ái) for (áu). The italic superiors ^{a, b, c} give the variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc., on the Peak. For both see notes, p. 321.

0. S *Stalybridge*. wái :dʃɔn)z nɔ dæ'uts.
 G *Glossop*. wái :dʃɔn(z næ'u dæ'uts.
 C *Chapel-en-le-Frith*. wái :dʃɔn)z næ'u ^adæ'uts.

1. S wɛ'l, mɔ'n, búvdh ím u,n dhí mɪ, laf' ɛt wɔt ʌ)m
 G wɛ'l, mɔ'n, dhí ɛn ím mɛ búvdh laf' ɛt wɔt ʌ)m
 C wɛ'l, lɔd, joo . ɛn ím mɛ ^bbuvdh laf' ɛd dhɪz nɪ,úz

- S telíqk)re. A du_one kJEER. dhat ma tər)z nó,ut.
 G bə'un)t tel)re. úe kJEERZ ? dhat)s noodher fer ner dhíer.
 C e) máin. ^cuu kJEERZ ? dhat)s noodher fer ner dhíer.
2. S dher)z no moni, fók' dín bi,kooz dhə)r laft àt, wi,(noon,
 G dher iz)ne moni, ez dín bi,kooz dhə)r laft àt, wi,)noon,
 C dher iz)ne moni, ez dín bi,kooz dhə)r laft àt, wi,)noon,
 S du_o)ne wi, ? wot shu_od mak)em ? it)s noon se láiklí,
 G du_o)ne wi, ? wot shu_od mak)em ? it iz)ne verí, láiklí,
 C ^adu_o)nt ez ? wot shəd mak)em ? it iz)ne verí, láiklí,
 S iz,)it ?
 G iz,)it ?
 C iz,)it ?
3. S shu_o)z ə'u it)wer e)dhís'n. se dju_ost ó,ud
 G et ani, reet it)wer e)dhís'n. se dju_ost ə'ud
 C et ani, reet dhíz er th)faks e)th kjees. se dju_ost ə'ud
 S dhí, nó,iz, má'n, u_on shu_ot' dhí, mə'uth wáil A)v dū_on.
 G dhí, dín, mə'n, en bí, kwáíet tén A)v dū_on.
 C jər 'nə'iz, mən, en bí, kwáíet təl A)v ^cdə'un.
 S jər)dhí, ?
 G ier)dhí, ? [JEER)dhí, ?]
 C ier)jə ?
4. S A)m shú_oer A jərd su_om e dhú_oer fók' et
 G A)m sárti_on A fərd em SEE—A mien su_om e dhə'uz fók' ez
 C A)m sárti_on A fərd em SEE—A ^amiin su_om e dhə'uz fók' ez
 S rek'nt t' noo d ebs'út it SEE—
 G went thrə'u th)wu_ol kensàrn fer th)fast dhərselz—dhat A
 C went thrə'u th)wu_ol kensàrn ^afre th)fast dhərselz—dhat A
 S
 G did shə'uer enu_of
 C did shə'uer enu_of
5. S u_ot th)ju_oqkst lād i,ssel' e big' lād e náin, nood i,s
 G es th)ju_oqgi,st lād i,ssel' e big' lād náin fer ə'úd, nood i,s
 C es th)ju_oqgi,st lād ^ai,ssel' e big' lād náin fer ə'úd, nood i,s
 S feedherz vó,ís' in e krak', fer oo it wer se kwíer u_on
 G feedherz ve'ís' es sə'un ez íi fərd it, ev it war kwíer en
 C feedherz ^ave'ís' dī,rekli, ev it war se kwíer en
 S skwék'i,qk, u_on A noo th)lād ed Aales tel t' tráu_oth,
 G skwíek'i,qk, en A)m shə'uer íi)l tel t' trə'uth,
 C ^askwík'i,n, en A)d tru_ost im t' tel t' trə'uth,

- S A)m shúu^r.
 G ani, táim.
 C ani, táim, ·dhat A wú_od.
6. S u_n th)á'ud wu_omən ɛrsel' ɛl tel ani, ɔn jə u_ot)s laf'i,qk,
 G ɛn th)á'ud wu_omən ɛrsel' ɛl tel ani, ɔn jə ɛt ɛr laf'i,qk,
 C ɛn th)á'ud wu_omən ɛrsel' ɛl tel ani, ɔn jə ɛz laf'n naa,
 S u_n st're'it' á'ut', ɛn oo, bə'út ani, bədhər, ɪv jə)n
 G ɛn tel jə st're'it' á'ut', tæ'u, bə'út mətj bədhər, ɛv jə)n
 C ɛn tel jə st're'it' fɔret, tæ'u, 'báút mətj bədhər, ɛv jə)n
 S nabər aks ɛr, oo! wɛ)nt úu^ɔ?
 G nabər aks ɛr, oo! wɛ)net æ'u?
 C oonli, aks ɛr, oo! wɛ)net ɛ?
7. S shu_oz) á'u, úu tó'úd ml wɛn A aks)t)ɛr, mənɪ, ɛ
 G ɛt ani, reet, æ'u tæ'úd i)t mɪi wɛn A aks)t)ɛr, tæ'ú ɛr thrɪi
 C ɛt ani, reet, æ'u tæ'úd i)t mɪi wɛn A aks)t)ɛr, tæ'ú ɛr thrɪi
 S táim, u_n úu)d nə)bɪ, ru_oqg ɛ dhat pó,ɛnt A)rek'n,
 G táimz ɔɛr, ɛn æ'u shu_od)nɛ bɪ, raqk ɛbá'úd
 C táimz ɔɛr, ɛn æ'u du_oz)nɛ á'ut t' bɪ, ru_oqg ɛbá'út sítj
 S wə)d'n jə thiqk?
 G dhɪs', wəd du_n jə thiqk?
 C ɛ thiqg ɛz dhɪs', wəd du_n jə thiqk?
8. S wɛl, ɛz A wɛr sɛ'i,qk úu^ɔ)d tel jə, á'u wɛr u_n
 G wɛl, ɛz A wɛr sɛɛ'i,qk æ'u)d tel jə búɛdh á'u ɛn wɪɛr ɛn
 C wɛl, ɛz A wɛr sɛɛ'i,n æ'u)d tel jə ʰbuɛdh á'u ɛn wɪɛr ɛn
 S wɛn' úu^ɔ fú_n' t' d'ru_oqk'n bíst úu^ɔ kooz ɛr)u_ozbɛnt.
 G wɛn' æ'u fú_n' t' d'ru_oqk'n slotj ɛz æ'u kooz ɛr u_ozbɛnt.
 C wɛn' æ'u fú_n' t' d'ru_oqk'n slotj ɛz æ'u kAAZ ɛr u_ozbɛnt.
9. S úu^ɔ swɛɛr úu^ɔ siid i)m wɪ, ɛr oon iin, fu_ol lɛqkth
 G æ'u swɛɛr æ'u siid i)m ɛrsɛl, lá'i'i,qk ɔ ɛv ɛ lɛqkth
 C æ'u swɛɛr æ'u siid i)m wɪ, ɛr oon iin, lá'i'i,n A' i,z lɛqkth
 S ɔn th) flúu^ɔɛr ɪn i,z gú_od a'ledɪ, kúɛt, tlds' bɪ,)th
 G u_opɛ th) grá'und ɪn i,z su_ondɪ, kúɛt, tloos ɛt)i,z
 C u_opɛ th) ʰgrá'und, ɪn i,z gú_od su_ondɪ, 'kuunt, tloos bɪ,)th
 S á'us' dɛ'r, dɛ'ɔn bɪ,)th karnɛr ɛ)th loon.
 G oon dɛ'r, dɛ'ɔn ɛt th) karnɛr ɛ)th loon.
 C ʰáuz dɛ'r, 'dɛ'ɔn ɛt th) karnɛr ɛ 'jɔnd loon.
10. S úu^ɔ sɛd i wɛr mak'i,qk ɛ dɪn, fɛr oo th)wáld
 G i wɛr mak'i,qk ɛ dɪn, æ'u sɛ'd, fɛr oo th)wáld
 C i wɛr mak'i,n ɛ dɪn, æ'u sɛ'd, fɛr AA th)wáld

S *láik* e *púerli*, *tjáilt*, er *láik* e *lét'l* wentj *fret'i,qk*.
 G *láik* e *badli*, *tjáilt*, er e *lét'l* wentj *kráii,qk*.
 C *láik* e *badli*, *tjáilt*, er e *lét'l* wentj *kráii'n*.

11. S *u_on* dhat *wár*, ez *úu^s* en er *dó,u't'ér* *i_n* *lAA* *kúu^sm*
 G en dhat *wár*, ez *á'r* en er *da'u't'ér* *i_n* *lAA* *kæ'um*
 C en dhat *ap'nt*, ez *á'r* en er *da'u't'ér* *i_n* *lAA* *kæ'um*

S *thru^s* *th)bak'* *járd* *fré* *aqgi,qk* *th)wit'* *tlúez*
 G *thræ'u* *th)bak'* *járd* *afte,r* *eqgi,qk* *t)tlúez*
 C *thræ'u* *th)bak'* *járt* *wén* *dhi,)d* *bín* *iqgi,n* *th)wít* *"tluuz*

S *a'ut'* e)th *wé'ish'i,qk* *dee*
 G *a'ut'* e)th *wesh'i,qk* *dee*
 C *áut'* t)^s*d,ré'i* ev e *wesh'i,n* *dee*

12. S *wáil* *th)tee* *kjet'l* *wér* *bó,i*l*i,qk* *wón*
 G *wáil* *th)* *kjet'l* *wér* *bé'i*l*i,qk* *fér* *th)bag'i,qk* *wón*
 C *wáil* *th)* *kjet'l* *wér* *'bé'i*l*i,n* *fér* *th)^mtee,* *wón*

S *fáin* *brít'* *su_omér* *afte,rnu'n,* *náber* e *wik'*
 G *su_onshé'ini,* *afte,rnæ'un,* *náber* e *wáik*
 C *fáin* *bráit* *afte,rnæ'un* *i,* *su_omér,* en *it'l* *oonli,* *bi* e *"wáik*

S *sín'* t' *neks* *tharzdi,*
 G *sín'* t' *neks* *tharzdi,*
 C *sín'* t' *neks* *tharzdi,*

13. S *u_on* *du_on)re* *noo?* *esh)* *shúu^ser* ez *á)m* *kood* :*djak'*
 G en *du_on)re* *noo?* *esh)* *shæ'uér* ez *á)m* *íer,*
 C en *du_on)re* *noo?* *esh)* *shæ'uér* ez *mái* *neem)z* :*djon*

S :*shépert,* *á* *je'rd* *nó,ut'* *ne* *múer* *éba'ut* *i,t*
 G *á* *never* *íerd* *ná'ut'* *aba'ut* *i,t* *sín'*
 C :*shépert,* *á* *níver* *gjet* t' *noo* *ne* *múer* e *dhat* *kensàrn* *té*

S *u_op* *té* *ná'u,* *u_on* *á* *du_o)ne* *want* t' *dúu^s* *noodher,* *næ)dhén'!*
 G en *á* *du_o)ne* *want* *noodher,* *næ)dhén'!*
 C *dhéiz* *dee,* en *á* *du_o)ne* *want* *noodher,* *nà)dhén'!*

14. S *u_on* *sé)ná'u* *á)m* *gu'i,qk)* *k' mi,* *bag'i,qk.* *gu_od* *nít,*
 G en *ná'u* *á)m* *gu'i,qk* *wá'm)p'* *mi,* *su_oper.* *gu_od* *náit,*
 C en *naa* *á)m* *gu'i,n* *wá'm* *té* *mi,* *su_oper.* *gu_od* *náit,*

S *u_on* *du_o)ne* *bi* *sé* *redí,* t' *kroo* *óer* *anibodi,* *egjén,* *wén*
 G en *du_o)ne* *kroo* *óer* *nu_obdi,* *egjén,* *wén*
 C en *du_o)ne* *bi* *sé* *redí,* t' *kroo* *óer* *anibadi,* *egjén,* *wén*

S *dhø)r* *tá'k'i,qk* *éba'ut* *ó,ut.*
 G *dhi,* *tAAk'n* *éba'ut* *á'ut.*
 C *dhi,* *tAAk'n* *"éba'ut* *á'ut.*

15. S i)z naber v fúù^s vt tAAks bə'ut sens. sɛ nɛ'u ʌ
 G ii iz v soft fə'u vt preets bə'ut sens. ʌ)s)SE)nɛ
 C it)s v "wɛk fə'u ɛz preets 'báut riiz'n. ɛn dhat)s mi,
 S dʊ_on. gu_od nít'.
 G múɛr ɛbɛ'út i,t. gu_od náit'.
 C last wárd. gu_od náit'.

Notes to Stalybridge cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or (:tu_om, :bil'), etc.—*thee*, the 2nd pers. sg. is employed in the usual way. TH. writes (dhi), but says, "In this and other words in which (i ii) occur, the sound, when not a pure vowel, is a slight fracture nearly = (i,i)." This is in other cases written (ii) or (i,i); but I here retain TH.'s notation.—*telling*. "The termination (i)k is, in the town, restricted to elderly people. It was generally used about 1836-46. Mr. Marsland's father (d. 1864) invariably said (i)k." He also said (ru_okh) rough, (láikh) laugh.

3. *choose how*, a common phrase, for 'at any rate, take it as you like.'—*shut thy mouth*, or (shar u_op') or (shu_or u_op') shut up, the final (t) before a vowel becoming (r), as very frequently here

and elsewhere, see par. 12 (nɛbɛr v wik) nought-but a week.

4. *sure*, the ^o in (ə'u^o) merely means "with protruded lips," as near Oldham, only not quite so much protruded.

6. *you will-en* (ɛn), the *will* is lost and only the *you-n* remains.

9. *by the house* or (ɛsáid v)th-), aside of the.—*corner of the lane* or (loo_o karnɛr) lane corner.

14. *going to my* (gu_oi,qk)k' mi), (k') is *to*, assimilated to preceding (qk).—*tea*, bagging. Most work-people have tea at six, which they call *bagging*, and have no supper. This word is used also over D 31. At the printers' of this book, in Hertford, a similar word, *packing*, is used for dinner.

Notes to Glossop cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or Tom, Bill, etc.—*thee* used for *thou*, as at Stalybridge.

3. *until I've done*, (tin) is a Ch. word.

4. *certain* or (shə'uur) sure.

5. *if* (i.e. although) *it were queer*.

6. *nought-but* or (ooni) only.

7. *two or three* or (tə'uthri).—*wrong* or (ru_oqg).

8. *slotch*, sottish, or besotted fellow.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') is (t') *to*, assimilated to preceding m.

16. *I shall say no more*, the (s) is (sh) for *shall*, assimilated to the following (s).

Notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith cs., p. 317.

Variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which properly belong to D 25 :
^a dáits. ^b búdh. ^c úv. ^d míen.
^e skwíek'i.n. ^f báit. ^g ɛbáit. ^h búdh
 ái. ⁱ gráind. ^j kúvt. ^k áiz. ^l dáin.
^m tlúez áit. ⁿ ɛbáit. ^o báit ríez'n.

Variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc. :

^a du_o)nɛ wí,p. ^b dìn. ^c dʊ_on. ^d frɛ
 th)farst dhɛrsɛnz. ^e íssen'. ^f v'áis'.
^g ɛrsɛn'. ^h élɛk [hillock]. ⁱ jɔnd, jɔn dɛ.r.
^j wárd. ^k d.rá. ^l báil'i.n. ^m tíi. ⁿ wík'.

General Notes.

1. *lad*. The contracted Christian name is generally used, as *Tom*, *Tommy*.

—*you* or (dhi) *thee*; used as before.

3. *these are the facts of the case*, or (it wɛr v dhis'n) it was of this fashion.—*your*, or familiarly (dhi) *thy*.

4. *from the first*, or (bi'gi'n'i)n) beginning.

5. *youngest*, or (ju_ogst).—*directly*, or (in a minit) in a minute, or (ɛs sə'un ɛz ii iɛrd i,t) as soon as he heard it.

6. *laugh-en*, or (lafs) laughs.—*too*, or (ɛn ʌʌ) and all.

10. *crying*, or (rúvri)n) roaring.

11. *yard*, or (jA'rt).

13. *do you know?* pl., if sing. (du_os)t noo) dost thou know.—*John* or (:djak') Jack.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH dt.

pal. from personal knowledge by TH. 14 April, 1888, and checked on the spot the next day with a cousin, about 60 years of age, a farmer, who has resided in the immediate district all his life. On (*ú*) for (*æ*) see p. 324, No. 1.

1. A sɛ', lɑdʒ [tʃɑps], ʒo stɪn naa vɜ ʌ)m rɪt' ɛbɑu't dhat lɪt'l wentʃ kɑmɪ'n frɛ's)sk ú_ù jɔnd.
2. ú_ù)z gu'ɪn dɑun th)rood dhɪər thr_ú_u th)rɛd' ʒɛt, u_ɔpɛ th)lɪft ɔnd sɑɪd v)th)rood.
3. sɪi ʒɛ! th)tʃú_ùlt)s gɑ'n st_rɛ'it' u_ɔp' tɛ th)ru_ɔq' dɑ'r [ru_ɔqg ɑus'].
4. wɪər ú_ù)l ɑp'n fɑɪnd dhat d_ru_ɔqk'n dɪf' wɪz'nt fɛlɛ vɜ dhɪ, kɑɑn ɛ'ud :tu_m'.
5. wɪ [wɪ_ɪ] ɑɑ noon ɪm 'vɛrɪ, wɪl.
6. wɪ)ɛv th)ɛ'ud tʃɑp' s_ú_un tɪtʃ)ɛr nɑn fɛr t'd_ú_u ɪt ɛgʃɛ'n, p_ɪvər thɪqk!
7. lu_ɔk' ʒɛ! ɪz)'nt ɪt t_r_ú_ù?

Notes with the pronunciation of words omitted from the dt.

1. *so* (s_ú_u).—*mates* (mɛts, meets). —*wrong*. Observe (ru_ɔ) before (d), and (*gɪrɪ* (gɪɛl)), half refined. —*wrong*. Observe (ru_ɔq) before (d), and (ru_ɔqg) before (ɑu).
2. *hand* (ɔnt) in pause.—*way* 4. *chance* (tʃɑns).—*shrivelled*, not used [*shr*=(sr); *shrimp* (srɪmp)].—*name* (nɛm).
3. *sure* (sh_ú_uɛr).—*enough* (ɛnu_ɔf).

SOUTH-EAST LA. AND NORTH-WEST DB., cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

- R Rochdale (:ratɪdɛ :ratɪt) and adjacent villages, La.
 O Oldham, La. Ex. youth looking at a picture of a wolf pursued by dogs: (ɪt ɪz)ɛv ɛ fɔks, sh_u_ɜ ɛ' u, ʌ kɔn)ɛ gɑɑm ɪt, wɔt ɪt ɪz) it is not a fox, choose how [=at any rate,] I cannot understand it, what it is.
 P Patricroft (5 w. Manchester), La. Ex. (s_u_m fɔk sɛ'n, dhɪ)n gɔn t' bɑkɛrt rood sɛ lu_ɔg) some folk say-en, they have-n gone the backward road so long.
 H Hope Woodlands (10 ese. Glossop), Db.
 E Edale (7 se. Glossop), Db.
 F Peak Forest (5 ne. Buxton), Db., collected in 1865.
 S Stalybridge and G Glossop are prefixed to a few words from the three inter-linear cs. on p. 317-321. The Chapel-en-le-Frith words are given separately in the next cwl.

The principal phonetic difference between Oldham neighbourhood and Stalybridge, Gorton (3 ese. Manchester), Openshaw (2 e. Manchester), consists in the abnormal protrusion of the lips at Oldham in (*ɔu*^ɔ) in bold, cold, etc., (*ú*^u) in moon, noon, that is, in EAL and O'- words.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 23 O *seem*. — O *stɛər* [to stare]. A: 43 R ɑ'ɪnz [hands]. 44 F lond. — E *gɔnɛr* [gander]. 51 O mɔ'n. 56 RS wɛ'ɪsh, G wɛsh. A: or O: 60 P lu_ɔg. 64 SG ru_ɔg, G rɑk. A'- 67 R gu'in [going], F guu. 69 R nɑ'u, nɑ'ə, O nɑ'o. 74 O tɛ'u^s. 81 EFSG loon [F giving place to leen]. 84 O múr. 87 SG tlúez. 89 SG búsdh. A': 104 RP rood. 106 F brood.

115 ORF wā'm, OR wa'm. 117 R wā'n, t' toon [the one]. 118 E boon. 122 RO noon, S nō, G nē'u. 124 E stoon, F stuun. — F rūp [rope]. 137 G noodher. Æ- 138 SG feedher. — P sūt [seat]. Æ: 154 R bak. 158 R à'fther, à'f'ter. 161 F dee. 172 R graa's. 177 PE dhat ["demonstrative pronoun final, characteristic of E, F, etc." TH.]. Æ'- 187 E liiv. 200 E wiit. Æ': 218 F sh'ip. 224 RSG, wīer. 226 O múst. E- — O wi eet'n [we eat]. E: 261 P sēē. — R bēd [bed]. 265 SG s'trē'it. — F fē'it [field]. 279 R wē'int. E'- 291 F dhē'i. 292 R mīi. 301 R A jēr'er [I hear her], S jēr, G iur. E': 312 F ē'ar. 314 R jerd. EA: 322 E lak'jh [said in 1873 by an old woman]. 326 R ā'ud, O ó'ud, S ó'ud, G ā'ud. 328 F kē'ud. 330 S ó'ud, G ā'ud. 332 R tó'ud. 333 R kā'f. 334 R eepni [halfpenny]. 335 RO oo. 338 RSG koo. — R shā'r it [share it]. 345 R darnt [dare not]. EA'- 347 R jrd. EA': 360 R tiem. 366 R greet, F griit. EI: 382 O dhier. EO: 394 R jond. 395 R ju,qg. 399 E br'it. EO'- 410 RF ā'u [nearly (uu)]. — F t'rii [tree]. 420 O fōer. EO: 424 E ru'kh [old]. 426 R fē'it. 428 S sē'iqk, G sē'iqk [seeing]. 437 S t'ru'uth, G t'ru'uth. I- 440 E wā'k. 444 R stiil. 449 P gjēt, O giit [got]. I: 458 R nī'it, [nearly] nit, OE n'it. 459 R rī'it. 469 F wū' [will]. 479 R wāand. 485 HEF fis'l. 487 R ju,s't'rnit [yesternight]. 488 R jē'it. I'- 492 R saad, P s'iid. 494 R t'āam t'āam. — R paap [pipe, normal, deviating in dir. of (paap), this sound for I' occurs also in D 22, Prescott, Samlesbury, West Houghton, Wigan, but is rare out of Yo.]. 498 R raat. I': 502 R fāav faav. 505 R [between] wāaf, wāaf. 510 R [between] māan, māan. O- — R brōk'n [broken]. — H smakt [smoked, old], F smōk [smoke]. 518 E an'bdāi. O: 525 OR ā'f [off]. 527 R bā't. 528 R thā't, O thō'ut. 529 R brā't. 531 S dō'u't'v.r, G dā'u't'v.r. 535 P fōk. 538 E wā'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. O'- 555 F shō'um [shoes]. 557 O tū'u. 558 F lē'uk. 559 R mu'dher. 560 R skū'ū, skuu. 562 E mō'um. 566 P u'dher. O': 569 O bā'u'k, F bē'uk. 571 O gū'd. 586 R dūu, O dū'u. 587 RSG dū'n. 588 R nē'u'n. 589 O spuun, spū'u'n. 594 E bē'uts. U- 603 R kē'm, kāmīn [coming], F kām. 606 OR dā'r. U: — E pō'u [pull]. 612 P sū,m-, F sū,m'. 615 O pā'und. 616 G grā'und. — R u'n,dē,r,d [hundred]. 632 R u'p'. 634 S thrūu, G thrō'u. U'- 641 SG ā'u. 642 O dha [unemphatic]. 643 RO nā'u. 652 E kā'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. U': 658 R dā'un daa'n, E dā'un [with elongated horizontal opening to lips]. 659 R tē'un. 663 RS ā'us, E ā'us. 667 PROSG ā'ut. Y: 686 R baa [(A)st baa noon], I shall buy none], F bāi. 701 RE farst. Y'- 706 SG wāi.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 F lār [more frequent] là'r [in salutation]. — HF plōd [a plaid, the same at Chapel-en-le-Frith]. O. — R dāg [dog]. — E tū'kh [clough, old]. U. 804 E d,rū,qk'n. 808 R pū't.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 O feez. 811 E plēs. 830 R threen t'reen. — R vēr'i [from boys reading inscription on Tim Bobbin's tomb, where it rhymes to (:mā'r'i) Mary, obs. reverted (r)]. E.. 867 OR tēe, F tii. — E lēt'v.r [letter]. I.. and Y.. 898 O nā'is. O.. 939 E tlēs. 940 F knut, SG kūt. 941 S fū'u. 947 S bō'il, G bē'il. — H dī'arni [journey, it is (ær) in D 22, 24, and in most of D 21]. 955 SG dā'ut, R dāut. U.. 965 b'il [in the mill any one saying (dīl) would be charged with 'talking fine'], E dīl. 969 G shō'uer.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH (5 n.Buxton) cwl.

Applying also to the township of Bowden Edge, e. and n. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. TH., who was born in Dec. 1819 at Raglow (1½ e.Chapel), wrote this cwl. especially to show the peculiarities of notation which he prefers, many of

which have already been indicated. As one to whom I am so much indebted for assistance in the M. counties and those bordering upon them to the South, it seemed right for him to shew, in recording his own native pron., the full forms that he advocates. But it would be evidently impossible for me to alter the whole of my book in accordance with them, even if I desired to do so. I have in the introduction to the M. div. (pp. 291-4), and especially to this district (p. 316), indicated the reasons of my dissent. Here it is necessary that the reader should bear in mind the following among TH.'s special habits of palaeotyping.

1. (μ u) is written for my (æ'u). The sound intended to be conveyed is identical in both notations, namely, (uu) commenced with too open a mouth, which rapidly closes to the proper position. But in (μ) the tongue is supposed to be slightly more advanced than for (uu), and the mouth is supposed to be open at first only so wide as for (o). The ultimate effect is very like (æ'u). See *suprà* p. 292.

2. (\dot{i}) represents (è) with a slightly retracted tongue, and is insisted on by TH. in all unaccented syllables where I write (è). See p. 316. I have elsewhere sometimes written the result (è_1). But in truth I do not hear this difference of unaccented syllables from myself or any other speaker, whereas TH. hears it from all speakers.

3. TH.'s extensive use of the notation for medial vowels I find mostly unnecessary, and the intended effect would often be more intelligibly rendered by long vowels. But when a writer has once got the habit of using medial vowel signs, the long vowel mark seems to indicate for him altogether an abnormal lengthening which he shrinks from using. At any rate I found that effect on myself when for a time I gave in to their employment.

4. The lengthened or suspended final consonants, as (bak' dlād'), see p. 316.

5. The treatment of *r*, using (r) simply, without any indication that TH. does not mean the genuine trill, but rather (r), see p. 293.

Bearing these points in mind, the reader will appreciate the minute care and unceasing search after phonetic accuracy which characterise all TH.'s palaeotypic writing, and are very conspicuous in the cwl., a work of immense labour, scrupulously checked in every point, and hence of great value.

* * The hyphen (-) after a word, as in Nos. 4 and 5, shews that this form is used only in connected speech when another word immediately follows.

† before a number in the cwl. shews that the word having that number is not used in the dialect. In this case the word used is frequently added; and even when a phrase would be required, it is occasionally given.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 s μ u. 3 beek. 4 tak- tāk- [generally]; tee- te'- [sometimes]. 5 mak- māk- [generally]; mee- me'- [sometimes]. 6 meed. 7 seek. 8 av-āv-. 9 bi-ee-v. 10 eeg. †11 [(krōp) used]. 12 sAA. 13 NAA. 14 d μ AA. †15 [(AAfəl) occ., (tærb'1) often]. †16 [sb. (brēk'v)deē] break of day, used]. 17 lAA. 18 kjeek. 19 teel. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. 24 sheem. 25 meen. †26 [the moon's (past t' fu'1, gu'1, n lēs') past the full, going less, used]. 27 neev. 28 EER. 29 a'r. 30 kJEER. 31 leet. 32 beedh. 33 ræ'dher. 34 last. 35 AAL. 36 thoo. 37 tAA.

A: 38 àz, ez. 39 k μ u'm. 40 kām'. 41 thaqk. 42 en [(d) always omitted]. 43 ont [(līft ɔnd sād)]. 44 lond. 46 kja'nd'1. 47 wan'de'r. 48 su μ q1g. 49 aq1g [to execute by hanging], iq1g [to hang, or to hang up clothes, etc.]. 50 tu μ q'z. 51 ma'n. 53 kjan'. 54 want. 55 es'. 56 wesh. 57 as'.

A: or O: 58 fræ- [generally], fr μ u [in pause]. 59 lam'. 60 lu μ q1g. 61 v μ u μ q1g. 62 s μ t μ u μ q1g. 63 thru μ qk [ad.]. 64 ru μ q1g [sometimes (raqk)]. 65 su μ q1g. 66 [(læ'dher lē's, lash), leather lace, or leather lash of whip, used].

A- 67 guu. 69 nē'u. 70 tuu. †71 [(sɔrə, su μ fəri μ) sorrow, suffering, used]. 72 uu. 73 s μ u s μ u. 74 t μ u' [quite distinct from 70]. 75 s μ t μ rook. 76 tuud. 77 la'rd. 78 oon. 79 oon. 80 a'ledi. 81 loon. 82 wu μ nst. 83 muun. 84 mūer. 85 sūerli, [sorely]. 86 wu μ ts ūts. 87 tluuz. 88 tloodh. 89 buudh. 90 moo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 s μ ūl. 98 noon. 99 throon. †100 [(sood) used].

A': 101 òk'. 102 aks. 103 akst. 104 rood. 105 rid. 106 brood. 107 lóf'. 108 dóf'. 109 loo. 110 i. nē'ut'; ii. [generally (nē) unaccented, and preceded by can, have, must, shall, will, etc. (kōnə, a'nə avnə, mu'nə, shonə, wine), etc.]. 111 ē'ut'. 113 wū.l. 114 muul. 115 wā'm. †116 [(u) the nominative, used]. 117 wā'n. 118 buun. 119 guu gū gu-. †120 [(sin') = since, used]. 121 gā'n. 122 i. nā'n; ii. n.ū'u-. 123 nu, thi'n. 124 stuum. 125 oonli. 126 ór. 127 ùs'. 128 dh.ú.úz [those gen., (dhə'm) occ.]. 129. goost. 130 bót. 131 gót. 132 wát. 133 rit-. 134 óth'. 135 tlóth. 136 i. odher; ii. w- [generally unaccented]. 137 i. noodher; ii. n-er-.
 Æ- 138 feodher. †139 [(wag'n) used]. 140 eel. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 egj.ē'n. †145 [(kjilt) used]. 146 meen [principal adj.]. 147 breen. 148 feer. 149 bleez. 150 list liist. 152 wee, tē.r. 153 se, tē.rdi.

Æ: 154 bak'. 155 thatj. 156 dlad' [frequently (feen) fain]. 157 reev'n. 158 aft.ē.r. 159 az-, āz. 160 eg'. 161 dee. 162 tē-dee. 163 lá. 164 mē- [(mē) in pause]. 165 se'd. 166 meed [meaning gen. a maid servant or young single woman]. 167 deel. 168 tal. 169 wēn. 170 arest [old form], arvíst [modern form; but the forms hay-time (ē-táim) and corn-time (k'ārn-táim) are gen. used]. 171 bārlí. 172 gres'. †173 [(wā'r) emph., (wē) unemph. both sg. and pl., used]. 174 ash. 175 fast. 176 at-, àt [emph.], et- [unemph.]. 177 dhat-, dhàt [in pause]. 178 nat'. 179 wat-, wāt [in pause]. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 see. 183 títj [(L'ērn) also used]. 184 liid. 185 rúd. 186 bratth. 187 liiv. 188 [(wini) whinney used]. 189 wē'. 190 kjee. 191 iil u.p'. 192 miin. 193 tliin. 194 ant. 195 m'ini. 196 wā'r [emph.], wē [unemph.]. 197 tpiiz. 198 lē [gen. before: 'im = him, 'em = them, it], lē t [gen. before- 'er = her], lē- [gen. before- me]. 199 bleet. 200 wiit. 201 ádh'n. 202 iit.

Æ': 203 sp'ity. 204 dād. 205 thrād. 206 rēd'. 207 náld. 208 ivē.r. 209 níver. 210 tlee. 211 gree. 212 wee. †213, †214 [the forms 136, 137 gen.]. 215 [(títj) and sometimes (lērnt) used]. 216 diil. 217 ē'itj [rare, gen. (ēp'is), AA on ēm, ivēri, wān on ēm] apiece, all of them, every one of them, used]. 218 ship'. 219 sl'ip'. 220 shēpēt. 221 fīer. 222 ier. 223 dhīer. 224 wīer. 225 flesh. 226 mūst muust. 227 wāt. 228 swat' [sb.]. 229 brūith [occ., but (wāind) wind, is gen. used]. 230 fat'.

E- 231 th- [gen. form; (t) as (on t'top) = on the top; also various forms of assimilation to a following consonant, as (s'seem) = the same]. 232 breek. 233 speek. 234 need. 235 weev. 236 feevē.r. †237 [(kjāibz) kibes, plur. used]. 238 ēd. 239 seel. 240 lāin. 241 reen. 243 plee. 244 wīll [= 266]. 245 meel. 246 i. kwīn. 247 ween. 248 mēer. 249 wēer. 250 swēer. 251 meet. 252 kjēt'l. 253 net'l. 254 lēdher. 255 wēdher.

E: 256 s.t.rē.tj [also (ratj)]. 257 ēd. 259 wēd. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 ewee. 264 eel. 265 s.t.rē'it'. 266 wīll [= 244]. 267 jild jild iild. 268 [(ā'udist) used]. 269 [(sēl') used, plur. (sēlz)]. 270 i. baliz, ii. balí. 271 tēl-tēl. 272 ēlm. 273 mē'n. 274 bentj. †275 [(stīqk) = stink, used]. 276 thiqk. †277 [(sook) soak, used]. 278 wēntj. 279 wēnt. 280 ēlēv'n. 281 lēnqth. 282 s.t.rēqth. 283 mēri. 284 thresh. 285 krēs'. 286 are. 287 bīzum. 288 lē lē t- lē- [see 198]. — sēt-, sēr- [set as sheaves of corn into kivers of 12 sheaves or riders of 10].

E'- †289 [you 435 used]. 290 ī. 291 dhā, dhí, [unem.]. 292 mā [unemph.] mī, 293 wī [em.] wī wī, [unem.]. 294 fīd. 295 brēd'. 296 bī līv. 297 fēlv. 298 fīl. 299 grīn. 300 kjūp. 301 ier. 302 māt. 303 swāt'. †304 [(mēlīt), mallet, used].

E': 305 ī. 306 ē'it'. 307 nī. 308 nīd. 309 spīd. 310 fil. 311 tē'n. 312 ier. 313 ārk'n. 314 ierd. 315 fīt'. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 fīl. 318 laft. 319 gjēep. 320 kjēer.
 EA: †321 [(sīd) used]. 322 laf'. 323 fa'ut'. 324 ē'it'. 325 wā'k'. 326 ā'ūd. 327 bā'ūd. 328 kā'ūd. 329 fa'ūd. 330 ā'ūd. 331 sē'ūd. 332 tē'ūd. 333 kAAV. 334 AAV. 335 AA. 336 fAA. 337 wAA. 338 kAA. 339 àm [em.])m [unem.]. 340 i. jārd. 341 marv. 342 ārm. 343 wārm. †344 [never used]. 345 dār. 346 jēt [for a garden, field, etc.].

EA'- 347 rē'd. 348 i [pl. (fin)]. 349 fī, ð [rare (t_uuthri) toothry gen. used as (t_uuthri) broth a few= some broth, too few= not enough (en_uð)].

EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 rē'd. 353 brē'd. 354 shif'. 355 dif'. 356 lif'. 357 dhoo [rare and half refined, gen. (fər AA) for all, (iv) if, used]. 358 nī. 359 neebər. 360 tiim. 361 biin. †362 [(kjil) used]. 363 tɪp'. 364 tɪap'. 365 nar' [nearer]. 366 grēt- grēt- [often (grēd big')]. 368 dith. 369 sloo. 370 roo. 371 s_tree.

EI- 372 aa. 373 dhee [em.] dhi, [unem.]. 374 nee. 375 reez. 376 bēt'. EI: 377 steek. 378 wēk'. 379 eel. 380 dhēm [em.] em [unem.]. †381 382 dhæer [em.] dh'r [unem.].

EO- 383 sev'n. 384 ev'n. 385 [(u_on, d_ur) or (bi_oo) used]. 386 jī, ð [used e. of Chapel and in Peak Forest, but (jæ'ð) in Combs Valley, Dale of Goyt, etc.]. 387 nī, u nī, u-.

EO: 388 milk. 389 jōk'. 390 shū, d shū, d- [em.] shūd sh'd [unem.]. 391 am [em.] m [unem.]. 392 jōnd. 393 bi, jōn, d. 394 jōn, d. 395 ju, q [g. 396 wark. 397 sō, ert. 398 stāv. 399 brīt'. 400 ɛrni, st. †401 [(lu, q' fār) long for, used]. 402 lər'n. 403 fār. 404 star'. 405 aasten [hearthstone, hearth not used without stone]. 406 ɛrth [old for the earth, (wāld) world, gen. used, (ɛthli) earthly as opposed to heavenly, half refined]. 407 fārðī, n. †408 [(nood) used].

EO'- 409 bī. 410 ū, u. 411 thrī. †412 [410 alone used]. 413 dīv'1 dēv'1. 414 fī. 415 lāi lāi. 416 i. and ii. dīv [adj. and sb.]. 417 tɪ, ū. 418 br, ū, ū. 419 jō, ɛr [em.] j'r [unem.]. 420 fō, ɛr. 421 fār, tī, fār, tī.

EO': sīk' [about or inclined to vomit, or vomiting, (badli) is used for ill, unwell]. 423 thū. 424 ru, f'. 425 līt'. 426 fē, it'. 427 bī [em.] bi, - [unem.]. 428 sī. 429 fīnd. 430 frēnd. 431 bɛr. 432 fō, ɛrt. 433 brēst. 434 biit. 435 joo [em.] jə [unem.]. 436 t, r, ū, ð. 437 t, r, ū, uth.

EY- 438 dī. EY: 439 t, ru, st. I- 440 wīk'. 441 sīv' [also (sāi) for milk]. 442 ivi, n. 443 fī, aīd' i. 444 stīl. 445 ai, dī [(ai dhi) hie thee, occ., but (mak ɛst) make haste, occ.]. 446 nāin nāin. 447 ɛr [em.] ɛr [unem.]. 448 dhīz. 449 gɛt' [in pause], gɛr gɛt. 450 tī, uzdi, . 451 soo.

I: 452 AA, A' [em.] A [unem.]. 453 wīk'. 454 wītj. 455 lē [reflexive, as, lay me, thee, him, etc., down]. 456 ev. 457 māit'. 458 nāt'. 459 rāt'. 460 wē, it'. 461 līt' [anything thrown or falling 'lights on the ground, but they (gɛr of) get off a horse, and (gɛr aut) get out of a vehicle]. 462 sāt'. 463 tī, l tī, n. 464 wītj. 465 sītj. 466 tɪ, aīl tɪ, aīl. 467 wāīd wāīd. 468 tɪ, l d_u, r. 469 wil wil [em.], l [unem.]. 470 im [em.], i, m [unem.]. 471 tāmber. †472 [(ru, n' u, p') run up, or (ru, n' in) run in, used of flannel, etc.; (skrindy) as from a hot poker; to be (tērbli, fiert v) terribly afraid of]. 473 blāīnd blāīnd. †474 [they use (sō, ert) Ws. *sweard*, the sward of bacon; (pāl) peel, of oranges, potatoes, etc.; (kru, st) crust of cheese, etc.]. 475 wāīnd wāīnd. 476 bāīnd bāīnd. 477 fāīnd fāīnd. 478 grāīnd grāīnd. 479 wāīnd wāīnd. 480 thīqk [gen.; plur. (thīqz)]. 481 fīqgər. 482 iz [em.] s,)z, i, s, i, z [unem., viz.: (s) after words ending in p, t, k, f; (z) after vowels and voiced consonants except z, and zh; (i, s) after s, z, sh, zh, x, x (gz) and before unvoiced consonants; and (i, z) after s, z, sh, zh, x, x (gz), and before vowels and voiced consonants]. 483 iz- iz' [em.], i, z [unem.]. 484 dhis' dhis- dhiz- [em.], dhī, s- dhī, z- [unem.]. 485 fīs' l. †486 [(bārm) = barm used]. 487 jis, tē, rdeē. 488 jīt'. 489 it [em.], i, t [unem.].

I'- 490 [(tlōs' bāi) = close by; (nā) = nigh or near; (w's sād v) = at the side of; by, for the instrument, is (wī) with, as (kjilt wī, lāt' nī, n, ɛt' n wī, v tāiger) killed by lightning, eaten by a tiger; but (bi,) used in: by daylight, by moonlight, etc., as (dhe- dhi- plead ut f_uutbAA bi, m_u, unlīt') they played at football by moonlight]. 491 sāk'. 492 sād sād. 493 d, rē, iv. 494 tām tām. †495 [a dog (wīz' n), a man (muunz, grunz) moans groans]. 496 ɛ' iern. †497 [(gɛt u, p) or (gɛr u, p) = get up used]. 498 rāt.

I: 500 lāīk lāīk. 501 wāīd wāīd. 502 fāīv fāīv. 503 lāīf lāīf. 504 nāīf nāīf. 505 wāīf wāīf. 506 wu, men. 507 wīmī, n. 508 māīl māīl. 509 wāīl wāīl. 510 māīn māīn; māī māī [em.], mī, [unem.]. 511 wāīn

wáin. 512 spá'ur. 513 wá'ur. 514 díst. 515 wáiz wáiz. 516 wizdem
[if used]. 517 ví.ù-t.ráí.

O- 518 badi. 519 ó'ur. 520 boo. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 oop. 524
wald. O: 525 i. v [gen.; but (on) is used in phrases like "enough of (on)
it; I heard of (on) it"]; ii. of. 526 kaf. 527 bá'ut. 528 tha'ut. 529
brá'ut. †530 [(wark) used]. 531 dæu.t'v.r. 532 koolz. kool. 533 dæ'l.
534 ool. 535 fák'. 536 grá'ud. 537 máuli, máult [mouldy, become moulded,
said of the mould fungus on cheese, fruit, etc.]. 538 wæ'd [em.] d [unem.].
539 bá'ul. 540 olín. 541 wíne. 542 bá'ut. 543 on' [em.] v [unem.]. 544
i. tí.n dhun [the first gen., the second occ.]; ii. dhén'. 545 op'. 546 fá'r
[em.], fer [unem.]. 547 búert. †548. †549 [(ó.d.dæ.r u.p') to hoard, used].
550 wæ'rd. 551 stá'rm. 552 ka'rn. 553 Á'rn. 554 kræs'.

O'- 555 shu.f [old], sh.ú.uu [plur. (sh.ú.ùn)]. 556 t.ú.u [em.] tæ t'
[unem.]. 557 t.ú.u. 558 l.ú.uuk. 559 mædher. 560 sk.ú.uu. 561 bl.ú.uum.
562 m.ú.uun. 563 .mu.ndí. 564 s.ú.ùn. 565 nooz. 566 u.dher. 567
t.ú.dher. 568 br.ú.dher.

O: 569 b.ú.uk. 570 t.ú.ùk. 571 g.ú.d. 572 bl.ú.d. 573 fl.ú.d. †574
[(at) hatch, used, that is, birds hatched at once]. 575 st.ú.d st.ú.ùd. 576
wæd'nzdi. 577 b.ú.ù. 578 pl.ú.ù, [old (pl.ú.f)]. 579 wnu.f [plural
(w.ú.uu)]. 580 taf. 581 [(sút) searched used]. 582 k.ú.uul. 583 t.ú.uul.
584 st.ú.u. 585 br.ú.uum. 586 d.ú.u. 587 d.ú.uun. 588 n.ú.uun. 589
sp.ú.uun. 590 fl.ú.uer. 591 m.ú.er. 592 swæer swíer. †593 [(m.ú.n) used,
(mu.nv) must not]. 594 b.ú.ut. 595 f.ú.ut. 596 r.ú.ut. 597 s.ú.ut.
†598

U- 599 eb.ú.v. 600 læ.v. 601 fául fául. 602 sâu sâuu. 603 kæ'm [em.],
kam kæm [unem.]. 604 su.mur. 605 s.ú.n. 606 dæ'r. 607 bu.t'v.r.

U: 608 u.gli, [but (fâuu) foul 655 gen. used]. 609 f.ú.l. 610 wu.l'. 611
bu.læk. 612 s.ú.m. 613 d.ru.qk'n. 614 áund [this and the next four (áu) or
(áu)]. 615 páumd. 616 gráumd. 617 sáumd. 618 wáumd. 619 fu.n'. 620
gru.n'. 621 wu.n'. 622 u.n.dæ.r. 623 fu.n'. 624 gru.n'. 625 tu.q[.g. †626
[(u.qgæ) if used; but the adj. (u.qgrí) would gen. be made use of in the con-
struction]. 627 :su.ndí. 628 nu.n'. 629 su.n'. 630 wu.n'. 631 :tharzdí.
632 u.p'. 633 ku.p'. 634 thr.ú.ù. 635 wath. 636 fæ'r. 637 tu.sh. †638.
639 du.st.

U'- 640 kjâu kjâu. 641 áu áu. 642 dhaa [em.] dha [unem.: affirmatively,
as (dha)rt leet = *thou art late*; but (t) interrogatively, as (wíl)t guu ? = *wilt thou
go ?*]. 643 naa ná. 644 su.k'. 645 doov. 646 bâu. 647 ául. 648 aar ár
[em.] ur [unem.]. 649 thâuzent. 650 ebâit. 651 wí.dhâit. 652 k.ú.d k.ú.d-
[em.] ked [unem.]. 653 ber [this form always used, as (AA ber ím, bær m.í) all
but him, but me; (næ'ut bær, næber) nought but, the first occ., the second gen.,
in Peak Forest (næpær)].

U': 654 srâud srâud. 654* ru.f'. 655 fâuu [meaning ugly, as in 608; not
used for dirty]. 656 ráum. 657 bráim. 658 dáim. 659 táim. †660. 661
sháuer. 662 ú.z [em.] vz [unem.]. 663 áus'. 664 láus'. 665 máus'. 666
u.zbent. 667 áut'. 668 práud. †669. 670 b.ú.ùdh. 671 máuth. 672 sáuth.

Y- 673 m.ú.t. 674 d.ú.d. 675 d.ræ'. 676 láí láí. 677 d.ræ'. 678
dán. 679 tpart. 680 bizí. 681 biz'nz. 682 lit'l.

Y: †683 [(nat) gnat, used]. 684 bríd. 685 ríd. 686 bæ'. †687. 688
bild. 689 int. †690 [they use (sól)urt sort; (bríd) breed]. 691 máind. 692
ju.qgi.st. 693 sin'. 694 wark. 695 àrk'n. 696 bæth. 697 bæri. 698
math. 699 [only in composition, as (wíl-rít) wheel-wright]. 700 wæ's [and]
war'. 701 fast. 702 wí [in pause]; wídh [gen. before a vowel]; wí wí,
[before a consonant]. 703 pit'. 704 viks'n [used by a few in scolding a girl;
perhaps half refined; may be used for a bitch-fox].

Y'- 705 sk.áí sk.áí. 706 wáí. 707 thart'in. 708 æ'ier.

Y: 709 fæ'ier. 710 àrk'n. 711 læ'is'. 712 mæ'is'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad'. 714 lād. 715 pad'. 716 ad'l [adj. occ. vb., to earn]. 717
dreed. 718 t.reed. †719 [(bu.læ'd) bullhead, used]. †720. 721 fæg' [to

wearly. 722 *dreen* [gen. (*su_of*) = sough]. 723 *deeri*. 724 *baad*. 725 *seel*. 726 *taak*. †727 [(*pezarv*) preserve used; to jam (*djam*)]. 728 *sham*. 729 *freem*. 730 *kjām tər*. †731. 732 *ap'n*. 733 [in Chapel to (*fær*) gen., (*frāt'n*) ecc., both to frighten; in Peak Forest (*skar*)]. 734 *dērn*. 735 *smash*. †736 [(*wentj*) = wench used]. †737 [(*bu_oti*) butty used]. 738 *preet*. 740 *weev*. 742 *leezi* [seldom, gen. (*did'l*) idle].

E. 743 *skriim* [(*skrāik*) shriek, often]. 744 *miiz'lz mīz'lz*. 745 *tjit'*. 746 *brīdh*. †747 *indee'vēr* [half refined, usually to (*trāi, os*) try, oss or offer]. †748 [fledged and unfledged not used, but stages of growth distinguished by different words, as: 1. (*oonli, doon on*) only down on; 2. (*fedherz AAV* groom) feathers half grown; 3. (*fu_ol-fedherz*) full-feathered]. 749 *lift* [hand]. 750 *beg'*.

I. and Y. 753 *tik'l*. 754 *pig'*. 755 *filbert*. 756 *srāmp*. 757 *tāni*. 758 *gjel* [half refined, (*wentj*) gen.]. 759 *fi'* [*adj.* suitable]. †760 [(*wiz'nt*) *wizened*, or (*riqk'lt*) wrinkled, used].

O. 761 *luud*. 762 *ookām*. †763 [(*roov*) = rove used]. 764 *kād'l*. 765 *djā'n*. 766 *mē'i dērt mē'idhert*. 767 *nē'iz*. 768 *kā'uk'* [gen. in pl. (*kā'uks*)]. †769 [(*m_ou_ode,wārp*) *mouldy-warp* used]. 770 *tu_omēz*. 771 *fōnd*. 772 *bu_on'fē'ūr*. 773 *dōqki*, [(*djak-ās*) jack-ass gen. used]. 774 *pooni*. 775 *bū_oubi* [if used]. 776 *gū_od bāi* [now partially used for a long parting, gen. (*gū_od-dēe, gū_od'nūt*) good-day and good-night, and when people take leave for a considerable time (*fēer dhi, wē'l*) fare thee well, or (*fēer jē wē'l*) fare you well, used]. 777 *shop'*. 778 *efō'urd*. 779 *ā'ts*. 780 *djās'l*. 781 *bōdher*. 782 *pu_odher*. 783 *pā'ul'tri*. 784 *bāums*. †785 [(*lōl, sāid'l*) loll, sidle, used]. 786 *dāuz*. 787 *sāus'*. 789 *rā'ū*. 790 *gjāun gjāun*. 791 *bāi* [half refined, (*lād*) used].

U. 792 *skwab'l*. 793 *u_og'* [to carry with some inconvenience, to squeeze or cuddle]. 794 *dju_og'*. †795 [(*u_otj u_op*) hutch up the shoulders, used]. 796 *bl'uu bl'uu*. 797 *skwik'n*. 798 *kwēr*. 799 *sku_ol'*. 801 *ru_om'*. 802 *ru_om'*. 803 *dju_omp*. 804 *d,rw_oqk'n*. 805 *kru_odz*. 806 *fu_os'*. 807 *pu_os'*. 808 *pu_ot-*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *eeb'l*. 810 *fās'*. 811 *plēs' plees'* [occ. for a situation for a servant, etc.]. 812 *lēs'*. 813 *beek'n*. 814 *mees'n*. 816 *feed*. 817 *reditj*. 818 *eedj*. †819 [(*pashm*) passion gen. used]. 820 *gjee* [possibly, applied to dress]. †821. 822 *meē*. 824 *tjēr*. 826 *iig'l*. †827. 828 *eegi*. 829 *gjeen*. 830 *treen* [of railway carriages]. 831 *s,treen* [di- omitted]. 832 *mēer*. 833 *pēer*. 834 *sheez*. 835 *riiz'n*. 836 *siiz'n*. 838 *t'rit'*. 839 *i. beel* [if used], *ii. baa*. 840 *tjeember*. 841 *tjans*. 842 *plaqk*. 843 *brantj*. 844 *trentj*. 845 *eentjēnt*. 846 *talē-tjandler* [=tallow-chandler]. 847 *deendjēr*. 848 *tjeendj*. 849 *s,t'reendjēr*. 850 *dans*. 851 *cent*. 852 *apurn*. 853 *bārgi_on*. 854 *bari_ol*. 855 *kjarēt*. 856 *pārt*. 857 *kjēs'*. 858 *brēs'*. 859 *tjēs'*. 860 *pāst*. 861 *tēt*. 862 *sēf*. †863. 864 *bikooz*. 865 *fōt'*. 866 *pūer*.

E.. 867 *tee*. 868 *djee*. 869 *viil*. 870 *bjuti*, [*bjuti,fal*]. 871 *ēgrā*. 872 *tjifili* [occ. = gen., mostly]. †873. 874 *reeni* [pl. (*reeni z*) reins]. 876 *deenti*. 877 *ēr*. 878 *saleri*. 879 *fee-meel* [unfrequent]. 880 *egzā'mpl'*. 881 *sēns*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *dā'ndi'dā'ēn*. 884 *prentiz*. 885 *vēri*. 886 *frāi'ēr* [if used]. †887. 888 *sārti_on*. †889. 890 *bist*. 891 *fist*. 892 *nēfi*. 893 *fāuer*. 894 *di seev*. 895 *ri seev*.

I. and Y.. 897 *di lāit'* [as (*i' teez v di lāit' i, d,u,u'i:n mistjūf*) he takes a delight in doing mischief]. 898 *nāis'*. 899 *nāis'*. 900 *pree*. 901 *fāin fāin*. 902 *māin māin*. 903 *tī*; *ii. dānēr*. 904 *vāilēt*. †905. †906. †907. 908 *advāi's'*. 909 *brāiz*. 910 *djē'is'*. 911 *sēs,tērn*. 912 *rāis'*.

O.. 913 *kootj*. 914 *brootj*. 915 *stu_of*. 916 *u_oni_on*. 917 *roog*. †918 [(*wēk*) weak used]. 919 *r'ntment* [or (*sAAV*) salve]. 920 *pē'nt*. 921 *ēkwē'nt* [half refined]. †922 [(*s,t,rāik*) = strike = 4 pecks, used]. 923 *s,t,rēt'*. †923. †923*. 924 *tjē'is'*. 925 *vē'is'*. 926 *spē'l*. †927. 928 *āuns*. 929 *kjā'ku_omber*. 930 *lē'in*. 931 *dju_og'lēr*. 933 *frū_ont*. 935 *ku_on'tri*. 937 *kōk'*. 938 *kā'rnr*. 939 *i*. and *ii. tlo's'*. 940 *kuut*. 941 *fū_ouu*. 942 *bu_otjēr*. 943 *tu_otj*. 944 [see 198]. 945 *vāuu* [sb.] [for the vb. (*swēer*) used]. †946.

947 bæ'iil. 948 báuul. 949 mæ'uld [or F] mæ'uud m.ú.uud. 950 sm.pur. 951 ku.p'l. 952 i. kús'; ii. kós'. 953 ku.z'n. 954 ku.shen. 955 dáut dáut. 956 ku.ver. †959.
 U.. 960 kjee. 961 gr.ú.ú.l. 963 kwái'ut. 964 sh.ú.u'i.t. 965 x'íl. 966 fr.ú.ut'. 967 sh.ú.ut' [a suit of clothes]. 968 áis,tæ.r. 969 sh.ú.uer. 970 dju.st. 971 fl.ú.ut' flí.ut'.

Principal Variants for Combs Valley.

Combs Valley (se. of Chapel-en-le-Frith) properly belongs to D 25, Var. iv, where a dt. will be found in the same peculiar notation as this cwl. But as it is in the parish of Chapel, and differs from it chiefly in three points, TH. has here furnished a list of the principal variants. Ch. = Chapel-en-le-Frith; C. = Combs Valley.

First point. Ch. (uu, ù) become C. (úu), rarely permissibly (úu).
 A'- 76 túud. 86 úuts. 87 tūuz. 89 búudh. A': 118 búen. 124 stūm. 127 úes'. Æ': 226 múest. O. 761 lūud. O.. 940 kúut. 952 i. kúes'.

Second point. Ch. (ii, ì) become C. (iú), rarely permissibly (iú).
 Æ- 150 lúest. Æ'- 184 lúud. 186 brúed. 187 líev. 191 íel. 192 míen. 193 lífen. 200 wíut. 202 íst. Æ': 216 díul. E. 267 íuld. EA': 350 díud. 351 líed. 354 shíuf. 355 díuf. 356 líuf. 360 tíem. 361 bíen. 363 tíup'. 368 díuth. EO': 434 bíut. E. 743 skríem. 745 tíut'. 746 brúdh. U. 793 [(skwíez) used]. 797 skwíek'ín. A.. 835 ríez'n. 836 síuz'n. 838 t.ríut'. E.. 869 víel. 890 bíest. 891 fíust.

Third point. Ch. (áu, áú, áu) become C. (ái, áí, áí) respectively.
 U- 601 fáil. 602 sái. U: 614 áínd. 615 páínd. 616 gráínd. 617 sáínd. 618 wáínd. U'- 640 kjái. 641 áí áí. 647 áil. 649 tháízent. 650 vbáit. 651 wí,dáit. U': 654 sráid sráid. 656 ráim. 657 bráin. 658 dáin. 659 táin. 663 áis'. 664 láis'. 665 máis'. 667 áit'. 668 práid. 671 máith. 672 sáith. A. 730 kjáintæ.r. O. 784 báins. 786 dáiz. 787 sáis'. O.. 928 áins. 948 báil. 955 da'it.
 Also EO- 386 Ch. (íí,ù) is C. (já'ù).

D 22 = w.NM. = western North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin w. at the mouth of the Ribble and go up it to the ne. as far as its junction with the Hodder on the b. of Yo., just s. of Great Mitton. Then proceed along the b. of La., going first e. and then s. to Todmorden. Then turn sw. along the nw. b. of D 21, se. of Bacup, nw. of Bury and se. of Bolton, w. of Peel and e. of Tyldesley and Astley, and then turn s. over Chat Moss to the junction of the Irwell and Mersey. Go down the Mersey to the sea, and take the coast round to the mouth of the Ribble.

It has been thought advisable to pursue the La. b. against Yo., but it will be seen that the neighbouring D 24 greatly resembles D 22 on its w. side, and I formerly attempted to include Halifax, Huddersfield, Marsden, and Saddleworth with the e. parts of D 22. But on further examination these have been included as a variety of D 24.

Area. The whole of s.La., s. of the Ribble, with the exception of the se. portion in D 21.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || in systematic spelling, ° in io.

°† Blackburn, °† Bolton, °† Burnley, † Chorley, ° Clitheroe, † Cliviger Valley, ° Colne, † Earlstown, † Farrington, † Halliwell, † Haslingden, ° Higham, † Hoddesden, ° Leigh, °† Leyland, * Mellor, † Newton-le-Willows, † Ormskirk, † Penwortham, † Prescott, ° Sabden, ° Samlesbury, † Skelmersdale, † Walton-le-Dale, † Warrington, † Westhoughton, ° Whalley, °† Wigan, † Worsthor.

These notes have superseded the numerous printed books, which were neither local enough nor precise enough for my purposes.

Character. There is a very fair amount of uniformity, but in such an extensive tract of country with large towns and outlying manufacturing districts, many varieties may be expected, and I have been induced to consider six, Var. i. Ormskirk, Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan, Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland, Var. iv. Blackburn, Var. v. Burnley, Var. vi. Old Colne Valley. The differences are often very minute, and they are here illustrated by a cwl. for each separate variety, by four interlinear versions for Var. i, ii, iii, v, by two interlinear dt. for Var. iv, and by a dt. for Var. vi.

The general character for the whole district is as follows :

A- generally (ee) as (neem) name.

A' normally (úv) as (rúv) road, occ. (oo), and the adv. *no* is often (næ'u).

E- often (ɛ'í) as (spɛ'ík) speak.

E'- (ii) or (í) and occ. (ɛ'í).

I generally (í), but occ. treated as I'. In the unemphatic pronoun I the sound is regularly (A).

I' normally (ái), usually assumed as (ɔ'í), but not unfrequently (aa) in Var. i, ii, iv, and in Var. iv. both (ái) and (aa) are used.

O often becomes (óí) in Var. iv, v, as in D 24.

O' seems naturally inclined to (uu) in the form (æ'u), but occ. becomes (óí), probably as a variant of (úv).

U is regularly (u), see p. 291, but in a few words, as (kam) come, reaches (æ), a sound otherwise well known in the district for (dag tlag fag) dog clog fog.

U' becomes generally (aa aa'); the transitional form from (áú) in D 21 was evidently (áæ), which occurs in Var. v, vi, with the first element thinned in Var. iv, as (á'at) and even (éat) out, and from Haslingden, Var. iv, I obtained (tævn dævn) town down. But the regular sound in this part of La. is (aa), as it is in D 24, 26, or its refinements (aa', ææ). It is this sound which is meant by the La. spelling *eaw*, invented by Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), and used by all La. dialect writers, whatever be the pronunciation of their district. In Collier's district at Rochdale, D 21, people now say (æ'ut). The forms (æ'u óu) are in D 22 reserved for EAL and OH words, as (æ'ud óuld, bóut), old, bought, and are never confused with (aa). In spelling, dialect writers use *ow* for this sound, in contradistinction to *eaw*.

Among consonants -t,r -d,r -tæ,r -dæ,r are used as in D 21, which may be considered as containing those legitimate forms throughout that have been degraded and altered in D 22. Otherwise (r) has the same values as in D 21, that is, (r), p. 293. It decidedly affects the preceding vowel, as (dar) door. The *r* is also at least occasionally reverted to (ɾ) in the words *our Mary vary cares queer share*, and even sometimes there where.

In the w. parts of D 22 (q) final becomes (qq) as (ru,qq), but this seems to die out eastwards.

The gutturals (kh kjh) were common in Var. vi. in 1840. Cases still occur in other parts of D 22, where old people use (kh) in rough tough (ru, kh tu, kh), but as a rule it is lost, though *Leigh* (5 se. Wigan) is stated to be pronounced as (:lɛ'íkjh).

The definite article seems to be normally (th), but (dh) occurs before vowels, and even (dhe) is heard. The article is frequently assimilated, and becomes (t', s', k', p'). The form (t') is much more common than I had anticipated, and will be found in all the illustrations. But it is decidedly not the normal form here as it is in D 24. The final (s, f, t) frequently become (z, v, d), as (dhiz rúad, v kAAV, nod), this road, a calf, not, but I do not know the law of change.

Medial or final (l) is sometimes omitted, as in (óud fæ'u skæ'u) old fool school.

There is a large number of very characteristic words, which are not within the scope of this investigation, but may be seen (mixed with those of m. and n.La.) in Nodal and Milner's Glossary, where also a list of numerous printed works in the dialect is given.

The speech of this district is sufficiently homogeneous to render

it difficult to formulate the differences of pronunciation which determine a variety. Of course those dialect-connoisseurs by whom a man from each of the five modern varieties is immediately distinguished, rely on much beside pron. They are guided by intonation, and the use of certain words and peculiar constructions, none of which can here be considered.

Var. i. Ormskirk has a fine (aa', ææ) for U', as (daa'n dææn) down, (daan) at Skelmersdale, and a broader sound (aa) or occasionally (aa) for I' in (taam, faav) time, five. The O' words have (áú) as (dáú) do, and the O.., OU.. words are treated in the same way.

Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan have generally only the finest (ææ) for U' words as (dææn) down, and often the broad (aa) or broadest (AA) in the I' words, as (taam tAAAM) time. The O' words are uncertainly treated with (uu, æ'u) as (stuu, dæ'un) stool, done, and if it has been rightly appreciated, (dæænt) don't, TH. feels certain of the (r). The French O.. is (úæ) in (kúæt) coat.

Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland is more distinct. The U' words have the form (á'æ) as (dá'æn), which on trial will be found to be a transitional pron. from (dá'æn) to (daa'n). The I' words have the distinct form (ái) as (táim) time, continually conceived as (táim). The O' and Fr. O.. words as before.

Var. iv. Blackburn. Here the U' words pass back to (aa') through (á'æ) as (dá'æn daa'n), but the (ái) remains or at most becomes (áæ) as in (sáid, sáed) side. The O' words vary as (uu, æ'u), as (skuu, skæ'u) school, the French O.. in (kúæt) remains.

Var. v. Burnley. The U' words have (á'æ) again as (dá'æn), and the I' words continue to have (ái), as (táim) time. The O' words are variously treated as (uu, úu), but also most peculiarly as (nóin, spóin) noon, spoon, which appears for O: as (óil) hole, and for French O.. as (kóit, lóis) coat, close. This form seems an alteration of (úæ) through (óæ). We shall find it very distinctive in D 24.

Var. vi. The old Colne Valley pron. is mainly distinguished by the constant use of the guttural (kh) as shewn below.

The extreme difficulty in finding phonetic differences, and the fading of the slightly different forms into one another, shew the propriety of considering these forms of speech as insignificant varieties of one main dialect. I have selected above merely those forms which shew some difference, the other forms are practically identical throughout, as the following examples and cwl. will shew.

Illustrations. Through the labours of TH., continued for many years, I am able to give satisfactory illustrations of the first five varieties in the following interlinear cs. and dt. Only those who have tried to represent dialectal pron. with accuracy can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of procuring and writing such specimens as are here given, and the long time and attention that they have demanded. The interlinear representation will enable the differences in the varieties to be more easily perceived. The notes shew variants or explain differences. For the old Colne Valley Var. vi. I am indebted to a correspondent who himself spoke the dialect in his youth, and witnessed the loss of (kh) and the substitution of (óu) for (øk). The five cwl. which follow have been chiefly drawn up from wn. by TH., without introducing words from the cs. They are all necessarily incomplete, because they contain words actually heard and noted at the time, and speakers frequently did not make use of such words as it would have been desirable to register, and constantly repeated other words, or made use of new words comparatively unimportant for our purpose. In Var. ii. I had valuable assistance from Bolton, and in Var. iv. from Samlesbury by other informants, but the want of TH.'s accuracy and phonetic

knowledge was much felt. Precise indications are given in the heading to each cwl.

FOUR INTERLINEAR CS.

Four versions of the cs. obtained and written from dictation by TH.

S. Skelmersdale (:skjɛːmɜːzdɪl) (7 n-by-w.St. Helens, 4 ese.Ormskirk and 12 ne.Liverpool), representing Ormskirk or sw.La. speech, taken in June, 1878, from dictation of Silvester Pye, joiner, native, b. 1823, and his wife. This illustrates Var. i.

W. Westhoughton (4 wsw.Bolton and 11 e.Skelmersdale), and representing that speech, except for I' Y' words taken in July, 1876, from dictation of W. Winward, formerly a mill-hand, then a clerk, native, b. 1846, assisted by his mother and sister. Westhoughton is called (:æ'wɪ'n), the (f) replacing the old guttural, and in refined form is (:æ'wɪ'n). This illustrates Var. ii.

L. Leyland (5 s.Preston) written in 1887 from dict. of Miss Susan Maria Ffarington, of Worden in Leyland, born 1807, and since deceased, an extensive landed proprietor, who took great interest in the language of the people, and endeavoured to give the speech as she knew it in her youth. The omitted words and phrases are given at the end of the notes. TH. subsequently read his version to natives of Farrington (2 n.Leyland), referred to as T and E, and one who had been long resident at Leyland, but himself a native of Ambleside, We., a working man, b. about 1827, referred to as W. Their suggestions will appear in the notes. This illustrates Var. iii.

B. Burnley (20 ene.Leyland), written in 1875-6 from dictation of James Fielding, cotton operative, b. about 1845, native, speaking the dialect ordinarily. This illustrates Var. v.

The correctness of (úu) for (æ'u) in S was ascertained by TH. in special visits in 1888. Westhoughton had both (úu, æ'u).

0. Var. i. *Skelmersdale.* wái :djɛːn ɛz no daats.
 Var. ii. *Westhoughton.* waa :djɔn)z noo dæ'ts.
 Var. iii. *Leyland.* wái :djɛːn àz no dá'ts.
 Var. v. *Burnley.* wái :djɔn [:djɛːn] az núe dá'ts.
1. S wɛl, ləd, dhí ɛn ɪm mə búeth laaf ɛt wɔt
 W wɛl, :tuɔm, ɪm ɛn dhii mə búedh læ'uf ɛt dhiz
 L wɛl, óud tʃap', ɔd ɛn ɪm mə búeth laf ɛt) tɪs
 B wil, :dʒak', ɪm ɛn dhí mə búedh laf ɛt wɔt
- S ʌ)m guːn tɛ tel)ɾɛ. úɛ kjəːɾz? dhat)s noodher fɛr nɛr
 W níuz ɛ maan. úɛ kjəːɾz? dhat)s noodher fɛr nɛr
 L níuz ɛ máɪn. buɔd dhad)z noodher fɛr nɛr
 B ʌ)m báːn tɛ see. bɛr ʌ kjéɾ nóut' ɛbáːt ɪt. dhat)s
- S dhíɛr.
 W dhíɛr.
 L dhíɛr.
 B noodher fɛr nɛr dhíɛr.
2. S dher)z nɔd sɛ mɔniː ɛz diiz wí bíːn laaft àt, wí
 W dher)z nɔt sɛ mɔni fɔk' dɪz thræ'u bíːn læ'uft àt, wí
 L vərə fíu' fɔks diin kooz dhɛ)r laft àt,
 B dher)z núɛn sɛ mɔni dɪz bíːkɛz dhɛ)r laft àt, wí

S noon, dɔnt wi? wɔt shəd meek ɛm?
 W noon dhət, du_onɛt wi? ɛæ 'ku_od dhi dii wi bi'in lɛ'uft ət?
 L wɔt sɛd meek ɛm?
 B noon, dúnt wi ná'ɛ? wɔt shu_od dhi dii fá'r?

S it iz'nt veri láikli iz)it?
 W it)s not ɛ láikli thiŋg, iz)it?
 L id)z nɔd varɛ láikli, iz)id?
 B it iz'nt láikli, iz it?

3. S ɛt ani reet it wɛz ɛ dhiz rood, sɛ dju_ost óud
 W ɛ'ɛvɛr it wɛr dju_ost ɛ dhis'n, sɛ dju_ost ɛ'úd
 L á'ɛsɛmɛvɛr dhiiz is f'faks ɛ)th ká'ɛs', sɛ óúd
 B a'ɛvɛr dhis iz wɔt ʌ)m bá'ɛn tɛ see, sɛ dju_ost óld

S dhi náiz, má'n, ɛn bi kwáit dhɛn ʌ)v dú_on.
 W dhi né'iz, má'n, ɛn bi kwaan tɛn aa)v dú_on. dju_ost
 L ɛr dɛn ɛn bi kwáit dhɛn di)n dú_on.
 B dhi di'n, má'n, ɛn bi kwáit tɛl ʌ)v dú_on. ná'ɛ

S ɛ|rk'n!
 W aa'rk'n)dhɛ!
 L
 B ɛrk'n.

4. S ʌ)m sɛrtɛn a fɛrd ɛm see—su_om ɛ dhúuz fook ɛz
 W aa)m sɛrtɛn a ɛrd ɛm t' see—su_om ɛ dhæ'uz fɔk ɛz
 L di)m sart'n di fɛrd ɛm see—su_om ɛ dhɛm ɛz
 B ʌ' noo varɛ wáil ʌ ɛrd ɛm see—su_om ɛ dhɛm ɛz

S went thrú th)wool thiŋg frɛ)th)fɔst dhɛrsɛlz — dhat ʌ
 W went thræ'u ʌʌ)t thiŋg dhɛrsɛl frú)t'—
 L nood it oo frɛ)t' fɔst dhɛrsɛlz—
 B went thrú t' wúl dɔb frɛ)t' fɛrst dhɛrsɛlz—

S did, seef ɛnu_of.
 W biŋin'in tɛ)th iind.
 L
 B

5. S ɛs)s) ju_oqgɛst lád issɛl', ɛ grɛ'id lád ndɛn fɛr óud,
 W ɛs t' ju_oqgɛst sù_on issɛl', ɛ grɛ'id lád ɛ naan ɛir ɛ'ud,
 L dhɛt t' ju_oqst sù_on issɛl', ɛ big lád ɛ ndɛn
 B dhɛt th) ju_oqkɛst lád issɛl', ɛ gart lád ndɛn ɛr óud, íi

S nood is feedhɛrɛz váis in ɛ mínɛt, ɛv it wu_os sɛ
 W nood is feedhɛrɛz vɛ'is in ɛ mínɛt, fɛr ʌʌ ɛz it wɛr sɛ
 L nood is feedhɛrɛz vois ɛt wɔnst, dhɔ it wɛr sɛ
 B nood is feedhɛrɛz vóis ɛt wu_ons, dhɔ it wɛr sɛ

- S kwæə R en skwaakin, en a kəd t,ru_ost ðm tə spɛ'ik
 W rææsti en kwæə R, en a bɪliiv ez iɪd spɛ'ik
 L kwɪer en skweekin, en dɪ'd t,ru_ost ʒɒn lād tə spɛ'ik
 B kwɛer en sɛ skweekin, en a kəd t,ru_ost ðm tə spɛ'ik
- S t' t,rɪuth ani dee, dhat a kʌd.
 W t' t,ræuth ani dee, dhat a dʌ.
 L t' t,rɪuth oni dee.
 B t' t,rɪuth oni dee, dɪ, a kʌd dhat.
6. S en th)ɔd wu_omən ɜrsel ɛl tɛl ani ɔn ʒɛ ɛz laafs,
 W en tth)ɔd wu_omən ɜrsel ɛl tɛl ani ɔn ʒɛ ɛz ɪz lɛ'ɪf'ɪn
 L en dh)ɔd wu_omən ɜrsel 'l tɛl oni ɛ ʒɛ
 B en th)ɔd wu_omən ɜrsel ɛl tɛl oni ɛ ʒoo ɛt)s laf'ɪn
- S en st,rɛ'it fɔrɛd, en AA, baat mɪtʃ bɔdher, ɪv ʒo)l
 W sɛ mɪtʃ, en ʌl tɛl)ʒɛ rit ɛwee baa't ani bɔdher, ɛv ʒɛ)l
 L st,rɛ'it of, bɔ'at oni bɔdher, ɪf ʒɛ
 B nɔ'ɛ, en tɛl ʒɛ st,rɛ'it fɔrɛd, tɔu^s, bɔ'at oni bɔdher, ɪf ʒɔ)d
- S bɔd aks ɛr, weent ɪu ?
 W dʒu_ost aks ɛr, a noo ʌ wɪl.
 L aks'n ɛr.
 B ɔnlɪ aks)ɛr, wu_od'nt ɪu^s ?
7. S ɛt lɪest ɪu tɔd mɪ wɛn a aks)t)ɛr oodher tɔu ɛr
 W ɛz æɛ)t ɪz ʌ tɔd mɪ wɛn a aks)t ɛr tuu ɛr
 L dʒu_ost ɛz ʌ tɔd mɪ tuuthri tɔimz ɔer,
 B ɛt lɪest ɪu^s tɛld mɪ wɛn a' aks)t)ɛr ɛ tɔuthri
- S thrii tɔimz ɔer, en ɪu dɪd'n ɔut tɛ bi ru_oqg
 W thrii taamz ɔer, en ɪu ɔ'ut t' noo,
 L tɔimz ɔer, ɪu^s dɪd, en ɪu ɔut tɛ noo
 B tɔimz ɔer, ɪu^s dɪd, en ɪu ɔut tɛ noo
- S ɛ sɪtʃ ɛ thiqg ɛz dhɛs', wɔd'n ʒoo thiqk ?
 W wɔd'n ʒoo thiqk ?
 L thiqk ʒɛ, ɛbɔ'at su_otʃ ɛ thiqg ɛz dhɪz.
 B A'l ɛbɔ'at ɪt, wɔt thiqks)tɔ'ɛ ?
8. S wɛ'l ɛz a wɛs sɛ'ɪn, ɪu)d tɛl)ʒɛ wɔ'R en wɛn ɪu
 W wɛ'l ɛz a wɛr sɛ'ɪn, ɪu)l tɛl)ʒɛ sɛæ wɪer en wɛn ʌ
 L wɛ'l ɛz dɪ wɛr sɛ'ɪn, ɪu ɛd tɛl)ʒɛ wɪer ʌ
 B wɛ'l ɛz a wɛr sɛ'ɪn, ɪu^s)d tɛl)ʒɛ A'l ɛbɔ'at wɪer ɪu
- S fɔnd t' d,ru_oqk'n thiqg, ɛz ɪu kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.
 W fu_on t' d,ru_oqk'n pɪg' ɛz ʌ kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.
 L fu_on t' d,ru_oqk'n bɪst ɛz ʌ kooz ɛr u_ozben.
 B fu_on dha t d,ru_okh'n bɛgɛr [ɔ'and] ɛt ɪu^s kAAZ ɛr fɛli.

9. S *úu* swóer *úu* sii *ím* wídh'er *oon* *ín* s.t.rejt AA t'
 W *ù* swóer *ù* siid *ím* wí'er *oon* *iin* lái)ín s.t.rejt
 L *ù* swóer *ù* siid *ím* wí'er *oon* *iin* lái)ín s.t.rejt
 B *úu*⁶ swóer *úu*⁵ síi *ím* wí'er *oon* *iin* lái)ín lu_oq)

S leqth on th)flúuer, *ín* iz best kúet, tlós
 W elu_oqk u_op_e t' græænd, *ín* iz g_ud su_ondi kúet, tlós
 L [leed] u_op_e th)grá'and *ín* iz g_ud su_onde kúet, tlós
 B leqkth on)t' grá'and, *ín* iz g_ud su_ondi kóit, tlóis

S bi t' door, daan et t' k'a'rner e
 W bi)t th)ææz da'r, dææn et t' k'a'rner e)t'
 L bi t' dúer e)th á'es, dá'an et t' k'a'rner e
 B tu iz oon da'r, dá'an et t' k'a'rner e)t'

S jon loon.
 W loon jon'.
 L jon lúen.
 B lón.

10. S *íi* w_ez róerín en bel'ín
 W *i* w_er meekín e ne'iz en míenén issel, *ù* se'd, fer AA)t'
 L *i* w_er wáinén ewee, *ù* se'z, fer oo)th
 B *ii* w_er míenén issel

S láik e gre'it soft kAAV.
 W wárlð laak e tjal't ez iz púerli, er e lítl wentj ez iz pu_t æ't
 L wá'rlð láik e badli tjal't, er e lítl wensh in e fret'.
 B láik e lítl tjal'ld et w_er púerli, er e lítl la's' et w_er màl rd.

S
 W e)t' rood wí su_omet.
 L
 B

11. S en dhat ap'nt e)th wash'ín dee, ez *úu* en er
 W en AA dhat ap'nt, e)t' wa'ish'ín dee, ez e'r en er
 L en dhat ap'nd ez *ù* en er
 B en AAl dhis ap'nd ez e'r en er

S dóu(t'e'r)ín)lAA kúum thrúu t' bak' jə'rd, wen
 W da'u(t'e'r)ín)lAA kuum thruu t' bak' JA'rt, dju_ost ez
 L dóu,t'e'r i loo kuum thruu t' bak' fódd, frə
 B ladz wáif kúum thrúu t' bak' jə'rd frə

S dhí)d bín iqqín th)tlúez át,
 W dhí)d bín eqgín t' tlúez æ't fe t' d're'i,
 L iqqín á'at t' wít tlúez te d'rái on(t' wesh'ín dee,
 B iqín t' tlóiz á'at et' wesh'ín dee,

12. S wáil t' ket'l wəz báilín fer tee, wá'n fáin
 W waal t' ket'l wər be'ílín fer t' bagín, wá'n greeðli
 L wáil [t'] kjet'l wər ɐ bóilín fer [t'] tee, ɔn a brit
 B wól t' ket'l wər bóilín fer t' tee, wɔn re'it

S afternáuun i) su_omer, oonli ɐ wɪk' t' neks
 W faan su_omer af tɛ rnuun, na'ubət ɐ wɪk' sɪn t' neks
 L fáin su_omer af tɛ rnuun, nabət ɐ wɪk' sɪn t' neks t
 B fáin af tɛ r náuun i sumer táim, nabət ɐ wɪk sɪn t' neks

S thá'rzde.
 W tharzdi.
 L thá'rzde.
 B tharzdi.

13. S ɛn, dɔnt ʒə noo? A nɪvər fɜrd nɛ múer ɛbaat ɪt tɛ
 W ɛn dʊ_on ʒoo noo? a nɛvər lɛ'ɪnt nɔ múer tɪn dhɪs
 L ɛn fɜrn ʒɐ? di nɛvər fɜrd ɔni múer ɐ dhɪz
 B ɛn dʊ_on ʒə noo? a nɛvər fɜrd núe múer ɔn ɪt frɛ

S dhɪz deɛ, ɛsh shúuɛr ɛz
 W ɛbæəd dhad bɪznɪz frɔ dhad deɛ t' dhɪs', ɛsh shæ'uɛr ɛz
 L bɪznɪz u_op tɛ tɛdeɛ, ɛsh shúɛr)z
 B dhat deɛ tɛ dhɪs', ɛsh shúuɛr ɛz

S mái neem)z wɔt ɪt ɪz, ɛn a dɔnt kʒɛr ɛbaat ɪt,
 W maa neem)z :dʒak :shɛpɜrd, ɛn a dɔnt wɔnt t' dæ'u
 L mi neem)z :dʒa'n :wɔ't'n, ɛn di dɔnt wɔnt noodhɜr,
 B maa neem)z :dʒak, ɛn a dúɛnt wɔnt tɛ dáu

S dʊ_on)ʒə noo?
 W noodhɜr, su_o nææ ʒo an ɪt.
 L dhɪɜr- naa!
 B noodhɜr, su_o naa dhɛn'.

14. S ɛn naa a)m gu'ɪn woom tɛ)mɪ)su_opɜr. gu_od
 W ɛn naa a)m gu'ɪn wu_om)p' mɪ su_opɜr nææ. gu_od
 L ɛn su ái)m gu'ɪn úɛm tɛ mɪ su_opɜr. gu_od
 B ɛn ná'ɛ a)l bi páikɪn ɔf wɔ'm tɛ mɪ su_opɜr. su_o gu_od

S nɪt, ɛn dɔnt bi sɛ rɛdi tɛ kroo ɔ'ɛr anibɔdi
 W nɪt, ɛn dʊ_onet bi sɛ shæ'ɪp ɔt' kroo-in ɔɜr ɐ tʒap
 L nɪt, ɛn dʊ_onet bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo ɔɜr ɐ bɔdi
 B nɪt, ɛn dúɛnt bi sɛ rɛdi ɛgɛn ɛt takɪn fɔk ɔf,

S ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn ɪ)z tAAkɪn ɛbaat ɔut.
 W t' neks taam ɛz ɪz tAAkɪn ɛbææt ɛ'ut.
 L ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn i tɔks ɐ wɔd i nooz ɔn.
 B wɛn dhɛ)r tAAkɪn ɛbá'at ɔut.

15. S *ʒi wu_od bi v soft fúu vs ták_t baat ani reez'n. ʋn*
 W *dhø)r wèk fæ'uz vs preets bææt sens. ʋn*
 L *id)z wèk fuu vs prèts bá'at reez'n. ʋn*
 B *i)z næbət v gart fúul vt tAAks bá'at sens. ʋn*

S *dhat)s AA vZ A' EV tə see vbaat it. so gu_od nit.*
 W *dhat)s AA vZ à av fər t' sɪ. gu_od nit.*
 L *dhad)z mi last wA'rd. gu_od nit.*
 B *dhat)s AAl vt AA)v tə see vba'at it. su_o gu_od nit.*

Notes to Skelmersdale cs., p. 332.

1. *lad* or (:tu_om), etc.
 4. *safe* or (shúuər) *sure*.
 5. *that the youngest*, there is an assimilation of (th) to (s).—*queer* or (kʷæɹ[R]), observe reverted (R).—*trust*, observe dentality.
 6. *without much bother* or (widhaat ani bodhər).
 8. *as I was saying*, or (vZ A sE'd) *as I said*.—*thing* or (ɔg') *hog*, pig.
 9. *best* or (su_ondə) *Sunday*.—*door* or (dAAr).
 11. *daughter-in-law* or (dheer:djak's wáif) *their Jack's wife*.—*yard*, possibly with (r).
 13. *to this day* or (sin) *since*.—*as sure as my name's what it is*, or (vsh shúuər vS tu_op)s mu_ot'n) *as sure as tup*, i.e. *ram*, is *mutton*, or (vsh shúuər vZ mái neem)z :djak :shəpərd) *as sure as my name's Jack Shepherd*.
 14. *I am going home*, or (A)l gu woom) *I'll go home*.

Notes to West Houghton cs., p. 332.

0. *why*, at Westhoughton (waa), but at Bolton generally (wái), and so for other long I, Y words.
 1. *Tom*, (:djak) *Jack*, etc., represent the plainest peasant speech, (:tu_omi, :djoni) *Tommy*, *Johnny*, etc., used to children and youths; adults in 'quiet and homely' speech say (:tu_oməz, :wíl'vəm, :dʒeəmz) *Thomas*, *William*, not (:wíl'vəm), *James*, etc.—*thee*. Children and young people *thou* each other generally, and adults *thou* children, parents *thou* their children of all ages, husbands and wives and older people who have been familiar from youth, *thou* each other; to *thou* a senior would be an offence. This is a general custom in the NM. group.—*laugh*, more rudely (ló,uf).—*cares*, or (kjéarz). TH. says W. gave the latter and his sister the one in the text, and that he also wrote (kje'rz) and found it the most difficult word to analyse.
 2. *there's not so many folk dies*, or (dhər)z v vəri tuth'ri fòk' vZ díz) *there is a very two-three [small number of] folk as dies*. *How could they die*.
 4. *all the thing*, or (th)wool thiq) *the whole thing*.
 5. *rusty*, between (rææsti) and (raa'sti), it stands for the dialectal form *rousty*.
 7. *as how it is hoo told*, observe (ù, uu) for hoo=she.
 10. *he were making a noise and moaning himself*.
 11. *yard*, also (jæ'rd).
 13. *till this*, sometimes (tɛn).—*so now you have-n it*.
 14. *aight*, or (anithin) *anything*.
 15. *say*, here (si) but (see) in par. 4.

Notes to Leyland cs., p. 332.

0. *doubts*, (á'ɹ) appears to be the normal form for U' and ou- words, but in L. and Farington villages TH. observed several examples with the (ɹ) very faint, and in two or three heard (aa') only.
 1. *you*, (dhi) is the ordinary form used as in Chapel, D 21.—*him*, Miss Ff gave (i), but both T and E believe (im) to be the normal form, and also TH. thinks the proper form of *both* is (búədh).
 2. *die-n*, Miss Ff said (dáin) in error, probably both (diiz, diin) are used.—*laughed at*, Miss Ff wrote and said (laf'n).—*what*, Miss Ff had (wat).—

make, TH. says (mak) most probably, W adds 'by elderly people.'

3. *howsoever*, Miss Ff had (á'æsum-nævər) corrected by T.—*the facts*, (th) assimilated to (f), inserted by TH.—*your*, (dhi) is the ordinary form.—*until I have done*, for (ái)n, W would write (ái)v. Can (ái)n be an alteration of (ái)m, the (m) assimilated before (d)? 'I'm done' for 'I've done' is not unfrequently heard.

4. *certain* (sərt'n), generally.—*I heard*, unemphatic. *I* is oftener (A) than (ái); all "(oo) certainly," TH.; (AA) Miss Ff.—*first* (fɔst), T.

5. *fathers*, (fæðərz) T., (fadherz) Miss Ff.—*voice*, (váis) Miss Ff.—*I'd better* (A)d.—*squeaking*, (skwàkin) T and W, or (skriitín) W.—*speak*, (spɛ'ik) T, (speek) Miss Ff.

6. *if you ask-en her*, or (if ʒo aks ɛr), or (iv ʒə nót bəd aks t ɛr) T, if you nought but asked her.

7. *wrong*, (rɔŋŋ) Miss Ff, (rv,ɔŋŋ, raŋŋ) W.—*such*; TH. thinks that probably (siti) is the normal sound, and says that he has heard (miti) twice.

8. *as I*, or (ɛz A).—*beast* (biəst) is sg. Miss Ff said (biəs), which is plural.

9. *eyes* (iin) E, (áiz) Miss Ff.—*stretched laid upon the ground*, or (ɛt fu,l lɛŋkθ ont' grá'and) E.—*Sunday*, this is E's reading, (best su,ndɛ kúvɛt) is also used, W; (su,ndi) Miss Ff.—*close by the door*, or (tlɔs tɛt' dɔər) E.

10. *whining* or (bɛl'in) bellowing, W.—*world* (wá'rd) E; (wá'rd) Miss Ff.—*badly*, E's reading; (sik) Miss Ff.—*little wench in a fret*, (nóuti wɛnʃ) naughty wench is much more idiomatic, E.

11. *happend*, (ap'nd) E; (ap'nt) Miss Ff.—*her daughter-in-law*, or (ɛr :dɔimz wáit) E.—*came* (ku,m) Miss Ff.; (kuum) E.—*clothes*, (tlúvz) E; (tlóiz) Miss Ff, which seems impossible.—*dry*, (drii) Miss Ff; (d'rdi) E, who prefers the following rendering of the end of this paragraph, (fro iggin t' tlúvz á'at ɛ)th wɛʃ in deɛ, from hanging the clothes out on the washing day.

12. *boiling* (bóilin) E; báilin Miss Ff.—*tea*, also (bag'in, d'riŋkin) used at farms W.—*bright*, (o ɛ bráit') Miss Ff; (on ɛ brit') E.—*nobbut* = only, (nəbət) E; (nəbət) Miss Ff.—*thursday*, (tharzdɛ) Miss Ff; (thá'rzde) E.

13. *hear-en*, by elderly people.—*I never, I don't*, (A) is more usual than

(ái).—*sure*, (shúvər) W.—*John want*, Miss Ff. adds (tu) to, which E excides.

14. *so I am*, (su (ái)m) E, (so áiz), Miss Ff, which is n.La.—*home* (úm), E.—*do not*, (dərnd) E, where (r) seems an error if pronounced.—*quick*, (shəp, rɛdi) E.—*again*, (ɛgɛn) E, but W confirms the text for Leyland. E would render par. 14 thus, (ɛn naa A)m gu'in úm tɛ mi su,ɔpər. gu,d nit, ɛn dərnd [(r) distinct] bi sɛ rɛdi tɛ kroo ɔər ɛ bɔdi ɛgɛn, wɛn i tɔks ɛ wɔd i nooz su,mət ɛbá'at).

15. *it is*, (it)s Miss Ff. E would render the paragraph thus: (id)z nót bəd ɛ fuu ɛs prɛts bá'at sɛns. bəd A'l sɛ nót nɛ múər. súv gu,d nit).

Omitted Words.

As will be seen in the version Miss Ff omitted many words and phrases in the cs. TH. questioned her and obtained the following results.

1. *neighbour*, (nɛbər) "used by elderly people, W" or (niibər), which TH. thinks should be (nɛbər).—*who cares?* (woo kjɛərz?), T says (úv).

2. *men*, mɛ'n.—*we know, don't we?* (wi noon, du,ne wi?).

3. *hold*, (hóld) Ff and W.—*noise*, (nóiz) Ff and W.—*friend* (frɛnd).

4. *folks* (fɔks).

5. *great boy* (grɛt bói).—*aye*, *I would* (ái, ai wú,t). W corrects to (wu,d).

6. *too* (tuu).—*only* (oonli).—*oh! won't she?* (oo! winət uu?).—*much*, (miti) W.

7. *leastways* (liist weez).—*when I asked her* (wɛn ai aks t'ɛr).—*did she* (did uu).—*ought not* (óut'nt).—*point* (póint).—*what do you think?* (wɔd'n ʒoo thiŋk?).

8. *how* (á'ɛ).—*when* (wɛn').

9. *at full length* (ɛt fu,l lɛŋθ), "sometimes (lɛnth)," but this TH. doubts.

10. *girl* (gɛrl).

11. *yard* (járd).

12. *one* (wá'n).—*only*, see 6.—*come* (ku,m).

13. *do you know?* (du,n ʒə noo?)—*learned* (lárnd).—*Shepherd*, (:shɛpɛrt) Miss Ff; (:shɛpərd) T.—*either* (oðhər).

14. *this, that, t'other* (dhis, dhát, tu,dhɛr).

15. *goodbye* (gu,d báit), used only for a long leavetaking.

Miss Ffarington also gave the following account of an Easter "lifting," as overheard by herself between 1827 and 1837 from an eyewitness, probably a servant or labourer, speaking in the Leyland dialect, and written down by her at the time.

wen :djæmz en :tu_mæz en :djak' en
when James and Thomas and Jack and
:pii_tə_r ku_m tə lift :ɛlɪn, ù pu_nst
Peter came to lift Ellen, she punched
en ù skrit' en ù nipt en ù
and she shrieked and she nipped and she

skrat'; en ù kjikt :djæmz, en ù
scratched; and she kicked James, and she
bèstəd :pii_tə_r, en ù lu_gd :tu_mæz, en
basted Peter, and she lugged Thomas, and
ù stampt u_pv)th' flúer, en ù skrit
she stamped upon the floor, and she shrieked
ma'rdhər!
murther!

Here *basted* means beat violently,
lugged pulled by the hair. This speci-
men was said by W to be (*greedli:məs*),
that is, exactly in the Leyland Moss
dialect.

Notes to Burnley cs., p. 332.

1. *Jack, thee*, salutations and address as in the other places.—*him and thee*, the fracture (i) is said to be not so marked as in Ch. D 25, (i) being nearer (i), perhaps (iⁱ) may be meant, most persons would hear simple (ii).—*but I care nought about it*, the (t) of *but* becoming a (r) as very usual.

3. *I'm boun to say*, meaning am going to say.

4. *through*, the sound has now been ascertained to be (ú) not (æ'u). In many words the lips are rather pouted or projected for the (u) in this fracture, thus (úu^u), but not so much as at Oldham, see par. 6, *tuu*, *hoo* (túu^u, úu^u) etc.

8. *beggar or hound—fellow*.

9. *coat, close, lane*, the last taken as *lone*; these (ó) forms will be found again in D 24.

10. *lass that were marred*, i.e. a spoiled child.

11. *and her lad's wife*, or (en dhéur :djim wáif) and their Jim's wife, the 's omitted.

13. *as my name's Jack*, or (vz AA)m iər) as I'm here.

14. *piking off*, stealing off, going away quietly.—*taking folk off*, mocking people, or in the sg. (takɪn v tʃap of, wen i)z tAAkɪn v bá'ət óut) taking a chap off when he's talking about anything.

TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

illustrating Var. iv. Blackburn, both pal. in 1879 by TH. from dictation.

B Blackburn, from a moulder, a native, b. 1850.

H Huddlesden (4 se. Blackburn, 2 ese. Over Darwen station), from a collier, a native, b. 1858.

1. B sɔ, A SEE, ladz, ʃo sii naa' A)m rE'it vbaa't dhat lét'l
H súv, A SEE, ladz, ʃs sl ná'ə dhət A)m rít v b á'ət dhat lét'l

B las ku_mɪn frəm)s skuu ʃənd.

H las ku_mɪn frə)t' skúu ʃənd.

2. B ù)z gu)ɪn daa'n th) rúəd dhíer thruu)t' rəd gjeet on)t' lét
H ù)z gu)ɪn dá'ən)t' rúəd dhíer thruu)t' rəd gjeet on)t' lét

B and sáid.

H ant sâad v)t' rú-əd.

3. B sii)ʒə, th)ʒáílt)s gɔn [gA'n] s,tʒe'it uɔp tɛ)t' dúer ɔ)t'
 H sii)ʒə, th)ʒáíld)z gúɛn s,tʒe'it uɔp' tɛ)t' dúer ɔ)t'

B rʌq à's.
 H raq á's.

4. B wíer ùl ap'n fáínd dhat ,d,rʌqk'n def' fáɛ vt)s páínín
 H wíer ùl ap'n fáí and dhat ,d,rʌqk'n díef wíz'nd féɛ

B ɔwee; íz neəm)z :tɔm.
 H ɔz dhí koon :tu,m.

5. B wi oo noo ím verí wíll.
 H wi oo noon ím varɛ wíll.

6. B weent th)óud tʒap suun tɛ'ítɛt ɔr nɔt tɛ du ít ɛgíen,
 H warnt dh)óud tʒap suun tɛ'ítɛt ɔr nɔt tɛ du ít ɛgíen,

B púer thíq!
 H púer thíq!

7. B sii)ʒə! ís'nt-ít tráú?
 H sii)ʒə! íz'nt ít ,t,ráú wɔd A bín telín ʒə?

VAR. vi. OLD COLNE VALLEY.

Colne (:kóun) (6 nne.Burnley) has now practically the same speech as Burnley, but in 1840 it was different. The district considered extends through Colne from Pendle Hill (:pen'l :íl) to Boulsworth Hill. My informant, Mr. Hartley Stuttard, was in 1878 national schoolmaster at Plympton, Dv. (4 e.Plymouth). He was a native of Pendle Hill, and states that when a boy he had "special opportunities of hearing the hand-loom weavers who lived in the small farm cottages in the hill-side in what was known in old times as Pendle and Trawden (2 se.Colne) Forests. During the 20 years he had been away the dialect had completely changed and become a bastard Yo., from the mechanics who were engaged fitting the mill machinery and from the 'hands' who cross and recross the Pennine chain."

The following table shews the pronunciation of a few words in 1840 when Mr. Stuttard was a child, and in 1855 when he left the place. He says that in 1877, when he revisited the place, he was able to speak the dialect of 1855, which his brother who had remained there all the time hardly recognised, and also found many words extinct which he remembered in use. I am indebted to Mr. John Shelly of Plymouth (see D 11, p. 162) for obtaining this interesting information from Mr. Stuttard.

COLNE VALLEY PRONUNCIATION.

in 1840.	in 1855.	rec. spelling.
fɒt	fɒtʃ	fetch
thɒkht	thɒʊt	thought
nɪkʃht	nɪt	night
rɛkʃht	rɛ'it	right
rɒkht	rɛ'ikt	reached
bɒkht	bɒʊt	bought
sɪkʃh	sáí	sigh
sɒkht	sɒʊt	sought
sɒkh	sɔ,kh	sough
shuukh	shu,f	shoe
trɒukh	drɒkh	trough
rɒukh	rɒkh	rough
tɒukh	tɒkh	tough

COLNE VALLEY dt. 1840 pron.

Mr. Stuttard wrote the following dt., in his own orthography, to represent the 1840 pron., and gave such ample explanations, that I think my interpretation gives a very fair representation of the sounds he meant to convey.

1. sú_ov a se tʃaps ʃo sɪ naa'a vɛt Δ)m rɛ'ikʃht vɒá'æt dhat lɪ't'l la's vɛt wɛr kɛmɪn frɛ't' skú:l ʃɒndhɛr.
2. uu)z bá'an dá'an t' ló'in dhíer thruu t' red ʃeet v)t' lɛft and sɛ'ɪd v)t' rúed.
3. síuer vɒkxh t' tʃáild)z gúen rɛ'ikht u_op tɛ t' dɛr v)t' raq á'as.
4. wíer uu)l apɛn fáind dhat dhru_okhɛn díef wíz'nd felí kauld :tʉ_omɛs.
5. AAl on u_os noon ím wíil vɒkxh.
6. wíent dh)óud tʃap súin laarn ɛr tɛ núen duu)t ɛgíen, púer thíq!
7. sii ʃo! dɪd'nt Δ tel súz?

Notes to Colne Valley dt.

1. *so*, the vowel here written (u_o) is said to be "a cross" between (uu) and (u).—*say*, with *e* in *leg*, which in these regions I interpret as (ɛ).—*mates*, recently come into use; *chaps*, *lads*, *lasses*, *folk*, were common.—*you*, (*ʃoo*) plural only, (*ʃaa*) was equally common in 1840, but was generally used for the singular. There was the customary use of *thou* and *you*.—*see*, (sɪ) "shorter than *ee* but longer than *i* in *pin*."—*now*, "long *a* as in *land*" followed by (ɔ).—*right*, "r as in Scotch."—*from the school*. Mr. Stuttard writes the equivalent of (frɛ't' t' skú:l), saying "the becomes (t') suspended from the last word, but there is also added a very slightly-sounded and almost indistinguishable (t) to the next word," see p. 317. As (t') represents that the position of the tongue for (t) is undisturbed till the next word begins, I have not written the (t) twice over.—*yonder*, the (dhɛr) was possibly Mr. Stuttard's interpretation of dental (dɛr).
2. *she's*, (uu) "like the *oo* in *fool*, *h* is used when emphatic." In the emphatic form (*iz*), similarly (Δ am, Δ wɛr, Δ ɛv bɪn, Δ ɛd bɪn, Δ sɒl bɪ, Δ sɒl ɛv bɪn).—*there*, "the-ur would rhyme with *see-ur* not *see-er*," this distinction I do not understand.—*through the red*, "with a slight aspirate before *r*," which I do not hear of elsewhere, possibly (rhrɛd).—*gate*, (*ʃeet*) was the common form.—*on the*, (v)t' with the *n* omitted and the (t') suspended.—*hand*, the aspirate generally omitted

and rarely inserted. — *side*, “a very pure and fine long *i*, obtained by drawing back the corners of the *lip*, not as in Yo., where the word becomes *si-id*.” I have endeavoured to represent this, probably unsuccessfully, by the form (*ɛi*), but elsewhere in La. it is (*di*) in this word.—*road*, with a slight sound of *w* after *r*, possibly (*rjwúəd*). It may be merely that the (*u*) begins before the (*r*) ceases.

3. *sure*, (*s*) very sibilant, not (*sh*).—*enough*, “like *ou* in *tough*, which is pronounced *toch* like *loch*.”—*right* or *straight* (*sthrɛit*).—*up*, “Lancashire *u*.”—*door*, “rhyming with *cur*.”—*wrong*, “*w* suppressed,” but he does not hint at (*raqg*) or (*ru,gg*).

4. *chance*, (*apən*) happen is given as the common word, but (*tjəns*, *əmer*, *pon*), *chance*, *hammer*, *pan*, as the pron. “on the skirts of the district;

on the other hand, within the district *tongs*, *long*, *prong*, are called” (*taqz*, *laq*, *praq*).—*find*, “like *finəd*, p.t. *fand*, pp. *fun*” (*fáind*, *fand*, *fu_n*).—*drunken*, with (*kh*) as in L., “*drunk* is not used, but *I have drunken*, *they are drunken*.”—*wizzened*, (*sr-*) not (*shr-*) used, *shrimps* = (*srimps*).—*called*, “*name* is a new word in the district, pronounced” (*neem*).

5. *him*, the (*i*) never omitted (*A tɛld im*) sg., (*A tɛld ɛm*) pl.—*well enough* or *very well* (*vari will*).

6. *won't*, (*wɪnət*) is as common as (*wɪənt*).—*teach* is (*tɛitʃ*), but (*laarn*) is commoner.—*her*, “*r* not trilled.” I write (*r*) final as explained on p. 294, l. 1, but, as there shewn, believe the sound is at most (*r*) or some form of (*r*).—*to do it* is rendered to *none do it*.

7 *look* is (*luuk*) with long (*uu*).—*isn't it true* (*ɪnət it θriú ?*).

VAR. i. ORMSKIRK cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. for

O Ormskirk (7 se. Southport). In 1888 TH. found (*úu*) to be normal.

Ex. (*it A'lez du,z júuz weetin v̄ dhat t,reen*), it always does use waiting of [to wait for] that train.

S Skelmersdale (7 nnw. St. Helens), see also the Interlinear cs. p. 332.

Ex. (*dha ma'nt sit s̄v̄ n̄ɪr t' waa ɪr dha*)l d̄yóu dhi j̄əd ɛj̄ɛn t' waa w̄i p̄úuɪn ɛt d̄hæt tu,ɪ [tɔf] b̄áɪf), thou mustn't sit so near the wall or thou'lt jolt thy head against the wall with pulling at that tough beef.

P Prescott (4 wsw. St. Helens). (*tr dr*) not (*t,r d,r*) probably through influence of Liverpool.

Ex. (*ɪ sez dha*)r gu,ɪn t' p̄lee su,m kl̄ɛg soolz t̄əmɔre), he says thou-art going to play some clogssoles [do work] to-morrow.—(*oo o ! k'a'rn gj̄ɛr ɛm str̄ɛit ɛt ʌʌ*), o-oh ! can't [(*r*) certain to TH.] get them straight at all.—(*so*)ɛn j̄ə tu), so have-n you too.

N Newton (4 e. St. Helens), the dialect was reported by a railway porter (from St. H.) to have altered considerably since he came there 13 or 14 years before 1874.

W Warrington, generally (*t,r*), but occasionally (*tr*). It was stated that the se. and ne. suburb varied in speech, thus se. (*dáɪn d̄ɔg' boon bá'íl*), ne. (*taa'nz iind daa'n d̄ɔg' búɛn b̄ɛ'íl*) town's end down dog bone boil, confirmed in 1888.

Ex. (*it wa'ks ɔn it j̄ɛɛd, ɛn it wa'ks ɔn it t̄eel, ɛn ʌʌ*), it walks on its head, and it walks on its tail, and all.—(*k̄əm ɔn, dha*)l s̄ɪ'ɪ), come along, thou'lt see.—(*ɪ neer w̄il b̄áɪ, ɛz lu,gg ɛz dhaa*)l kiip ɪm f̄ɛr θ̄art̄ɪɪn sh̄ilɪn v̄ w̄ik), he never will be, as long as thou'lt keep him for thirteen shillings a week.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 19 O *teel*. A: 43 P *ɔnz* [hands]. 55 O *th(ɛs)'ool* [the ash hole]. A: or O: 60 S *lu,gg*. 61 S *st,r̄u,gg*. 64 W *ru,q*. A'- 67 N *gúu*, S *gúv̄*. 69 S *na'u*. 72 OP *úv̄*. 74 OS *táu*. 76 SP *táud*. 81 S *loon*. 84 O *múer*. 87 O *tlúez klúez*. A': 107 W *l̄ɔf*. 115 O *wòm*, ON *wa'm*, S *woom*, W *wa'm*. 118 S *búɛn*. 122 S *noon*. 124 OSP *stoon*. 137 P *noodher*.

Æ'- — O rē'it̥ [to reach]. 190 O kje'i. Æ': 209 O n̥er, n̥ever.
 213 P eed̥h̥ur. 214 P need̥h̥ur. 224 S en̥iw̥ḁr. 227 S w̥it.
 E- 232 S br̥e'ik. 233 O sp̥e'ik. 235 S w̥e'iv. 243 P plee. — OPW
 e'it [to eat]. 251 OP m̥e'it. E: 261 P see. 262 W wee. — P t̥u_op̥u_{ns}
 siksp̥u_{ns} [twopence sixpence, last (u_o) distinct]. E'- 290 S ā. 292 P
 m̥i. E': 305 S ī. 306 S e'it. 312 P ūr.
 EA- 320 O kjḁr'. EA: 324 O e'it. 325 O w̥ak. 326 O a'ud, P ōud.
 334 O eepni [halfpenny]. 342 S ə'ɹm. 343 S wə'ɹm. EA'- 347 SP
 j̥ed. EA': 350 S d̥iəd. — O biəm [a beam]. 360 OS t̥iem. 366 S
 gr̥e'it. — S d̥a'u [dew].
 EI- 372 P aa' [inclining to (ææ)]. EO: 395 P ju_og̥. 419 P j̥ər
 [your]. EO'- 410 W ū. 411 P thr̥i. — S t̥r̥i [tree]. — O sh̥út
 [to shoot]. EO': 423 S th̥i. 425 W l̥it. 426 SP f̥a'it. 428 S s̥i.
 434 O bj̥et. 435 P j̥ə.
 I- 442 S iv̥n. 444 S st̥il. 446 P naan [inclining to (naan)]. I: 458
 O n̥e'it n̥it, OS n̥it. 459 S rit̥. 461 W l̥et [(ev̥ j̥ə l̥et' n̥ on̥ im̥, īi) st̥ik t̥u
 j̥ə AA n̥it] if you light on=meet with him he'll stick to you all night, that is, till
 you go home]. I'- — P raad [to ride]. 492 P saad [inclining to (saad)].
 494 OW [between] taam taam. — O waap [to wipe]. — P th̥arti. I':
 500 O l̥ā'ik, P laak. 502 P faav. 508 P m̥āil [probably refined for (maal)].
 509 O waal. 510 OP maan.
 O- 522 SW əp'n. O: 550 S wa'rd. O'- 558 P l̥ūk. 559 P
 m̥u_od̥h̥ur. 560 SPW sk̥u. 564 P s̥ūn. 567 P t̥t̥ū_od̥h̥ur. O': 569 P
 b̥ūk. 580 S t̥u_of. 584 S st̥ū. 586 P d̥ū_o. 595 S f̥ūt.
 U- 603 O kam, W ku_om̥in. 606 W d̥ūur. 607 W bu_ot̥ur. U: 615 OS
 paa'nd. 632 W u_op. U'- 640 S kjaa [pl. (kjaaz)]. 643 O naa' n̥ææ. 650
 OSP əbaa't. U': 658 OP daa n, S daan, N daa'n d̥aam [a youth said colliers and
 country people at N. say (daa'n), and so for the U' words, but village people say
 (d̥aam); to TH. in 1874 the boys and youths of the village seemed generally to
 use (a'u) or a sound between that and (āu), but that (aa' a') cropped up oc-
 casionally and unconsciously, and was the normal sound]. 659 O t̥æænz. 663
 O ə's [as in (w̥shj̥æ's, eelj̥æ's) washhouse, alehouse], N āus, W ə'us. 667 O ə't.
 Y- 682 S l̥āit [a few, a small quantity of]. Y: 691 OP maand. 701
 O fu_ost. Y': 709 O f̥e'is̥r.

II. ENGLISH.

O. — P fag [fog]. — SP d̥ag [dog]. — SP t̥l̥ag [clog]. 766 S māi,d̥s̥r,d.
 — O shaa't [to shout]. U. 805 S kru_odz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 830 O threen [rather than (t̥reen)], W t̥reen t̥reen. 839 P baal [ball].
 851 S ant [(eent) old]. E.. 867 SP tee. — S :n̥iubr̥af fa_lr [Newborough
 fair, 2½ n. S]. 890 P biēs [cows, the sg. is (kjaa')]. I.. and Y.. — P
 s̥āri [sirrah]. — P raa'nd [round]. — P mu_on̥e [money]. 947 P b̥āil. 948
 S ba'u, P b̥ōu. — W kraan [a crown]. U.. 963 W kwaat. 965 P āil.

Var. ii. BOLTON AND WIGAN cwl.

B Bolton (:b̥out'n), from the wl. in io. furnished by Mr. Charles Rothwell,
 surgeon; conjecturally pal. by A.J.E. with the help of Bh and W below.
 The (ə'u, īi), if they occur, have been confounded with (uu, ii).

Bh Bolton from wn. by TH.

W Wigan (:wigin), from wn. by TH. (r) frequent and of medial length, but
 not so specially marked.

Ex. (A)shed̥e bin̥ t̥i'too'tel naa', ev̥ it̥ ad̥n̥e bin̥ f̥er :an, ūuz̥ s̥ə sh̥a'rt),
 I should have been teetotal now, if it hadn't been for Ann, she's so
 short [hasty-tempered]—(w̥i)n̥ g̥j̥et'n̥ v̥ v̥eri̥ gu_od̥ st̥art), we have-n
 gotten a very good start.—(it̥ fav̥erz̥ su_om̥er̥ w̥eli), it favours
 [=resembles] summer well-nigh.

Wh Westhoughton (4 wsw.Bolton), wn. by TH., see also the interlinear cs. p. 332.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 B teek, tak. 5 B meek, mak. 16 B doon. — Wh egjeet [agate, going on]. 20 B loom [rare]. 21 BW neem. 23 B soom. 24 B shoom. 32 B bath [same as noun]. 33 B reedher. 36 B thoo. A: 39 B kuun. 40 BWh kom. 41 B theqk. 43 B ont, Wh ont ond. 44 B loud lont. 47 B wander. 50 Bh tu,qz. — Wh ka|rint [cannot]. 51 B mon, feli. 54 B Wh want. 55 B th)es. 56 B w)esh. A: or O: 60 B lu,qg. 61 B vnu,qg vnu,qk. 62 B st,ru,qg. 63 BBh thru,qg. 64 B ru,qg. 65 B su,qg. A'- 67 Bh gu, B g)u. 69 BW na'u. 76 B t)ud. 83 B mi)u. 84 B m)ur. 86 B oots. 87 B kl)uz. 89 B b)uth. 95 B throo. 99 B thru,t. A'- 102 B aks. 104 B rood. 106 BW brood. 108 B da'uf. 111 BWh a'ut. 113 B wu,l. 115 B wu,m, W wa'm woom. 122 B noon. 123 B naut, Wh naqk [obs. expression for (nathiqk) nothing, with its correlative (aqk) anything]. 124 Wh stoon. 128 B dhuuz. 135 Wh tla'th. 136 B oodher. A'- BBh feedher. 140 B eel. 141 B neel. 142 B sneel. 144 B e)en. 150 B liest. 152 B wa,t)er. 153 B sa,t)rdi. A': 155 B thet)j. 160 B heg. 161 BBh dee. 172 B graas. 174 esh. 175 B faast. 179 wor is)t? [what is it?]. A'- 182 B se'i, Wh see. 183 B te'it)j. 187 lier. 190 B ke'i. 192 B mi)u. 194 B oni. 195 B moni. 202 B jet. A': 215 B t)ut. 216 BWh diel. — Wh me'il [a meal]. 223 B dh)er ["a rarer form, used when a job is completed satisfactorily," (dhe'jer, dhat)'l duu], there, that will do, (dher) unaccented]. 224 BBh wier. 225 W fr'ish. 226 B m)est, W m)ist. 227 Bh w)et.

E- 231 Bh tth [often, ?(tth)]. 232 B bre'ik. 233 BWhW spr'ik. 234 B ne'id. 235 B we'iv. 236 B feever. 245 Wh me'il. 247 B ween. — Wh e'it [eat]. 251 B me'it. E: — W e'iv [heave, raise]. 261 B see. 262 B wee. 266 Wh wiil. 269 W mise'l [myself]. 270 Wh i. baliz, ii. bali. E'- 301 B j)er)im [hear him]. E': 305 B he'i, Wh ii. 306 BWh e'it. 312 Bh ier.

EA- 317 B fii. 320 B keer, Bh k)eer. EA: 322 B la'uf. 323 B fa'ut. 324 Bh e'itpens [eightpence], Wh e'it. 326 BWh a'ud. 327 Wh ba'ud. 328 BBh ka'ud. 329 B fa'ud. 330 BBh a'ud. 331 B sa'ud. 332 BW ta'ud. 333 B kaaf. 334 B aav, Bh eepni [halfpenny]. 335 BW aa, oo. 336 BW faa foo. 337 BW waa woo. 338 WhBhW kaa. 340 B jard. 342 B arm [(ar) in 340, 342, 343 is conjectural, the sound is written er and thus described "a slightly extra stress on the vowel, a prolongation of sound as though the voice had to reach the saddle e from the horse-block a, a touch with one boot-toe and you are on, viz. *aerm*, yet they are one sound." I get (ar) at Blackburn]. 343 B warm. 345 B daar deer. EA'- 347 BWh j)ed [the informant at Wh noticed that there was a habit of prefixing (j) to words beginning with a vowel in singing]. EA': 350 B di)ed. 353 B br)ed breed. 354 B shief. 355 B di)ef. 356 B li)ef. 357 B dho dh)uf. 359 B ni)er. 360 BW t)am. 361 BWh bi)en. 366 BW gre'it. 368 B di)uth. 371 B stroo. EI- 372 B aa, Wh ai. EI: 378 B week. EO: 393 B bi)ont. — da'rk [dark]. 396 Bh waark. 399 B briit. — Wh br)u)u [burn]. 403 Bh fa'r. 405 B aarth. 407 B faardhin. EO'- 410 B uu, Bh zu's, W u. 411 Bh thrii. 413 B di)iv'l. 414 B fii. 417 B t)uu. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B ruuf. 425 B liit. 426 B fe'it. 434 B bi)et. 435 B joo. EY- 438 B dii.

I- 440 BBh wik. — Bh gj)iv [give]. 444 B stiil. 446 B no'in. 449 Wh gj)et'n [gotten]. I: 452 B a. 458 BBh niit, BhW nit nit. 459 B riit. 462 B siit. 465 B sit)j. 468 B t)j)der. 473 B blint. 475 B th)wint. 487 B jes,t)rdi. I'- 492 B sa'id, Bh sa'id, W saad. 493 B dr)iv. 494 B taam, W taam. 496 B e'iern. I': 500 B laak, W laak [inclining to (laak)]. 502 BW faav. 503 Wh laaf. 504 B naaf, Bh naaf. 505 B wa'if waaf, W waaf wa'if. 508 B maal. 509 B waal. 511 B wo'in. 515 B wo'iz.

O- — Wh o'un [oven]. 522 B op'n. 524 B wort. O: — Wh fog [fog]. 526 B ka'uf. 527 BWh ba'ut. 528 BWh W thaut. 529 BWh br)aut. 531 B da,t)er. 536 B ga'ud. — W ta'u [toll]. 539 B [not used, always basin, jug, or pot]. 542 B ba'ut. 547 B bu)rt. — Wh a's [horse]. O'- 555 B shuuf. 564 W sa'un, B suun sanner [in sense of lief, liefer]. 566 B oodher. — gr)u)in [growing]. O': 569 Bh ba'uk. 571 Bh gu)d bai

[good bye]. 579 B *ənuuf*, Bh *ənæ'uf*, W *ənu.f*. 580 B *tə'uf*. 581 B *sə'ut*. 584 B *stuu*. 586 Bh *dæxnt* [do not, distinct (r)]. 587 *dū.n*. 590 B *fūuər*, W *fə'uər*. 593 B [(*mu.n*) used, occ. (*mu.t*), (*mæt*) might, is common].
 U- 599 B *əbu.v*. 600 B *lu.v*. 605 B *su.n*. 607 B *bu.tər*. U: 608 B *u.gli*. 612 B *sm.m*. 613 B *drū.gk*. 615 Bh *pæænd paa'nd*. 617 B *sæænd*. 618 B *wə'nd*. 621 B *wu.n*. 622 B *u.ndər*. 625 B *tu.g*. 626 B *u.ggər*. 629 B *su.n*. 630 B *wu.n*. 632 B *u.p*. 633 B *ku.p*. 634 B *thruu*. 639 B *du.st*. U'- 640 B *kææ*. 641 B *hææ*, Bh *ææ*. 642 B *dhææ*. 643 BBh *nææ*. 645 B *du.v*. — Wh *kjæær* [cower, (*kjæær dhi dææn*) sit thee down]. 648 B *ææ'ər*. 649 B *thææzænd*. 650 Wh *əbææt*. 651 W *baa't*. U': 657 B *lrææn*. 658 BhB *dææn*. 659 B *tææn*. 661 B *shææər*. 662 B *u.s*. 663 BWhBh *ææs*. 665 B *mææs*. 666 B *u.zbænd*. 667 B *ææt*, WhBh *æt*, Bh *æt*, W *aa't*. 668 B *prææd*. 671 B *mææth*. 672 B *sææth*.
 Y- 673 B *mitr*, Bh *mu.tj*. 677 B *dræ'i*. Y: 686 B *bæ'i*. 691 B *maand*. 699 B *riit*. — Wh *spa'ra* [to speer, inquire]. Y'- — Wh *kjâit* [a kite]. Y': 709 B *fæ'ir*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — W *merkit* [market]. O. 761 B *læd*. 767 Bh *næ'iz*. — Wh *kjæ'it* [quoit]. U. 796 Wh *blæ'u* [old people say (*blîù*)]. — Wh *tjæ'un* [a tune]. — W *əri* [hurry]. — *juur* [hair, old *hure* head covering, uncertain origin]. 808 B *pær it dææn* [put it down], *pær'im* [kick him].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W *pleen* [plain]. 830 W *treen*. — Wh *tjæn* [chain]. 850 B *doons*. E.. 867 BWh *tee*. 874 B *ræ'ininz* [almost always in pl.]. 890 Wh *bies* [pl. for cows]. 893 B *fææər*. I.. and Y.. 898 W *nâis*. 901 Bh *fâin*, Wh *faan*. O.. 924 *tjâis*, *tjæ'is*. 925 Wh *væ'is*. 932 B *əmæænt*. 934 B *bæænti*. 939 B *kluus*. 947 BWhW *bæ'l*. 948 B *bæ'ulz* [for the game only, a ball is (*baa*)]. — Wh *ræ'u* [a roll or pad], *ræ'ular* [a roller]. 955 B *dææst*. U.. 963 Wh *kwaat*. 965 BW *x'il*, B [also] *âil*. 968 B *âister*. 971 Wh *fæ'ut* [old people say (*fîut*)].

VAR. iii. CHORLEY AND LEYLAND cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

C Chorley (10 ne. Bolton).

L Leyland (:leelun) village. The dialect of L. Moss is said to be much 'broader,' see also the third interlinear cs., p. 332.

F Farrington (2 n. Leyland). Differences said to exist between L and F—

1. (*aledi kûet*, *su.ndæ kûet*), both at F, second only at L.
2. (*eelstûv'nin*) hailstoning F, (*eelin*) L.
3. (*am not ez wos ez dhii*) F, I am not as worse (ill) as thou, (*badli*) L.
4. (*av wælt it*) F, (wild) L, I have wheeled it.
5. (*egien*) F, (*agjæn*) L, again.
6. (*ræ'it*) F, (*rit*) L, right.

W Higher Walton (2 se. Preston).

Ex. *man* (*et :daren dhær*)z *noodher mæn.nær a's'æz*, at Darwen there's neither men nor horses. *wife* (*næ'u*, *bær dhær*)s *fælez ən tits*, no, but there's fellows and tits, a very common word for small horses, properly small birds.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 54 L *want*. 55 W *as*. A'- 74 C *toothri* [two or three, a few]. 76 L *tûed*. 81 F *lûen*. 84 L *mûer*. 85 *sûer*. A': 101 L *ðk'*. 104 L *rûed*. 106 C *broo.dæ.r* [broader], L *brood*. 110 L *nówt'*. 115 F *úem*. 118 L *bûen*. 130 L *búet*. 131 L *gúet*.

Æ- — L stərz [stairs]. Æ: 177 C udha'tnəs [in that way]. Æ'-
186 F bréid bré'id. 192 F mien. 193 C tliin, ?tlien. 198 C hit. 200 F
wist. Æ': 211 L gree. 216 W diel.
E- 233 CL spə'ik. 235 C we'iver [weaver]. — LF e'it. 251 CF mə'e'it.
— F ma'uur [mere, lake]. E: 261 C sɛ'. 265 F s,t,r'e'it.
EA: 328 L kówd. 336 L fð. EA'- 349 L fú. EA': 350 L déwd.
— W kriem [cream]. — W stiəm [steam]. 365 W nàr [nearer]. 366 L
gr'e'it gret. 368 L disth. — L da'ú [dew, this should give (fa'u) for 349].
EI- 372 C aa' aa'ə. EO: 392 C jənd, du,s)tu liv jənd rood ən [dost thou
live along that road?]. 394 CL jənd. 399 F brit. EO': 426 C f'e'it.
I- 440 C wik. 449 F giit [got], L gjət'n [gotten]. I: 458 L nit.
459 L rit. 466 C tɔ'dilt. I'- 494 F tɔ'im.
O- — C brək'n [broken]. — L uun [oven]. O: 527 L bóut. 528 C
thə'ut, L thóut. 531 F dóu,t'ə.r. 544 LF dhən [for until (ù livd wi u,z dhən
ù went tɛ :prest'n), she lived with us till she went to Preston]. — W tɛmɑ'ɪn
[to-morrow]. O'- 555 L shuun [shoes]. 558 L lúukin. 559 L mɔ,dher.
560 L skú. 564 L suun. O': 569 L bùk. 587 L dɔ,n. 590 C flúur.
U- 599 F əbuun. 606 C da'r. U: 636 C for' [(təu mɔil for nɜr wɜr
'AA liv) two miles further than where I live]. U'- 650 C əbá'st. U':
655 C fá'ə [ugly]. 657 C braa'n. 658 CF daa'n. 663 L á'as. 667 L á'at.
Y- 673 L mɪtɪ. 681 F biznɛz. 682 C láit' [few]. Y: 700 L wɔs'.
Y': 709 C fá'ɜr [(A kɔrn bit t' fá'ɜr) I can't beat, i.e. light, the fire, (r)
"quite prominent" in (kɔrn)], L fə'ɜr.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — C stərt [to start]. O. 761 L lúwd. — F dɔgz [dogs]. U.
798 C kwɛr. — CL ɔri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — C t,rɛl [trail]. E.. 885 L varə. O.. — C sɔil [soil].
— C raa'nd [round]. — F sɔrt [sort]. 940 L kúrt. 947 C báil, bó'íl. —
C tɑ'rn [turn].

VAR. iv. BLACKBURN owl.

B Blackburn (:blɛgbɜrn), wn. by TH. in 1878-9, see also dt., p. 339.

Ex. (i) s sɪtɪ ɛ lɪt'l too, ɪz dhat ɛ :səmz, it's such a little taw, is that of
Sam's.—(aa, bɛt ʒə kɑ'rnt), aye, but you can't.—(i káum àt wi
ɛ'it'in sandwɪtɪz, wən ɪn ɪz ənd), he came out with eighteen sand-
wiches, one in his hand.—(i)z smak'in ɪz lɪps at ɛm naa', ləd), he's
smacking his lips at them now, lad.

Bf. Blackburn, according to Fielding, given in io.

Hs. Haslingden (7 se.Blackburn), wn. by TH.

Ex. (:dʒɑən ɛ :tɔ,mz ɛ :dɪks ɛ t' :túwd :ɔil), John of Thomas's of Richard's
of the Toad Hole farm.—(gu t' rúwd ɛt' kroo)z flə'ukh'n), go the road
that the crow has flown.

Hd. Hoddlesden (4 sse.Blackburn), see also dt., p. 339.

S Samlesbury (:səmzberi) (6 w-by-n.Blackburn), complete wl. in io. by Wm.
Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., native, which I have rendered into pal. with the
help of B. and Hd., omitting medial lengths and the use of (i ə'u) which
will be replaced by (ii, uu), and also not marking any dental (t,r d,r), for
these points were of course not indicated.

W Whalley (3 ssw.Clitheroe). A few variants for this place furnished by S.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S beek. 4 B teek, S tek. 5 S mek. 6 S med. 7 S seek. 8 S ev.
9 S bi)ev. 10 S ag, heeg hēevg. 11 S maa. 12 S sēevg. 13 S nēevg

[common]. 14 S draa. 17 S laa. 19 S teel. 20 S leem. 21 S neem. 22 S teem. 23 S seem. 24 S sheem. 25 S meen. 26 S [(wiz'n, gæd les en les) used]. 27 S neev [(wastrel, pous) wastrel, pouse, used]. 28 S e'er. 31 S lat. 32 S bath [to foment]. 33 S reedher [usually (liifer)]. 34 S la'st. 35 S aal. 36 S thaa. 37 S klaa.

A: 39 S kuum. 40 S kom. 41 S thæqk. 43 S and. 44 S land. 46 S kand'l. 47 S wander [(ra'mb'l) ramble is most used]. 48 S [not used]. 50 S toqz. — Hs kon)te [can'st thou]. 51 S mon. 52 S [not used]. 54 BS want. 55 S a's. 56 HsS wsh. 57 S a's.

A: or O: 58 B fer ier [from here], S free. 59 S la'm. 60 S loqg [(u,qg) rather than (oqg, aqg) was expected]. 61 S amaqg. 62 S stroqg [(varə eeb'l, varə kant) often used]. 63 S [(thraqg, kraad) used for a throng]. 64 S raqg. 65 S soqg. 66 S thoqg [(lash) often used].

A'- 67 BS gūv, Hs gujin [going], dhi gu,n [they go]. 69 B naa, HdS nōu. 70 S tūv. 71 S woo. 72 BS ūs. 73 S sūv. 74 S tuu. 75 S strūk. 76 S stūd. 77 S lōrd. 79 S oon. 80 S a'ladv. 81 BfS lōin. 83 S mūvn. 84 S mūr. 85 S sūr. 86 Hs ūts. 87 S klūvz. 88 S [(dres, don iz klūvz) used]. 89 S būrdh. 90 S bloo. 91 S moo. 92 S noo. 93 S snoo [(daan too) down fall, often used]. 94 S kroo. 95 S throo [(thru,t) often used]. 96 S [(sæt) used]. 97 S sool. 98 S noon. 99 S thru,t. 100 S [(sæt) used].

A': 101 S ūk. 103 S a'ks [but see speer, after 699]. 104 BS rūd. 105 S rūd. 106 S brūd breed. 107 S lūvf. 108 S dūvf. 110 BS nōvt [nought], S nod [not]. 111 S ōvt. 112 S [(kant) often used]. 115 B oom, BS ūvm. 116 S ūv. 117 B wa'n, dū,t' tūvn [do the t'one]. 118 S būvn. 121 S gūvn. 122 BS nūvn. 124 S stūvn. 125 S oonli [(nāvt) often used]. 127 S ūs. 128 HdS dhuuz. 129 S gūst [(bōgvt) often used]. 130 S būvt. 131 S gūvt. 132 S ot. 133 S rūt. 134 S ūvth. 135 S klūvth. 136 S oodher.

Æ- 138 HdS feadhv. 139 S dræ. 140 S thæel. 141 S neel. 142 S sneel. 143 S teel. 144 BS vgiun. 145 S sleen. 146 S meen. 147 S breen. 148 B fā[r. 150 BS lūst. 152 B wa,tar, S weeter. 153 S saterdi.

Æ: 154 B bāk, bak. 155 S thak. 157 S reev'n. 158 S aftv. 160 S sgv. 161 BS dee. 163 S [(i wor kru,d'ld daan) he was laid down]. 164 S mee. 165 S sēd. 166 S meed [(las) often used]. 167 S deel [(klū,f) clough, often used]. 168 S ta'lv. 169 S wēn. 170 S a'rest. 171 S baarli. 172 BS græs. 173 S [(wor) used]. 174 S zsh. 175 S fast. 178 S nat. 179 S wōd. 180 S bath [as also 32]. 181 S pad.

Æ'- 182 HdS sūv. 183 S te'itj. 184 S lūvd. 185 S riid. — B sprv'id [spread]. 186 S brv'id. 187 S lūv. 188 S nee [(wini) much used]. 189 S wee. 190 S kē'i. 191 S iul u,p. 192 S mīvn. 193 B tlv'in, S klv'in. 194 S onī. 195 B monī. 197 S tpiiz. 199 S bleet. 200 S wīst. 201 S iidh'n. 202 S fvt.

Æ': 203 S spii'tj. 204 S diid. 205 S thrvd, [to thread (thrvd)]. 206 S rvd. 207 S niid'l. 209 B nevvr. 210 S klee. 211 S gree. 212 S wvg. 215 S tōvt. 217 S iitj. 218 HsS shiip. 219 S sliip. 221 S fīvr. 222 S [iuvv ? (jōvr), rhymed to (ōvr) over, by Waugh is used, from old hure, head-covering, not related to hair]. 223 B dhīvr dhv'ii,er [see p. 344, No. 223], S dhīvr. 224 B wā[r, HsS wīvr. 225 S fīvsh. 226 S mūst. 227 S wīit. 228 S swīst. 229 S brvth. 230 S fat.

E- 232 BS brv'ik. 233 S sprv'ik. 234 S ne'vvd. 235 S we'iv. 236 S feevvr. 238 S vdv. 239 S seel. 241 S reen. 242 S tween. 243 S plee. 244 B wīil. 246 i. S kwiin. 247 S wēvn. 248 S mēevr. 249 S wīvr. 250 S [(kōs) curse used]. 251 S mē'it. 252 S kvt'l. 253 S net'l. 254 S lvdher. 255 S wvdher.

E: — BHs fvtj [fetch]. 258 S svdv. 259 S wvdj. 261 S see. 362 BS wee. 264 S [(is il, is badli, varə bad) used]. 265 B st,rē'it. 267 S [(gēv in, giv u,p) used]. 268 S [(ōvdst) oldest used]. 270 S i. bvlvs, ii. bali. 272 S elm. 273 S mēn [(felvz) much used]. 274 S bēntj. 276 S thiqk. 277 S drīvntj. 278 S wēntj. 280 S i'lv'n. 281 S lēqkth. 282 S strēqkth. 283 S mēri. 284 S thrēsh. — Hs baa'rn [barn]. 285 S krēs. 286 S are. 287 S bēz'm. E'- 289 S joo. 290 S ii. 291 S dhii. 292 B mū, S mii. 293 Bf wēi, S wii. 294 S fid. 296 S billiv. 298 S fil. 299 S griin. 300 BS kiip.

- 301 S jær. 303 S swiit. E': 305 S ɛ'i. 306 S ɛ'it. 307 S [not used, replaced by (naar)]. 308 S niid. 309 S spiid [(bat) much used]. 310 S iil. 311 S tæm. 312 Hs iier. 314 S ierd. 315 S fit. 316 S nekst.
- EA- 317 S fleē. 318 S gaap geep. 320 S kivr [(tænt) much used].
EA: 321 S saa. 322 Hd lakjh [said by a man who died about 1873], S lakh. 325 S waak. 326 S ówd. 327 S bówd. 328 S kówd. 329 S [(lap) used]. 330 BSHs ówd. 331 S sówd. 332 BS tówd. 333 S kAAf. 334 S AAf. 335 BS oo AA. 336 S foo. 337 S woo. 338 Hd koo. 340 S jærd. 343 BS warm. — B shærp [sharp]. 345 S dær. — BHs pærk [park]. 346 S jæt.
- EA'- HdHs jaa, Hd aa [yaa]. 347 B ɛ'id, S ied. 348 S ii. 349 S fiu.
EA': 350 BS diəd. 351 S liəd. 352 S rəd. 353 S briəd. 354 S shiəd. 355 S diəd. 356 S liəd. 357 S dhoo. 359 S niiber. 360 S tiem. 361 S biem. 362 S slee. 363 S tjeep tjeep. 365 S naar. 366 S græt. 367 S thriët. 368 S diéth. 369 S sloo. 370 S rAA. 371 S strAA.
- EI- 373 S dheē. 374 S nee. 375 S reez. 376 S beet. EI: 377 S steek. 378 S week. 379 S [(hæ'i) often used]. 381 S swoen. 382 S dhar.
EO- 383 S sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S biniith [(u_onder) is often used]. 386 S júu. 387 S niu [(bran niu) often used].
EO: 388 BS milk. 389 S júek. 390 S shu_od. 393 S bírond [(faar) for far often used]. 394 B jond. 396 S waark. 397 S súerd. 399 B brit, S briit. 400 S íernæst. 402 S laarn. 403 S for. 405 S aarth. 406 S ierth. 407 S faard'n.
- EO'- 409 S bii. 410 Hs ín^s, S uu. 411 B thrii, S thrii. 412 S shuu. — Bf kraa'd [to crowd]. 413 S dev'l [thæ'ud lad]. 414 BfS fiit. 415 S láii. 416 S diær daar. — B shá'u't [shoot]. 417 S tjúu. 418 S briu. 420 S foor. 421 S foorti.
- EO': 423 S thii. 424 Hd ru_okh [said by a man who died about 1873], S ru_of. 425 HsS liit. 426 S fe it. 428 S sii. 429 S fiind. 430 S frend. 431 S bir. 432 S foort. 433 S bræst. 434 S bæt. 435 BfS joo. 436 S triu. 437 S triuth.
- EY- 438 BfS dii. EY: 439 S tru_ost.
- I- 440 S wik. 441 S siv [(sáil) used]. 442 S divi. 443 S fráids. 444 S stiil. 446 Bf no'in, S náin. 449 B gjæt'n [gotten], S gæd. 450 S tíuzde. 451 S [(stítj) stítch used].
I: 452 S ó'i. 454 S wity. 455 S [(kaar) cower used]. 457 S mu_ot. 458 B nit, S niit. 459 S riit. 460 S we'it. 461 S [(giit daan) used]. 462 HsS siit. 464 S wity. 465 B su_otj, BS sitj. 466 Hd tjá'ald, S tjá'ild. 467 S wald. 468 HsS tjil_oder. 471 S tímber [(wu_od) often used]. 472 S shriek [(wiz'n, ratjín) sometimes used]. 473 S bláind. 474 S [(t' pil'n) the peel, used]. 475 S t' wand. 476 S bóind. 477 Hd fá'and, S fáind. 478 S gráind. 479 S óist. 481 S figger. 482 B iz. 484 S dhis. 485 S this'l. 486 S jæt [(béerm) much used]. 487 S ju_ostérde. 488 BS jæt.
- I'- 490 S [(naar) used]. 492 B scíd, Hd sâad. 493 S draav. 494 B tdim, Bf tóim, S taam. 496 S díern. 497 S wáiz [(gæd u_op) used]. 498 S ráit. 499 S [(klók) used].
I': 500 S laak. 501 S waad. 502 Bf fo'iv, S faav. 503 B eláiv [alive], S laaf. 504 Hd náaf, S naaf. 505 S waaf. 506 S wu_omen. 507 S wimin. 508 S maal. 509 S waal. 510 Bf mo'in. 511 S waan. 513 S wáiv. 514 S áis. 515 S waaz. 516 S wizdem. 517 B jút'rii, S víu.
- O- 520 S boo. 521 S fóil. 522 BS op'n, Hd op'n. 523 S áep. — B wáiv [afore]. 524 S waarld.
- O: 526 S kAAf. 527 S bóut. 528 B thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 S róut. 531 B dóu t'v_or i loo [daughter-in-law], HsS dá'u t'v_or, S dóuter. 532 BS kóil. 533 S dá_ol [(gAAmlés) used]. 534 BS óil. 536 S góud. 537 S muud. 538 S wóid, B wodn't [would not]. 539 S bool. 540 S óli. 542 S bóut. 545 S op. — B skúer [a score]. 547 S búerd. 548 S fúerd. 549 S úerd. 550 S wáard. — B madherd [murdered]. 551 S stAArm [(blu_osteri blu_osterds) stormy]. 552 HsS kAArn. 553 S AArn. 554 S kAAAs [for the adj. (kaqkwerd) cankered is sometimes used].
O'- 555 Hd shuu'n, S shu_of. 557 S tuu. 558 B lúk, S lu_ok. 559 BHdS

*mu*_o*dher*. 561 S *bluum*. 562 S *muun*. 563 S *mu_onde*. 564 BHs *szun*, S *suun*. 565 S *núvz*. 566 B *enu_odher*, S *u_odher*. — B *groom* [grown].

O': 569 S *bu_ok*. 570 S *tu_ok*. 571 S *gu_od*. 572 S *blu_od*. 573 S *flu_od*. 574 S *bruud*. 575 S *stu_od*. 576 S *wedensdæ*. 577 S *buu*. 578 S *pluu*. 579 Hs *enúv^s*, S *enuu*. — Hs *fla'ukh'n* [flown]. 580 Hd *takh* [said by a man who died about 1873], S *taf*. 581 S *sóut*. 582 S [not used]. 583 S *tuul*. 584 S *stuu*. 585 S *bruum*. 586 S *duu*. 587 S *du_on*. 588 S *nuun*. 589 S *spuun*. 590 S *flúer*. 591 S *múer*. 592 S *swúer*. 593 S [(m_on) used]. 594 B *bút*, S *buut*. 595 S *fu_ot*. 596 S *ruut*. 597 S *su_ot*. 598 S *suuth*.

U- 599 S *ebuun*. 600 S *lov*. 601 S *faal*. 602 S *suu*. 603 B *ku_om kam*, S *kam*. 605 S *su_on*. 606 S *dæar dúer*. 607 S *bu_oter*.

U: 609 S *fu_ol*. 610 S *wu_ol*. 611 S *bu_olek*. 612 S *su_om*. 613 S *dru_oqk*. 614 S *aand*. 915 S *paand*. 616 S *graand*. 617 S *saand*. 618 S *waand*. 619 Hd *fu_on*, S *fu_on*. — Hs. *bâ'en* [boun, going]. 620 S *gru_on*. 621 S *wu_on*. 622 S *u_ondær*. 625 S *tu_oqg*. 626 S *u_oqgr*. 628 S *nu_on*. 629 S *su_on*. 630 S *wu_on*. 631 S *thorzde*. 632 BHs *u_op*. 633 S *ku_op*. 634 S *thruu*. 635 S *woth*. 636 S *faar*. 637 S *tu_osh*. 638 S *bu_osk*. 639 S *du_ost*.

U'- 640 Bf *kée kjaa*, S *kaa*. 641 S *aa*. 642 S *dhaa*. 643 B *naa'*, S *naa*. 644 S *duu*. 646 S *boo*. 647 S *u_olet*. 648 Bf *aa'r*, S *aar*. 649 S *thaazend*. 652 S *ku_od*. 653 S *bu_od*.

U': 655 S *faa*. 656 S *raam* [following the regular analogy, and not (ruum)]. 657 S *braan*. 658 B *daa'n*, S *daan*. 659 Hs *tâ'en*, S *taan*. 660 S *baar*. 661 S *shaar*. 662 S *u_oz*. 663 B *â'os à's ées*, S *aas*. 664 S *laas*. 665 S *maas*. 666 S *u_ozbent*. 667 B *à't*. Bf. 669 S *u_onku_oth*. 670 S *buudh*. 671 S *maath*. 672 S *saath*.

Y- 673 B *mu_oty*, S *mitj*. 675 S *drái*. 676 S *lái*. 678 S *din*. 679 S *tjóortj*. 680 S *bizi*. 681 B *bizuz*. 682 S *lú'l*, *smoo*.

Y: 683 S *midj*. 684 S *bridj*. 686 S *bái*. 677 S *flaat*. 689 S *bild*. 690 S *kaand*. 691 S *maand*. 693 S *s'n*. 694 Bf *wartj* [to ache]. 696 S *barth*. 697 S *bəri*. 698 S *marth*. 699 S *riit*. — S *spar spúer* [speer, used for ask]. 700 S *war*. 701 BHs *fast*. 703 S *pit*. Y'- 705 S *skái*. 706 S *wái*.

Y: 709 BS *f'ier*. 711 S *láiis* [(tiks) more common]. 712 S *máiis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 S *bad* [(nóut) often used]. — Hs *bæqk* [bank]. 733 S *skeer* [(fritit'n) used]. 734 S *daarn* [oftener (mend)]. — B *start* [start]. 737 S *meet* [(komred, bu_oti) used]. 740 S *weev*. 742 S *leezi* [(lidhær) frequently used]. E. 743 S *skriim* [(skrdík) often used]. 746 S *bruidh*. 747 S *endeever*. I. and Y. 757 S *tiini*. 758 S *garl* [(las) often used]. O. 761 S *lúed*. — HsHd *dog* [dog]. 767 Hs *nóiz*. 768 S *kúek*. 769 S [(muudswarp), used]. 772 S *bu_onfaar*. 778 S *efúerd*. — B *lóz* [lose]. 780 S [(djóul), jolt used]. 783 S *paaltri*. 785 S *laandj*. 787 S *saas*. 788 S *flaat*. 790 S *gaan*. U. 805 S *kru_odz*. 808 Hs *pu_ot*, S *pu_od*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 S *fees*, W *fíus*. 811 S *plees*, W *plíus*. 814 S *mees'n*, W *míus'n*. 816 S *feed* [(diklái'n wiz'n widhær). 819 S *reedj* [(tanframz) occ. used]. 824 S *tjüer*. 826 S *eeg'l*. 827 S *eeger*. 834 S *shee*. 835 S *riez'n*. 836 S *siez'n*. 837 S *líush*. 838 S *tríut*. 840 S *tjæmbær* [(raam) room often used]. 850 S *dons*. 851 S *ant*. 852 S [(brat) used]. — B *ra'r*. 853 S *baargín*. 859 S *tjees*, W *tjús*. 860 S *peest*, W *píust*. 861 S *teest*, W *tíust*. 863 S *tjaaf* *tjaav*. 864 S *bikeez*. 865 S *faat*. 866 S *púer*.

E.. 867 HdS *tee*. 869 S *viel*. 874 S *reen*. 878 S *saléri*. 881 S *sens* [also (*gu_omshen*)]. 884 S *aprentas*. 888 S *saartín*. 889 S [(stap) used]. 890 S *bíest* [(pl. (bíus)]. 891 S *fíest*. 892 S *nevi*. 893 S *faar* [(púus) for posy, often used]. — Bf *àr* [hour]. 894 S *díseev*. 895 S *riseev*.

I.. and Y.. 897 S *dílaat*. 898 B *náiis*, Hd *nái_ois*, S *naas*. 901 S *faan*. 902 S *maan*. 904 S *váilét*. 905 S *raat*. 906 S *vaaper*. 908 S *advaas*. 909 *bríiz*. 910 S *djáíst*. 911 S *sístern*.

O.. 913 S kústy. 914 S bróty. 916 S u_onæn. 917 S rúng. 918 S [(week) weak used]. 919 S óintment [(sAAV) often used]. 920 S póint. 925 Hs vóis. 928 S aans. 929 S kaakember. 932 S umaant. 934 S baanti. 939 S klúes. 940 BHdS kúet. 941 S fuu. 944 S alaad [allowed]. 946 S maal. 948 S bool [p (bæ'ul)]. 949 S maald. — Hs ta'rn [turn]. — B dja'rní [journey]. 952 S kúers. 954 S ku_oshun. 955 B daa't, S daat. 956 S ku_over. 959 S [(tek) take used].
U.. 963 S kweet. 970 B dju_ost.

VAR. V. BURNLEY CWL.

From the following sources:

B Burnley (:bærnlí), wn. by TH. especially from the family of Fielding, who dictated the Burnley cs., p. 332.

Ex. (wə't(ə)r tʌ adlɪn ?), what art thou earning?—(á'x lu_oq wɪtʌ lækɪn fɪ'ɹ ?), how long are you playing [out of work] for?—(A kɪlz ɛm aal wɪ t're'ɪdɪn ɔn ɛm), I kill them all with treading on them.—(A)m bá'æn tɛ gu ɛn gjet sheevd, I am boun [starting] to go and get shaved.—(A sɪd)ɹ t'k' kroft dhis ma'rnɪn ɛsáid ɛ a'r fúks), I saw her in the croft this morning, aside of our folks.—In reply to asking the way to a certain street, (jɔ)n fáind it t' gu_o dá'tæn dhis færst ɔpnɪn, ɛn dhen gu_o s'tr'e'it daa'n), you will-en find it to go down this first opening, and then go straight down.—(not kə'm wáil náin ɛtlɔk'), not come while [=until] nine o'clock.

B' Burnley, from a wl. in io. by Mr. Healey, native, only a few supplementary words are given.

C Cliviger (:tlívítɹer) and occ. (:tlívídɹer) Valley (2 se. Burnley) and extending to Holme (4 se. Burnley), wn. by TH.

Ex. Mother to child, (dha)d ɛ't 'mɪi ɛv A wer meed ɛ spáis), thou wouldest eat me if I were made of spice.—(u)z brá't ɛz ɛ su_op ɛ)th bɛtɹ súrɪt), she's brought us a sup of the better sort.—(ù tlapt ɛr tlɔk dá'æn ɛn ù never ɹɛrd ɔn)t frɛ dhad dee tɛ dhis), she clapped her cloak down and she never heard of-it from that day to this.

W Worsthorn (:wærstha'rn) (2 e. Burnley), wn. by TH. from a native b. 1818.

Ex. (í ɛd ɛz ɛgjeet ɛ dig'in), he had us agate [astir] of digging.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — W aa' [A letter]. 4 B teen [taken], B' tak. 8 B ɛ'v [have, emphatic]. 10 B eeg [obs. g]. 12 B' [occ.] seeg. 21 B neem. A: 39 B ku_om kúu'm. 40 B kúem. 50 B' taqz. 51 W má'ín. 54 B want. 55 B' as. 56 B wɛsh. A: or O: 63 B' thraq. 64 B' raq. A'- 67 B gús. 69 B nóu. 70 B' túv. 73 B súv. 76 B' túv. 81 B lóin. 83 B' múen. 84 BW múer. 85 B' súer. 86 B' úets. 87 BB' tlóiz. 89 B' búeth. 91 B' maa. 93 B' snaa. 94 B' naa. 95 B' thraa. 97 B' sóul. A': 101 B' úek. 104 BB' rúed. 106 B' brúed. 107 B' lúuf. 108 B' dúuf. 113 B' wu_ol. 115 B' wom, W woom. 118 B'W búen. 121 B' gúen. 122 B noon, B' núen. 124 W stúen. 127 B' úes. 128 B' dhúez. 129 B' gúest. 130 B' búet. 131 B' góit. 133 B' rúet. 136 B oodher. 137 B noodher. Æ- 144 W ɛgíen. 150 B' liest. 152 B wa_oɹ. Æ: 161 B dee. 172 B gars. — B lat [late]. 181 B' pad. Æ'- 182 BB' síe. 183 B' tɛ'ítɹ. 184 B' líed. 187 B' líev. 190 BB' kje'í. 191 B' ɹel. 192 B' míen. 193 B' klíen. 194 B' ɔnt. 195 B a)mní [how many?], B' maní. 200 B' wíet. 202 B' ɹet. 205 B' thriid. 216 B' díal. 223 B' dhíer. 224 B' wíer. 226 B' múst. 228 B' swíet. 229 B' brieth. E- 231 B t'th [as] gi mɪt' th)orɪndɹ. 232 B' brɛ'ík. 233 B spɛ'ík. 234 B' nɛ'íd [(pɔd'n) kneaded]. 235 BB' wɛ'ív. 238 B' ɛdj. 247 B' ween. 249 B' wíer. 250 B' swíer. — B ɛ'ít [eat]. 251 B' mɛ'ít. E: — W

fətʃ [fetch]. 265 B s'tʃɛt. 270 B' i. balis, ii. bali. 284 B' thrəʃh. E'- — W ii [letter E]. 290 B á. 296 B bəlɪv. 300 B kiip. 301 BB' ʒər. E': 305 BB' ɛ'i. 306 B' ɛ'it.

EA- — B sheev [shave]. 317 B' flɪi [(flee) means frighten, properly to put to flight]. EA: 324 B' [from elderly people] ɛkht. 326 B' kóud. 328 B' kóud. 330 B óud, old. 333 B' kAAV. 334 B' AAV. 345 B' daar. 346 B gʒeet [older pron. (seet)], B' seet. EA'- — BW ɪə [yea]. 347 B ɪəd ɛ'íd, BB' ʒɛ'd. EA': 350 B' díəd. 351 B' líəd. 353 B' bríəd. — W kɪrɪəm [cream]. 360 W tɛm. 361 B'W bíəm. 363 B' tʃɛp. 365 C níur. 366 BW gart, B' grət. 368 B' dívth. EI: 378 B' wɛek. EO- 384 B' ɛv'n. EO: 389 B' ʒúk. 395 B ʒu.g. 396 B' waark. 397 B' sáurd. 402 B' laarn. 405 B' aarstúən [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 B' uu. 413 B' dɛv'l. 414 B' flɪi. 420 B' fówər. EO': 423 B' thii. 424 B' [from elderly people] ru.kh. 425 B' liit. 437 B' t'riuth. EY- 438 B' dii.

I- 444 B' stíil. 446 B' nóm. 448 B' dhɛz. I: 452 B A [mostly], a. 458 B' niit. 459 BB' rɛ'it. 462 B' sit. 475 B' wínd. — W másti [misty]. I'- — B líkɛnd [liked, desired, also] líik. 494 B' tɛim.

O- — B uun [oven, as (sɪn.dɛr-óvɪz, pɒt-óvɪz, pɒt-óvɪz) cinder or coke ovens, pottery ovens]. O: — B fag [fog]. 531 B' dóu'tʃər. 534 B' óil. 535 B' fáuk. 544 B' dhɛ'ín, dhɛn. — B A's [horse]. O'- 558 B' luuk. 559 BB' mɔ'dhɛr. 560 B' skúu'ɪ [only half pouted] skuul. 562 B' muun. 563 B' mándi. 565 B' núz. O': 569 B' búu'k. 571 B' gú.d. 572 B' blú.d. 573 B' flú.d. 577 B' buu. 580 B' tɔf. 586 B' dávnt [don't]. 588 B' nóin, B' nuun. 589 B' spóin, B' spuun. 591 W' múer.

U- 603 BW' kám [pp. (kám)]. 606 B' dar. 607 B' bu'thɛr. U: 615 B' pɛ'ənd, pá'ənd. 616 B' pá'ənd, B' grá'ənd. — W bá'an [boun, going]. 619 B' fú.n. 620 B' grú.n. 634 B' thruu. U'- 643 B' ná', BW' ná'ɛ. 650 C' vɔ'á'at. U': 658 B' dá'an. 667 B' á'at' éat. 671 B' má'əth.

Y- 673 B' mɪtʃ. 677 C' drá. Y: 684 B' brɪg. 691 B' má'índ. 694 B' wark. 700 B' waar. 701 B' fərst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W' lá'íd. E. 749 B' læft. I. and Y. 757 B' tiini. O. 761 B' lúed. — B' tɪlɔg [clog]. — B' dɔg [dog]. 767 B' nóiz. — B' spóert [sport]. — C' shá'ət [shout]. U. 804 B' d,r,u,qk'h'n [very often with (kh)].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 867 B' tee. 885 B' vari. — W' sàrmən [sermon]. — W' sàrvənt [servant]. 890 B' bíst [pl. (bíes)]. 891 B' físt. 893 B' flá'ɛr. — B' á'ɛr [hour]. O.. 913 B' kúvɪtʃ. 914 B' bróitʃ. — B' dʒɛ'ín [join]. 935 B' kú,ntrɪ. — B' á'dhɛr [order]. 939 B' tɒ'is. — B' rúst [roast]. — B' túst [toast]. 940 B' kóit. U.. 963 B' kwáit.

D 23 = n.NM. = northern North Midland.

This forms the borderland at the extreme n. of the M. div., adjoining the N. div. in La., but preserving much of the character of D 22. This applies to the mainland district. But the Celtic Isle of Man seems to have acquired its English chiefly from La., and hence I include it under D 23, making the mainland Var i. and the island Var. ii. Of course the English of the Isle of Man is not an independent English dialect. It is entirely imported and indeed recently acquired, the Celtic Manx not having entirely died out. But I could find no better place for it than this.

VAR. i. THE FYLDE, LA.

Boundaries. Begin at Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood) on the n. coast of La., and go ne. and e., passing just n. of Wyersdale (6 sse. Lancaster) and Abbeystead (2 e. Wyersdale) to the b. of La., and then follow this b. to the Hodder and pursue that river to the Ribble, which follow to the sea, and then go n. round by Fleetwood to Cockerham.

The n. b. from Cockerham is rather conjectural, as I have no information immediately n. of it, but it cannot be very far from right, and it is only a little to the n. of the boundary of Amounderness and Lonsdale hundreds. At Wyersdale the pron. belongs rather to D 23 than D 31, that is, is rather m. than n. La. It cannot be supposed that pron. follows the co. b. precisely, but in the absence of direct information I am obliged to assume that it does.

Area. m. La. being the whole of the hundred of Amounderness, with a small portion of the s. of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and that part of the hundred of Blackburn which lies n. of the Ribble. The last portion is doubtful from want of information. Mr. Bellows, writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, says, on the one hand "the Fell dialect," that is, the N. dialect, extends as far s. as Longridge Fell (11 ne. Preston), and on the other hand that "the Fylde dialect covers all the country between the Wyre and the Ribble, and up to the Cocker as far e. as the railway," we shall see that it is quite distinct at Goosenargh (6 n. Preston), which is 3 miles e. of the railway, "and then, modified, right to the foot of Longridge Fell, Goosenargh, and Claughton" (:tldít'n) (8 n. Preston, and about one mile e. of the railway). Mr. Bellows also says, "s. of Chipping (10 ne. Preston) comes in the low Lancashire dialect (Blackburn, Bolton, etc.)." This is not distinct, and in the absence of better information, I think the area I have assigned the most probable.

Authorities.—See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ systematic, ° informants' orthography.

La. † Abbeystead, ° Blackpool, † Cockerham, ° Fylde district, † Garstang, † Goosenargh, † Kirkham, † Poulton, † Preston, † Wyersdale.

Character. Var. i. This m. La. district is a transition from the M. to the N. div. Much of D 22 has disappeared. The exceedingly characteristic verbal pl. in *-en* is generally supposed, even by dialect speakers, to be lost, and certainly seems to exist only in some common phrases. But it will be found in the Poulton cs. below, par. 2 (*du_on dhə?*) do-n they, par. 7 (*wət'ən 'jaa thi:k?*) what)do-n 'you think? par. 13 (*du_on jə noo?*) do-n you know? And in the Goosenargh cs. par. 2 (*wi_on nú:n on)əz fərgjet'n*) we have-n none of us forgotten; par. 7 (*du_on jə thi:k?*) do-n you think? par. 13 (*du_on jaa noo?*) do you know? Also in the Poulton phrases 17 (*an jə bin*) have-n you been, and 19a (*ja noon*) you know-en, with Mr. Lawrenson's attempt to account for the double use of (*noon, noo*) p. 358, No. 19. These shew that the verbal pl. in *-en* still exists in an almost evanescent and not very recognisable form. T.H. heard one example from a Wyersdale farmer at Lancaster: (*wín dhə lét dhə gu íntə :wái'ərzd'l*), will-en they let thee go into Wyersdale?

The chief mark of distinction between D 23 and D 22 to the feeling of the natives of the Fylde is the treatment of the U' words, as shewn in Poulton phrases

5, p. 357. That is, in D 23 the normal form is (*áu*), as in Chapel-en-le-Frith D 21, avoiding the (aa aa' ææ ææ) of D 22. But this is also the same as about Lancaster, and characterises Lonsdale s. of the Sands. It is therefore here a transitional form.

But TH. finds (*AA*¹) to be "a distinctive sound in the Fylde." Writing in 1876 he says: "At present I hear it as a higher position upon the normal (*A*)." He states that at that time he had known the sound for 16 or 18 years from natives of the Fylde, but had not previously analysed it. In connection with this there is another sound he hears in this district which he writes (*o*₁) in the cs., in (*ó,ú*d *tó,ú*d) old told, that is, EAL words like those in which (*AA*¹) occurs in (*AA*¹ *fAA*¹ *kAA*¹) all fall call. The (*ó,ú*) diphthong is also written in (*ó,ú*t *dó,ú*t_ɹ) ought daughter, and the (*AA*¹) in (*lAA*¹) law. Now it is difficult to conceive that (*a*¹ *o*₁) should differ materially from each other or from (*o*), and probably I should have appreciated both sounds as (*o*) and written (*óud* *tóud* *óut* *dóu*t_ɹ *ool* *fool* *kool* *loo*). What the real sounds were which had the effect of higher (*A*) and lower (*o*) to TH. it is impossible to say. I have, however, followed his writing. But I would call attention to the Leyland (*koo*) call, (*fò*) fall, (*kóud*) cold, p. 346, and to the Blackburn (*oo*), p. 348, all given on TH.'s authority in D 22, and to a similar treatment of (*AA*) in Hexham, Nb. It is sometimes very difficult for an Englishman to distinguish (*oo*, *AA*), and Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (supra Pt. IV. p. 1303, col. 1) appreciates the Italian *o aperto* as (*o*₁) when accented and (*o*) when unaccented, shewing the very slight difference which he attributed to the signs. This (*o*₁) occurs also in D 23 in the forms (*fó,il* *kó,il*) foal coal, p. 359, which in D 22, Blackburn variety, appear as (*fó:il* *kó:il*) and similarly (*ó:il*) hole, p. 348. These examples tend to confirm my suspicions. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte also for a long time did not distinguish (*o*₁, *o*). It is much a matter of appreciation.

The fractures (*æ'u*) or (*áu*) and (*i*) so common in D 21, 22, 25, are here written simply (*uu* *ii*), though TH. is careful to say that there generally is a slight initial fracture, see notes to Poulton cs. pars. 1 and 4, p. 356. It is to be observed that (*úu* *ii*) or (*ú₁u* *i₁i*) occur in the N div. D 31, and that the form of the fracture in D 23 may be an intermediate one.

The (*r*) when not before a vowel again occasions difficulty. TH. notes that it was decidedly 'strong' at Poulton. The precise meaning he attached to this term is not clear, but his remarks in Poulton cs. notes to par. 1, *cares*, shew that it was not a degree of strength of trill, but of a buzz similar to those of (*r*, *r*_o). It is therefore possibly (*r*), p. 293.

There is a remarkable form (*dú:d*) for *did*, see Poulton cs. notes par. 4, p. 356, and also (*ss'uer*) sure, and (*dæ'u*) dew. The guttural (*kh*) is still found among old people, but is fast perishing.

The characters generally are:

- A = (*ee*) as (*neem seem*) name same.
- A' = (*úæ*) as (*túvd úvk*) toad oak.
- ÆG, EG = (*ee*) as (*dee wee*) day way.
- Æ' = (*iæ*) as (*lívd ívt*) to lead, heat.
- E = (*æ*) or (*æ'i*) as (*sp'ík*) speak.
- E' = (*ii*) or nearly (*i*) as (*grin*) green.
- EAL = (*AA*¹) or perhaps (*oo*).
- I' = (*ái*) as (*sáid*) side, never (*aa*).
- O = (*ó,í*) or perhaps (*ó,í*), a form of (*úæ*), but O: is generally (*o*).
- O' = (*uu*) or an unknown approach to (*úu*), written (*ú₁u*).
- U = (*u_o*) as in D 22.
- U' = (*áu*) as (*dáun*) down.

This really differs from D 22 only in the treatment of U' and occ. I'. For particulars see illustrations.

Illustrations. Mr. Bellows, the printer, of Gloucester, first wrote out a cs. for Poulton from Mr. Lawrenson, to send to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, but as Mr. B. had not a sufficient knowledge of phonetic writing, I prevailed upon TH. to see Mr. Lawrenson himself. The

result was all that could be wished, and the palaeotypic transcript of the cs. is given below. TH. also stayed some time with the Lawrensons, and thus obtained from them a set of phrases, see p. 357, and words, now put into a cwl., p. 358. The same year, 1876, he was also fortunate enough to obtain a cs. for Goosnargh, which for easy comparison is given below in double columns with the Poulton version. This shews that in the e. of Amounderness hundred the dialect was identical with that in the w. Mr. Kirk (who dictated the Goosnargh version) also furnished a considerable list of words. These, exclusive of the cs., are recorded in the cwl. together with some wn. by TH. at Kirkham. The hundred of Amounderness is thus well represented, and as already stated the small portion of the hundred of Blackburn n. of the Ribble is here assumed to be practically the same, as an inference from Mr. Bellows's remarks.

TWO CS. IN PARALLEL COLUMNS.

1. Poulton-in-the-Fylde (:pú,ut'n ðth :fáild) (13 wnw.Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. T. Lawrenson (:la:rens'n), b. in 1833, general dealer, of that place, native, and accustomed to use the dialect daily with his customers.
2. Goosnargh (:gúuznær) (5 nne.Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Edward Kirk, editor of the *Eccles Advertiser*, Manchester, b. 1832, native, who spoke the dialect till 1858, and was closely connected with the district till 1863. Mr. Kirk has so much altered the cs. that it was impossible to give the two versions interlinearly, and hence they have been arranged paragraph by paragraph in parallel columns.

On the (r) see Poulton, notes, par. 1, p. 356.

POULTON.

0. wái :dʒən)z nɛ)dáuts.

1. wɛ'l, ðm ɛn dhii mɛ búədh
laf ɛd dhiz níuz ɛ mɔ́in. úv
kjíerz ? dhat)s noo-dhær íer ner
dhíer.

2. nat mɔ́ni mɛn dii fɛr bl)ín
laft àt, du_n dhɛ ? wɔt shɛd
mek)əm ? ít)s nat varɛ láiklí,
íz)íd ?

3. ɛd ɔní reet dhís is)f fakt
ɛ)th mætɛr, su ɔ,ud dhí nó,íz,
ɛn bí kvaat dhɛn á)í)v dɔ́n.
árk'n.

GOOSNARGH.

0. wái :dʒən)z no dáuts.

1. wái, mán, dha mɛ grín'
ɛz árd ɛn ɛz lɔq ɛs tɛ láiks, ɛn
búədh ɔn)ɛ puu⁵ jɛr fɛsɛz ɛz
lɔq ɛz ɛ bárn dúer ɛk' ɛt wɔt
á)í)v tɔ,ud jɛ, fr)ɔ,ut)s á)í) kJÉER.
ít)s AA¹ nó,ut tɛ mí needher wee
jár grín'ín.

2. dhíer)z nábɛt ɛ varɛ túethrí
fúek dii wí bl)ín grínd àt. á)í)st
thíqk wí)n núen ɔn)ɛz fergjɛt'n
th)ɔ,ud wu_mɛn ɛt :blegbren ɛz
wɛr laft àt, ɛn lívd mɔ́ni ɛ jíer
ɛt aftɛr. díer)a míí ! wɔt)s
dhɛr í laf'én tɛ mek fúek dii
thíqks)tɛ ? du_ɔ)t thíqk ɔ,ut
ɛ)th súert)s láiklí tɛ [hap'n í
dhái táim ?

3. bíliiv mí ɛr bíliiv mí ná't,
ít)s ɛ fakt wɔt á)í)v tɔ,ud jɛ, súv
ɔd dhí dín ɛn bí kvaat tín á'
tɛl)ít dhí AA¹. lu_ɔ)dhɛ.

4. *ái*)m sàrt'n *ái* íerd)em see
—*su*_om v)th fúek ez went thru
A¹)th thi_q frē)th farst dherselz
—dhat *ái* dū_od sá'wēr enu_of.

5. dhəd)th *ju*_oqkst lād íssel, v
gret lād náin jier ó_ud, níú ís
fadh'rz tu_oq es suun ez íi íerd
ím spé'ík, dho íd wes sē kwíer
en skwíek'ín, en *ái*)d t_ríst ím
tē tēl)th t_ruuth oní dee, ái wá'd.

6. en)dh ó_ud wu_omēn ɛrsel
ɛl tēl oní on jē ez laís, en tēl jē
st_ré'ít of tú, wídháut oní bōdher,
í v jē)l nabēt ash ɛr, dhat ù wíl.

7. ɛd oní reet ù tó_ud ít mī wēn
ái ash)t_ɛr, túethri táimz úer, ù
dū_od, en ù ó_ut nat tē bī raq on
sítj v pó_unt ez dhis, wōt)en 'jaa
thi_qk ?

8. ez *ái* wes see)ín, ù)d tēl)jē
búsdh áu, wíer en wēn ù fu_on)th
d_ru_oqk'n píg u_oz v kAA'z ɛr
u_ozben.

9. ù swíer ù sl ím wí ɛr oon
iin, lái)ín st_retj ɛt)th fu_ol
leqkth v)dh gráumd, ím íz gu_od
su_onde kúet, tlds ɛsáid v)dh áus
dúer, dáun ɛt)th kA'rner v jōnd
lúen.

10. í wēz wáinín ɛwee, ù sē'z,
fēr AA¹)th wá'rd láik v mart
tjádld, ɛr v lét'l las fret'ín.

11. en dhat ap'nd ez A'r en
ɛr dó_ut_ɛr í lAA¹ kú_om thruu)th
bak járd frē íqín th)wít tlúez
áut tē d_rái on v wēsh'ín dee,

12. wáil)th ket'l wēr bó_olín,
wōn fáin su_omēr aft_ɛrnuun,
nabēt v wík)s'n ku_om thá'rzde.

13. en dū_on) jē noo ? *ái* never
gít tē noo oní múer dhēn dhis
v dhat biznēz u_op tē tēdee, ɛs
sá'wēr ez mái neem)z :djak

4. *ái*)m sàrtín en sá'wēr *ái*
íerd em see—dhat)s *su*_om v)th
fúek, *ái* míen, ez went thruu
AA¹)th bōz'lgjaq on)t dherselz,
dhat a¹ dū_od ɛs seef ez egz íz egz.

5. ɛs)th *ju*_oqkst sū_on ísse'l, v
big'ish mak ɛv)ɛ lād náin jier
ó_ud, níú ís fadh'rz vó_oís ín v
krak, ív ít wá'r sē kwíer en
skwíek'ín, en a¹ dār t_ru_ost ím
tē spé'ík)th t_ruuth oní dee, dhat
ái dār.

6. en)th ó_ud wu_omēn ɛrsel,
uu)l tēl)jē dju_ost mīt)th best on
jē ez íz laf'ín, en weent ù tēl jē
st_ré'ít en AA¹. dhē)z nō tuu
weez ɛbáut A'r: jaa nabēt aks)ɛr,
weent ù tēl jē ?

7. 'oníwee ù lit mī ɛv ít rít
enu_of tú ɛr thrii táimz óer ù
dū_od dhāt, en ù ó_ut'n)te bī fār
raq v sítj v pó_unt ez ít, dū_on)jē
thi_qk ù shū_od ?

8. wēl ez *ái*)r see)ín, 'uu)d
tēl)jē, wēn en wíer en áu en
AA¹, ù fu_on)th ó_ud swalēkín thi_q
ɛv)ɛ u_ozben ɛv A'rz.

9. ù swíer ù sl ím wí ɛr oon
iin, lái)ín v)th fū_ol ratj v)th gríin
swárd, ím íz su_onde kúet, níerlí
óerni'nst th)áus dúer, dáun ɛt)th
bēnd v)th lúen jōn.

10. í wēr fráinín en wáinín,
ù sē'z, ez níer ez nó_ut láik v
mārd tjádld ez íz badlí v bēt,
ɛr)ɛ lét'l las ɛ)th pēt.

11. en AA¹ dhis' ap'nd v)th
wēsh'ín dee ez ù en dheer :djēnz
wáif wēr ku_omín thruu)th bak
fó_ud frē íqín th)tlúez áut,

12. wáil)th teeket'l wēr bó_olín
fēr)th aft_ɛrnuunz d_riqkín,
wōn greedlí fáin su_omēr aft_ɛr-
nuun—let)s sl, ít'l bī dju_ost v
wík sēn' v thá'rzde.

13. en dū_on) jaa noo ? *ái* never
lārt enu_odher wá'rd on)t frē dhat
dee tē dhis', ɛs sá'wēr ez mái
neem)z :djak :shēpērd, en *ái*)l

:shepərd, ɛn ɑi dɔ)nt want tɛ
noo noodhɛr, nɑ dhen!

14. ɛn su ɑi)m gu)in ɛm tɛ
mi su_pɛr, gu_d nit, ɛn dɔ)nt
bi sɛ shɑp tɛ kroo ɛr ɛ bɔdi
ɛgjɛin, wɛn i tAA'ks ɛ dhɛs dhɑt
ɛn)dh u_dhɛr.

15. i)z ɛ wɛk fuul ɛz preeɛts
wi dhɑut riɛz'n. ɛn dhɑt)s mi
last wɑ'rd. gu_d nit.

bi haqd ɛv ɑ' kjeɛr eedhɛr, sɛ
nɑu!

14. ɑi)l bi pɑi'kin of' ɛm nɑu
tɛ mi su_pɛr. sɛ gu_d nit, ɛn
nɛvɛr dhɛ bi in ɛ ɔri ɛgjɛin tɛ
tɔldɛr ɔɛr ɛ tʃɑp, wɛn i)z tɛlɛn
is tɛɛl.

15. ii)z nɛbɛt ɛ vɑrɛ shalɛ
fuu^s ɛs preeɛts bɑut i nooz wɔt
fɑ'r. dhɑt)s AA'. gu_d nit'.

Notes to Poulton cs.

1. *well*, omitting neighbour, which Mr. L. says is not used after *well* in addresses, nor, so he said, would the Christian name or other familiar word, as (mɑ'n, lɑd). But TH. observed when familiar acquaintances came into Mr. L.'s shop, he would say: (wɛ'l, :tu_mɛz; wɛ'l, :rɔbɛrt), etc.—*thee*, there is the usual employment of *thou*, as on p. 337. As to the vowel, it is “very nearly pure (ii).” There is sometimes a slight fracture, but it does not reach (i) as in D 21. It might be (i_i) or (i'i), but as TH. is contented with writing (ii) after making the above remark, I follow him.—*cares*, (r) generally when not before a vowel, is “moderately strong, but in *cares prayer*, etc., it is considerably stronger,” says TH., “the end of the tongue being somewhat retracted, and approaching, but not reaching, the cerebral (x) of the sw. of England.” This would give (r, r_ɔ), and this must be borne in mind, though only (r) is written, see D 21.

2.—*not* (nɑt), less frequently (not), not many, or lyte (lɑit) = few.—*die* (di) or (di_i).—*do they*, the (du_n) is an example of the verbal pl. in *-en*, which is nearly extinct in this district.

3. *at* (ɛd).—*this is the fact*, (f) for the assimilated to the following (f).—*quiet*, observe (ɑɑ) as in D 22, Bolton.—*till* (dhen), possibly an alteration of (tɛn) rather than of *then*.

4. *through*, TH. says that the sound is not quite pure (uu, ɔ), but might be

written (u_u) and might reach (u). He, however, contents himself with this note, and writes (uu), saying “sometimes there is a slight fracture,” the lips being “rather opener in the first element, and closing to the normal (u) in the second.”—*did*, the form (dɛ_d) here, and in Goosnargh, is remarkable, it recalls the old *lust* list lest, *suster* sister, *guilt* guilt, *hulles* hills, *put* pit, etc., see supra Part I. p. 298.—*sure*, the form (sɑ'ʊɛr) is strange.

6. *and the old*, (dh) is used for the definite article as well as (th), with the general rule, (th) before consonants and (dh) before vowels or silent *h*. But this rule is not exact, as shewn by (ɛ)dh grɑund) in par. 9, and by numerous (th) before vowels in the G. version.—*ask*, or (aks).

7. *asked*, or less frequently (aks_t).—*ought not to be wrong*, or (ɔ'ɔt tɛ bi rit) ought to be right.—*what do-n you think*, another instance of the verbal plural in *-en*.

8. *pig*, sometimes (biɛst).—*husband*, the (n) was lengthened, but is weaker than in an accented syllable; this is not written.

9. *lane*, (lɛn) would descend from either Ws. form *lāne lone*.

10. *a marred child*, that is, a spoiled child.

13. *do-n you know*, another example of the verbal pl. in *-en*.—*want*, or (wɔnt).—*neither* or (oadhɛr) either.

Notes to Goosnargh cs.

1. *man*, *thou*, greetings and use of *thou* as on p. 337.—*pull*, perceptibly, but not much protruded lips.—*pull your faces as long as a barn* ‘heck,’ or weather-board at a barn door to keep out the rain.—*for aught as I care*—*all nought*, the vowels (o_ɪ, ʌ'), which are

practically identical and probably = (o), have been considered on p. 353.—*neither* (noodhɛr) also used.

2. *two or three*, few. *we have-n none of us*, instance of verbal pl. in *-en*. *Blackburn* (:blɛgbɛn).—*afterwards*, perhaps literally *that after* = *after that*.

3. *quiet* (kwaa't), obs. (aa').—*till* (tin).—*look thou!*
4. *maze*, or gypsy-track, see Peacock's n.Li. glossary under Boswell.
5. *father*, either (fadh'er) or (fa'd'er).—*squeaking* or (skweekin).
6. *just meet the best of you, meet* means precisely, exactly.—*ask*, (ash) used by elderly people.
7. *do-n you think*, an example of verbal plural in *-en*.
8. *I was*, the (ái)r stands for *I wor* (ái wer).—*and all*, too, also.—*swallowing*, the form (swalokin) seems to preserve the original guttural ags. *swolgen*.
9. *reach* (ratj), hence stretch.—*green sward*, called (grin súrd) by elderly people.—*Sunday coat* or (tu_odhær kúrt) the other coat, a workman being supposed to have only two, working and bestermost.
10. *frining and whining*, whimpering and whining.—*badly*, ill.
11. *their Jim's wife*, Mr. Kirk says *daughter-in-law* is not used, but Mr. L. at P. uses it.—*fold*, courtyard.
12. *gradely*, very, truly, properly, completely.
13. *from that day to this*, or (fre dhen' tæ náw) from then to now.—*Jack* or (:djon) John.—*either*, or *oodhær*.
14. *piking off*, taking myself off.—*to tolder over*, this word is not in the glossaries, but its meaning "to crow over" is clear.

POULTON PHRASES.

from Mr. Lawrenson's family, noted by TH.; those marked * were taken from the aunt, b. 1797.

1. (A do)nt fil i gù_od fet'l), I don't feel well.
2. (uu)z varæ kant), she's very well and lively, used of old people only.
3. (ar)tæ gu_oin tæ fet dh)uun tædeæ ?), art thou going to heat the oven to-day?
4. (bríq)th ka_odær fæ), bring the cradle here [the common word, but (kræd'l) is also used].
5. (ái)m báun dáun)th táun, tæ báí v ráund páund v bu_otær, en fætj v ku_opfæ v sa't wætær), I am boun (i.e. going) down the town to buy a round pound of butter, and fetch a cupful of salt water. [This is a sentence concocted by Fylde (:fáild) people and pronounced by them as above, to laugh at the s.La. people who come to Blackpool, and who are accused of sayin (A)m gu_oin daan t' taan, tæ báí v raand paand v bu_otær, en fætj v ku_opfæ v sa't weetær).]
6. (ì)z v gredli gu_od ma'n, en dhat)s v gredli bad en, gredli i'l), he's a really good man and that's a really bad one, really ill.
7. (dof' dhi tlúez,—kúet), do-off [=take off] thy clothes,—coat, not applied to shoes.
8. (ì)z gjæt'n dh)amz en dh)oríndj), he has got the alms and the orange.
9. (ím es kips v shop eninst máin), he that keeps a shop over-against mine.
10. (as)tæ ed dhi bræ'ikfest), hast thou had thy breakfast [for (ed) over the Wyre, at Pilling (6 nmw.Poulton), they use (en)].
11. (ív)it [? th koosæ] gjæts vwee fræm) f fru_ont v)dh áus, (it)s i)th rúsd), if it [? the causeway, paved space] gets away from the front of the house, it's [said to be] in the road.
12. *(ái)m bød máidlin), I'm but middling, in health.

13. *(Ja)r ɛ vast gret wáil efúer jáu ka'm), you're a vast great while afore you come. [Observe (kam) not (ku_om).]
14. *(th) kùth s_trúsk mi), the cold struck me [the (th) not quite certain].
15. *(it)s vast plezént if fók bi wiil), it [the weather] is [vastly] very pleasant if folk be well. [Obs. subj. mood.]
16. *(ái sàrft t' pígz ɛn sàrft t' kAAVZ), I served [regular word for attended to, applied to domestic animals] the pigs and served the calves.
17. (an ɜ bín badli AA deə dhɛn' ?), have you been ill all day then? [Obs. (an) verbal pl. in -en.]
18. (wɔ)dɛn ɜ wɔnt ?), what do-en you want? [Obs. verbal pl. in -en.]
19. a. (Ja noon dhɛ)z dhɛm u_odhɛr thɛqz), you know-en there's those other things [something rather remote, pointed out by (noon), Mr. L. thinks]. b. (wɛl ja noo ʌ)m láik tɛ gu tɛ)th tɛrtɛ), well, you know [something present, and hence (noo) not (noon)], I'm like [am obliged] to go to the church. [It is not at all likely that Mr. L.'s opinion about this distinction is well founded. The verbal pl. in -en had, he thought, died out, and he was probably endeavouring to account for a particular case.]

WYERSDALE, La. (6 se.Lancaster), dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mr. John Gornal, Border Side Farm.

1. náu ɜ sɪ, tɛps, ái)m rɛ'it ɛbáut dhat lét'l las ku_mín frɛ th skuul.
2. shu)z gu'ín dáwn t' rúvɔ dhúer, thrúu t' rɔd geet, on t' lét and sáid.
3. kɔnsárn it! it)s gá'n s_trɛ'it u_op tɛ)t rɔq dúer.
4. wɛr shɛ)l ap'n fáind dhat d_ru_oqk'n díef wɛz'nd fɛls kAAD :tɔm.
5. wi AA³ noo ím vɛrɛ wíil.
6. mái wɔrd! bɛt wɛnt th óud tɛp suun lárn ɛr nɔt tɛ du it ɛgjeen, púer dhɛq'.
7. sɪ ɜ! íz'nt it t_rúu ?

Notes to Wyersdale dt.

1. school, or (ɔn skuul).
3. it's gone, or (tɛáld)z gɔ'n), child has gone.—wrong door, or (rɔq' áus).
4. happen, or (tɛn tɛ wá'n), or (vɛrɛ láik).

THE FYLDE (:fáild), La., cwl.

From the following sources.

P Poulton, wn. by TH. in 1876, from the family of Mr. T. Lawrenson, of Poulton, and a visitor there, a working man, b. 1821. Those marked * were from an aunt, b. 1797, and illiterate. The (uu, ii) were not quite pure, see notes to Poulton cs. p. 356.

K Kirkham (:kjærkəm), (8 w-by-n.Preston), wn. by TH.
 G Goosnargh (5 nne.Preston), wn. by TH. from dictation of Mr. E. Kirk, see also es. p. 354. Garstang (:gjaa'stin) is said to have the same pron.
 W Wyersdale, wn. by Mr. TH. in 1881 added here for comparison. The preceding dt. shews that (ái)m and not (ái)z is used, and that (th) occurs for the def. art. These keep the dial. away from D 31.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 P *ev*. 14 G *draa*¹. 18 P *ponkeeks* [pancakes]. 19 G *teel*. 21 W *neem*. 23 K *seem*. A: 40 G *kom*¹. 43 P and *widaut* (dh) *stj* [hand without the H]. 44 G *land*. 51 P *ma'n* [used for husband, see 297], W *màn*. 54 P *want*, *wont*. — G *kjat* [cat]. A: or O: 64 W *roq* *raq*.
 A'- 67 G *gu,in* [going]. 69 W *noo*. 76 G *táud*. 81 W *lúen*. 82 G *wonst*. — G *súep* [soap]. — G *rúep* [rope]. 86 W *ústs*. A': 101 P *úsk*. 104 PG *rúed*. 106 P *brúed*. 107 PG *lúef*. 109 [W older speech (lâer la'khar) lower]. — G *da'ul* [a dole]. — G *fúum* [foam]. 115 GW *úum*. 117 K *wa'n*, G *elúen* [alone]. 118 G *búen*. 122 W *núe*, *núen*. 124 GW *stúen*.
 Æ- 138 W *fadhur* *fa,de,r*. — G *ladher* [ladder]. 140 G *eel*. 144 *P *vgjé,in*. 146 G *meen* [see 457]. Æ: 161 GW *dee*. 172 W *gras*. — K *ká'rt*, *kæ'rt*. 181 P *pad*. Æ'- 182 P *sie*. 184 W *lied*. 185 P *riid*. 192 K *mien*. — *mien* [mean adj.]. 194 *P *oni*. 200 W *wíet*. 202 P *íet*. 210 G *tee*. 211 G *gree*. 221 P *fíer*. 222 G *íuer* [this is probably not the same word as hair, written *hure* and various other ways in Prompt. Parv. p. 249 and 252, meaning 'head covering,' or 'cap,' ags. *húfa*, and is probably only the hair of the head, not horsehair for ex.]. 223 K *dhíur*, W *dhíur*. 224 W *wíur*.
 E- 231 P *th dh t'*, G *th t'* [no (dh)]. 233 W *spe'k*. — P *e'it* [eat]. E: — K *re'itj* [reach]. 261 W *see*. 262 GW *wee*. 270 ii P *bli*. 274 G *bensh*. 277 G *d,rénsh*. 278 G [not used, replaced by (las')]. E'- 290 W *i*. 297 P *féli* [used also for husband, see 51]. 299 G *grin*, W *grín*. E': — P *bríer* [briar]. 314 W *íurd*. — G *táit* [tight, (tú it *táit*) tie it tight].
 EA: 322 W *laf*. 326 K *á'ud*, PW *óud*. 328 *P *th* *kúth* [the cold sub.]. 335 PG *aa*¹. 336 PG *faa*¹. — P *amst* [almost]. 338 PG *kaa*¹. — P *sa't* [salt]. EA'- 347 P *e'id*, W *e'id*. — *leap* [leap]. EA': 350 W *diad*. 355 P *díuf*. 359 KG *næber*. 360 P *tíum*. 361 P *bíen*. 363 P *tjéep*. 366 P *græt*, W *gort*. — *da'u* [dew]. 370 G *roo*. EI- 372 *P *ái*. EO- 387 G *níuu*. EO: 392 K *jan*. 396 GW *wark* [sb. see 694]. — *kjær* (carve). 398 G *stærv*. 399 G *brit*. 402 W *larn*. 403 K *fà'r*, *fæ'r*. EO'- — G *t,ri* [tree]. — PG *tjúsuk* [choke]. 417 G *tjæ'u*. EO': 423 K *thíi* *thí,i*. 424 W [older speech] *rú,kh*. 425 G *lit*. 435 *P *ja jáu*. 437 W *t,rúuth*. EY- 438 W *dú díi*.
 I- 446 G *náin*. 448 P *dhíerz*. I: — P *bard* [bird]. 457 G *mit en meen* [might and main]. 458 GW *nit*. 459 P *rit*, W *re'it*. 462 G *sit*. — G *bi,jind* [behind]. 487 W *ru,s,tæ,r,de*. I'- 492 G *sáid*. 494 W *táim*. I': 501 G *wáid*. 506 P *wu,mén*. 513 G *wáier*. 517 G *víuu*.
 O- — PG *smúk* [smoke]. 518 G *bódi*. — P *uun* [oven]. 521 P *fó,il*. — P *efáur* [afore] — P *kúut* [a cote, as a dove-cote]. O: — P *fræg* [frog], G *fróg*. — G *fóg* [fog]. 529 P *bró,ut*. 531 W *dóu,t'v,r*. 532 G *kó,il*. 541 W *wánt*. — PW *skúur* [score]. 550 PG *wa'rd*. — G *ma'r,der* [murder]. — P *téma'rn* [to-morrow, TH. noticed the (r) as 'rather strong']. O'- 555 W *sháu*. — GW *fódhur* [fodder]. 559 W *mu,dhur*. 560 K *skuu*. 562 G *mu,nth* [month]. 565 G *núez*. O': 575 K *stú,d*. 579 W *enú,f*. — F *puu* [pool, nearly pure (uu)]. 587 GW *dú,n*. 588 W *nuun*.
 U- 600 G *lú,v*. 603 *P *ka'm*, K *kámin*, G *ku,mín*, *kú,m*. 605 KGW *sú,n*. 606 W *dúer*. U: — K *puu*⁵ [pull, inclined to (*púu*⁵)]. 612 G *sú,m*. — G *wu,n,de,r*. U'- 640 W [pl.] *ká,i*. 645 *P *ebuun*. U': 658 P *dáun*. 663 W *áus*.
 Y- 674 W *dú,d*. Y: 686 P *bái*. — P *shùf* [shelf]. 694 P *wark*, *wartj* [in sense of ache], G *wark* [verb, see 396]. — G *wari* [worry]. — G *wa'rm* [worm]. Y': 709 G *fáier*. 712 G *máis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W lād. 718 K t_reed. 736 W las. I. and Y. 758 W gərɪ.
 O. 763 G room. — PG dæg [dog], G (dæg). — GP tlag [clog], G (tlog).
 — P mæ_oqki [monkey]. U. — P tūn [a tune]. — G kær [a cur]. — G
 arɪ [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 *P plɛ_s [TH. asks whether the vowel were formerly deeper (ɛ₁)
 than now (ɛ)]. — G pee [pay]. 824 W tjeur tjeur. 830 K t_reen. 841 W
 tjans. — G sleet [slate]. — G pleet [plate]. — P koose [causeway]. E..
 867 PK tee. 890 W bīas [pl. cows]. I.. and Y.. 901 G fāin. O.. —
 PG rúst [roast]. — PG túst [toast]. — G rúvz [rose]. 940 P kávt.
 941 P fuul [nearly pure]. 947 P bōil. — fār, fār [fur]. — P tAA¹m [turn].
 954 *P wu_sshen. U.. 965 P óil. — PG A¹rt [hurt].

VAR. ii. THE ISLE OF MAN.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists, under the following names, where
 † means obtained by TH.

Ma. † Kirk Christ Lazayre, † Kirk Christ Rushen, † Kirk Patrick, † Peel.

Area. In March, 1879, the Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan
 (2 w. Douglas, Ma.), wrote to me: "The Manx peasantry are
 remarkable for their good English. Indeed, it has often been
 observed by Englishmen resident in the island, that their accent is
 much more correct than that of the English peasantry generally.
 The Manx language is fast getting out of use, but still in many
 parts it is very generally spoken. It will not be what we call
 extinct, for two or three generations yet." The English, therefore,
 extends over the whole Isle, but it is an English spoken by
 foreigners, and, as is the case with Welsh-English, is not entirely
 book-learned, but more or less tinged with the neighbouring
 dialect.

Character. The dialect is mixed. It is by no means the remark-
 ably "good," that is, "received," speech, which Mr. Drury seems
 to imagine, possibly from intercourse with the better educated.
 The use of *I am* in the form (a)m separates it from D 31, which
 uses (a)z *I is*. The use of *the* (dhæ) as the def. art. again separates
 it from D 31, which uses (t'), but also separates it from D 23, Var.
 i., which uses (th) and occasionally (dh) before a vowel. This *the*
 is, however, almost the only important mark distinguishing Var. ii.
 from Var. i., and the use of (dhæ) is of course strictly inculcated
 in the schools, so that it was to be expected. The U' words have one
 of the diphthongs (ə'u, æ'u, óu, á'u), at any rate it varied in the
 pron. of the informants examined, but there was no approach to
 the (ú,u) of part of D 31 lying to the n. of s. hoos line 6, and though
 the small part of D 31 s. of this line uses (óu) in Lonsdale n. of
 the Sands and (áu) in Lonsdale s. of the Sands, the Isle of Man, or
 D 23, Var. ii., is separated from both by *I am* and *the* for *I is* and
t'. Var. i., however, has (áu), which is nearly reached in the (á'u)
 of Var. ii. There is no approach to the peculiar sw.La. (aa', ææ)
 for U'. I' words have (ái, ái) in both Vars. i. and ii. The words

with A-, A:, A', Æ, Æ', E, E', EA, EA', EO, EO', and probably U, are treated substantially alike in both varieties. TH. appreciated and wrote (u_o), but the palaeotyping was done in Manchester, where (u_o) is general, and most of the persons interviewed had been in Manchester some time. Hence the Manx sound may be (u), although (u_o) is here recorded. Hence phonetically it is impossible to regard the speech of the Isle of Man as anything but a variety of m.La., having numerous points of agreement and only one point of real difference—the treatment of the def. art. *the*; for the absence of the verbal plural in *-en*, already nearly extinct in Var. i., can scarcely be considered in Var. ii.

Illustrations. Mrs. Roscoe, of Kensington, a native of the Isle of Man, having given me an introduction to Miss Cannell in Manchester, TH., who lives there, very carefully pal. her version of the dt., and subsequently he discovered other natives of the island, residing in Manchester, whose account of the pron. at home, assisted by that of friends who came over, he was also enabled to pal. Thus I have obtained three dt. and several wn. from the n. m. and s. of the island, shewing slight differences, but substantial agreement. As the speech is no true dialect, the localisation of the differences has no dialectal value, and the interlinear presentment of the three dt. points them out at a glance. But the occasional use of (t) for (th) especially before (r) in the n. and m. of the island, and the regular (th) in the s., should be noted. Thus in the n. and m. we have (t^roon t^re'd t^ret t^ri t^ruu) thrown thread threat three through, and in the n. (tⁱk tⁱq tⁱrtiin) thick thing thirteen. This is in some respects comparable with Orkney and Shetland habits.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

L. *Kirk Christ Lazayre* (2 w. Ramsey, on the ne. of the I. of Man), dictated by Mr. T. Curphey, joiner, b. 1853, who was brought up there, but had resided several years in Manchester, when this was pal. in 1881, and revised three times in 1884 by TH.

P. *Peel*, above the middle of the island on the west coast, dictated in 1881 by Mr. F. Kaye, joiner, native, b. 1853; having resided several years in Manchester, he took the opportunity of having it revised by his sister, about 25, and a friend of hers, about 19, residents in Peel, who came to Manchester for a few days in 1884, and the dt. given, as thus revised, was pal. by TH.

R. *Rushen* (:ru_{shen}), the most s. parish in Man, dictated to TH. (in Sept. 1881, and revised March, 1882) by Miss Cannell, head schoolmistress at St. Margaret's Day School for Girls, Whalley Range, Manchester, then about 27, and Miss Cubbin, also a schoolmistress in Manchester, then about 30, both natives.

1. <i>Lazayre.</i>	ná'u	dí see,	bô'iz,	ju	sì	ná'u	dhæt	dím	rə'it	vbə'ut
<i>Peel.</i>	wəl,		bô'iz,	ju	sì		dhər	Λ)m	rə'it	vbə'ut
<i>Rushen</i>	wɛ'l,		bô'iz,	ɜ	sii		dhər	a)m	rə'it	nə'u vbə'ut

L	dhat	ləl	gjəl	komən	frəm	dhə)	skuul	jəndə.r.
P	dhat	ləl	gjəl	komən	jan.də.r	frəm	skuul.	
R	dhat	ləl	gjɛ'l	jan.də.r	komən	frəm	skuul.	

2. L shi)z gòen də'un dhə)ròəd dhíer t,ruu dhə)RED
 P shi)z gòen də'un dhə)rood dhéer t,ruu dhə)RED
 R dhéer shi is goon də'un dhə)rood, thruu dhə)RED

L gjét, on dhə)lef and sáid v)dhə)ròəd.
 P gjéet, on dhə)lef an sə'id v)dhə)rood.
 R gjét on dhə)lef ha'n sə'id.

3. L lùk, bôiz, dhə)tjádíl v)z)gá'n rə'it u_op tə)dhə)RQ
 P wé'l shúer enu_of, dhə)tjə'il v)z)gá'n s,t,ré'it u_op tə)dhə)RQ
 R aa shúer enu_of dhə)tjə'il v)gán' sthré'it u_op tə)dhə)DÓER

L dá'uer.
 P |hə'us.
 R v)dhə)RQ hə'us'.

4. L whíer shi)l meebi fádín dhat d,ru_oqkén déf
 P kwíer A)m thiqkén shi)l)ap'n fádín dhat d,ru_oqkén déf
 R an' mévi shi)l fádín dhat déf d,ru_oqkén

L púer lùkén felér v)ə :toma's.
 P ôul kree,tə'r :tomi.
 R blə'í v)ə :toməs.

5. L wi AAL noo |HèM VERI wÉ'l.
 P wi AAL noo)vM wÉ'l enu_of.
 R wi AAL noo hám wÉ'l enu_of.

6. L wónt dhə)á'ul felə suun làrn)er not tə)du)et v)gjeen, púer
 P wónt dhə)ôul felə làrn)er not tə)du)et v)gjeen, púer
 R wónt dhí'ə'ul felə làrn)er not tə)du)et v)gjeen, dhə

L tiq!
 P tjə'il!
 R ba'kh!

7. L sì! iz'nt)et rə'it wot A)wəs)seəv?
 P wé'l nə'u! iz'n)et t,rə'u?
 R luk'! iznət t,rə'ù nə?

Notes to Lazayre dt.

1. *about*, or (v)ə'ut).—*little* or (lit'l). 6. *learn* = teach, or (təl v) tell her.
 3. *right*, sometimes (s,t,ré'it).—*door* —*thing*, or (tjádíl) child.
 or (hó,us). 7. *what I was saying*, or (wot A)tá'ul
 4. *maybe* or (praps) perhaps. v) what I told you.

Notes to Peel dt.

1. *that*, the form (dhət) converted 4. *happen*, or (praps, meevi) perhaps,
 into (dhr) before a vowel. maybe.

Notes to Rushen dt.

1. *that*, see note to Peel.—*boys*, mates not used in the dialect.
2. *gone*, or (gòn).
4. *bly*, a good-for-nothing, lazy, do-less, etc., creature, or (wès,t,rəl) waistrel, apparently a Manx word.
6. *the bach*, the little thing, apparently a Manx word. *bach*=little in Welsh.

ISLE OF MAN cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Mr. T. Curphey, who dictated the Lazayre dt., and his wife, who was born and lived chiefly near Peel; from Mr. F. and Miss Kaye and Miss Leece for Peel; and Miss Cannell and Miss Cubbin for Rushen, in addition to the words in the dt.

L Lazayre (:ləzɛərə). P Peel. R Rushen (:ru,sh'ən).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 L néem, P neem nee'm, R neem. A: 43 P han an. 46 P kjand'l. 51 R mæ'n. A'- 73 P soo. 86 L ðats. 87 L klooz. 99 P t,roon. A': 104 L rôud. 115 L ðum. 117 P wa'n. 124 L stoon.
 Æ- 138 LR faadhər [when used, generally (dee) dad]. 148 P fiər. — P hærən [herring]. 152 L waa tər, P waa tər. Æ: 161 LR dee. 172 P grəs. 179 P kwat. Æ'- 182 P see. 183 PR teetj. — P stierz [stairs]. 200 L whîst whêt, P wheet kweet, PR whêt. Æ': 205 P t,ræ'd. 222 P hîur. 223 P dhêur. 224 P whîur, R whêu.
 E- 233 L speak. — P eet. 252 L kjad'l kjæt'l. E: 261 P see. 262 LP wee. 265 L s,t,ræ'it. — P fiil [field]. E'- 290 R hi. 299 LR grin. E': 312 P hîur. 314 PR hârd.
 EA: 322 R lâf. 326 L á'ul. 328 L ká'ul. 331 L sá'ul. 332 LP tá'ul, P tó'ul. 334 P èpni [halfpenny]. 336 P faal. EA'- 347 L |hæ'd, R hêd. EA': 361 L beenz. 364 R tjàp. 366 L grêt, R greet. 367 L t,ræt.
 EO: 394 L sɔn,dər, P jandher. 402 P lârn. — L sistər, P sisthər. EO'- 411 LP t,rîi. — LP t,rîi [tree]. EO': 436 R t,ræ'u. 437 R t,ræ'uth. EY- 438 LR dâi.
 I- 440 L wik'. 442 P iben. I: — L tîk [thick]. 458 P nâ'it. 464 P kwitj. 466 L tjà'il, P tjà'il. 480 L tîq, P thîq. 487 P jistherde. I'- 492 L sâid. 494 LPR táim. 498 L râ'it. I': 504 L nâ'if. 505 LP wâ'if. 514 P âis.
 O- — P shu,f'l [shovel]. — P t,root [throat]. O: — R shru,b. 531 R daa,tər. 540 P holən. O'- 555 P shuu. 562 L muun. 568 L brodher. O': 571 P gu,d. 584 L stuul, P stùd'l [little stool]. 587 LP dâ,n. 588 R nuun. 590 L flæ'ur.
 U- 605 LR sù,n. 606 L dæ'ur, P dîur. 607 P bu,tər. U: 612 R su,m. 613 L d,r,u,qkən. U'- 634 L t,ruu. 640 L ká'u. 641 L áu. 650 LP vèb'ut. U': 654 P shré'ud. 657 L brá'um. 658 P da'um. 659 L tó'un, P tá'um. 663 L |hæ'us hóus. 667 P ó'ut. 668 L prâ'ud.
 Y- 677 L d,râi. 682 P lil. Y: 691 L mæ'ind. Y'- 707 L t,r,tiin.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L là'r. — L prîezs, P pridezs [potatoes]. I. and Y. — P whip kwip'. O. 791 LP bô'i box. U. — P lu,mp [lump].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 L plêes. 824 L tjàer, P tjàer. 830 P t,reen. 841 P tjans, R tjans tjans. — L pagəd [packet]. E.. 867 LP tee. — P la,tər [letter]. — P sàrv [serve]. — P perikət [petticoat]. I.. and Y.. 898 P nâ'is nâ'is. 901 L fâin. O.. — P t,roon [throne]. 935 P ku,n,t,ri. 939 L klòs. 960 L su,ber. U.. 970 LP dju,s.

D 24 = e.NM. = eastern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on the n. at the b. of La., at a point 4 ne.Colne, La., and following the s. *tee* line 5 go across the deanery of Craven, Yo., between Skipton in Mid Craven and Keighley in South Craven, keeping nearly due e. to about Burley (8 n.Bradford), where the n. *theeth* line 5 joins the s. *hoose* line 6. Turn along this line 6, following the Wharfe to Harewood (7 nne.Leeds), and then deflecting to the se. pass e. of Thorner (6 ne.Leeds), Aberford (8 ene.Leeds), Sherburn (11 e.Leeds), and Gateford (14 e.-by-s.Leeds), where the line turns nearly s., through Haddesley (15 ese.Leeds), w. of Snaith (11 e.Pontefract) and w. of Thorne (8 ne.Doncaster), and e. of Doncaster to the n. point of Nt. Then follow the b. of Yo. past Nt., Db., La., till reaching the starting-point near Colne, La.

Area. The whole of the s.Yo., comprising the great industrial centres of Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Rotherham on the w. and s., with the country towns of Wakefield, Pontefract and Doncaster on the e. A most diversified country. The w. parts inhabited by a great manufacturing population, rejoicing in their dialect. The e. parts populous, but not manufacturing.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., § per CCR., || systematic, ° io.

Yo. || Armitage Bridge, ° Barnborough, † Barnsley, † Birkenshaw, § † Bradford, ° Brotherton, † Calverley, ° Campsall, ° § Dewsbury, * † Doncaster, ° East Hardwick, † Elland, § † Halifax, † Haworth, ° Holmfirth, ° § || Huddersfield, ° † † Keighley, § Leeds, † Manningham, ° † Marsden, † Osset, † Ripponden, ° Rossington, § Rotherham, || Roundhay, ° Saddleworth, || † Sheffield, † South Oram, † Thornton, ° † Tickhill, † Upper Cumberworth, † Wakefield.

Characters. In such a wide and varied region there must necessarily be considerable differences. I have found it best to distinguish nine varieties. The Western Group containing Var. i. Huddersfield, and Var. ii. Halifax, in many respects greatly resembles the adjoining parts of La., and has particularly the verbal pl. in *-en*, mildly but clearly developed, the article (th) occ., and (uu) hoo=she, more or less used, (shuu) the general s.Yo. form for *she*, also occurring. The North Central Group consists of Var. iii. Keighley, Var. iv. Bradford, Var. v. Leeds, Var. vi. Dewsbury, in which the peculiar character of the district is most developed, but there are diversities, and Dewsbury has affinities with Halifax as well as Keighley and Bradford. These names of large manufacturing towns are used, but of course the real dialect is heard in the surrounding villages. The South Central Group, containing Var. vii. Rotherham and Var. viii. Sheffield, is distinctly related to the adjacent Db., D 26, and has evident traces of the verbal pl. in *-en*, of which there are none in the n. central group. The Eastern Group consists of Var. ix. Doncaster and the whole e. slip, has Nt. affinities, evinced by a great absence of fractures, the (*âu*) treatment of U', and the absence of (shuu) she.

The particulars of each of these groups are given further on. The main character of the whole group centres at Leeds, and

reducing it to the smallest and most distinctive elements, we may take

O, O'=(*óí, úí*) as in (*ól, spúín*) hole, spoon.
 U'=(*éè, aa*) as in (*évs, aas*) house.

Somewhere in D 24 the use of (u_o), which is a mere transitional sound between (α) and (u) (see p. 292), ceases, and (u) alone is used, and of course for some intermediate distance between the borders of the (u_o) and the (u) regions there is a mixed region in which both may be heard. The difference between (u_o , u) has escaped most observers, and I am obliged to take the authority of TH. exclusively. CCR. probably was quite unaware of (u_o) as distinct from (u), and hence gives (u) only. TH. made several journeys on purpose to discover where the change occurred and where the mixed forms prevailed, but his observations were necessarily incomplete, because he was able neither to examine places enough, nor people enough in each place, to determine with any amount of certainty what was the prevalent usage. Still his observations, as I have stated, are my only guide, and hence the following results obtained from his note-books are valuable. I make 4 classes.

1. only (u) heard at Skipton, D 31, and in D 24 at Keighley, Haworth, Thornton, Bradford, Calverley, Halifax, South Oram, Elland, Ripponden, Osset, Sheffield.
2. prevailing (u) but some (u_o) noticed at Wakefield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Funningley, Nt. (but half in Yo.), and even in D 30 at Hull and Hornsea.
3. prevailing (u_o) but some (u) at Marsden, Upper Cumberworth, and Barnsley.
4. only (u_o) heard at Manningham (close by Bradford in the midst of an (u) region, and hence possibly because too few people were observed, see p. 389, l. 18), and Thorne in D 30.

My own information derived from other sources gives (u) only and entirely ignores (u_o). It is as follows :

CCR. Skipton, Keighley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, including Barnsley, where TH. found prevailing (u_o), and Rotherham.
 Mr. Stead, Hull and Hornsea in D 30.
 Dr. J. Wright, Windhill (2 n. Bradford).
 Dr. Sykes, Doncaster.
 Prof. Parkes, Sheffield.

Where this information conflicts with TH.'s it only shews that both (u_o , u) are heard or that my informants did not discriminate them. But the exclusive hearing of (u_o) at Manningham, almost a part of Bradford and surrounded by Shipley, Idle, Calverley, Bradford, Thornton, where (u) alone is heard, shews that TH. was unfortunate in the persons observed, and that at any rate his observations were not extensive enough. Marsden (between Huddersfield and Oldham, La., and hence in an (u_o) region), which has altogether a La. character, seemed at first to have exclusively (u_o), but TH. on making a second special visit, found that while (u_o) was almost universally used, cases of transition from (u) to (u_o) occurred in old speakers, and occasionally (u) itself remained, shewing that (u_o) was a recent development.

Under these circumstances I shall assume that (u) is used in all D 24, but that there is frequently an intrusive (u_o) on the borders

of La., Db. and Nt. This practically assumes the b. of Yo. as the s. b. of (*u*), but does not assume any n. b. for (*u*_o), that is, it assigns no precise area to the mixed use of (*u*, *u*_o). It is quite possible that the sound of (*u*_o) in the s., as in D 28, 29, may in future years pass over into (*α*), and that the (*u*_o) in the n., as in D 21, 22, may spread even into Yo., preparing it for a similar change of (*u*) through (*u*_o) into (*α*). The spread of education and the (at least attempted) inculcation of rec. pron. in schools may produce even greater changes within a century. Here, however, we have only to discover so far as possible existing habits, and must leave the future to take care of itself.

Illustrations. Through the kindness of CCR., author of the *Leeds* and *Mid Yorkshire Glossaries*, I obtained eight glossic versions of my cs. for this neighbourhood. These when written were very carefully considered by me, and all points of doubt were queried, giving rise to many interesting communications from CCR. For better comparison I give seven of these cs. interlinearly, so that the eye can at once observe the differences. The eighth, which gave the refined town speech of petty traders at Leeds, I have reduced elsewhere to a comparison with received speech, but I have added a new eighth, given me by Prof. Parkes, for Sheffield. These interlinear versions are placed first. Afterwards I consider each variety separately, giving first an introduction containing some dt. which I have recently obtained and a portion of a cs. from TH. and also a dt. from Dr. J. Wright, which are important checks on CCR.'s work. These relate to Upper Cumberworth Var. i., Elland Var. ii., Keighley Var. iii., Windhill and Calverley Var. iv., and Barnsley Var. vi. Then the notes on the corresponding cs. and dt., and finally a cwl. made up from the lw. and wl. that may have been furnished me by CCR. or other informants for further illustration of the variety in the neighbourhood of the chief centre. In the case of Leeds itself I give a remarkably complete cwl., carefully written in glossic by CCR. himself, with some wn. by TH. from Calverley, near Leeds. I give also an incomplete wl. compiled from Mr. Banks's Wakefield Glossary. The last variety, Doncaster, is illustrated by a tolerably full cwl. pal. by me from the dict. of Dr. Sykes, of Doncaster, who paid me two visits for the purpose. The numerous comic publications, such as the *Bairnsia Foaks' Annual* (published at Leeds) and the *Saunterer's Satchel* and *West Riding Almanac* (published at Bradford) are neither accurate nor local enough to be of any service in such an investigation as the present. But the account of the pronunciation prevalent at the borders of these unexplored regions shews within narrow limits what the pronunciation within them must be.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR CS.

These cs. have been arranged interlinearly for ready comparison, forming a conspectus of pron. in D 24. The side numbers indicate the numbers of the varieties already explained. The notes for each version are given subsequently. As Mr. Robinson in his desire to record idioms has sometimes dealt very freely with the text, the lines do not exactly correspond, but sufficiently so to make reference from one to the other easy and rapid. The following is the meaning of the numbers of the lines.

i Huddersfield (:udhʒfɪl), or, according to TH., (:u, dhʒsʒɪld), and adjoining villages. See also the cwl. for Var. i. including Holmfirth, Marsden, Saddleworth, and Upper Cumberworth.

ii Halifax (:éulɪfɛks) and adjoining villages, as Ripponden. See also the parable of the Prodigal Son in the Halifax dialect in Part IV. p. 1400, in which some of the palaeotype forms are now superseded by those here used, but this will occasion no difficulty to the reader.

iii Keighley (:kiithlɛ) or Lower Craven. Mid and Upper Craven belong to the N. div.

iv Bradford (:bradfɛθ) and adjoining villages.

v Leeds and its district already described, country speech.

vi Dewsbury and its neighbourhood, excluding Wakefield, but including Barnsley.

vii Rotherham.

The above seven were written by CCR in Glossic.

viii Sheffield, written in 1875 by Mr. D. Parker, formerly President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and Prof. of Hebrew at the Wesley College, both of Sheffield, who had been well acquainted with the dialect for 60 years, and had lectured upon it before his Society, in a systematic orthography, supplemented by notes and correspondence. Nevertheless in many common unaccented words there is an element of uncertainty in this conjectural pal. translation.

Of the Doncaster variety I can only give a cwl.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|----------------------|-------------|--------|--------------|---------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 0. | i | <i>Huddersfield.</i> | wô <i>i</i> | :dʒoni | az | no | daats. | |
| | ii | <i>Halifax.</i> | wat | fɔr | :dʒoni | az | no déuts. | |
| | iii | <i>Keighley.</i> | wat | fɔr | :dʒʉn | ez | núv daats. | |
| | iv | <i>Bradford.</i> | wat | fɔr | :dʒoni | ez | núv daat. | |
| | v | <i>Leeds.</i> | wat | fóv | :dʒoni | ez | núv daats. | |
| | vi | <i>Dewsbury.</i> | wot | fɔr | :dʒoni | ez | nóov déuts. | |
| | vii | <i>Rotherham.</i> | wó <i>i</i> | :dʒonv | ez | núv | daats. | |
| | viii | <i>Sheffield.</i> | wó <i>i</i> | :dʒon | az | 'nt | nv daats. | |
| 1. | i | wiil, neebv, | ʒoo | vn | ím | mɛ | búvth)vn)ʒo lef | |
| | ii | wiil, neebv, | ʒoo | vn | ím | mɛ | búvth v ʒo léevf | |
| | iii | wiil, néebv, | ʒAA | vn | ím | mɛ | búvth vn ʒo laaf | |
| | iv | wiil, néebv, | ʒii | vn | ím, tíu, | mɛ | búvth v ʒv laaf | |
| | v | wiil, néebv, | ʒii | vn | ím v óel, ʒi | mɛ | búvth on ʒv laf | |
| | vi | wiil, neebv, | ʒoo | vn | ím | mɛ | búvth o ʒo leef | |
| | vii | will, neebv, | ʒo | vn | ím vn ool | ʒon | booth mɛ laf | |
| | viii | wee, neebv, | ʒoo | vn | ii | mɛ | búvth laf | |
| | i | vt | dhís | núuz | v | móin. | wúv kéevz? dhat dhíe)z | |
| | ii | vt | dhís | ne'uz | v | mí oon. | wúv kéevz? dhet dhíe)z | |
| | iii | vt | dhís | núuz | v | móin. | wúv kéevz? dhat)s | |
| | iv | láik, | vt | dhís | néevz | v | mí óvn. | wúv kéevz? dhat)s |
| | v | láik, | vt | dhís | néevz | v | mí óvn. | úuv)s)t kéevz? dhat dhíe)z |
| | vi | vt | dhís | núuz | v | máin. | wúv kéevrz? dhet)s | |
| | vii | at | dhís | núuz | v | móin. | wúuv kéevrz? dhat)s | |
| | viii | vt | dhís | núuz | v | mó'in. | wúv kéevrz? dhat)s | |

- i nodher *te* nē dh*ie*.
 ii nodher *iie* nē dh*ie*.
 iii n*o*edher *iie* nē dh*ie*.
 iv n*o*edher *iie* nē dh*ie*.
 v noodher *iie* nē dh*ie*.
 vi noodher *iie* nē dh*ier*.
 vii noodher *iie* nē dh*ie*.
 viii noodher *iie* nē dh*ier*.

2. i mon, *it*'s nobet *e* fiu *e* men et diiz
 ii ez nooz *it*'s nobet *e* fe'u *e* men et diiz
 iii *it*'s nobed *e* fiu, wot diiz
 iv man, *it*'s nobet *e* feeu *e* men et g*u*ez en diiz
 v man, *it*'s nobet *e* feeu *e* men, et g*u*ez en diiz
 vi mon *it*'s nobed *e* fiu *e* meen wot g*oo*ez en diiz
 vii ez nooz *it*'s nobet *e* fiu wot g*oo*ez en diiz
 viii *fiu* men dii

- i biko's dh*e*r left et, win noon dhat, du)net wi?
 ii kos dh*e*r leeft et, dont ez?
 iii kos dh*e*r laaft at, win nooz, du)net we?
 iv kos dh*e*r gaend at, ez nuen)z baat noovin dhat?
 v fo)bikos dh*e*' gaend at, adent ez siuer *e* dhat na?
 vi d*u*st eko's dh*e* laft at, dhat uz nooz, du)net ez, nee?
 vii bikos dh*e*' laft et, doont ez?
 viii bikos dh*e*r laft et, wi noo, duent wi?

- i wat sed mak em? *it*'s not vari
 ii wat sed mak em? *it*'s net vari
 iii wot sed mak em? *it*'s nut vari
 iv wat sed mak em, naa? *it*'s nut vari
 v pre)dh*e* na wut sed mak em? *it*'s nut vari
 vi wot sud mak em du)t, preeiv? *it*'s nut vari
 vii wot shed mak em? *it*'s not vari
 viii wot shed mak em? *it*'s not vari

- i lo'kli, *iz* it?
 ii la'kli, *iz* it neev?
 iii lo'k, *iz* it naa?
 iv la'kli, *iz*t naa?
 v la'klinz, *is*t naa?
 vi la'kli, *iz* it nee?
 vii la'kle, *iz* it?
 viii lo'kli, *iz* it?

3. i	jee)a'vər	dhíz iz th)matəz	ɐ)th	tríuth	ɐ)th
ii	aa)i'var,	dhívez iz th)matəz	ɐ)th	tríuth	ɐ)th
iii	amsemi'vər,	dhívez iz)t' faks			ɐ)th
iv	aai'vər,	dhívez iz)t' réeits			ɐ)t'
v	amsemi'və,	dhívez (ie)z)t' féer ədmənts	ɐ)t'	tréəuth	ɐ)t'
vi	ee)iv'ər	dhívez iz triudh	ɐn)t'	matəz	ɐ)t'
vii	oo)a'və	dhívez iz)t' matəz	ɐ)t'	trooth	ɐ)t'
viii	aa'sumi'vər	dhívez iz)t' faks			ɐ)t'

i	kéəs, súv	djust əd jóv	dín, frend,
ii	kees, súv	djust óud jor	dín, frend,
iii	kéəs súv	djust dhii óud tə	dín, frend,
iv	kéəs, súv	naa dhen aa)tə baan tə əd dhi dín, frend,	
v	kéəs, súv	djust dhi	əd dhi dín widh dhə, if
vi	keez	ɐn ool əbéet konsaa'n, thru)t' thrid tə)l)t' niid'l, súv	
vii	kees, soo	djust óud dhə nóiz, frend,	
viii	kees, súv	djust óud jər nò'iz, frend,	

i	ɐn bi kwóit	wol o)v	dun. éek jo na!
ii	ɐn bi kwáit	wol o)v	don. éekən néev!
iii	ɐn bi kwéet	wal o	dun. aakən naa!
iv	ɐn djust wish tə wəl o	dún. naa aakən!	
v	dha kans)tə láik, ɐn wisht wa a	dun. íev tə budz na!	
vi	djust jo óud jor nóoiz frend ɐn wisht név wól ev dun.	néev dhen íie jo!	
vii	ɐn bi gwóit	wol oo)v	dun. íez)ta naa!
viii	ɐn bi kwó'iet	wó'íl AA)v	dun. aark!

4. i	o)m	saaten	ói	jíəd	dhəm	see	—sum	ɐ	dhéi	fúək	ɐt	
ii	óv)m	síur	o	jíəd	ɐm	see	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fóuk	ɐt	
iii	o)m	síur	ɐt	o	jíəd	ɐm	séev	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fúvəks	ɐt
iv	óv)m	síur	ɐt	a	jíəd	ɐm	séev	—sum	ɐ	dhéem	fóuk	ɐt
v	ái)m	séev	ɐt	a	jíəd	ɐm	séev	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fóuk	ɐt
vi	ee)m	síur	e	jíəd	ɐm	see	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fúvəks	wot	
vii	ói)m	saaten	o	jíəd	ɐm	sen	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fúvəks	ɐt	
viii	AA)m	saaten	ɐt	a	jíəd	ɐm	see	—sum	ɐ	dhem	fúvəks	ɐt

i	góud	thru	th)wól	thiq	fro	th)fəst	ɐ	dhəse'lnz	—dhat	
ii	went	thru	th)wól	thiq	thro	th)fəst	ɐ	dhəse'lnz	—dhat	
iii	went	thru)t'	wól	thiq	fréu)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəse'lnz	—dhat	
iv	went	thru)t'	úwəl	thiq	fru)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəse'lnz	—dhat	
v	went	thru)t'	úvəl	thiq	thru)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəse'nz	—dhat	
vi	went	thru)t'	úvəl	thiq	thróv)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəseenz	—dhat	
vii	good	thro)t'	wól	thiq	thru)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəseenz	—dhat	
viii	went	thru	ool	t'	thiq	thru)t'	fəst	ɐ	dhəseenz	—dhat

i	ó	díd	seef	enuf—
ii	díd	o	seef	enuf—
iii	o	díd	síur	iníf—
iv	i	díd,	síur	iníf, om i—
v	díd)	i	síur	línz iníf—
vi	e	díd	síur	iníf—
vii	o	díd,	om)	shíur enuf—
viii	A	díd,	shíur	enuf—

5. i	et	th)	juqis	sun	izse'ln,	ɜ	gret	led	ɜ	nóin,	
ii	ɜ	th)	jóaqis	sun	izse'ln,	ɜ	gət	led	ɜ	náin,	
iii	ɜ	th)	juqis	sun,		ɜ	gəət	lad	ɜ	nóin,	
iv	et)	t'	juqis	sun	izse'n,	ɜ	gət	lad	ɜ	náin,	
v	et)	t'	juqis	sun	izse'n,	et)s	ɜ	gət	lad	ɜ	náin,
vi	et)	t'	joqist	sun	izseen,	ɜ	gríet	led	ɜ	náin,	
vii	et)	t'	juqist	sun	izsen,	ɜ	gret	lad	ɜ	nóin,	
viii	et)	t'	juqest	sun	izsen,	ɜ	gret	lad	no'in	jiir	óud,

i	nood	iz	fadhé	vóis	et	wons,	dhoo	it	'wor	
ii	ne'u	iz	fee'dhər	vóis	et	wons,	dhoo	it	wər	
iii	níu	iz	fadhər	vóis	et	wans,	dhoo	it	'wər	
iv	néeu)t'		fadhé	vóois			dhAA	it	'wər	
v	néeu)t'		fadhé	vóis,	et	wans,	let	elúwen	it	'wóow
vi	nood	iz	feedhər	vóis	et	wans,	dho	it	'wor	
vii	nood	iz	fadhé	vóis	et	wans,	dho	it	'wor	
viii	nood	iz	fadhərz	vóis	dərektli,	dho		it	'wor	

i	sikən	ɜ	kwiər	skweekin	en,	en	ó)	d	trust	'im	tə
ii	sitʃən	ɜ	kwiər	skweekin	en,	en	o)	d	trost	'im	tə
iii	sitʃən	ɜ	kwiər	skwiəkín	en,	en	o)	d	trust	'im	tə
iv	sitʃ	ɜ	kwiə	skwéekín	en,	en	o)	st	trust	'im	tə
v	sitʃən	ɜ	kwiə	skwéekín	en,	en	a)	d	trust	'im	fə)tə
vi	sitʃən	ɜ	kwiə	skweekin	en,	en	o)	d	trust	'im	tə
vii	sə		kwiə	en	skweekin,	en	o)	d	trost	'im	tə
viii	sə		kwiə	en	skwiikín,	an	A)	d	trust	'im	tə

i	spéik	th)	triuth	oni	dee,	jee,	ó)	'wod.	
ii	speek	th)	triuth	oni	dee,	iv,	o	'wod	['wuold].
iii	spéik)t'		triuth	oni	déev,	iv,	o	'wod.	
iv	spéik		triuth	oni	déev,	ee,	a	'wod.	
v	spéik)t'		tréevuth	oni	déev,	ái,	a	'wod.	
vi	spéik		triuth	oni	dee		o	'wood.	
vii	speek)t'		trooth	oni	dee,	aa	marə	o	'wod.
viii	spéik)t'		truuth	oni	dee,	dhat	A	'wud.	

6. i en th)oud wumæn ese ln el tel oní o jon et lefs níis,
 ii en th)oud wumæn ese ln el tel oní o joo et léerfs nee,
 iii en th)oud wumæn ese ln el tel oní o joo et lafs naa,
 iv en)t' oud wumæn ese n el tel oní o je et lafs naa,
 v en)t' oud wumæn ese n el tel oní on je et lafs naa,
 vi en)t' oud wumæn esse n el tel oní o jo wot lefs nee,
 vii en)t' oud wumæn esen el tel oní o jo et lafs naa,
 viii en)t' oud wumæn erse n el tel oní on jo et laf naa,

i en telæn jon	strét of, tu,	bíet
ii en tel joo	street of, tu,	béet
iii en tel yo	strét of, too,	béet
iv en tel)t je réit	strét of, tíu,	fúer óut)s lat baat
v en tel je	strét of, tíu,	dhaaten
vi en tel jo réit	of en ool,	widhee't
vii en tel jo	strét of, en ool,	widhaat
viii en tel jo	strét aat en ool,	widhaat

i mitj bodhe, if jon el nobet aksen e, oo!	wil)ent uu?
ii mitj bodher, if joo)l nobet aks er, AA!	wi)net sho?
iii mitj bodher, if jol nobet aks er, oo!	wi)nt she?
iv mitj bodhe, if ji)l nobad aks er, AA!	wi)nt shu?
v mitj bodher, en)ji)d nobed as e, uu!	wi)nt she?
vi mitj bodher, if jo)l nobed eks er, oo!	wil)et shuu?
vii mitj bodhe, if jo)n nobet aks er, oo!	weent she?
viii mitj bodher, if jo)l nobet aks er, o'i!	wi)nt shu?

7. i líestez 'uu teld it 'mii wen ói akst e,
 ii onigeets u toud 'mii it, wen o akst er,
 iii onirúed sho teld 'mii it, wen a akst er,
 iv oní rúed shu teld 'mii wen ái akst er, e
 v líeslínz sho teld 'mii ebaa'ten)t, wen a aast e,
 vi oní roodz shu teld 'mii it wen e ekst er,
 vii oní rodz shu teld 'mii wen o akst e,
 viii et oní reet, shu teld it 'mii wen A akst er,

i		en	'uu
ii toothri	téemz over, u did, en o	kensee'ts	'shuu
iii túethri	tóimz óer, sho did, en		'shuu
iv túethri	táimz óer, shu did, en		shuu
v túethri	táimz óer, did she, en a	konséet	'shuu
vi túethre	táimz over, shu did, en		'shuu
vii túethri	tóimz óer, did she, en		'shuu
viii tuu or thrii	tóimz óer, shu did, en		'shuu

i *out* not te bi raq e s'ken e póint ez dhís, wat)en
 ii *out* net te bi req e s'tjen e póint ez dhís, wat)en
 iii *out* net te bi raq e s'tjen e póint ez dhís, wat de
 iv *out* nut te bi req e s'tj e póint ez dhís, st)
 v *óudent* te bi req e s'tjen e póint ez dhís, aa)s)t
 vi *out* not te bi raq e s'tjen e póint ez dhís, wot de
 vii *out* not te bi raq e s'tjen e póint ez dhís, wot)en
 viii *out* not te bi raq upe s'tj e póint ez dhís, wot daz

i joo thiqkē ?
 ii jo thiqk ?
 iii joo thiqk ?
 iv jii thiqk, naa ?
 v jē thiqk ?
 vi jo thiqk ?
 vii jo thiqk ?
 viii jo thiqk ?

8. i wiil, ez ói wər see)in, 'uu)d telən jo ool bíet it,
 ii wel, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo ool béet it,
 iii wiil, ez a wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo óos béet it,
 iv wiil, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jē óoel bat,
 v wilz, ez a wē see)in, 'shuu)d tel jē et óoel enz,
 vi weel, ez o wo see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo ool beet
 vii wiil, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo)t uuēl ístre
 viii wee, ez a wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo

i ez te jéev, wíer, en wen. uu
 ii ee, en wíer, en wen u
 iii st aa, en wíer, en wen it wor et sho
 iv búath áaa, en wen, en wíer it tjonst et shu
 v búath aa, en wíer, en wen it tjonst et sho
 vi konsee'n, en ee, en wíer en wēn it wóoer et shu
 vii es)t aa en wíer en wen it wor et sho
 viii aa, wen, en wíer, shu

i fan th)drufen bíes et uu koolz er uzben,
 ii fan th)drufen bíes et u koolz er uzben,
 iii fan)t' druken bíes et shu kooz er uzben, en óoe)t'
 iv fan)t' druken bíes et shu kóoelz e uzben on,
 v fan)t' druken bíes et she kóoelz e uzben,
 vi fan)t' drufen bíes et sho koolz er uzben on,
 vii fan)t' druken bíest at she koolz er uzben,
 viii fan)t' druqken bíest et shu koolz er uzband,

i	—u wíl, ói bun fo)t!
ii	—o)m bééand u wíl!
iii	rigmeróul,—ái)z bi bun fe)t shu wíl.
iv	—a)l bi bun on)t, shu wíl.
v	
vi	—ái, e)m bun fo)t, shu wíl.
vii	— o)m bun fo)t sho wíl!
viii	

9. i	uu thrept	u	soo	ím	wi	er	oon	iin,		
ii	u thrept	u	soo	ím	wi	er	oon	iin,		
iii	sho thriépt	ét	sho	soo	ím	wi	er	óoen	iin,	
iv	shu thrept	ét	shu	saa	ím	wi	er	óoen	iin,	
v	sho thrept en went at it,	ét	shu	sid)	ím	wi	er	óoen	iin,	
vi	sho thrept	ét	shu	siid	ím,	wi	er	oon	iin	
vii	shu swéer	ét	sho	siid	ím	wi	er	oon	in	
viii	shu swóer	ét	aa	shu	siid	ím	wi	er	óun	iin,

i	lígín	stretjt	jéest	et	wol	leqth,	up	e)dh	gríend,		
ii	lígín	stretjt	et	wúel		leqth,	up	e)t'	gréeend,		
iii	lígín	stretjt	aat	oo	iz	buk	en	leqth,	etop	e)t'	gránd,
iv	lígín	stretjt	slap	óoul	iz	leqth,		e)t'	gréeend,		
v	lígín	stretjt	endleq				etop	en)t'	gránd,		
vi	lígín	stretjt	eet)t'	úel	en	iz	leqth,	etop	e)t'	greend,	
vii	lígín	stretjt	et	wúel		leqth		up)e)t'	graand,		
viii	lígín	stretjt	aat	et	ful	lenth		up)e)t'	graand,		

i	i	iz	góid	sunde	kóit,	tlóis	bi)th	iis	dúer	óil,	
ii	in	iz	góid	sunde	kóit,	tlóis	bi)th	éees	dúer	óil,	
iii	i	iz	góid	sunde	kóit,	tlóis	bi)t'	éees	dúer	óil,	
iv	dond	i	iz	sunde	kóit,	tlóis	bi)t'	ées	dúer	óil,	
v	dond	i	iz	gúid	sunder	kóit,	tlóiz	bi)t'	aas	dúer	óil,
vi	dond	i	iz	good	sunde	kóoit,	tlóis	bi)t'	éees	dúer	stéid,
vii	dond	i	iz	good	sunde	kóoit,	tlóis	bi)t'	aas	dúe	stíed,
viii	i	iz	gud	sunde	kúust,	djust	bi)t'	aas	dúe		

i	e)th	kóoene	e	jon	leen.	
ii	déen	e)th	kóoene	e	jon	leen.
iii	déen	e)t'	kóoener	e	jon	lón.
iv	daan	et	bóthem	e	jon	lón.
v	daan	e)t'	kóoener	e	jon	lón.
vi	deen	et)t'	koone	e	jon	leen.
vii	daan	et)kóoene	e	jon	leen.	
viii	daan	et)t'	kórner	e	dhat	leen.

10. i ii wēr egeet e wóinín, u sez, fər ool)th wəld
 ii ii wēr egeet e wáinín, u see'z, fər ool)t' wəld
 iii ii wēr géet e wóinín, shu sez, fər óol)t' wəld
 iv i wēr egeest e wáinín, shu sez, fər óool)t' wəld
 v i wēr egeest e wáinín, sho sez, fər óool)t' waald
 vi i wūr egeet e wáinín, seez sho, fər óol wuurd
 vii i wēr egeet e wóinín, shu seez, fər ool wəld
 viii i wēr wó'inín ewee, sez shu, fər ool wurd

- i lóik e badli tjo'íl, er e let'el las i e jímæ.
 ii láik e béedli baan, er e let'el las i e jímæ.
 iii lóikæn e badli baan, er e lítel las i e móoek.
 iv séeum ez e badli baan, er e lítel las i e mðendj.
 v láikæn e badli baan, er e lítel las in e mðendj.
 vi láik e bedli béeeu, er e lítel lees in e jímæ.
 vii lóik e badli tjo'íld, er e lítel las i e jímæ.
 viii lo'ik e badli tjo'íld, er e lítel las e fretin.

11. i en dhat apend ez 'uu en)th dóuter)i)loo
 ii en dhat apend ez 'uu en)th dóuter)i)loo
 iii en dhat dhíær apend ez)th dóuter)i)loo en erse'ln
 iv en dhat apend ez shuu en)t' dóuter)i)lóos
 v en dhat apend ez 'shuu en)t' dóuter)i)lóos
 vi en dhat apend ez 'shuu en)t' dóuter)i)loo
 vii en dhat apend ez 'shuu en)t' dóuter)i)loo
 viii en dhat apend ez 'shuu en er dóuter)i)loo

- i kum thro)th bak jərd fro aqin th)wet tlúez
 ii kuum thru)th bak jéed thru eqin th)wet tlúez
 iii kuum thru)t' bak jéed free eqin t')wet tlúez
 iv kum thru)th bak jaad fru bin eqin t')wiit tlúez
 v kam thru)t' bak jaad thru iqin t')wit tlúez
 vi kum thru)t' bak jəəd, thru eqin t')wit tlúez
 vii kum thru)t' bak jaad, thro aqin t')wet tlúez
 viii keem thru)t' bak jərd, wen shu)d uq t')wet tlúez

- i jéet tə drói on e weshín dee,
 ii éest tə drái on e weshín dee,
 iii aat fe tə drái on e weshín déeə,
 iv tə drái əv e weshín déeə,
 v aat fo)tə drái on e weshín déeə,
 vi eet tə drái on e weshín dee,
 vii aat tə drói on e wesh'n dee,
 viii aat tə dró'i et)t' weshín dee,

12. i wóil)th ketel wə bóilín fo)th tee,
 ii wol)th ketel wər ɛgeet bóilín fə)th tee,
 iii wal)th ketel wər bóilín fər)t' driqkín, ɛ
 iv wol ketel wər géet ɛ bóilín fə)t' driqkín, ɛ
 v wal)t' ketel wər ɛgéest ɛ bóilín fə)t' driqkín, ɛ
 vi wol)t' ketel wə bóilín fə)t' driqkín ɛ
 vii wóil)t' ketel wə bóilín fə)t' tee driqkín,
 viii wó'il)t' ketel wər i bó'ilín fə)t' tii

- i wən fón bróit aftenóin i sʌmər nobet ɛ wiik
 ii wən fáin briit aftenóin i sʌmər nobet ɛ wɪk
 iii wən fón briit afternóin i sʌmər nobet sɛ latli ɛ wɪk
 iv wən aftenóin i sʌmər táim, ɛ wɪk
 v wən fáin briit aftenúuin i sʌmər, nobet ɛ wiik
 vi wən fáin briit aftenóin i sʌmər, ɹit nobet ɛ wɪk
 vii wən fón bróit aftenóin i sʌmər, nobet ɛ wɪk
 viii wən sunshə'ini aftenoon i sʌmər, nobet ɛ wɪk

- i sɛn kʌm)th nekst thərsdɛ.
 ii sɛn kuum)th nekst thozdɛ.
 iii sɛn kuum)t' nekst thuzdɛ.
 iv sɛn nobet kʌm)t' nekst thuzdɛ.
 v sɛn kʌm)t' nekst thæzɔdɛ.
 vi sɛn kʌm)t' nekst thuzdɛ.
 vii sɛn kʌm)t' nekst thæzɔdɛ.
 viii sɛn kʌm nekst thæzɔdɛ.

13. i ɛn, dʌn ʝo noo? ói nɪvər laant oni múvər
 ii ɛn, doo ʝo noo? o nɪvər laant oni múvər
 iii ɛn, nóoɛz)tɛ nobet? o nɪvə líənd oni múvər
 iv ɛn st)nóos naa, ɛt a nɪvə íiəd nóut nɛ múvər
 v ɛn dʌs)tɛ nóos, na? a nɪvər líiənt nóut nɛ múvər
 vi ɛn dʌs)tɛ noo, o nɪvər laand nóut nɛ múvər
 vii ɛn dʌn ʝo noo? o nɪvə laand ons múvər
 viii ɛn dʌn ʝo noo? a nɪvər laarnd núɛ múvər

- i ɛn dhɪs ɛ dhat bɪznɪs ʌp tʌn tɛ deɛ,
 ii ɛt íəd ɛ dhɛt beznɪs ʌp tɔl tɛ deɛ,
 iii dhen dhɪs ɛ dhɛt mak ɛ bɪznɪs ʌp tɛ tɔdɛɛ,
 iv ɛ dhat dhíiə déeu ʌp tɛv tɔdɛɛ,
 v dhen dhɪs ɛ dhat díu ʌp tɔl tɔdɛɛ,
 vi ɛn dhɪs ɛ dhɛt bɪznɪs tɔl wɔl tɔdɛɛ nɛɛ,
 vii ɛn dhɪs ɔ dhat bɪznɪs ʌp wóil tɔdɛɛ,
 viii dhen dhɪs ɛbaat dhat bɪznɪs ʌp tɛ tɔdɛɛ,

i	ez shuur	ez mói neem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepərd, ɛn ói du)nt
ii	ez súr	ez mi neem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepəd, ɛn o dú)nt
iii	ez súr	ez mi néem)z	:dʒʉn	:shepəd, ɛn o du)nt
iv	ez súer	ez mi néem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepəd, nər nódhər
v	ez súvlnz	ez mi néem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepəd, ɛn a dú)nt
vi	ez shúr	ez mi néem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepəd, ɛn nódhər
vii	ez shúr	ez mo néem)z	:dʒonɪ	:shepəd, ɛn o dont
viii	ez shúr	ez ma neem)z	:dʒak	:shepəd, ɛn a dú)nt

i	want	tə duu	oodhər,	dhí·ər ní·na!
ii	want	tə duu	nodhər	dhí· dhen, néem.
iii	want	tə dú	ódhər,	dhí· budz naa!
iv	dú i want,			naas tə!
v	want	tə dú	nóodhə,	naa mən!
vi	duu i want	tə du,		nee dhen.
vii	want	tə doo	nodhər	dhí·)z tə dhen!
viii	wənt		noodhər	dhí·er naa!

14.	i	ɛn súv ói)m	go·in	ɛgeetədz	wúsm	tə
	ii	ɛn súv o)m	been		úvsm	tə
	iii	ɛn súv âi)z	béen	ɛgeestədz	úvsm naa	tə get
	iv	ɛn súv o)mən bi béen			úvsm naa, láik, təl	
	v	ɛn súv a)mən	fúvst	tə gúv	úvsm	
	vi	ɛ soo o)m	been		úvsm	láik tə
	vii	ɛn soo o)m	goo)in		úvsm	tə
	viii	ɛn súv A)m	gu)in		úvsm	tə

i	mi super.		góid niit,
ii	mi super.		góid niit,
iii	mi super,	lók.	góid niit tə dhə,
iv	mi super.		góid niit tə dhə,
v	mi super, naa láik.		góid niit tə dhə, ɛ pre)dhə máinds tə,
vi	mi super.		góid niit tə roo,
vii	mo super.		god nit tə dhə,
viii	mi super.		gud niit,

i	ɛn du)nt bi sɛ shaap	tə kroo	ɔvər ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn
ii	ɛn dú)nt bi sɛ shaap	fɛ tə kroo	ɔvər ɛ bɔdi ɛgen,
iii	ɛn du)nt bi sɛ shaarp	tə kroo	óur ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn, s)t)iv
iv	ɛn dú)nt bi sɛ shaap	tə kroo	óur ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn
v	ɛn dú)nt bi sɛ kin	fɛ tə króov	ɔvər ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn
vi	ɛ dú)nt bi sɛ shaap	tə kroo	ɔvər ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn
vii	ɛn dont	bi sɛ shaap	tə kroo óur ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn
viii	ɛn dú)nt	bi sɛ shaarp	tə kroo óovər ɛ bɔdi ɛgí·ɛn

i	wen i tooks	ɜ t)oon	ɛn	t)udhɜr thiɔ.
ii	wen i tooks	ɜ t)oon	ɛn	t)odhɜr thiɔ.
iii	na ?—wen i tooɔks	ɜ t)úuɛn		t)udhɜr thiɔ.
iv	wen i tooɔks	ɜ t)úuɛn		t)udhɜr thiɔ.
v	wen i tooɔks	ɜ t)úuɛn	ɛn	t)udhɜr thiɔ.
vi	wen i tooks	ɜ toon	ɛn	t)udhɜr thiɔ.
vii	wen i tooks	o toon	ɛn	t)odhɜr thiɔ.
viii	wen i tooks	ɜ dhɪs dhat	ɛn)t	tudhɜ.

15. i it)s ɜ week fól ɛt preets bíst reezɛn,
 ii it)s ɜ week fól ɛt preets béet reezɛn,
 iii it)s ɜ wéek fól wot préets béet ríɛzɛn, dhaa)t síuɜr,
 iv it)s ɜ wéek fól ɛt prats dhaat ríɛzɛn, dhaa)t núɛn
 v it)s ɜ wéek fól ɛt préets bidhaat ríɛzɛn,
 vi it)s ɜ week fól wot preets widheet reezɛn,
 vii it)s ɜ week fól ɛt preets wɔdhaat reezɛn,
 viii it)s ɜ week fól ɛt preets widhaat ríɛzɛn,

i		ɛn síuɜ	dhat)s mói last
ii		ɛn síuɜ	dhet)s mi last
iii		ɛn síuɜ	dhat)s mi last
iv	baat góɛmɪn dhat, à)tɜ ?	síuɜ naa dhen, dhat)s mi last	
v		síuɜ naa dhen, dhat)s mi last	
vi		ɛn soo	dhet)s mi lèst
vii		ɛn soo	dhat)s mo last
viii		ɛn	dhat)s ma last

i wəd.	góid bóí,	led.
ii wəd.	góid báí,	led.
iii wəd.	góid báí tɜ dhɜ,	lad.
iv wəd.	féu tɜ wíil,	lad.
v wəd.	féu dhɜ wíil,	lad.
vi wurd, ɛn o)l see,	góid báí tɜ soo.	
vii wəd.	god bóoi,	lad.
viii wəd.	gud bóí.	

* * The *Notes* to these different cs. are given under the separate varieties below.

VAR. i. HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Comprising the country to the sw. up to the La. b., Golcar (:góukɜr), Slaithwaite (:sláw·ít), Marsden, and then (separated by Diggle Edge) Saddleworth, Holmfirth (in a neighbouring valley), and Upper Cumberworth. The speech is well illustrated by CCR.'s cs. for Huddersfield, a dt. for Upper Cumberworth, and a rather complex cwl. for Huddersfield, Holmfirth, Upper Cumberworth, Marsden (as obs. by TH.), and a few words from Saddleworth, which to a considerable extent agrees with Marsden.

Huddersfield is a large town, and necessarily contains speakers of various shades of dialect. Hence anything like perfect agreement in the several accounts of its

speech which I have collected was not to be expected. While, therefore, there is a great practical unanimity, there is considerable diversity of opinion. On referring to the cwl., which contains details, it will be seen that from A- to EY there is not much diversity of appreciation, and at the same time great resemblance to D 22. The chief differences relate to I', O', U', and the short I, O, U, in the cases where they are usually treated as long.

I' is always represented by (ói) in CCR.'s cs., although he admits the form (óv), thus, (tóim tóvm). Now the relation between these sounds is close. In the E. div. we found (léim) lame as a result from (lévm). The Ch. (ái), D 25, seems to be the sharper sound of (áe, áa) for (áu) in U' words. But when the form with (v) is once reached, the way is opened for numerous other changes and especially for its omission, thus, (tóvm, toom), whence (taam) is an immediate alteration involving also (taam). CCR. is, indeed, of opinion that (aa) for I' "is foreign to the genius of town dialect," and thinks that it does not "occur at all in (daan) dialects, but only in (duun) dialects." Of course in no dialect are we likely to hear (daan) pure and simple, for both *down* and *dine*. There is a change of vowel, a mere shadowing, which is sufficient in speech, (daa'n, dææn) for one and (daan, daan) for the other. This we have already met with in D 22.

O' is always very variably treated. CCR. has (góid) good, which would make his O' and I' clash. Miss Hibbard has (gúid, stúil, búit) good, stool, boot, and agrees with Messrs. Dowce and Tomlinson in (spúin, fúit, rúit, súit) spoon, foot, root, soot. However, for *hole* Miss Hibbard agrees with both CCR. and TH. at Marsden in giving (óil, ôil). But for *book, took*, Miss H. has simple (buuk, tuuk), with a long or medial vowel. We shall find similar treatment of O' in other varieties of D 24, as we have already done in D 22.

U' is also variably treated, see notes to Huddersfield cs. par. 3. CCR. considers (íiv) to be the distinctive sound in this variety, but he also occasionally uses (aa, ee). Miss Hibbard has generally (éiv), which CCR. says he has heard in common speech, but had been led to disregard. Now at Burnley D 22, Var. v., this was an alternative form to (á'á), and curiously TH. got (á'á, á'v, á'v) at Marsden, which would readily give (éiv) or (aa), and other Marsden information gives in fact both. Upon the whole I should say the (éiv) was the most prevalent form in this variety, that (íiv) was antiquated, and (aa) occasional.

Notes to the Huddersfield cs., No. i on p. 367.

0. *why* (wóí). CCR. says such a word as *time* would be pronounced both (tóim) and (tóvm). This is instructive as to the interchange of fractural (v) with (i), as afterwards in (kóil) from (kóvl) coal. Of my other correspondents, Mr. Dowse writes *oi, woife, toim, loike*, indicating (ó'i). Mr. Tomlinson has *worle, morle, lorfe, worde*, while *mile, life, wide*, indicating (AA), and shewing that *r* was considered merely a means of affecting the meaning of the preceding letter, and similarly he has *skör, whör*, sky, why, but suddenly changes to *au* in *faur, lauce, mauce*, fire, lice, mice, with no *r*. Miss Hibbard indicates (aa) in all cases, in her numbered word-list. These last two seem to approach CCR.'s (óv). See Var. ii. Halifax. CCR. says, "The town of Huddersfield has progressed at a very rapid rate, and there has been an influx of people from neighbouring districts. My renderings reproduce the pronunciation of people who and whose

ancestors had always lived in the district, and whose forms of speech never varied."—*you*, CCR. allows (o) generally, but finds (ó) sometimes necessary, and very prominent at Leeds. The (o) in this cs. was specially written by him as a correction of (ó).

1. *laugh* (lef). In transliterating CCR.'s glossic, I have rendered glossic *e* by (e), which sound it was originally meant to symbolize, while *ae* represented (æ), which CCR. uses occasionally. It is most probable that TH. would have heard (æ) in all these cases, being his usual vowel.—*cares* (kéeez), that is, the *r* is fully vocalised. This will be found the general writing, but CCR. sometimes admits Glossic *r*, evidently considering it more than a mere vocalisation, perhaps as Midland (r), and sometimes writes Glossic *r'*, which means decidedly trilled (r). Curiously enough the Glossic *r* occurs chiefly, not always, at the end of words. It will be sufficient to write (r) as in D

22, bearing in mind that it is possibly (r) when not before a vowel. But the (r) will be omitted or vocalised when CCR. so writes.

2. *we do know that, don't we?* (win noon) we do-en know-en, not only the verbal plural in *-en*, but the infinitive in *-en*; the last is very doubtful. The verbal pl. in *-en* is much more certain. We have it here (wi)n for (wi dʌn); in par. 7 (wat)en joo what do-en you? and CCR. says the deliberate form (wat dʌn jo) may also be used. This greatly increases the M. character of Huddersfield speech.

3. *how-ever*, (éev) would have been the expected form for the first syllable, then (jéev) with the common prefixed (j), and finally the clipped form (jee). The representation of U' and the corresponding lengthened U and French *ou* seems to vary. We have (0. daats, 3. jee naa, 6. níiv bíut, 9. gríund íus), doubts, how, now, now, without, ground, house, and (13. níiv-naa) in the reduplication now-now. Of my other Huddersfield informants, Mr. Dowse is indistinct, writing *naaw, caaw, haase, maas*, which may possibly all point to

(éev); Mr. Tomlinson gives *áance, káacumber*, ounce, cucumber, which also point to (éev); and Miss Hibbard has (ja', ta', név na', kév, ja'r), how, thou, now, cow, our, and (éev) in other U' words. CCR. considers (iiv) typical of Huddersfield and (év) of Halifax.—*the matters*, the use of (th) for the def. art. as in La. seems prevalent in this variety, though (t') is most common to the e.—*hark you, now*.

5. *youngest*, sometimes (joqis).—*father's*, obs. the omission of sign of the possessive.—*trust*, the dental (t d) were designedly omitted by CCR., who says "they are not a characteristic feature." But TH. heard them at Marsden, and so still in most words.

6. *she*, (uu) and not (shuu) as is used further to the e.

11. *yard* (jærd), CCR. writes glossic *jur'd*, indicating a fully-trilled (r).

12. *thursday*, (thersde) or (thorsde). CCR. writes the first with the same fully-trilled r' as in *jur'd*, but the second as untrilled *aor*. I cannot lay much store by the treatment of r, finding it so difficult to elicit.

14. *I'm going agatewards home*.

MARSDEN (7 sw.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1888 from the dict. of Mr. John Schofield (:skúvil), b. 1804, native and life-long resident, woollen weaver, then postman till 1888, and then retired; assisted by his sister, Mrs. Hill.

1. A)se', ladz, jo sáin ná'v et A)m re'it ebá'et dhat lit'l las komín thré)s' skú'íl jón dæ.r.

2. úu)z [ù)z] gu'in dá''en th)rúed dhier thrú,uu dhat red ject on th)left and saad v)th rúed.

3. síi jv, th)tjaald)z gu'en st're'it u_op tæ)th raq á'as [á'as].

4. wæ'r úu)l ap'n faand dhat d,ru_oqk'n díef wiz'nd felv et dhe kAA'l óud :tóm.

5. wi AA'l noon ím var' wíl.

6. wíl'nt óud :tóm sóin líern v'r tæ maand bæ't'v'r th)ne'ist taam, púr las!

7. lúuk! it)s dju_ost v'z A thóut it wad bíi.

Notes to Marsden dt.

1. *school*, the vowel written (u₁) was marked as between (u, o).

2. *down*, the first element of the diphthong in (dá''en) was marked as lying between (a', e) or doubly high (a).

3. *wrong house* or *door* (da'r, da₁'r), where (a₁) lies between (a, o).

Omitted words: 1. *so su- súv way wee*. 3. *sure enough* sí,u'v inu₁kh, [(u₁) between (u_o, o)]. 4. *name neem*. 6. *teach tæ'itj*.—*again* egj'e'n.

UPPER CUMBERWORTH (6 se.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mrs. Ann Littlewood, b. 1824, native, and 26 years resident; here (u_{\circ}) and (u) were both heard.

1. A see, ladz, ɹə siin nà'v ə m réit v̄bá'et dhat lét'l las $\text{k}_{u_{\circ}}$ mín thr̄s)skó'íl $\text{ɹ}ə$ nder.
2. shu)z gu)en dá'en)t' rúed dh̄er thruu)t' red' gjeet on)t' left and saad v̄)t' rúed.
3. luuk! [sii!] t' tjaald)z gu)en stre'it u_{\circ} p t̄)t' raq á'us,
4. w̄er shu]l ap'n faand dhat druqk'n dh̄ef w̄iz'nd ôud fel̄i et dhe kAAL :t̄om.
5. wi AAL noon ðm v̄ári will.
6. w̄i'nt t' ôud t̄jap sóin t̄éit̄j ɛr not t̄e du it ɛḡiɛn, p̄úr thiq!
7. luuk! iz'nt et triuu?

Note. Words omitted: 2. way (wee).—3. door (dæ'ur).

HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

For comparison characteristic words are here given for the following forms.

- R CCR.'s cs. for Huddersfield, merely a few principal words.
 D Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Dowse, who had been 10 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted.
 T Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Tomlinson.
 H Words from the carefully numbered Huddersfield wl. by Miss Mercy Hibbard, who had lived there the first 18 years of her life.
 B Holmfirth (5 s.Huddersfield) numbered wl. by Mr. Beardsell, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as the words could be interpreted, but the meaning of the numbers was probably not always rightly seized.
 Mh Marsden (7 sw.Huddersfield) wn. by TH. in a special visit. The verbal pl. in -en frequent, and also in a printed specimen. Here (u_{\circ}) was heard.
 Mb Marsden words from a wl. by the vicar, assisted by the schoolmaster, Mr. R. Bamford, here (u) is assumed.
 S Saddleworth words from a wl. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted. As Saddleworth lies between Marsden and La., I have assumed the use of (u_{\circ}).
 C Upper Cumberworth (6 se.Huddersfield) wn. by TH., here (u_{\circ}) was heard.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 D béek. 4 HT tak. 5 HT mak. 7 H sak. 10 Mb eg [this in La.].
 12 B sag [this is quite La.]. 14 H droo. 16 H doon. 19 Mh teel. 20 DS léem, Mb leem, S loom. 21 R neem, D néem. 23 D séem, Mb seem. 24 Mb sheem. 31 Mb lat. 32 Mb bad [especially in (went v̄ badin) went a bathing]. 35 H ool. 37 H kloo. A: 39 R kum, T kam. 40 H kúem.
 42 Mh u_{\circ} n [unaccented, said three times by the same informant]. 49 R aq.
 51 Mh má'n, S mon. 54 T want. 56 RTS wesh. A: or O: 58 MhC thre.
 60 HS luq. 61 TMh v̄maq, S v̄m u_{\circ} q. 62 Mh s,t̄roq. 64 RDHT raq.
 A': 69 T nóe, Mh nee, H náu. 70 H táu. 72 H woo. 73 RH súuɛ,
 T sóe. 76 DT túed. 77 H lúrd. 80 Mh a'ledi. 81 R leen, DHTB l'ín,
 C l̄oin. 84 HTC múer. 85 HB súer. 87 R tl̄úez, T kl̄AAZ. 88 HT kl̄úedh.
 89 RH báeth 92 R noo. 97 H s̄aul.
 A': 101 HMB úek. 102 R aks. 104 H rúed, Mh r̄úed. 106 HT brood,
 C br̄úed. 107 HB lúef. 108 HT doof, Mb dáuf. 111 H oot. 113 R wol,
 Mb w̄el. 115 R w̄úem, HT w̄om, C w̄óm. 117 Mh w̄á'n w̄ón. 118 TMB

báen. 121 T gáen. 122 TMb núen. 129 T gúust. 130 T búet. 131 H gúet. 132 Mh wát. 135 Mh tloth. 136 D aadhæ. 137 R nodher, C noodher.

Æ- 138 R faadhæ, T fadher. 144 RDT ægiæn, Mh ægr'in. 150 H liest. 152 T water, Mh wa,te,r. Æ: 156 Mh dlad. 158 T efter. 161 R dee [in a printed Marsden specimen constantly *dee* (dii)]. 164 Mb mee. 172 T gæos. Æ'- 182 BMhMbC sive. 183 H teety, B téity. 184 B líed. 185 H ríed. 187 HB líev. 190 D kéi, H kee. 191 B íel. 192 HB miæn. 193 HB klíen. 194 RHT ont, T oní. 195 DHTMh moní. 197 H tpiæz, Mh tpiiz. 200 DH wíet. 201 B íedh'n. 202 HB íet. Æ': 216 Mh díal. 218 C ship. — Mh ær a)m bak' [ere I'm back]. 223 RT dhíve. 224 RT wíve. 228 DH swíet.

E- 231 R th, Mh th, [and assimilate (s-seem) the same, (A mækt t' mi,d'l) I marked the middle, the (i) was nearly (i), (et t' top) at the top]. 232 T bréik. 233 RHT spék. 234 T néid. 235 HTB wéiv. 236 HT féivær. 241 Mh reen. 244 R wiil. 247 H wíen. 249 T wíær. 250 T swíær. 251 TBMB méit, C mæ'it. E: — C ræ'ik [reach]. 261 R see. 262 C wee. 269 R -se'ln. 271 CMh tel. E'- 291 R ii. 301 HT jæo. E': 305 T héi, H hee. 306 H eet. 311 Mh tæ'in. 312 R ív. 314 T jæod.

EA- 317 Mb fii [to skin; but (flee) frighten]. 320 R kée. EA: 321 H soo. 322 R lef, D laf. 323 T fót. 326 RHT óvd, Mh old. 328 HTMB kóvd. 332 C tald. 333 Mb koof. 334 Mb oof. 335 HTMB ool. 336 HT fool. 337 HT wool. 338 RH kool. 340 H jéed, MhMb jæ'rd. 342 T éurm, H a'rm. 343 TMb waarm, H waarm. 345 HTMB daar. 346 D jat. EA'- — Mh JAA [yæa]. 347 HT jed. 348 D ii. 349 RH fín, C fa'uu. EA': 350 HT dívd, Mh dtvd. 351 T lívd. 353 HTC brívd. 355 HT dívd. 359 R neeber. — Mh bíem [beam]. 360 Mh tíem. 361 T bíen. 363 T tpiæp. 366 RH gret, T gæst. 367 H thriæt. 368 HT dívth. 370 H roo, B ree. 371 B stríe.

EI- 372 Mh âi. EO- 387 R níu. EO: 388 C málk. 392 R jon. 394 Mh jon,de,r. 396 T waak. 397 T súerd. 399 R bróit, T briit. 402 HTB líern. 405 Mb aarstén [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 RSV uu, D huu shuu. 412 DH shuu. 417 H tpiú. 420 H fáur, Mh fô'ær. H foti. EO': 424 H ruf. 426 DHTB líit. 426 DTB féit. 435 RD joo. 436 H tríu. EY- 438 RDH díi. EY: 439 R trust.

I- 444 HT stíil [and] staal. 446 R nóin, H naan. — C ju,s' [yes] — C pæ'iz [pease]. 449 Mh gjær'u,p' [get up]. 451 H séu. I: 452 D ó'i, H a, Mb a. 457 T maat. 458 DHTMhMb níit. 459 D raat, T réit, H reet, Mh ræ'it. 461 Mh líit [in the sense of meet with]. 462 TMb síit, H saat. 465 C síty. 466 TMb tjaald, H tjald. 467 H wald. 468 M tpi,de,r. 475 T waand, H waand. 479 TMb waand. — Mh ru,n [run]. 487 justade, C ju,s'te,r,di. — Mh ma'ist ma'isti [mist, misty]. I'- — Mh baad [bide]. 492 Mh saad. 493 T draav. 494 R tóim tóem, D to'im, TMh taam, H taam, C taam. 495 R wóin. — rAAZ [to rise]. I': 500 R lóik, T laak, H laak. 501 T waad, H waad. 502 TMh faav. 504 T naaf, B no'af. 505 D wo'if. 506 R wæmæn. 508 T maal, H maal, B mo'el. 509 TMb waal, H waal, B wo'el. 510 R móin, Mh maan. 517 H jú.

O- 522 H óp'n. 523 H wóp. O: — Mh fæg [fog]. 527 HB bæ'ut. 528 H thæ'ut. 529 HB bræ'ut. 531 RDB dóuter, H dá'uter, Mh dóu,t'e,r. 532 H kóil. 533 H dæl. 534 RH óil, Mh óil. 538 H wod. 547 H búvd, Mh búvdz. 550 R wöd. O'- 558 H luuk. 559 H mudær. 562 DH múin, Mh mûin. 564 HMh súin [B, by some error probably, writes (sy'in), and so for 571, 588, 589, etc.]. 565 H núvz. 566 H udha, Mh u,dher. O': 569 H buuk. 570 H tuuk. 571 R góid, H gúid. 578 H plév. 579 R væuf. 581 HB sæ'ut. 584 H stúil. 586 Mh dæ,n [=do-en, v. pl. in -en]. 587 RH dæm. 588 DHT núin, C nóin. 589 DHT spúin. 590 H flúær. 593 [Mh (mu,n) used]. 594 H búit. 595 DH fáit. 596 DHT ráit. 597 DH súit.

U- 599 æbuun. 600 HB læv. 601 D féel. 602 H sée. 603 H kæm, Mh kæm [past part.]. 604 R sumer. 605 RH sæn. 606 RH díær, C dæ'ær. 607 H bæter, C bæ,t'e,r. U: 608 H ugli. — C shúlder [shoulder]. 612 H süm, Mh su,m. 613 H druqk. 614 H éend. 615 H péend. 616 R grívend,

DH gréand. 617 H séand. — Mh bāan [boun=going to; (bāin), a regular alteration of (bāan), was got from Stainland (4 s-by-w.Halifax), as also (kjāi) cow]. 619 H fan. 622 H under. 629 H sun. 632 R up, Mh u_op. 634 R thro. 639 H dust. U'. [U', C=ā'v]. 641 H ja'. 642 H ta', Mh dha. 643 R naa nīv, D naa név, H név na'. 645 H duv. 648 H ja'ar, Mh jaar [(ez neemz) our names], C jiar. 650 Mh ebá'at. 651 R bíut, Mh bá'et. U': 655 H féul. 657 H brén. 658 R díun, H déun, S diun [? see 659]. 659 H téun, S tiun [? TH. heard (ta'un), and says Saddleworth resembles Stalybridge, p. 317]. 661 Hmb shéur. 663 R íus, DH éus, Mh á'ezez [houses], Mb éus [in Mb U' is always (éu)], S éus, C rīa's. 664 H léus. 665 DH méus. 666 H usbend. 667 H ét, Mb jést [printed specimen has (jaat)]. 668 H préud. 671 H méuth. 672 H séuth.
Y- TC mitj. 675 R drói. 676 T líi. 677 T draa. 679 H kəatj. 682 Mh láit [a few], C laat. Y: 685 T brig. 686 T baa. 690 TMB kaand. 691 TMB maand. — C shu,t [shut]. Y'- 705 T skaa, B sko'v. 706 R wóí, T waa. Y': 709 T iaat. 711 T laas. 712 T maas.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 H bold. 726 R took. — C pteetiz [potatoes]. E. 743 H skríum. 744 H mas'lz. 745 H tpiut. I. and Y. 756 Mh sri,mp. 758 Mh gərl [but (wəns) used]. O. 761 DH lúud. 785 H léundj. 790 H géun. 791 Mh bóí. U. 794 H djug. 797 skweekin. 798 R kwíer. 803 H djam. 804 R drufen. 806 H íus. 807 H pus. 808 H put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 Mh pləs. 813 C beek'n. 835 R reez'n. 836 Mh síuzən. 840 Mh tjeembar. 864 R biko's. 865 H folt. E.. 867 Hmh tív. 885 Mh veri vari. 888 R saaten. 889 H síus. 890 T bíus. 891 HT fíust. 892 H nefi. 894 H disiev. I.. and Y.. 897 H dilaat. 898 H naas. 901† R fóin, H faan. 902 H maan. 903 H daan. 905 H raat. 908 H ədvaas. 909 H bríez. 912 H raaz. O.. 913 H kúutj. — C bíif [beef]. 915 H staf. 917 H rúug. 920 R póint. 923* Mh móist. 928 T éuns. 929 HT kéekambar. 938 R kóounv. 939 RC tlóis, H klús. — Mh raast [roast], C rost. — Mh túst [toast]. 940 HT kó'it. 941 HR fól, DHT fúl. 943 H tətj. — Mh törn tá'orn [turn]. 952 H kúus. 955 R daat, H déet. 956 H kuvv. U.. 961 H griuul. 963 H kvaat. 969 H síuer. 970 H djuust.

VAR. ii. HALIFAX AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

An examination of the interlinear cs. (pp. 367-377) will shew that the difference between Var. i. and ii. is very small, and this difference is rendered smaller by CCR.'s statement that there are two varieties at Halifax, the one given in the cs. and the other with (íu) for U', as (íu, vbíut, díun, íut, ríund, bíun, íus, fíul, flíuez, síund, thíuzən, thíu, kríud), how, about, down, out, round Fr., boun=going, house, foul, flowers Fr., sound, thousand, though (EA'), crowd (EO'), and even (kíu) cow. CCR. finds the same in Lower Nidderdale, Yo. (N. div.), but there it does not extend to cow. Now this (íu), in the form (íu), was taken by CCR. as the principal characteristic of Huddersfield, where we found Miss Hibbard recognised (éu) only. That is, the same two forms of U', (íu) with (íu), and (éu), itself a form of (éu), occur both in Huddersfield and Halifax, and in both places (íu) or (íu) is supposed to be the older, while in both places (éu) is the present dominant form. CCR., however, says he has "often listened to the well-mouthed distinctions" (íu) Huddersfield, (éu) Halifax, "in the company of clothiers from the respective

districts." TH., in the Elland dt. on p. 384, has (naa, vbaat, daan), now, about, down, but (*saad, faand*), side, find.

In Halifax, however, this (éu) often sinks to (ee), as (*been*) boun, going, a usage according to CCR. occ. at Keighley, but prevalent at Halifax and Dewsbury, and also at Barnsley, hence it is chiefly a difference from Huddersfield and a very slight one. On the other hand, (éu) appears in many places where it would not have been expected, especially in I, (téemz) times, which, however, CCR. says varies with the Huddersfield (tóvmz); but the Fr. fine becomes (fâin) apparently, and from Ripponden (5 sw. Halifax) TH. got (*fdív má'il*) five mile. We have also EA (*léuf*) laugh, and (*béwdli*) badly, a Celtic word.

On the differences of (o, o) it is needless to dwell, they may be merely an accident of writing or memory. But the important point is, according to CCR., the absence of the verbal pl. in *-en*, which, however, appears, possibly in error, p. 372, l. 2 (*wat*)en, see notes. Though the expression *yau naun*, you know, which occurs in the letter of 1759 cited below, may shew that it formerly existed. The definite article in this cs. varies as (th, t'), but (t') is rare and (th) the usual form.

The feminine *she* is always rendered (uu) by CCR. in Huddersfield, where Miss Hibbard only recognises (shuu), which in Halifax CCR. allows to alternate with (uu). The form (uu) is certainly dying out, and (shuu), which is characteristic of D 24, is becoming prevalent.

Mr. J. C. Clough, formerly of Aspatria, Cu., lent me some extracts from J. Crabtree's "History of Halifax," 1836, in which are two letters in the Halifax dialect, the first dated 14 Mar. 1759, and the second supposed to be in answer to it. The spelling by no means gives the sound with certainty, but from it I have made a short cwl., giving the original spelling in italics, words in the second letter having * prefixed, and then my interpretation in pal.

HALIFAX cwl. from CRABTREE.

A'- 81 *loin* lóin. 92 *nau* noo. Æ- 143 *teil* téil. Æ'- 194 *onne* oni. 195 *monne* moni. 198 *laate* léat. Æ': 261 *sei* séi. 263 *aweí* ewéi. [thereto, in addition]. E- *sware* sweer. E: 261 *sei* séi. 263 *aweí* ewéi. E': 316 **neist* néist. EA- 317 *feid* féid [frightened]. EA' 366 *grut* grát. EO: 396 *wurk* wárk. EO': 435 *yaw* joo. I'- 440 *wik* wik. 459 *reight* réit. 465 *sitch* sitj. 477 *foend* fóend. I'- 492 *besaed* biséad [beside]. I': 500 *laek* léuk. 505 *woef* wóuf. 509 *whoel* wóul. O- 518 *bodde* bodi. — *coyt* kóit [cote, shed]. O: 538 *wold* wuld. O'- 564 **soyn* sóin. O': 571 *gooid* gúid. 586 *doe* duu. U: 614 *haaend* évnd. U'- 648 *aer* éur. 650 *abaet* ebéut, **abewt* ebíut. U: 657 *braaen* bréun. 663 **hews* híus. 667 *aaet* éut, **ewt* íut. Y- 673 *mitch* mitj. Y'- — *praed* préed [pride]. O. — *loize* lóiz, *laeze* léus [lose]. E.. 885 *vorre* varí. — *porson* paas'n [parson]. — *aares* éurz [hours]. I.. — *cro* kroo [cry, for (króe)]. — *obleege* oblii'dj. O.. *fooil* fúil.

If my interpretation is correct, these letters confirm CCR.'s account of the pronunciation with (iu) as an older form of (éu).

With regard to the relationship between Halifax speech and Friesian, as intimated in the couplet prevalent at Halifax, which has its counterpart in the Friesian districts of Holland, see Part IV. pp. 1397-1405, where it is fully exemplified.

It is seen that the difference between Halifax and Huddersfield, and between both and the e. parts of D 22, especially when the (uu) she and verbal pl. in *-en* are admitted, is extremely minute. There may be more difference in vocabulary and intonation, which I have not investigated, and as CCR. considers Halifax to be independent of, although much resembling Huddersfield, and to have influenced Var. iv. Bradford, and Var. vi. Dewsbury, it seems better to retain it as a separate variety. But for some time I included both Huddersfield and Halifax in the e. of D 22.

ELLAND (3 sse. Halifax) dt.

pal. 1887 by TH. from J. T. Lee, 11, Almshouses, Halifax.

1. A' see, lãdz, ʒə sii naa et A)m rɛ'it vbaat dhat lit'l las komin thrə)t skù'l jòndər.
2. shu)z gùin daan t' rúəd, thruu t')red gœ,t, on)t' left and saad v th) wee₁.
3. sii jòndər, t')lit'l thiq)z gA'n stre'it up tɔ)t' raq dũer.
4. wɛr shù mee)bi faand dhat druk'n dɛf il'-thriv'n fɛls et dhe KAAL :tɔm.
5. wɪ aal noo ðm wɛ'l.
6. wɛl'nt t')ð'ud mán súin tɛ'itj ɛr not tɛ du)it ɛgɪn, pũer las!
7. luuk! iz'nt it trɪ,uu?

Words omitted: 3. *inuf, tjaald, óus.* 4. *tjans, neem.*

Notes to Halifax cs., No. ii on p. 367.

2. *should*, the forms, emphatic (*wuld suld kuld*) and unemphatic (*weld, seld, keld*), are, says CCR., "mostly employed in the populous old clothing villages between Halifax and Keighley."—*is it now?*

3. *matters*, when *fact* is used, it is called (*féeekt*).

4. *through—from*, the word (*thru, thro*) seems used in both senses; in par. 11 it is (*thru*) for from; probably the exact vowel varies at different times, without distinguishing the meaning except by the context.

7. *what* (*ɔt*) used as relative, CCR

supposes the common relative (*ɔt*) to be an unemphatic form of *what*.—*she*, (*shuu*) the common s.Yo. form, see p. 296.—*about* (*béevt*) which is used for *without* in par. 6 and 15, pp. 371, 377.

7. *I conceit*, imagine.—*wrong*, (*req*) or (*raq*).—*what do-n you think*, as this is the only instance given of the verbal pl. in *-en* in this Halifax cs., it may have been a slip of CCR.'s, who may have intended (*wat*)ə ʒo thiqk?) what do you think?

13. *at* (*or under*) *the head of that business*, concerning it.

VAR. iii. KEIGHLEY.

This differs materially from the last two. *She* is now represented by (*shuu*) emphatic, and (*shu, sho, shə*) unemphatic, (*uu*) has quite disappeared. There is no verbal pl. in *-en*. The definite article

is still occasionally (th), which CCR. has traced even into the N. div., but so sparingly that it is not generally acknowledged in print. The prevailing and only recognised form is (t'). Another N. sign, if CCR. has remembered correctly, is *I is*, not exclusively, but mingled with *I am*. *I'* is usually (óí), but (ái) is also heard. *O'* is very frequently (úí), but a sound which JGG., writing from Mrs. Foster's dictation, records as (éù) or (íù) in cwl. p. 388, Nos. 558, 570, may be meant for the (æ'u) of D 21, 22, 25. JGG. also occasionally hears (ú₁u) (ibid. No. 569), so that the representation of *O'* is uncertain. *U'* is chiefly (aa), but CCR. heard especially (dæən, éeəs) down, house, where JGG. got (dá'uən, á'us). Mr. Brigg gives (aa) in many cases, and in others contents himself by saying 'not (uu),' thus separating it from the N. Riding of Yo. JGG.'s (á'u), obtained through Mrs. Foster, a native, is distinctly an approach to the pron. of m. Craven (Skipton, etc.), where (áu) prevails. This is the first form in which we become independent of La.; but it is not till Var. iv. is reached, that we obtain genuine s. Yo. culminating in Var. v. Leeds.

CCR. does not notice dental (t,r), but JGG. heard it from Mrs. F., who, however, might have acquired it during her n. residence, to which also her (e₁, í₁i, ú₁u) may be attributed. JGG. heard *U*: as (o'), which differs scarcely perceptibly from (u₁). As for the differences (AA oo, o ə, oo oo) I lay very little store by them. In no case are they consistently carried out, and in no case can I feel sure of the correctness of appreciation, which is at all times very difficult, and which it generally requires a very careful study of native dialect speakers to determine at all.

TH. obtained in 1887 some fragments of a cs. from a native of Keighley, a machine fitter, b. 1859. As this is quite independent of CCR., I annex it here interlinearly with CCR.'s writing of the same passages.

TH (4) ʌ)m s'úær ət ʌ iərd ɛm see —dhat ʌ d'íd s'úær inif.
CCR o)m s'úær ət o j'íəd ɛm sée—dhat o d'íd s'úær inif.

TH (6) ət t' óud wumən ɛrsɛ'ln teld jə (7) t'úəthri t'áimz óuer
CCR ət th)óud wumən ɛrsɛ'ln teld jə t'úəthri t'óimz óuer

TH (8) ət shə fan' d'rək'n bíest, (7) wat də jə thi'qk? (9) shə
CCR ət sho fan)t'drək'n bíes wat də joo thi'qk? sho

TH sAA im wídh ɛr ʌʌn iin lé'gín daan ən t' grund t'ló's bí)t' aas'
CCR soo im wí ɛr óoən iin lé'gín d'éən ɛ)t' grund t'ló's bí)t' ées

TH d'úær ó.l. (13) ɛn də jə nAA? (11) dhat dh'íær ap'nd
CCR d'úær ó.l. ɛn nóəz)tə nəbet? dhat dh'íær ap'nd

TH ɛs)t' óud wumən ɛn ɛr d'óutər i ʌʌ kum thruu)t' bak jərd
CCR ɛz)th d'óutər i loo ɛn ɛrsɛln kuum thru)t' bak j'éəd

TH frə ɪqɪn)t' wɛt tɪlʊz aat tɜ drɑi on t' wɛʃɪn dɛə. (1) ʊə
CCR frɛe eqɪn)t' wɪt tɪlʊz aat fɜ tɜ drɑi on ɜ wɛʃɪn dɛɛə. wʊə

TH kʃɛ'vɪrɜ? (14) ʌ)m baan ɔəm tɜ mi sʊpɜ.
CCR kɛɛz? ʌi)z bɛən ɛgɛɛtɛdz ʊum tɜ gɛt mi sʊpɜ,

TH gʊd nɪt.
CCR lɔk, gɔd nɪt.

Notes to Keighley cs. on p. 367.

2. *we-do-en know* (wi)n nɔə), if this is correct, it implies the expiring use of the verbal pl. in *-en*: it is probably a mere slip for (wi)nɔə) we know.—*like*, the pron. (lɪk) is also prevalent, and CCR. so wrote it at first, here, but not in par. 10.

3. *hold thou* (ɔds)tɜ), literally hold-est thou.—*while*, for *until*, as usual in the N., though used properly in the S. sense in par. 12.

8. *as to how* (s)t)aa.—*beast* (bɪəs), this is usually the plural form.—*I shall be bound* (ʌi)z bi), this is common in the regions of I'm, and it could not here stand for *I is*, the common N. form, but see below, par. 14.

9. *threaped*, CCR. in his Leeds Glossary makes this word entirely equivalent to *swore*, as in the phrase (ii)z ʌʌɛs θrɪɪpɪn ɛgɪən t)oon ɜ t)udhɜ ɔn ɛm), he's always swearing against the one or the other of them; but Wright gives two words, *threpe*, to speak, to shout, to maintain in contradiction to another, and *threap* to urge, to beat, to cozen or cheat. It is often used for 'to talk down,' to asseverate.—*bulk* (bu,k), even in the S. (*bulk*), may be heard.—*good coat* (gɔd kɔt), the latter originally written (kaa'it).—*house, door, hole, down*, observe (ɛəs, dɛən), where (aas daan) is given by Mr. Brigg (see cwl.). CCR. says that he never heard anything else but (ɛəs, dɛən) from the lips of old clothiers, but that these forms are not invariable. An observant native, who is not a dialect speaker, would, says CCR., from hearing, write such words as down, town, how, house, ground, time, no, as *dahn, tahn, haa, haase, grund, time, noa*, meaning (daan, taan,

ɛəs, grund, taim, naʊ); in *time* he would have no appreciation of the diphthong. CCR. thinks (ɛə) its most characteristic form, and says it was in general use at Keighley within his own knowledge. TH. (see p. 385, l. 6 from bottom) heard (daan).

10. *in awk*, "peevish state of temper," also a "maggot," in rec. sp. *maggot* is used as a whim or caprice.

11. *yard* (jɛd), CCR. says that this (ɛv) in *yard, day, name, prate*, being also used for U', does indeed conflict to the eye, but nothing more. "A Keighley man could not utter the words indicated, bereft of his (ɛv, ɛv)." But TH. heard (jaa rd).—*to dry*, this particular word as (ai) and not (di). CCR. says this exceptional sound has often arrested his attention.

12. *so lately a week*, for 'so lately as a week,' a local idiom.

13. *mak*, make or kind—*there but-as now*, a peculiar local expression.

14. *I is boun*, I am going. The peculiarity is in the use of *I is* (ai)z, which generally occurs only and regularly in the N. div. in place of I am. CCR. here mixes *I am, I is*, in the same border dialect, and he does so likewise at Skipton, in Mid Craven, which is quite in the N. div. He says that he has "repeatedly heard these forms and seen them in the dialect tracts which some years ago were issued by the local press," and that he has subsequently verified their existence with an intelligent young farmer.—*doest thou hear* (s)t iʊ), a mere colloquial contraction.

15. *thou art* (dha)t), contracted with the vowel short.

KEIGHLEY cwl.

made up from

R CCR.'s cs., only a few words being extracted.

F Mrs. Foster's wl. as pal. from dict. by JGG. Mrs. Foster was a native who had known the dialect 40 years, but at the time the wl. was taken down, had been living some years in Cu. and We. She used no (h) or (wh), but her (r) was distinct where written. There are several small niceties that CCR does not note, such as (e₁) nearly (æ) for e, occasional (i₁) for (ii) and dental (t₁r, d₁r). This wl. comprised only the first division or Ws. words.

B Mr. B. Septimus Brigg's wl. Mr. B. is a native, and sent me a complete wl. in his own orthography, which I interpret as I best can. His information applies to the town of Keighley and valley of the Aire as far as Bradford.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B beek bévk. 4 B tak. 5 RB mak, F ma₁k. 7 B seek sévk. 10 F EEG, B eeg. 12 B seeg. 13 B neeg. 17 R loo, F lAA. 19 FB teel. 20 F leem, B leem. 21 R nēcūm, F nēūm, B nēm. 24 F shee₁m, B sheem. 31 B lat. 32 B beed. 33 B rædher. 36 F thAA. A: 39 B kōm. 49 R eq. 51 F ma₁n. 54 RFB want. 56 RB wesh, F wa'sh we₁sh. A: or O: 58 R free free, F free, B fre. 60 FB loq. 61 B smōq. 64 R raq, F ra₁q, B req. A'- 67 F goo. 69 FB nōu. 70 F too. 72 R wūe, F uu. 73 R sūuv, F soo. 74 F tū₁u. 77 F lōrd. 79 R ōoun. 81 RB lōin. 82 R wū₁ns. 83 F moon. 85 F sōer. 86 FB ōouts. 87 R thūuvz, F klōuvz [B (dadz) used]. 89 R bīvth, F bōvth. 91 F moo. 92 R nōov, B nAA'v. 93 F snoo. 94 B k₁AA. 95 B th₁AA. 98 B nAA'v₁n. A': 101 F ook, B ōvk. 104 FB rōovd. 105 F ree₁d. 106 B brōovd. 107 F loof, B lōvf. 108 doof. 111 FB ōut. 112 B ool. 113 R wū₁l, F oool. 115 R ūvum, F oom, B ōvum. 118 F boon, B bōen. 122 F noon, B nōv₁n [and (noon) when meaning not]. 124 F stoon, B stōv₁n. 127 F ōous. 130 B bōovt. 131 B gōovt. 137 R nūvdher. Æ- 138 F fa₁d₁r, B fadh₁r. 140 B eel. 141 B nēvil. 142 F snee₁el, B snēvil. 143 F tee₁el, B tēvil. 147 B brēv₁n. 150 B lūst. 152 F wa₁t₁r, B wat₁r. Æ: 158 F aft₁r. 160 F eg. 161 R dēev, F dee₁. 164 F mee₁. 172 F geōv₁rs. 174 B esh. 180 B bāth [(ā) very short]. 181 B pāth [(ā) very short]. Æ'- 182 F sū₁v, B sūv. 183 F tū₁t₁, B tēit₁. 184 B lūv₁d. 185 F rī₁id. 187 B lūv. 189 F wēe₁i. 190 F kēe₁i, B kēi. 193 F klū₁v₁n, B klūv₁n. 194 B oni. 195 FB moni. 197 F t₁ēiiz. 199 B blūvt. Æ': 210 F klee₁, B klēv. 213 F ee₁dher. 216 B dūel. 223 RB dhēr. 224 RB wū₁v₁r. 227 F wēt. 229 B brūv₁th. E- 233 R spēik, F spēe₁ik. 235 B wēiv. 236 B fēiv₁r. 239 B sēvil. 241 B rēv₁n. 243 [B (leek) used]. 248 B mū₁v₁r. 249 B wū₁v₁r. 250 B swū₁v₁r. 251 B mū₁v₁t. E: 265 R strēit. 284 B thresh. E': 306 B ēit. 314 R jū₁v₁d, B iū₁v₁d. 315 B fit. EA- 320 F kee₁v₁r. EA: 322 RFB laf. 323 FB fōvt. 324 F ēe₁it. 326 R ōvd, FB ōvd. 327 F bōuld, B bōuld. 328 FB kōvd. 330 F od. 333 F kAAf, B kAAv. 334 F AA'f, B AA₁v. 335 R ōov, F AAl. 337 F wAA₁. 340 R jēvd, F jē'rd. 342 F aarm. 343 F waarm. 345 FB daar. 346 F fūst gēvt, B gēvt. EA'- 347 B iū₁d. 348 B ii. EA': 350 B dū₁v₁d. 351 B lū₁v₁d. 352 B rū₁v₁d. 353 B brū₁v₁d. 355 B dū₁v₁f. 360 B tū₁v₁m. 361 B bū₁v₁n. 363 B t₁ēp. 366 R gēst. 367 B thrū₁v₁t. 368 B dēv₁th. EI: 377 B stēvk. 378 F wee₁k. EO- 387 F nū₁u. EO: 395 R juq. 396 B waark. 397 F sū₁v₁rd. 399 B brū₁t. 402 RB lū₁v₁n. 405 B aarth. EO'- 412 R shuu shu sho she [the first emphatic, the others unemphatic], B shuu. 413 B dū₁v₁l. 420 B fō₁v₁r. EO': 423 B thū₁i. 424 B raf. 425 F lū₁it, B liit. 426 F fæ₁'it, B fēt. 432 B fō₁v₁th. 433 B brist. 434 B bū₁v₁t. EY- 438 RFB dii. EY: 439 R trust, F t₁ru₁st. I- 440 B wik. 444 B stū₁l. 446 R nō₁v₁n, F nā₁v₁n. 451 F sē₁'u₁.

I: 452 R o, a [interchangeably]. 458 RB niit. 459 F ræ'it, B réit. 461 B lit. 462 B siit. 465 R sitren, B sitj. 473 B blind [the short (i) in these and following words is quite N.] 474 B rind. 475 B wind. 477 B find. 479 B wind. 485 B thisel. I'- 498 B róit. I': 500 RB lôik. 501 B wóid. 508 F máail, B móil. 509 R wal, B wóil. 510 R móoin.
 O- 522 B op'n. O: 527 F bôut. 528 F thôut. 529 F brôut. 531 R dóuter. 532 FB kóil. 534 RB óil. 541 R wínt. 553 F ooran. O'- 555 F shuu [pl. (shuuz)], B [pl. shuum]. 558 F léuk, B líik. 560 F skúil. 562 FB máin. 563 F mónde. 564 FB súin. O': 569 F búuk. 570 F tíuk, B túik. 571 R góid, B gúid. 572 FB blúid. 573 F flúid. 574 FB brúid. 575 F stúid. 577 F bôu, B buu. 578 B pluu. 579 RB inif. 580 B tof. 581 F sóut. 582 B kúil. 583 F túil tuul. 584 FB stúil. 588 R nóin, FB núin. 589 FB spúin. 590 F flúuer. 594 FB búit. 595 FB fúit. 596 FB rúit. 597 FB súit.
 U- 600 B luuv. 606 F dúuer. U: 610 B wul. 612 F su₁m. 616 RB grund. 635 F wæorth. U'- 641 R aa. 642 F dhá'u. 643 R naa, F ná'u. 645 F du₁v. 648 F óur á'ur. 650 R béut. 651 R béut [obs. this is the same as 650]. U': 656 B raam. 657 B braan. 658 R déen, F dá'um, B daan. 659 B taan. 663 R éees, F á'us, B aas. 664 B laas. 667 RB aat. 672 F sá'uth.
 Y- 673 RB mítj. 675 R dráai. 682 R lítal. Y: 684 B brig. 685 B rig. 688 F bíi₁ld. 700 B waar. 701 F fæorst. Y'- 705 B skú, skóí.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 B dréin. 730 B konter. 742 B leezi. O. 761 F lúu₁ed, B lóovd. 767 [B uses (din)]. 769 B móudiwaarp. U. 804 R druk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 B fees. 811 B ples. 813 B beek'n. 817 B redish. 824 B tyfir. 838 B tr'et. 841 B tions. 847 B deendrer. 848 B tjeendj. 849 B streendjer. 850 B dons. 852 B aprén. 857 R kéees. 860 B peest. 863 B tjaaf. E.. 867 F tíi'e, B tíiv. 869 B viitel. 885 R vari. I.. and Y.. 901 R fóin. 902 B móin. O.. 920 R póint. 925 R vóis. 939 R tlóis, B klóis. 940 RB kóit. 941 R fóil, B fúil. 947 R bóilin. 953 B kuzin. 954 B wishen. 955 R daat. U.. 963 R kwéet.

VAR. iv. BRADFORD.

There is a decided difficulty in assigning the phonetic characteristics of this variety, as distinct from the preceding or following. U' according to CCR. has two distinct sounds, never confused, (aa, éev), but the last in only a limited set of words, which he does not give; in the cs., however, I find (daat naa daan baat), doubt Fr. now down without, and (gréeend béen ées), ground U, boun=going, house.

Now B. Preston, the Bradford poet, uses *daht abaht ar aght abaght* doubt about our out about, but *aance baancing taan haase maase graand daan* ounce bouncing town house mouse ground down, and he makes *shaat abaght* shout about rhyme, and also *abaght aht aat* about out. CCR. wrote to him to know if he meant different sounds by *ah agh aa*. In reply, in March, 1882, he wrote: "There are I think no rules for the guidance of dialect writers. Each one does what seems good in his own eyes. Take for instance the two words *grand* and *sand*," meaning (grand sand), not the London (grænd sænd), "and by lengthening the sound of the vowel as in the interjection *oh!* you get the two dialect words for *ground* and *sound*." That is (graand saand). "This long sound of the vowel occurs in *ah* and *abaght*, and we sometimes introduce the *h* and at other times double the *a*, but in either case the sound is the same." In this case U' is

always (aa), and there is no recognition of a peculiar set of words with (éev) as CCR. believes. But Mr. Preston sometimes uses *aa* for (éev), as in *faas* (féevs) face, *laakin* (léevkin) playing, *staat* (stéevt) state, *fraam* (fréevm) frame, *saam* (séevm) seam.

From the notes it will be seen that there are some turns of phrase, and probably words, which are peculiar to this variety, but phonetically I am unable to separate it from Vars. iii. and v.

Subsequently I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Dr. J. Wright (now of the Taylorian Institute, Oxford), a native of Windhill in the township of Idle and parish of Shipley, lying between Shipley and Bradford, who spoke the dialect in his youth and is still remarkably well up to it, while his philological knowledge, acquired during a long residence in Germany, gives him great advantages in such studies. His dialect is only a variety of that of Bradford, but there are a few slight differences.

With regard to the vexed question of the representation of U, he was absolutely unacquainted with (*u*_o) and his (*u*) was at times very deep, like (*u*₁, *o*¹). He thinks there must be a mistake in assigning to Manningham (p. 365, No. 4) any other form but (*u*). His short *o* was distinctly (*o*), not (*o*). He dictated to me a dt. and the greater part of a cwl. The words of the latter have been annexed to the Bradford words of B. Preston below, the dt. follows. The vowel system which he recognised is given at the end of the notes on his dt., p. 390.

WINDHILL (3 n. Bradford) dt.

pal. in 1888 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Dr. Joseph Wright, native. Windhill is a hamlet in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley.

1. *súv ái sév, méets, ɾɛ sii naa, ɛt i)m i)t' réit ɛbaat dhàt lit'l las, kumín frɛ)t' skúil ɾɔnder.*
2. *shuu)z gu'in daan)t' rúvd dhíer thrii)t' red géet ɛ)t' left and sáid ɛ)t' wés.*
3. *síwar ínif t' baarn)z ɛ gávn stréit up tɛ)t' rɛq aas,*
4. *wíer shu)l tɔns tɛ fínd dhat druk'n díef wíz'nd fɛlɛ ɛ)t' néem ɛ :tɔmɛs.*
5. *wi óel nóv im vari wiil.*
6. *wíent t' óoud tɔp súin teety ɛr net tɛ dii)t' ɛgívn, púer thiq !*
7. *líak ! iz'nt it trii ?*

Notes to Windhill dt.

1. *so*, in all the (*úv*) fractures the (*u*) was deep.—*I* (*ái*) accented, (*a*, *i*) unaccented, the (*i*) considered as (*i*).—*say*, in all the (*éev*) fractures the (*e*) was deep, but not equal to (*ɛ*), so I have left (*e*).—*mates*, the word is common.—*that I'm in the right*, this is the phrase, not *I'm right*. Obs. the (*i*) unaccented form.—*coming* always with (*u*) and not (*ɛ*) in this word.—*yonder*, no dental (*dv*, *r*).

2. *road there*, the *r* is gentle, apparently (*r*), but sensible even when final.—*red*, I have left (*e*) as I could not hear (*ɛ*) with any certainty.—*way*, might be used here.

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not known.—*up*, here, perhaps owing to the (*p*), the (*u*) was very deep, quite (*u*_p).—*wrong*, here I think the (*e*) became quite (*ɛ*); it appears that (*-oq*) becomes regularly (*-ɛq*).

4. *chance*, and similarly (*dans*) *dance*.—*wizened*, initial (*shr-*) is used, but not the word 'shrivelled.'

5. *all*, possibly (A'al), but I thought (óal) was nearest, Dr. W. recognised (ó'el).—*know him* (nó'im), the (e) omitted when the two words are spoken close together.

6. *old*, possibly (óud) only, the first element probably lengthened in dictating, Dr. W. recognised (ó'ud), and generally used (o) when I thought he said (o).

Dr. W. recognised in his dialect 6 *short vowels* in *wick* (= quick, alive), *get*, *late*, *frozen*, *kiss*, *but* (*wik*, *get*,

lat, *froz'n*, *kus*, *bed*), the last word only unemphatic; 4 *long vowels* in *night*, *house*, *above*, *grin* (*niit*, *aas*, *əbuun*, *gəən*), of these (*uu*) occurs only in *above*, *shovel*, *wool* (*əbuun*, *shuul*, *wuul*), not in 'gum' of the teeth see p. 393 after No. 560; and 12 *diphthongs* including fractures in *head*, *name*, *eat*, *mine*, *old*, *talk*, *home*, *barn*, *dew*, *do doom*, *foot*, *coal* (*iəd*, *ném*, *éit*, *máin*, *o'ud*, *t'ək*, *óəm*, *báən*, *dá'u*, *díu díum*, *fóit*, *kó'il*), corresponding to Ws. EA'-, A-, E-, I', EAL, A', EA, EA'W, O', O respectively. These relations are best shewn in the following Bradford and Windhill cwl., p. 391.

CALVERLEY (:kɑ'vələ) (4 ne.Bradford and 6 wnw.Leeds) dt.

pal. in 1887 by TH. from B. Hall, newsagent, b. 1845, absent from Calverley for 4 years only. This should be specially compared with the Windhill dt., p. 389.

1. *di* see, *ladz*, *ʒə sɪi naa ət ái)m rɛ'it əbaat dhat lɪ'tl las kumɪn θrɔ)t skú'ɪl ʒɒndɔɹ.*

2. *shu)z gù'n daan t' rɔvd dhɪər θrəu)t' rɛd gʒɛt ɒn)t' left and sɪ'ɪd.*

3. *dɪ'l bi ɛqd, t' bərn)z gɔən stɹɛ'it up tɔ)t' rɑ'q dɪər [às],*

4. *wɪər shu)l ap'n fɪnd dhat dɹʌk'n dɪf Af'ld óud tʒap, ət dhe kAAl :tɔm.*

5. *wɪ AAL NAA ðm vərɪ wɪil.*

6. *wɪɛnt [wɪ'ɛt] t' óud [tʒap] sɔin tɛ'itɹ ɛr nɛt tɔ díu it ɛgɪən, pɪər bərn !*

7. *lɑ'ʌk ! ɪzn't it trɑ'ʌ ?*

Notes to Calverley dt.

1. *school*, but *hole*, *coal*, *coat* (*ðil*, *kóil*, *kóit*), and (*skóil*) was also heard.

2. *down*, also *room* (*raam*), the U' asserting itself. — *way* is (*wêv*). — *through*, the (*ɑ'u*) inclined to (*óu*).

3. *I'll be hanged for sure enough* (*súer inɪf*).

4. *shrivelled* not used, but (*shr-*) pron. as (*shrímps*, *shróud*), the last probably an error for (*shraad*).

6. *soon*, at another time it was dictated (*súin*), the long O' becoming (*úí*), the short O becoming (*ðí*).

7. *look*, the (*ɑ'u*) inclined to (*óu*).

Notes to Bradford cs., p. 367.

0. *no*, two forms of the negative (*núv*, *nóu*) occur systematically in this variety, and are casually heard in the neighbouring localities and up to Dewsbury, Var. vi.

1. *too* (*tiu*). — *like* = as it were, a constant qualification of any statement. — *news* (*néesz*), CCR. first wrote (*nɛ'u*) here, and in par. 2 *few*, and seems to think it more correct for Bradford.

2. *few*, see par. 1, *new*. — *they are*

grinned at, CCR. omitted (*r*) here. — *we are not, without knowing that*, a singular phrase, *us* for *we*, with the verb in the sing., and applied either to sg. or pl., (*ɛz núv)n)z us none)is*; (*baat*) without, as usual.

3. *so now then art thou bound to hold thy din, friend, and just wish-thou until I [have] done*. CCR. says this peculiar construction is only heard at Bradford; another example is (*ser)it*

tə daan), set it thou down. He also cites (*goo* & *tə*)t baan láik) go if thou)art boun [going] like, as a peculiar Bradford version of 'go if you're going.'

4. *am I*, the unaccented pronoun, pronounced (*i*).

5. *great* (*gət*) for the usual (*gæet*).—*father's voice*, observe short vowel in *father* and absence of possessive 's.—*I shall trust*, Dr. Gill 1621 (*suprà* part IV. p. 1250*b*) interprets (*á*st) as I will and (*dhóust*) as thou wilt, (*hiist*, *jóust*, *dhéist*) he you they shall, calling it the sign of the future, but gives no explanation; *is to* seems possible.

6. *before aught is late*, that is, immediately; the word (*lat*) is "a peculiarity chiefly of the Bradford district, as (*dha*)t óu'er lat tə léek, thou)art over late to play, (*dha*)l bi lat *təv*)t m(ín) thou'lt be late to the mill." Obs. a manufacturing *mill* is always (*m(ín)*). T.H. found (*lat*) at Marsden and elsewhere.

7. *how)is)it ye think now?* This gives my own conjectural interpretation of the (*st*), which CCR. cannot explain, though he says it is common.

8. *all about*, the use of (*bat*) with a short vowel, and the absence of the object of *about*, are, says CCR., common peculiarities. Similarly (*lat*) for *late*, par. 6.—*found* (*fan*) or (*fan*).—*beast*, I think (*biéist*) with (*t*) is the usual singular form.—*she*, unemphatic, is (*shu*, *shu*, *sho*), see (*shu*) immediately.

9. *slap*, having fallen slap down, and so stretched to the uttermost.—*ground* or (*plat*) plot, here CCR. inserted the phrase (*ín muk* & *m(íit)* in *muck* and *might*, as he rendered it. But he withdrew it, wishing, however,

to note the pron. (*míit*) in this and the neighbouring districts among broad dialect speakers, but the meaning of this *might* is not clear in connection with *muck*.

10. *maunge*, a fit of ill-humour; 'maungy' is explained in the Leeds Glossary as 'ill-natured, ill-tempered, and peevish,' applied to children.

11. *happened* or (*tjanst*) chanced.—*daughter*, (*dóuther*) also, this should imply that the other form is (*dóu,tə,r*).—*yard*, occ. (*jéed*).—*from* [having] *been hanging*.

12. *while* [*the*] *kettle were*; obs. the omission of the def. art. Similarly (*aa*)l set *dhə ketel* on if *tə*)l stéev & ev *dhí driq(ín)*, I'll set thee [*the*] kettle on, if thou)lt stay and have thy drinking. Observe that (*dhə*) could not be the def. art. which is never used in this form. Here (*dhə*) means *thee*, and the def. art. is omitted.—*afternoon*, a second form (*afthenóin*), possibly (*-núin*), probably shews that there had been a dental (*t*).

13. *dost)thou know*, the *s* and *t* are pronounced rapidly, and *dost thou* is represented by a passing hiss.—*do* or business, the pron. (*déev*) is very singular.—*up to today*, in the rural part of the district (*tuv*) is heard, but this is impossible in the town.—*now hearest thou*, here (*st*) has another interpretation, suggested by CCR.

14. *good night*, this (*góid*) seems to be an error for (*gúid*).—*again*, both (*éivén*, *éve'n*) are used.

15. *without*, here (*dhaat*) is used instead of (*baat*), which is employed in the next line.—*thou'rt not without gauming* [understanding] *that*

BRADFORD AND WINDHILL CWL.

Unmarked words deduced from B. Preston's *Dialect Poems*, which are generally praised for their dialectal accuracy; the original spelling in italics followed by my interpretation in pal. is annexed: mere dialect words are disregarded. Mr. Preston's orthography is on the whole very careful, and I have seldom been at a loss for the interpretation, but see p. 388. It will be found that this cwl. in the main agrees with CCR.'s cs.

W marks words pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Dr. J. Wright, of Windhill; at the end of Preston's words, '& W' means that Wright used the same form. C Calverley (:kAA·vələ) (6 wnw.Leeds) words pal. by T.H. from a newsagent, native, b. 1845; '& C' after Preston's and Wright's words means having the same sound.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 W sús. 3 W béek. 4 W tak. 5 mak mak, W mak. 8 ev ev. 12 W séeg. 17 W [not used]. 18 W kéek [wheaten bread, (*bríed*) being used for

oat bread]. 19 W *téul*. 20 W *léem*. 21 W *néem*. 24 W *shéem*. 31 *lat* lat & W. 33 *rayther* *reedher*, W *réudher*.

A: 39 W *kom* *kam*. 41 W *theqk'n*. 43 W and & C. 44 W *land*. 45 W [not used]. 49 *hing* *iq*, C *eq*. 56 *wesh* *wesh*, W *wesh*. 57 W [not used]. — *gate* *gat* *geet* [*gat*, *got*]. A: or O: 58 W *fre*, C *thru*. 59 W *lam*. 60 W *laq*. 63 *threng* *threq*. 64 *wreng* *req*, W *req*, C *raq*. 65 *seng* *seq*.

A'- 67 W *gu'en* [*going*], C *gù'in*. 69 W *nés*, *adv*. 70 *toa* *túv*. 72 W *úv*. 73 *soa* *súv* & W. 74 W *túv*. 76 W *túvd*. 82 W [not used]. 84 *moar* *máer* & W. 86 W *úvts*. 87 W *klúz*. 89 *boeth* *báuth*. 92 *knaw* *noo*, W *nóv* [may be (n'a'v)], C *naa*.

A': 101 W *ú,ek*. 102 W *aks*, as [*pt.* (*ast*)]. 104 W *rú,rd*, C *rôvd*. 105 W *réud*. 106 W *bréud*. 108 W *dú,ef*. 110 *nut* *nut*, C *net*. 111 *owt* *ót*. 113 W *úel*. 115 *hoam* *úem*, W *óem* *ú,em*. 118 W *bú,én*. 119 C *gón*. 122 *i. noan* *núen*, *ii. noa* *núv*, W *nú,é*. 124 *stoan* *stú,én*, W *stú,én*. 127 W [not used]. 133 W *réut*. 136 W *aadher*.

Æ- 138 W *faadher*. 140 W *éul*. 141 W *néul*. 142 W *snéul*. 143 W *téul*. 144 C *egien*. 146 W *méun*. 147 W *bréun*. 148 W *féur* [& also used for fair = a market]. 149 *bléuz*. 152 *watter* *water*, W *woter*. 153 W *seterde*.

Æ: 154 W *bak*. 158 W *after*. 161 W *dév*. 162 W [not used]. 164 W *mév*. 165 W *sed*. 166 W [not used]. — *dlass* *dlas* [*glass*]. 177 *at* *et*, C *et* [*conjunction*], *dhat* [*pronoun*].

Æ'- 182 W *sie*. — *reycht* *reitjt* [*reached*]. 183 C *té'itj*. 184 W *léd*. 187 W *læv*. 189 W *wéi*. 190 W *kéi*. 194 W *oni* [(*ev oni oni*) *oni oni*?] have any of you any on you?]. 195 *mony* *móni* & W. 197 W *tjiiz*. 202 W *tet*.

Æ': 203 W [not used]. 205 W *thriəd*. 208 *ivver* *ivver*. 209 *nivver* *niver*, 210 *tlay* *ílee*, W *klév*. 211 W *grév*. 223 *thear* *dhiər* & W, C *dhiər*. 224 W *wiər* & C. 226 W *múvst*.

E- 231 *t t* & C. 232 *brek* *brek* & W. 233 *speyk* *spék* & W. 236 W *féuver*. 238 W *rdj* [as 257]. 239 W *séul*. 241 W *reun*. 242 W [not used]. 243 W *plév* [the regular word is (*lévk*)]. — *beer* *bíur* [*bear* *endure*]. 247 W *gærn* [*grin*]. 248 W *míer*. 250 *sweear* *swiūr* & W. — *heytin* *étin* [*eating*], W *ét* [*eat*]. 251 *meyt* *méit*.

E: 257 *rdj* [as 238]. 260 *lig* *lig* [*used*], W *lév* [*of* *hens*]. 261 W *sév*, C *see*. 262 W *wév*, C *wév*. 263 W *wév*. 265 *streyt* *stréit* & W, C *st,ré'it*. 266 *weel* *wiil* & W, C *wiil*. 269 *mesen* *misin* [*myself*]. 286 W *arv*. 287 W *biiz'm*.

E'- 289 *je*. 290 *i v*. 292 *mi mē*. 293 C *wi* [*unaccented*], *wē wē*. 294 *fiid* [*I did not record whether (ii) here and below is pure, probably not*]. 298 W *fiil*. 299 W *griin*. 300 W *kiip*.

E': 305 *hey* *héi*, W *éi*. 306 W *éit*. 307 *néi*. 308 W *niid*. 311 W *ten*. 312 W *iur*. 314 *eard* *iurd* & W. 315 *fit* *fit* & W.

EA- — *shap* *shap* [*shape*]. 320 W *kéur*.

EA: 321 W *so'v*. 322 W *láf*. 323 W *féut*. 324 W *é'it*. — '*se* *sh'l* [*shall*]. 326 *owd* *óud* & C, W *o'ud* [*I heard* (*óoud*)]. 328 *cowd* *kóud*, W *kóoud* *ko'ud*. 330 *hod* *od* & W. 332 W [(*teld*) *used*]. 333 W *ko'uf*. 334 *awf* *oof*, W *o'uf*. 335 C *aal*, W *o'vl*. 336 W *fo'vl*. 338 C *kAAL*, W *ko'vl*. — *aad* *hard* *aad* [*hard*]. 342 W *aarm* [*or* (*áaem*)]. 343 W *waarm* [*or* (*wáaem*)]. 344 C *bàrn*, W *bàaen* [*occ.*]. 346 C *g'jèvt*, W *g'jèvt*.

EA'- 347 *heead* *íud* & W. 348 *ee* *ii*. 349 W *fe'u* [*I was not quite satisfied with this analysis, it was often like (fə'u); he considered dew = (de'u), C fa'u*. EA': 350 *deead* *dívd* & W. 351 W *l'rd*. 352 W *red*, C *red*. 353 *breead* *brívd* & W [but for oaten bread only, see No. 18]. 355 W *dívf*, C *dívf*. 357 *thau* *dhoo* [W not used]. 359 W *néuber*. 360 W *tíem*. 361 W *bíen*. 363 W *tjéep*. — *louse* *lóus* [*loose*]. 366 W *gært*. 368 W *dívth*. 371 W *strá'v*.

EI- 372 W *ái*. 373 W *dhév* *dhv*, C *dhe*. 374 W *név*.

EI: 377 W *stévk*. 378 *wake* *week* *wéik*, W *wévk*. 380 *thame* *dheem* *dhéim*.

EO- 383 W *sev'n*. 384 W *ev'n*. 386 W *é'u* [*rhymes to 349, and no (j) prefixed*]. 387 W *níu*.

EO: 388 W *milk*. 390 *sud* *sud* *svd*. 392 W *rond*. 396 W *waark*. 397 W *síurd* [*present form, an older one is (sward)*]. 402 W *líen* [*no (r) heard*]. 406 W *íeth*.

- EO'- 409 W bii. 410 W [not used]. 411 W thrii. 412 W shuu. 414 W flii. 420 W fo'uur.
- EO': 423 W thii. 425 *leet* liit & W. 426 *feyt* féit & W. 427 C bíi. 428 C síi. 430 W frend. 433 W brest. 435 C ʒə [unacc.]. 436 W triú.
- EY'- 438 *dee* dii & W. EY: 439 *trust*.
- I- 440 W wiik. 444 W stii-o'íl [ladder-hole]. 446 W náin. 447 W ʒr [unacc.] & C. 449 W grt. I: 452 *ah* aa, W ái, a, i [see dt., p. 389], C ái. 453 W wik. 457 *meet* miit & W. 458 *neet* niit & W. 459 *reyt* reit & W, C rɛ'it. 465 W siti. 466 W [not used]. 468 W tɛldɛr. 472 W shriɛk. 473 *blynd* blánd. 475 W wind. 476 W bind. 477 *fynd* fáind [past tense *fan* fan], W fínd & C. 479 W wind. 482 C iz. 485 W this'l. 489 C it.
- I'- 490 *be* bi. 492 W sáid, C sáid. 494 W táim. 496 W áivɛrn. I: W lák. 503 W láif. 504 W náif. 505 W wáif. 506 W wumɛn. 511 W wáin.
- O- — W shuul [shovel]. 519 *uvor* lip *uvor* lip [over or upper lip]. 521 W fo'íl. 522 *oppen* op'n & W. 523 *hoop* úp. — *afoar* efúɛr [afore]. 524 *wurld* wáird, W wáird.
- O: 526 *coff* kɔf. 527 *bowt* bóut & W. 528 *thout* thóut & W. 529 *browt* bróut & W. 530 *rowt* róut & W. 531 W dóutɛr. 532 *koil* kɔ'íl & W. 534 *hoil* o'íl & W [used for prison]. 535 *fowk* fóuk. 536 W góud. 541 C wíent wílt. 543 C ɔn. 547 W búrd. 548 W [not used]. 549 W [not used]. 552 W kóɛrn [or (kAA'ɛrn)]. 553 W óɛrn [or (AAɛrn)]. — W kus [kiss].
- O'- 555 W shíiv. 556 C tɛ [unemph.]. 557 W tíiv. 558 *lewk* lúke líuk & W, C lɛ'uk. 560 *skoil* skáil & W & C. — *goom* [Dr. Wright says that Preston pronounces (gíum), as also (díum) doom]. 562 *mooin* múin & W. 564 *sooin* súin & W, C sóin súin. 565 *noas* návɛ & W. 566 *uther* udher.
- O': 569 W bíuk. 570 *tuk* tuk, W tíuk. 571 *good* gúid & W. 572 W bláid. 579 *eniff* inif & W [W the form *enow* is not known]. 582 káil. 583 W táil. 584 W stáil. 586 *dew* díiv & W. 587 *doin* dúin, W du'n. 588 *noin* núin. 589 W spáin. 591 W múɛr. 593 [W (mun mud) used]. — *tooth* túith. 594 *boit* búit. 595 *fooit* fúit & W. 596 *rooit* rúit & W. 597 *sooit* súit & W.
- U- 599 *aboon* ɛbuun & W. 601 W faal. 602 W saa. 603 *cum* kum & W & C. 605 W sum [not distinguished from 629]. 606 *doar* dúɛr, C dúɛr, W diúɛr.
- U: — *baan* baan [going]. — *pool* puul [pull]. 610 W wuul [with a long vowel]. 612 *sum* sum & W. 614 *haand* aand & W [in W not used for a dog, except as by way of insult]. 615 *paand* paand & W [=20s.], W pund [=16 oz.]. 616 *graand* graand [CCR. has gréevand]. 619 W fun. 620 W grun. 625 *tung* tuɛ & W. 626 W uɛr. 629 W sum. 632 W up [almost (u)p see dt.], C up. 633 W kɛp. 634 W thrii, C thrá'u. 639 W dust.
- U'- 640 W kaa. 641 *hah* aa & W. 642 *thagh* thaa dhaa. 643 *nah* naa. 647 W aal. 648 [emphatic] *are* ar aar, [unemphatic] *wur* wɛr, *wee'se* *hate* wɛrsɛn *we* all *wur* *meet* wiiz *et* wɛrsɛn *wi* ool *wɛr* miit [we]should hate ourselves with all our might]. 650 *abaht* abaght ɛbaat, C ɛbaat [see p. 388, l. 2 from bottom]. 651 W baat. 653 *bud* bud & W, bud [unaccented] W.
- U': 654 *shraad* shraad. 655 W faal. 656 *raam* raam & W & C. 658 *dahn* daan & W & C. 659 *taan* taan & W. 663 *haase* aas & W [CCR. has (éas)]. 665 *maas* maas & W. 667 *ah* aat *aght* aat & W. 671 W maath.
- Y- 673 *mich* mitɛ & W. 674 W did [never (did)]. 679 W tɛɛtɛ. 682 C lí'l. Y: 684 W brig. 685 W rig [a man's back]. 694 W wark. 697 *berry* beri. 699 W riit [distinct from 459]. 700 W waar. 701 W farst. Y'- 705 W skii. 706 W wáiv [(wɔt fA) more used]. Y': 709 W fáir. 712 W máis.

II. ENGLISH.

- A. 714 C lad. 722 W drévn. 726 *tauk* took, W tɔ'ek. 728 W sham. 732 C ap'n. E. 745 W triit. I. and Y. 756 W shrímp & C. 758 W [not used]. O. 761 W lúvd. 766 W mɔ'idɛrd [much used]. 769 W máildwarp. — *poyt* póit [a pot, pusher, poker]. 783 W [not used]. 788 W [not used]. 789 W [(nɔrɛeshɛn) used]. 790 *gaan* gaan. — *draand* draand

[drown]. U. 793 W *ug* [to carry in the arms]. 794 W *djug*. 799 W *skul*. 804 C *druk*'n. 807 W *pus*. 808 W *put*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *it faas* i)t' fées [in the face], W fées. 811 W pléus. 813 W béek'n. 820 W géu. 822 W méu. 830 W tréu. 835 W riez'n. 836 W siez'n. 840 W tjeumer. 841 W tjans. 842 W ploek. 847 W déendjer. 849 W stréendjer. 850 W dans. 852 W apren. 860 W péest. 861 W téest. 865 *fawt* foot. 866 W pûer, C pûer. — *favur* fâver [favour, resemble].

E.. 867 W *tie*. 869 W *viel*. 874 W *reen*. 875 W féent. 877 W éur. 885 *varry* vari & W & C. — *earbs* ierbz jaabz. 888 W saartin. 890 W *bîest* [pl. (*bîests*), not (*bîes*), and used for cows]. 893 W *faar*. 895 W *risêv*. I.. and Y.. 898 W *nâis*. 901 W *fâin*. 903 W *dîner*. 910 W [not known]. 912 W *râis*.

O.. W *kûetr*. 916 W *unjen*. 917 *roag* rîég. 918 W *fiab*'l. 920 W *póint*. 923* W *móist*. 924 W *tpóis*. 925 *vóis*. 926 W *spóil*. — *saand* [a sound]. 928 *aance* aans. 929 W *kaakemer*. 939 W *klóis* [and also sb.]. 940 *coyt* kóit & W. 941 *fooil* fúil & W. 942 W *butjer*. 943 W *tutj*. 945 W *vaa* [used only as threaten]. 950 W *super*. 952 i. W *kaars*, ii. W *kúers* [as a race course]. 953 W *kuz*'n. — *pesht* pesht [pushed]. 954 W *wishin*. 955 *daht* daat & W.

U.. 965 W *óil*. 968 W *óister*. 969 *suar* síwer & W.

VAR. V. LEEDS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CCR. being a native of Leeds, familiar with and speaking the dialect from infancy, his account of it is of great interest. Of course it is in the villages and not in the town that peasant speech is heard. In the town a peculiar attempt to speak *rs.* is made by the smaller tradesmen, of which an account will be given on p. 396.

The Leeds variety, which is the most important and characteristic, extends over all the ne. part of D 24. It reaches on the w. to Churwell (3 ssw. Leeds) and Kirkstall (3 nw.), but not to Pudsey (5 w-by-s. Leeds), which belongs to Bradford, but the pronunciation scarcely differs perceptibly from Leeds. On the e. it includes Aberford (8 ene. Leeds) and Sherburn (12 e. Leeds). On the s. it extends to Wakefield, with numerous but unimportant differences, as is shown in a special cwl. Pontefract is similar to Wakefield, U' being generally (aa), but often becoming (âu). In Variety ix. Doncaster, for which a separate cwl. will be given, (âu) is the regular form. Although Dewsbury is only 5 w. Wakefield, it speaks differently, see Var. vi.

This variety is well illustrated, not only by the interlinear cs. which shew how little Leeds differs from Bradford, but by an almost complete cwl. kindly filled in by CCR. in glossic, here transliterated. This cwl. will have to be compared with a similarly extensive cwl. for Mid Yorkshire, with which CCR. was equally familiar from childhood. In transliterating CCR.'s Glossic, I have retained *u* and also used (e) for the glossic [e], where probably I should now hear (ɛ). But CCR. occ. distinguishes gl. [e, æ] = (e, ɛ), which shews his own feeling. The fractures (éev, iiv, óov, úv, úu) seem to have superfluous length in their first element, but as CCR. sometimes distinguishes the length of their first

element, I have felt bound to follow his indications. Here, however, in stating the characters, I shall use a short first element for convenience. For minute particulars reference must be made to the cwl.

A- generally (éə), as (néəm) name, a following G or W induce (óə) as (sóə) a saw.

A: is generally (a), in a few cases (e), as (theqk) thank. The A: or O: words in NG have all (eq), as (leq) long.

A'- and A': have regularly (úə), as (ûrts) oats, but a following G and W induce (óə), as (ówn) own, (króə) to crow, and sometimes (óu), as (óu) to owe, (lóu) low.

Æ- is generally (éə), especially where followed by G, as (snéul) snail, for which (sníul) is also used, but in (fadhə wats) father water it becomes (a).

Æ: is generally (a), but followed by G is (éə), as (aftə déə) after day.

Æ'- as a rule gives (éi), as (téitj) teach, but varies as (íə, ii), as (síiv) sea, (tjiz) cheese, and we have even (on) any.

Æ': is also variable within generally the same limits.

E- is often (éi), as (néid) knead, (éə), as (réen) rain, and (íə), as (wíiv) to wear, but sometimes remains (e), as (brək ledhə) break leather.

E: is regularly (e, ɛ) and has few variants.

E'-, E': are regularly (ii).

EA- has (éə).

EAL as usual has peculiar forms implying an original form AL, as (óud) old, (óel) all.

EA' has generally (íə), as (líi'əd) lead metal, but a following W induces (óə), as (stróov) straw.

EI is generally (éə), as (éel) to hail a person.

EO as usual varies much, but (líen jiiən) learn yearn are uncommon; EOR is generally (aa).

EO' is mostly (ii, ív), but varies a good deal. The form (shuu) she is said to be derived from Ws. *seo*, but may after all come from Ws. *heo*.

I- is generally treated as I'.

I: is generally (i) even in blind, rind, to wind, bind, find, but singularly enough *grind* becomes (grənd).

I' is regularly (ái ái), not (ái).

O is regularly (ə), but foal, coal, hole, have (óí); a following H or L induces (óu) in (thóut) thought, (bóult) bolt.

O' changes regularly into (úui) as (kúuil) cool.

U becomes regularly (u) even in pound ground, but is (aa) in hound, sound = healthy, a wound.

U' is regularly (aa), as (daan) down.

Y before R gives rise to (ə, ɛ) in (bəth bəri məth fəst) birth bury mirth first.

For consonants initial *h* vanishes, and *r* not before a vowel also generally vanishes or can scarcely be recognised: *t*, *d* preceding a vowel and after a short vowel becomes very vulgarly (r), see notes to cwl., p. 400, No. 449. With this compare the use of (r) for (d) in (nar, hare) hadde in Low German, see first line of examples 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, etc., in Part IV. pp. 1378 1380, and in numerous other places. The final *-ture* has its older form *-tur* (-tər, -tə), and not the modern S. *-chur* (-tjə), as (píktər), not piktjər picture.

On comparing the Varieties iv. and v., Bradford and Leeds, the differences are scarcely perceptible. The following may be noted:

B	dúin	óe)m	síur	thríu	fru	dhése·lnz	skwéək	tríuth	aks	áas
L	dun	ái)m	síeür	thru	thru	dhése·nz	skwé:ik	tréuuth	as	aa
	done	I'm	sure	through	from	themselves	squeak	truth	ask	how

B	gréevnd	wəld	dóutər	ku,m	eqin	wíit	wol	fóin	déeu	fóil.
L	grund	waald	dóoetər	kam	iqin	wit	wal	fáin	díu	fúil.
	ground	world	daughter	came	hanging	wet	while	fine	do	fool.

These differences are of no account whatever. The reasons for separating iv. and v. must therefore be sought in the different use they make of certain words and phrases, of which some specimens are given in the cs., but which otherwise lie beyond the scope of this investigation.

LEEDS REFINED FORM.

The petty shopkeepers of Leeds speak a refined form of speech, which cannot properly be called a dialect, but is an attempt to speak rs., continually frustrated by dialectal tendencies and youthful habits. CCR. was so good as to translate the cs. into this town speech. It is so far from being a genuine dialect that I do not think it right to print it, but it may be worth while to note the dialectal remnants it contains.

The U' and I' words have (áu, ái), the short U remains (u), the (r) final disappears, *she* is (shə 'shəə), (t) remains for *the*, (h) disappears, (wh) becomes w. And in addition the following pronunciations are used, each referred to its paragraph in the cs.

0. (wat) what.—1. (both laf) both laugh, short (o) being common, (oo nívdhə) who neither.—2. (noo ónli dont méek nut) know only don't make not.—3. (áusume·və dhíez óud) however these hold.—4. (əd foks thru a) heard folks through = from I.—5. (Júqist gríst spíuk) youngest great speak.—6. (óud ool rdháut ónli) old all without only.—7. (líestweez tóud ast túethri óvə 'shəə) leastways told asked two or three over—she.—8. (wíiur a)l fə)t) where I'll for't.—9. (lee)in fuul kóet tlóez dóestəm) lying full coat close door-stone.—10. (wəld, póuli) world poorly.—11. (dóostər kěəm) daughter came.—12. (tíu) tea.—13. (lənt shəur dont want) learned sure don't want.—14. (took) talk.—15. (ful wəd) fool [and observe (fuul) full in 9] word.

I have received specimens of refined speech for York also, but the above specimen is probably enough.

Notes to Leeds cs., p. 367.

1. *and all*, merely equivalent to also, or, etc.—*is to*, seems the proper interpretation of (st) here.

2. *few*, (féu néu) are used here as at Bradford.—*for because they're grinned at*.—*had'nt us sure of that now*, the grammar is shaky; CCR considers (ad'nt) to represent (art not), but *art not us* seems impossible; and *hadn't* seems inexplicable. CCR says the phrase is more common in Bradford than in Leeds.—*likely*, CCR introduces this adv. in *lins* several times as here, par. 4 and 13 (*siwelinz*), 7 (*liiwsliinz*).

3. *oddmnts* or items.—*so just thee hold thy din with thee, if thou canst, thou like and whiskt until I (have) done*, peculiar idiomatic phraseology according to CCR, but not in frequent use.—*hearest thou but/as now, buts* seems to be *but as*, and to mean *only*.

See cs. to Var. iii. end of par. 13, p. 376, and note, p. 386.

4. *through* used for *from*, the form (fru) is considered childish at Leeds, but is heard at Bradford, (frum) would not be understood, but (fruum) is possible; there is here an attempt to use (thru) for through and (thru) for from, but (thru) is used in both senses in par. 11, p. 374, so that this breaks down.—*did I*, obs. enclitic form (i) for *I*.

5. *great*, the short (gæt, gat) in this sense is not so frequent as the long (græt) taken as (gært)—*father voice*, the possessive *father's* is little used, observe short (a).

6. *without* (dhaaten), the (ən) as in Ws. wipútan, compare par. 7, p. 371, (vbaaten).—*ask her*.

7. *how is it you think?*

8. *at all ends*, in every particular.

9. *Sunday*, although final (r) is generally omitted in Leeds, it seems to be added with a real trill to week-day names, see *Thursday*, par. 12, p. 375.

10. *world*, (waald wæld) are both used.—*maunge*, see Var. iv. notes, p. 391.

13. *do* (*díu*), business or concern.

14. *and so I must forced to go*, the construction is difficult, meaning 'I must go, I am forced to go.'—*keen*, with short perhaps medial (i), or (shéep) sharp.

15. *without reason*, or, to use a common expression, (*bidhaat góoemín* óoet) without understanding aught.

LEEDS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

written in glossic by CCR., transliterated by AJE.

* before any number of a word refers to a following note, pp. 400-1.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 méed. 7 séek. 8 ev. 9 biéev. 10 óov. 11 móov. 12 sóov. 13 nóov. 14 dróov. 15 óov [awful]. 16 dóov. 17 lóov. 18 kéek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shéem. 25 méem. 26 wéem. 27 néem. *28 éev. 32 béedh. 33 reev·dhæ reev·dæ. 34 last. 35 óoel. 36 thóu thóov. 37 tlóov.

A: 39 kam. 40 kúwm. 41 theqk. 43 and. 44 land. — wand [he wound]. 46 kanl. 47 wandæ. 48 saq. 50 teqz. 51 man. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as.

A: or O: 58 [replaced by through (thru), see notes to cs., p. 396]. 59 lam. 60 leq. 61 emeq. 62 streq. 63 threq. 64 req. 65 seq. 66 theq.

A'- 67 gúuv. 69 núuv. 70 túuv. 71 wúuv. 72 wúuv. 73 súuv. 74 tuu. 75 strúvek. 76 túuvd. 77 lóovd. 78 óu. 79 óoem. 80 alídv. 81 lón. 83 múuv. 84 múuv. 85 súuv. 86 úvts wúvts. 87 tlúuvz. 88 tlúuvdh. 89 búuvth. 90 blóov. 91 móov. 92 nóov. 94 króov. 95 thróov. 96 sóov. 97 sóul [sóovl has been heard from individual old people]. 98 nóov. 99 thróov. 100 sóov.

A': 101 úvek. 102 as aks. 104 rúuvd. 105 réevd. 106 brúuvd. 107 lúuvf. 108 dúuvf. 109 lóu. 110 nut. 111 óut. 112 éeul. 113 úvul. 114 muvul. 115 úvum. 116 úvum [seldom used]. 118 búuv. 121 gúuv. 122 núuv. 123 nóut. 124 stúuv. 125 [used only in refined speech and then called] úvulí, [in dialect they use] nóvut. 126 úuv. 127 úuvst úvst [seldom]. 128 [used only in refined speech, otherwise (dhem)]. 129 gúuvst. 130 búuvst. 131 gúuvst. 132 úvst. 133 réevst. 134 úvth. 135 tlaat [used, but this is clout, from Ws. clót]. 136 óvdhæ óvdhæ óvdhæ óvdhæ.

Æ- 138 fadhæ fadhæ féevdhæ féevdhæ. 139 dréev. 140 éeul. 141 néevl. 142 sniil snéevl. 143 téevl. 144 vgiúv vgiéev. 145 sléev. 146 méev. 147 bréev. 148 féev. 149 bléevz. 150 líuvst [often without (t)]. 151 [not used]. 152 wæv. 153 setædv.

Æ: 155 thatj. 157 réevv. 158 aftæ. 161 déev. 163 léevd. 164 méev. 165 sed. 166 méevd. 167 déevl. 168 talæ. 169 wen. 170 évvist aavist. 171 baalí. 172 gras ges gæos. 173 wox [used, generally written (wax)]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 wat. *189 béevd. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 sív. 183 téitj téitj. 184 lívð léid léid. 185 riid. 186 brívdh breed bráid. 187 lív [sb. (léiv)]. 188 nêi. 189 wêi. 190 kêi. 191 ívul. 192 mív. 193 tléin [vb. (tlívn)]. 194 óni. 195 móni. 196 wox. 197 tpiiz. 199 blívt. 200 wívt wívt wívt [the last rare]. 201 ívdhæ. 202 ívt.

Æ': 203 spiitj. 204 did diid. 205 thriid. 206 red. 207 niid'l. 210 tléev. 211 gréev. 212 wêi. 213 éevdhæ éevdhæ. 215 tóvt. 216 dívul [the v. is (dêil)]. 217 ívtj [in refined speech, but seldom used]. 218 shíp shíp. 219 slíp slíp. 221 fíiv. 222 éev. 223 dhíiv. 224 wíiv. 225 flesh. 226 múuvst. 227 wívt wívt. 228 swívt swívt swívt [the last rare]. 229 brívdh. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spék spék. 234 nêid néid. 235 wêiv. 236 fíiv.

237 tjalbléem. 238 edj. 239 séel. 240 léem. 241 réem. 242 twéem [when read, not used]. 243 pléem [when read, otherwise (léenk) lake used]. 246 kwéin [queen], kwéin [quean]. 247 wéem. 248 méem. 249 wéem. 250 swéem. 251 méit méit. 252 ketel. 253 netel. 254 ledhæ. 255 wedhæ.

E: 257 eg. 258 seg sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lig. 261 séem. 262 wéem. 264 éel. 265 stréit. 267 jild. 268 [not used, (ôudis) oldest, said]. 270 belus beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 beqk biqk. 275 [replaced by (stiqk)]. 276 thiqk. 277 drensh. 278 wensh. 280 éleem. 281 leqth. 282 streqth. 283 mari. 284 thresh. 285 kres. 286 ars. 287 biizum. 288 let [often (léer) before a vowel].

E'- 289 jii. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 295 bred. 296 biliiv. 298 fiil. 299 grin. 300 kip kiip. 301 iiv. 302 mit miit. 303 swit swiit.

E': 305 éi. 306 éit éit. 307 nai [only used by "old-charactered people"]. 308 niid néid. 309 spiid. 310 il. 311 ten. 312 iv. 313 aaken éekem. 314 iiv. 315 fit fiit. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 féem. 319 géem. 320 kéem. EA: 321 sóem sid. 322 laf. 323 fôut. 324 éit. 325 wóonk. 326 ôud ôud. 327 bôuld bôud. 328 kôud. 329 fôuld fôud. 330 od. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kôouf. 334 ôouf éeuf. 335 ôoul. 336 fôoul. 337 wôoul. 340 jéud jéud jaad. 342 éem éem. 343 waam. 345 dar. 346 géem.

EA'- 347 iiv. 348 ii [(iin) pl. and also sg.]. 349 féem. EA': 350 diiv. 351 liiv. 352 red. 353 briivd [(bréid) is dialectally vulgar and rare]. 354 shiiv shéif. 355 diiv. 356 liiv. 357 dhæ [rare]. 359 néembur. 360 tiivem téim. 361 biiv. 362 sléem. 363 tiiip tiiip. 365 niiv. 366 get [(gréiv) refined]. 367 thriiv. 368 diivth. 369 slóem. 370 rôem. 371 stróem.

EI- 372 aai. 373 dhéem. 374 néem. 375 réem. 376 béem. EI: 377 stéemk. 378 wéemk. 379 éem. 381 swéem. 382 dhéem. EO- 383 seem. 384 eem. 385 binéemidh [considered affected, and (uudnéemidh) gen. used]. 386 jóem. 387 néem niu.

EO: 388 malk. 389 jéemk. 390 sud. 393 birôud. 396 waak. 397 sôud. 398 staav. 399 briit. 400 iivnist. 401 jiiem. 402 liiv. 403 faar. 405 aath [some old people (éeth)]. 406 iivth. 407 faadin. 408 néem [refined (niiv)].

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shuu shu sho shæ shæ. 413 diiv. 414 fiiv. 415 lai. 416 diiv. 417 tjéu tjéu. 418 bréem [refined (briiv)]. 419 jâem. 420 fôem. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 lit [short (i), not (i)]. 426 féit [short diphthong]. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fiiv. 430 frend. 431 biiv. 432 fôust. 433 briivst. 434 bet. 435 jii [in gen. use, (juu) refined, used in addressing superiors]. 436 tréem [refined (triiv)]. 437 tréemth [refined (triivth)].

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 trust. I- 440 wik [(i) not (i)]. 441 siv. 442 áiv. *443 fráiv. 444 stâil. 445 éei. 446 nâem. 448 dhéem. *449 get. 450 tæmdu tæmdu. 451 sêem sôem sôem.

I: 452 aai aai. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 máit [generally, (miit) by individual old people]. 458 niit. 459 réit. 460 wéit wéit. 461 liit. 462 siit. 464 witj. 465 sitj. 466 tjâild [when read, the spoken word is (baan)]. 467 wâild. 468 tjâildrin [when read, the spoken word is (baanz)]. 471 timar. 472 shriqk. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 grund. 479 wind. 481 fiqk. 484 dhis. 485 thisel. 486 jiiust jost. 487 josted. 488 jost.

I'- 490 bai baai. 491 sai [some old people say (sii)]. 493 drâiv. 494 fáim. 496 áivem. 497 râiz. 498 râit. 499 biit'l [in fine reading, (bla-k klok) in dialect].

I: 500 lâik. 501 wâid. 502 fâiv. 503 lâif. 504 náif. 505 wâif. 506 wâem. 507 wimîn. 508 mâil. 509 wal. 511 wâin. 512 spâiv [(stiiip'l) often used]. 513 wâiv. 514 âis. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdem. 517 jéem.

O- 520 baa. 521 fôil. 522 open. 523 úem. 524 wel waald [both equally used].

O: 526 kof. 527 b6ut. 528 th6ut. 529 br6ut br6ut [also (brʉq braq)]. 530 r6ut. 531 d6uter. 532 k6il k6oil k6il. 533 dul. 534 6il. 536 g6ud. 537 m6ud maald. 538 w6d. 539 b6ul. 540 6lin. 542 b6ult b6ult. 545 6p. 547 b6ved. 548 f6ved. 549 6ved. 550 w6d w6'd w6ed. 551 st66um. 552 k66en. 553 66en. 554 kros.

O'- 556 shuu [pl. (sh6uin)]. 556 t6uv [but (t6ul) most usual]. 557 tiu. 558 liuk. 559 m6dhe. 561 bluum. 562 m6uin. 563 m6udv. 564 s6uin. 565 n6uvv. 566 udhe.

O': 569 b6ik. 570 tiuk. 571 g6id. 572 bl6id. 573 fl6id. 574 br6id. 575 st6id. 576 wedenzdv. 577 baa. 578 plaa. 581 s6ut. 582 k6uil. 583 t6uil. 584 st6uil. 585 bruum [the broom brush is (biizv), No. 287]. 587 dun. 588 n6uin. 589 sp6uin. 590 fl6uv. 591 m6uv. 592 sw6ev. [used, but it is a different form]. 593 mun [is the form used]. 594 b6uit. 595 f6uit. 596 r6uit. 597 s6uit. 598 s6undh.

U- 599 6buun. 600 luv. 601 faal. 602 saa. 603 kuv. 605 sun. 606 d6uv. 607 butv.

U: 608 ugl. 609 fwl. 610 wul. 611 b6lek. 612 sum. 613 druqk. 614 aand. 615 p6ud. 616 gr6ud. 617 saand. 618 waand. 619 fan fan. 620 gru,n gr6ud gr6udid. 622 6nder. 625 tuq. 626 uq. 628 nun. 629 sun. 630 w6n wan. 631 thezdv. 632 6p. 633 kup. 634 thruu. 635 w6th. 636 faadh6i faa'd6i [but this is another word]. 637 tusk. 638 busk. 639 dust.

U- 640 kaa. 641 aa. 642 dhaa. 645 dv. 646 b6u [subst. (baa)]. 647 aal. 648 aa aar. 649 thaazen. 652 kud. 653 bud bud but b6t.

U': 654 shraad. 655 faal. 656 r6um [(raam) is less used]. 657 braan. 658 daan [and also down, the feather]. 659 taan. 660 baa,6i [r very often dropped]. 661 shaar. 663 aas. 664 laas. 665 maas. 666 6zb6n. 667 aat. 668 praad. 669 6nkaa'th. 670 b6uidh b6iidh. 671 maath. 672 saath.

Y- 673 mitj. 674 did. 675 dr6i. 676 l6ai. 678 din. 679 t66tj. 680 bizi [if read, but (threq) No. 63 regularly used]. 682 litel.

Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 b6i b6ai. 687 fl6ait [seldom used, *flite* to scold, also so, but often (flit)]. 689 b6id. 690 k6ind. 691 m6ind. 693 sin. 696 b6th. 697 b6ri. 698 m6th [very often short, and a mere snap]. 699 riit. 700 waas. 701 f6st. 703 pit. 704 vik6n.

Y'- 705 sk6i sk6ai. 706 [never used, replaced by (w6t f6v)]. 707 th6ti'n. 708 6iv. Y': 709 f6iv. 711 l6is. 712 m6is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 djee'vd. 718 tr6eed. 719 tadp6ul. 720 feg. 721 feg. 722 dr6evn. 723 d6evri. 724 b6ould. 725 s6eel. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 fr6e6m. 730 kante. 731 want6n. 733 sk6ev. 734 daan. 736 las'. 737 m6est. 738 pr6eet. 739 [not used]. 740 w6ev. 741 m6evz. 742 l6evzi.

E. 743 skr66m. 744 mez'lz. 745 t66it t66it. 746 br6iidh. 747 indev [little used]. 748 6nfl6gd [unfledged]. 750 beg. 751 p6ivt.

I. and Y. 753 tik'l. 754 pig. 755 filbet. 756 shrimp. 757 t6ini. 758 [replaced by (las)]. 759 fit.

O. 761 li6vd. 762 6uvk6m. 763 r6uvem. 764 kod'l. 766 m6id6d. 767 n6iz. 768 k6uk. 771 fond. 772 b6n'f6i. 773 d6qki. 774 p6uv6ni. 775 buubi. 777 shop. 778 v6uv6d. 779 6ovts. 780 dj6s'l. 781 b6dh6. 782 podh6 [rare]. 783 paaltri. 784 baans. 785 laandj. 786 daas. 787 saas. 788 flaat. 789 raa. 790 gaan.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 dj6ng. 795 shr6ng. 799 skvl. 800 skvl. 801 rum. 802 rum. 803 dj6mp. 805 krudz. 806 fus. 807 pus. 808 put [varies to (pur) before a vowel].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 6evb6l. 811 pl6e6s. 812 l6e6s. 813 b6evk6n. 814 m6e6s6n. 815 faks. 816 f6evd. 817 redish. 818 6evdj. 819 r6evdj. 821 dil6ev.

822 méev. 823 béev. 824 tjéev. 825 wéev. 826 iiegv. 827 iiegr. 828 éevgiu. 829 géevn. 830 tréevn. 831 distréevn. 832 méev. 833 péev. 834 shéevz. 835 rievzen. 836 sievzen. 837 lievsh. 838 tréit trivét. 839 béevl. 840 tjéevmur. 841 tjons. 842 pleqk. 843 bransh. 844 trensh. 845 éevnshunt. 846 tjenlv. 847 déevndjv. 848 tjéevndj. 849 stréevndjv. 850 dons. 851 ont. 852 aprén. 853 baagun. 855 karit. 856 péevt. 857 keevs. 858 bréevs. 860 péevst. 861 téevst. 862 séevf. 863 tjéevf. 864 bikos. 865 falt. 866 páuvv.

E.. 867 tiiv. 868 djéev. 869 víivél véil. 870 bíviti. 871 vgrii. 873 fréev. 874 rêin. 875 féevnt. 876 déevnti. 877 éev. 878 saleri. 879 fiméevl. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 dandiláivn. 884 prentis. 886 fráiv. 887 klaadji. 888 saaten. 889 síiv. 890 bíiv [often so used in the singular] bíivst. 891 íivst. 892 nevi. 893 flaax. 894 disíiv. 895 risíiv. 896 [not used].

I.. and Y.. 897 dilít. 898 náiv. 899 nis [short (i), not (i)]. 900 préev. 901 fáiv. 902 máiv. 903 dáiv [not used in conversation]. 904 váivlét. 905 ráivt. 906 váivp. 907 [not used]. 908 adváiv. 909 briiz. 910 djáiv djáivsin. 911 sistren. 912 ráiv.

O.. 913 káivtj. 914 bráivtj. 915 stav. 916 vnrvn. 917 ráivvg. 918 fibél. 919 óivntment. 920 póivnt. 921 ékvéevnt. 922 bushil. 923 móivst. 924 tjóiv. 925 vóiv. 926 spóiv. 927 truvk. 928 aans. 929 kaakuvv. 930 lóivn. 931 djvuglv. 932 vmaant. 933 frvnt. 934 baanti. 935 kvntri. 936 faant. 937 kók. 938 kóivn. 939 tlóiv. 940 kóit kóit. 941 íivl. 942 butjv. 943 tvtj. 944 vlv. 945 vaa. 946 móivl. 947 bóiv. 950 svp. 951 kvp'l. 952 kóiv. 953 kúiv. 954 kvshin. 955 daat. 956 kvv. 957 implóiv. 958 fréev. 959 konvéev.

U.. 960 kvéev [only used in the name of the place, Bridlington Quay (:baelintn :kvéev)]. 961 gríivl. 962 méevz. 963 kváivt. 964 síivt. 965 óiv. 966 fríivt [(fréut) old people]. 967 síivt [(séut) old people]. 968 óivst. 969 síiv. 970 djvst. 971 flíivt [(fléut) old people].

Notes to Leeds cwl. p. 397.

Referred to in the wl. by * before the number of the word.

No. 28. On final r, CCR. says, "Though permissible, yet, in all cases, the (r) is discarded to a far greater extent in Leeds than in the Mid Yo. dialect." Hence in this cwl. it is represented by (r), the permissive (r); but whether when heard it is the real trilled (r) or the M. (r), I do not know. I suspect the latter.

180. *bath* is used only in fine speech; *bath*, the utensil, would not be thought of in connection with (tə ev v bəvəd) to take a bath, but would be associated with washing.

443. *Friday*, "in all the days of the week r is often heard as an additional letter; some speakers habitually employ the r in this way."

449. *get*, the (t) becomes (r) before a vowel, and the (g) is strongly post-aspirated, as (gʰéevr v). CCR. finds this peculiarity in the following words:

1. in *at*, *sat*, *chat*, *what*, *spat*, *cat*, *hat* [past tense of *hit*].
2. in *et*, *let*, *get*, *set*, *met*, *wet*, et

[past tense of *eat*, as, he eat it, ate it, is called (éevt)], (i her)it).

3. in *it*, *hit*, *sit*, *flit*, *split*, *little* (lɪr'l), *bit*.

4. in *ot*, *got*, *sot*, *shot*, *blot*, *spot*, *slot*.

5. in *ut* and *oot*, *but*, *stut*, *matty* (mɪvri) = calf, *glutton* (glɪvrvn), *foot*, *shut*.

This change also takes place with words in d.

6. in *ad*, *glad*, *swaddy* (svɪvri) = soldier, *bad*, *shadow* (shɪvrv), *dad*, *mad*.

7. in *ed*, *wed*, *led*, *bled*, *shed*, *fled*, *sled* = a slipper.

8. in *id*, *lid*, *slid*, *bid*, *hiddy* (hɪrɪ) = to hide, *smiddy* (smɪrɪ) = a smithy, *did*.

9. in *od*, *ho'd* (hɔv) = hold, *sod*, *nod*, *plod*, *shod*, *modern* (mɔvrvn).

10. in *ud* and *ood*, *mud* (mɪvrv) = might vb., *good* (gvvrv), *stood*, *huddle* (hɔvrv), *budding* (bvɪvrvn), *sud* (svvrv), *should*.

CCR. considers these forms to be

the product of lazy, corrupt habits [the post-aspiration is anything but lazy]. They are, he says, the vulgar of the vulgar who chiefly resort to them. Compare the hearing of *potatoes* in D 10, p. 147, as (tɛvɛrɪz).

To this list CCR. adds another of

words in *-ture*, usually pronounced with (tʃɛr) in rs., all of which end in (-tɛr) or rather (-tɛ) at Leeds, such as (kɔltɛ, ventɛ, kaptɛ, pastɛ, djɛstɛ, fiɛtɛ), etc., culture, venture, capture, pasture, gesture, future, etc.; and similarly (sɪvzɛ sɛɪzɛ) seizure.

WAKEFIELD cwl.

Compiled from Mr. William Stott Banks's *List of Provincial Words in use at Wakefield*, 1865. Mr. B. uses a tolerably systematic orthography, from which, with the help of previous investigations, I have been able to give an approximative pal. representation of the pron. as gathered rather from his examples than his headwords, which may be compared with the Leeds cwl. I have retained (r) final as it is not marked to be silent by Mr. Banks, and TH. says that he heard it as a decided consonant in all cases, presumably (r). Of course this cwl. is very incomplete, but it suffices to shew that, if I have rightly interpreted, there are a number of minute differences between Leeds and Wakefield, quite as much as between Rotherham and Sheffield, although the general character remains identical. The author's orthography is prefixed in *Italics*, with Roman letters to represent his Italics, as reight, shewing generally by *h* a written unspoken *h*, by *ei*h (ɛ'i), by *ow* (ɔu), etc. H wn. by TH. from which I extract a few differences.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 baak bɛk. 4 ta tee. 5 maa mak mɛv mak. 6 maad mɛvd. 10 haag ag. 13 naag nɛvg. 18 caake kɛvk. 19 taale tɛvl. — gam gam [game gam'leg game leg]. A: 55 ass as. A: or O: 61 ameng ɔmɛq. A': 67 goa gɔv. 69 noa nɔv, H noo. 71 [*wae worth theh* (wɛr wɛrth dhɛ) woe be to thee]. 74 toathre tɔθhrɪ [two or three], *tup'nce* (tʃp'ns), "we say *thrip'nce*, *fip'nce*, and so on". 76 tooad tɔvd. 89 boath bɔθh. 92 knaw NAA. A': 102 aks aks. 103 akst akst. 104 rooad rɔvd. 106 brooad brɔvd. — laady lɛdɪ [lady]. 108 doaf dɔv. — frowt frɔvt [for aught]. 115 hoam ɔvm, H ɔvm. 121 goan gɔvm. 122 noan nɔvm. 124 stoans stɔvns. 125 o'nly ɔnli [meaning lonely, otherwise (nɔbet)]. 130 bo-at bɔvt. 136 awther ʌdθɛr [more frequent than 213]. 137 nawther nʌdθɛr [more frequent than 214].

Æ- 138 fa-a'ither fɛdθɛr, H fadhɛr. 145 [*slafterhahse* slafter aas]. 152 watter watɛr. Æ: 161 daah dɛv [daah'talwark (dɛv'tɛl'wark) day-work]. 174 esh ɛsh. Æ'- — reich rɛitɪ rak rak [reach]. 183 teich tɛitɪ. — lean lɛn [lean]. Æ': 209 nivver nivvɛr. 213 aather eedθɛr [see 136]. 214 naather nɛdθɛr [see 137]. 223 thear dhɛr. — heeath ɪθh [heath].

E- 233 speik spɛik. 237 blaen blɛvn. 241 raan rɛvn. — steil stɛil [steal]. 245 mɛil. — eit ɛit [eat]. 251 meit mɛit. E: 256 ratch ratɪ. 269 sen sɛn. 285 cresh kresh. E'- 289 ye yeh jii jɛ ["*eh*, this sign is to be sounded like *er* in *serv'd*"]. 290 ii ɪ. 291 theh thee dhɛ dhii. 293 weh we wɛ wii [*wɛ'me bahn* (wii)m baan] we are going]. E': 306 heit hɛ'it.

EA: 323 fowt fɔvt. 326 owd ɔvd. 330 hod ɔd. 324 hauf ʌʌf. 338 caw-el kʌ'ɛl, H kʌʌl. 344 barn barn. 345 [*athersaah* (a)dhɛr)saa] I dare say]. 346 gaate yate gɛvt jɛt. EA'- 347 heead ɪvd. 348 [pl. een iin]. 349 faew fɛ'u. EA': 353 breaad brɪvd. 355 deef dɛv. — lowse lɔvs [loose]. 366 gert gart, great grɪt.

EI- 372 aye ["sounded *I*, yes, our commonest affirmative"] ei ɛi ɛ'i.

EO: 394 yonder jɔndɛr [a word often used for a place understood, *are yeh goin up yonder?*]. 396 wahrk waark, wahterdehs waa'tɛrdɛz [working-days]. 402 lahrn laarn [to teach]. 405 harston aarstɔn [hearthstone]. 406 eearth ɪrθh. EO'- 412 shoo sheh shu she. 414 fleo flɪi [fleas are called *lops* = jumps]. 417 chavlin tʃavlin [as horses do oats]. EO': 425 leet liit. 435 yer yahr jɛr jaar [your]. EY- 438 dee dii.

I- 442 *ivín áivín*, H *ivín* [ʔ]. 444 *stee stii* [ladder]. I: 452 *I ah ái a*, [i in pit], i. 458 *neet niit*. 459 *reight re'it*. 461 *leet on liit on* [to meet with]. 468 *tjldar*. 469 *witteh ? wi'te ?* [wilt thou?]. 477 *finn'd find*. 488 *yit sit*. I'- 496 *i-eron áivren*. I': — *likken lik'n* [liken, probably happen]. 207 *haah mow éu muu* [the pile of hay put in the hay chamber]. 509 *whal wal [until]*. 510 *mine máin*.

O- — *shool shuul* [shovel]. 519 *ovver ovver*. — *afoar vfoer* [afore]. — *throit throit* [throat]. O: 528 *thowt thout*. 532 *coil kóil*. 534 *hoil óil*. 537 *mahldy maaldi* [mouldy]. 541 *weeant wéant*. O'- 555 *shummakker shum-aker*. 559 *muther mudher*. 560 *schooil skóil*. 562 *moo-in máin*. 564 *soo-in súin*. — *smooithnin iron smáidhnin áivren* [smoothing iron]. 566 *uther udher*. 567 *tuther tudher*. O: 578 *ploo stots pluu stots* [farm servants begging on Plough Monday]. 579 *enif enif* [but (enuf) more commonly; pl. *enew* (enu)]. 584 *stooil stóil*. 588 *nooin núin*. 593 [*mun* (mun) used]. 594 *boovits búits*. 595 *fooit fáit*. 596 *ráit*. 597 *sooit súit*.

U- 599 *aboon vbuun*. 602 *sew sah siu saa*. 606 *doar dóer*, H *dúer* [*doarsteid stoans* (dóerste'id stóenz) doorway-stones in front]. U: — *baan* [bound going]. — *bahnd bun baand bun* [bound]. 619 *fun fun*. 623 *fun' fun*. U'- 641 *hah aa*. 642 *thah theh dhaa dhe*. 643 *naa naa*, *enah v'naa* [the now]. 647 *ullot ulot* [howlet]. 648 *ahr wer ehz*, *aar wer ez* [*ehzse'nz* (ezsenz) ourselves]. 650 *abahi vbaat*. 651 *baht baat*. U': 655 *fahl faal* [ugly]. 658 *dahn daan*. 663 *hahse aas*. 665 *mahs maas*. 667 *ahí aat*. — *clahí klaat* [clout]. 668 *prahde praad*. 671 *mahth maath*.

Y- 673 *mich mitj*. Y: 683 *midge midj* [a gnat]. 684 *brig brig*. 685 *rig rig* [a man's back]. 689 *beeld bild*. 694 *wark waark* [ache or work said of head, belly, or tooth (túith)]. 699 *reet riit* [a wheelwright only, see 459]. 700 *war warse waar waars*. 702 *wee* [emphatic, when not] *wi* [i as in bit] *wii wi* [*sahnt goa wee him, thah wor wi meh* (saant góe wii im, dhaa 'wor wi)me) shan't go with him, thou wast with me]. Y'- 706 *wah waa* [term of doubt, not interrogative].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 729 *fraame fréem* [to set about doing a thing]. E. 748 *fig'd figd*. O. 768 *cowke kóuk*. 769 *mouldewarp móuldiwaarp*. — *soil sóil* [sole of the foot]. — *draand dréand* [drown]. U. 793 *hug ug* [to carry]. 804 *drukken druk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *faace fées*. 812 *laace lées* [to beat, hide]. 840 *cha'mer tjaamer*. 841 *chance tjans*. 850 *donce dons*. 852 *raare réer* [very much, great]. E.. — *yarbs jaarbz* [herbs]. 890 *beas bees* [pl. horned cattle]. 893 *fahh flaar*. I.. and Y.. 910 *jyst djáist*. O.. 929 *cahcummer kaakummer*. — *rahnd raand* [round]. 939 *cloise klóis* [sb. field]. 944 *lahnce laans* [allowance]. 956 *kiver* [a set of corn sheaves built up in the field to dry].

VAR. vi. DEWSBURY.

Dewsbury is only five miles w. of Wakefield, yet the dialect differs much. Dewsbury is a manufacturing town, and has a special trade connecting it with Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds. Wakefield is like a county town, with no manufacture, and, as we have seen, has practically Leeds pron. CCR. says Dewsbury is most nearly related to Halifax, but has several distinctive elements characteristic of Rotherham. And hence its position among the varieties.

The main phonetic difference from Leeds is in the treatment of I' and U'. In the cs. (*máin láik náin táim wáin drái báis*) mine, like, nine, time, whine, dry, b'ye, are treated like as at Leeds. But CCR. says the dialect is most characterised

in the neighbouring villages, and there I' is but 'casually' (ái), and 'commonly' (óí), the length of the first element varying in each case. "Thus the name of one of the chief villages, *Heckmondwike*, is (:e'kenwóok), or to a native with a habit of contraction to (:e'kenwook), which is the form usually employed." Hence he adds, "It is a difficult thing for a Leeds person to follow a Heckmondwike speaker, the long (oo) [almost (AA)] so transforms the words. The two varieties v and vi are in excessive contrast to the ear, and the Leeds native is prone to pity and be amused at the loud more uncouth speech in which the Heckmondwike native indulges." Although CCR. generally retains Leeds (ái), in the cs. he has (wóel wol) while, and the personal pronoun *I* is sometimes (o, e) in (o)m, e)m) I'm.

But the treatment of U' and its congeners is entirely different from that at Leeds, as shewn in (dést, nee, widheet, eet, greend, éeus, deen, been) doubts, now, without, out, ground, house, down, boun (going). This deviation from the uniform Leeds and Wakefield (aa) must needs tend to render the Heckmondwike speaker still more unintelligible. In this respect Dewsbury resembles Halifax and Bradford. On account of my surprise at the great difference of treatment of U' in the contiguous towns of Wakefield and Dewsbury, CCR. wrote to a printer at Wakefield to give him the pron. of half a dozen words at these two places. I give the result in the printer's orthography with CCR.'s interpretation (translated from glossic into pal.) to shew the exceeding difficulty of understanding local spellings, which are read off at once by natives. See also Mr. Banks's Wakefield spellings, in the cwl. p. 401.

COMMON SPELLING.	WAKEFIELD. = PAL.		DEWSBURY. = PAL.	
down	<i>dahn</i>	daan	<i>dāan</i>	déem
town	<i>tahn</i>	taan	<i>taahn</i>	téem
house	<i>hahse</i>	aas	<i>haahse</i>	éeus
ground	<i>grahnd</i>	graand	<i>graahtnd</i>	gréend
time	<i>time</i>	táim	<i>tahm</i>	tóom ¹
no	<i>noh</i>	noo	<i>noah</i>	núuv ²

¹ not (*taam*), CCR.

² quite as frequently without the (v), CCR.

Mr. Ridgway, who had resided at Dewsbury 37 years, sent a cs. in io. to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which, as interpreted by CCR., gave similar results in most cases.

The other differences need no particular observations. They will be clear from the interlinear cs.

BARNSELY dt.

As CCR. included Barnsley in Var. vi. (see p. 367), I annex a dt. obtained from Mr. Widdop, a native, b. 1816, by TH. in 1887, in which observe the use of (*u*) in (*ku*min *u*_op *dr*u_oqkən).

1. A sè, ladz, joo síi naa et a)m rE'it ebaat dhat lét'l las ku_omin thrè)t skú'íl jonder.
2. shu)z gú'ín daan)t rôud dhíer on)t' left and síid v)t' rôud.
3. síi vè ! t' t'já'ild)z gòn strE'it *u*_op t)v)t' raq' dúer, [aas].
4. wíer shu)l ap'n fá'ind dhat dru_oqkən díef wíz'nd fèlè, ez dhe kaal :tomi.
5. wi AAL noo im vari wá'il.
6. wíent t' óud t'jap sú'ín tE'it' [lárn] er nót tè du)it' egíen, púer thíq !
7. síi vè ! izent it tríuu ?

Notes to Dewsbury cs. p. 367.

0. *what for*. There is a form *why*, (*wee*) at Dewsbury and Halifax, (*woo*) at Bradford, but generally (*waa*) in the s. varieties; this, however, is used like *well*, (*waa*, *dhaa* siiz a *wər* *fūst* tə *gūw*), *why*, thou seest I was forced to go, (*wi* tə *kum* ? *waa*) wilt thou come? well. The rural form is (*wāaɪə*), the (ɛ) very distinct.—*doubts*, see introductory remarks p. 403.

2. *they are laughed at*, there is no *are* in the dialect.—*we know don't we*; the dialect is here remarkable.—*should*, (*shud*, *sud*) and other forms used.—*not*, both (*nut*, *not*).

3. *however*, (*ɛmsəmi*·*vər*) also used.—*these are*, the (*dh*) initial is sometimes omitted, etc., more frequently at Leeds.—*all about the concern from the thread to the needle*, a common phrase in the neighbourhood introduced by CCR.

5. *great* or (*gəət*).—*father*, the possessive 's sometimes inserted.

7. *two or three* also (*túvthrə*).

8. *concern* also (*konsaa*·*n*).—*aye*, either (*oo*, *ee*).—*I am bound for it*, the short (*a*) is used for the pron. *I*,

but it does not extend beyond Dewsbury. The Barnsley dialect literature has it, but it is really quite unknown there, says CCR. Yet in TH.'s Barnsley dt. p. 403 (A) occurs for *I*.

9. *stretched* or (*reekt*)=reached.—*ground* also (*grund*), which is the normal form.—*Sunday* or (*be*·*təmi*) bettermost.

10. *in a humour* or (*in* ɪ *frat* [θrat] *wi* *vsee*·*n*) in a quarrel with herself.

11. *hanging* or (*iqin*).—*to dry* or (*fə* *druffin*).

13. *until* (*tɪl* *wol*), till while, and (*u*·*ntəl*) also used.

14. *ʔ other thing*, here CCR. inserts the phrase, for which there was no room in the 8 cs. (*t* *best* *kumz* *lat* *ət*) *s nut* *wantəd*, the best, or most welcome, come late who are not wanted [the sense is not very clear]; obs. the last syllable of (*wantəd*); this pron. is quite unknown at Leeds, but becomes prominent in conversation from Dewsbury to Rotherham, remarks CCR.

VAR. vii. ROTHERHAM AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES.

This form differs materially from the last. The *I*' is generally (*óí*) and the *U*' (*aa*), while *O*' is not so frequently (*óí* *óí* *úí*). The great difference consists in remnants of the verbal plural in *-en* and a suspicion of the inf. in *-en*, see cs. notes, par. 1. The appearance of (*oo*) in many words is also remarkable as (*noodhər*, *noo*, *oo*·*və*·*və*, *trooth*, *thro*, *kool*, *ool*, *toolk*), neither, know, however, truth, through, call, all, talk. It reminds one of the difference between Hexham and Newcastle, Nb.

CCR. says he considered the Rotherham purer than the Sheffield form of the dialect, and hence selected it.

Notes to Rotherham cs., p. 367.

1. *who cares?* this might have been rendered (*wot*)s *əz* *kéer* what does us [=do we] care.

2. *make* (*meen*) is also used and (*mee*) before vowels; in this case (*meen*) would be an infinitive in *-en*. CCR. says, "I used frequently to hear the infinitive in *-n* in the Rotherham district. I found the dialect, as usual, in greatest character in outlying villages, and there I familiarised myself with the dialect of the inhabitants of Rawmarsh (2

n-by-*e*. Rotherham). The verbal plural in *-n* I often heard." I think that the supposed hearing of the inf. in *-n*, of which I have got no confirmation, may have arisen from some confusion, see p. 379, par. 2. The occurrence of the verbal pl. in *-en* on the La. and Db. borders is very remarkable in connection with its practical absence elsewhere. See introductory remarks to D 24, p. 364.

3. *the matters of the truth*, (*fakt*) *fact* is used, but is commonly avoided in conversation.—*hearest thou now?*

4. *I heard them say*, another instance of the inf. in *-n*, and in this case any action of the verbal pl. in *-n* seems out of the question.

5. *youngest*, or (*joqis*), according to CCR. short (*o*, *i*) in closed accented syllables, generally rare, not unfrequently occur in this variety. Perhaps, however, they may be medial (*o*, *i*).—*trust*, (*trost*) is also used.—*Marry!* (*marə*) this is a singular usage, it is also found at Wakefield.

6. *if you will only ask her*, (*jo)n*)

for (*jo wilen*) is another instance of the verbal plural in *-n*, but see par. 13.

7. *what do you think*, here in (*wət*)*en*) for what (*doon dən*) we have another verbal plural in *-n*, but it is not in this case followed by the inf. in *-n*.

8. *the whole history as to*, as (*ws*)*t*) is interpreted by CCR.

13 *do you know*, here (*dən*) is the verbal pl., and (*noon*) the inf., both in *-n*. In the text (*noon*) is misprinted (*noou*) p. 375.

VAR. viii. SHEFFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

This is practically identical with Var. vii. The little differences between CCR.'s Rotherham and Prof. Parkes's Sheffield (p. 367) probably arise from my having, in the latter case, to interpret an orthography which, although systematic generally, left many words in the ordinary spelling. Prof. Parkes obligingly answered numerous questions, but unfortunately several little points were left unexplained, and the spelling of the unaccented and common words and syllables and the use of the (*r*) is open to doubt. TH. heard "consonantal *r*" always.

The dialectal short *a* in *man*, Prof. Parkes stated to be "not like Fr. *chatte*, but exactly like *a* in *man*," which he said "is certainly pronounced by speakers of the Sheffield dialect as in English proper," adding that "in Db. even within a few miles of Sheffield, *man* is pronounced *mon*, the *o* like *o* in *not*, and cannot, *cōnnā*." It seems to me that the Sheffield sound was an error of appreciation, as the presumed Db. sounds certainly are. Hence, on the authority of CCR., who was often in Sheffield, I have used (*a*) throughout, and not (*æ*). TH. heard chiefly (*a*), but occ. (*a*¹), and once even (*æ*).

Then I' he heard "nearly like *aw* in *caw*, and *ee* in *seen* conjoined," and I have therefore rendered his long *i* by (*o*²), which is after all possibly an error for (*ái*) or (*óí*). TH. generally heard (*Á*¹*i*, *Δ*¹*i*).

Prof. Parkes admits the verbal pl. in *-en* in (*wət dən jo thiq? dən jo noo?*). I have found this construction also in "The Sheffield Dialect in conversation, 'uppa are hull arston' [upon our grinding room hearthstone, by the fire in our grinding room], written be a Shevild chap," 1834, as "ween hed enuff o this; han yo heeard? ween letten [we have lighted] uz poips; ween hed a vara foine swatch [sample] at march o intellect; ween ole been sca'rd hate on uz wits [we have all been scared out of our wits]; ween had a moist [nice] mess." But neither Prof. Parkes nor the other writer have the inf. in *-en*.

VAR. ix. DONCASTER.

On comparing the Leeds and Doncaster cwl., it will be found at first sight that they are considerably different, although CCR. considered the Leeds dialect to stretch down as far as Doncaster with some modification. The main distinction is in the U' words, which have (*áu*) at Doncaster, and (*aa*) at Leeds. But CCR. admits that at Pontefract (*áu*) is heard, although I obtained (*aa*) from East Hardwick (2 s. Pontefract). Dr. Sykes says that the frontier of (*aa*, *áu*) occurs about Conisbrough (5 sw. Doncaster), nearly half way between Doncaster and Rotherham, and 14 sse. Pontefract.

It would appear then that this usage occurs in a narrow slip to the e. of D 24, running 6 or 8 miles w. of its e. b. Dr. Sykes says (*áu*) is heard at Arnthorpe (3 e. Doncaster), though 4 m. further to the e. we come upon (*uu*). The (*áu*) also runs s. into the n. of Nt., see D 27. It is very difficult to place this (*áu*) region, but it is most convenient to consider it as a variety in D 24, of which it retains some peculiarities.

For example, the O words, *hole*, *coal*, are called (*hól*, *kól*) with a secondary, probably original form (*kúv*), with which (*fúv*) foal may be compared. All these words have (*óv*, *úv*) or thereabouts in the other varieties. But the O' words, which have elsewhere also the same form, here are simple (*uu*) or (*u*), as (*gud buuk*) good book. In this respect they resemble Nt. D 27, from which this variety may have sprung, but at any rate it has been long affected by D 24, of which it is locally part.

A comparison of the D(oncaster) and L(eeds) words gives us roughly the following results:

A-	D. (<i>ee</i>), L. (<i>éev</i>).	EOR D.	(<i>aa</i>), L. (<i>íiv</i>), both omitting
A:	D. (<i>oq</i>), L. (<i>eq</i>).		(<i>r</i>).
A'	D. & L. gen. (<i>úv</i>).	EO'	D. (<i>shii</i>), L. (<i>shuu</i>). This is
Æ	D. & L. practically the same.		a difference in a cardinal
Æ'	D. (<i>ii</i>), L. (<i>íiv</i>).		point.
E-	D. (<i>ee</i>), L. (<i>éev éi</i>).	I'	D. & L. practically the same.
E'	D. & L. practically the same.	O	D. & L. in some words (<i>óv</i> , <i>úv</i>).
EA	D. & L. much the same.	O'	D. (<i>uu</i>), L. (<i>úui</i>).
EA'	D. (<i>ii</i>) gen. with few (<i>íiv</i>), L.	U	D. & L. alike (<i>u</i>).
	gen. (<i>íiv</i>).	U'	D. (<i>áu</i>), L. (<i>aa</i>).

Of course there are numerous individual exceptions to these general statements. The similarity is therefore confined to the treatment of A', Æ, E', EA, I', U, and part of O; the differences appear in A-, Æ', E, EA', O part, O' arising principally from Doncaster mostly rejecting fractures, and also especially U', where the fracture is in Doncaster, while L. is simple. If we suppose that the few existing fractures had been acquired by contact with the other varieties, the resemblance to n.Nt., and in fact to D 27 generally, would be much closer.

DONCASTER cwl.

from a wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Sykes, M.D., who had been acquainted with the dialect since 1841, but was not a native. The aspirate is quite lost. Dr. Sykes could not be depended on to distinguish (*u*, *u*) and is credited here with (*u*). He seemed to use (*æ*) and not (*e*). When not before a vowel, (*r*) is omitted very much, and here I have omitted it regularly, but before a vowel it is 'rough' from Wakefield to Skipton, and of course the omitted (*r*) reappears before a following vowel, as (*múv*, *múvrv*) it). This cwl. has such a refined look in many parts, that I particularly inquired, and was assured that the pronunciation was that of the poorer peasant people, but possibly they may have refined it in conversing with their doctor.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *beek*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 7 *seek*. 8 *av*. 9 *bi;eev*. 12 *saa*. 14 *droo*

[occ.]. 15 AA. 17 LA. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sham. 34 last. 35 AAL. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom. 40 kom. 43 and. 46 kan'l. 47 wandb. 50 toqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thru thre. 59 lam. 60 loq. 61 vmoq. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 66 saq soq. A'- 67 gúv. 70 túv. 72 woo. 73 súv. 74 tuu. 75 strook. 76 túvd. 78 AA. 79 AAN. 80 alíde. 84 múvr. 85 súv. 86 wots. 89 búvth. 90 blAA. 91 MA. 92 NAA. 93 snAA. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 sAA. 98 NAAN. 99 thraan. 100 saan. A': 101 ook. 102 aks. 105 rúvd. 106 brood. 107 lúvf. 108 dof [? at Doncaster]. 110 not nóvt [nought]. 111 out. 115 wom. 118 búvn. 122 núvn. 124 stúvn. 125 [(nobvt) used]. 127 úvst. 128 dhóez. 130 búvt. 132 ot. 136 AADhv. A- 138 feadhv. 144 egien. 150 lést. 152 wətər. 153 setədv. A: 158 eftv [but (at aftv)]. 160 eg. 163 lee. 168 talv. 171 baali. 172 gres. 173 was. 174 vsh. 175 fəst fəv'n [fasten]. 179 wat. 181 path. A'- 182 sii. 183 teetv. 184 leed. 185 riid. 186 brədvth [(d) heard]. 187 liiv. 188 [(wini) whinney, used]. 189 wee [not (wéev)]. 190 kéev. 191 iil. 192 min. 193 klin. 194 eni oni. 197 tpiiz. 200 vívt. 202 iit. A': 204 diid. 205 thred. 206 rvd. 207 niid'l. 210 klee. 211 gréi. 215 toot. 216 diil. 218 shiip [not (ship)]. 221 fiiv. 222 éev. 223 dhúv. 224 wAA. 225 físh. 226 móvst. 228 svwt. 229 brieth. 230 fat. E- 232 brək [(briik) supposed to be correct, p.p. (brak)]. 233 speek [occ.]. 237 bleen. 238 bđv. 239 seel. 240 leen. 241 reen. 243 plee. 246 kvin. 247 viin. 249 víiv. 250 sviiv. 252 ket'l. 254 lvdhv. 255 wvdhv. E: 257 bđv. 258 sedv. 259 vvdv. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 street. 268 eldist. 270 bələs. 272 el'm. 273 men. 280 ilv'n. 281 lvnth. 282 strvnth. 284 thrvsh. 287 biiz'm. 288 lvt. E'- 289 jii [even when addressing a single person]. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kiip. 301 iiv. 302 miit. 303 sviit. E': 305 ái. 306 áit. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 iil. 312 iiv. 314 ívd. 315 fiit. EA: 321 [(siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fvt. 326 ood. 330 vd. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 333 kAAf. 334 Aaf AAPni [halfpenny]. 335 AAL. 345 daavnt [dare not]. 346 veet. EA'- 347 ívd. 348 ái. EA': 350 dvd. 351 lvd. 352 rvd. 354 shiif. 356 liif. 359 neevv. 361 biiv. 363 tvjep. 366 grvt grit. 368 deth. 369 slAA. 370 rAA. 371 strAA. EI- 372 éev. 374 néev. EI: 378 week. 382 dhéev. EO- 386 voo. 387 níu. EO: 390 shvd. 393 bivont. 397 svvd. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faadin. 408 [(naad) used]. EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shii. 413 divil. 414 fiiv. 416 diiv. 417 tvju. 418 brúv. 421 foti. EO': 423 théi. 424 raf. 425 liit. 426 féit. 427 bii. 428 sii. 430 frvnd. 431 biiv. 436 trúv. 437 trúvth. EY- 438 dái. I- 440 viik. 442 áivn. 443 fráivv. 444 stáil. 448 dhívnz [?]. 450 tívzdv. I: 452 a, i. 454 vitv. 455 líg. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 réit. 460 wéev. 462 sáit. 464 vitv. 465 sitv. 468 tvjldv. 471 tímbe [(b) pronounced]. 472 sriqk. 475 wáivnd. 477 fáivnd. 481 fíqgv. 486 víst. 487 vístvdv. 488 víst. I'- 491 sái. 496 áivn [(r) distinct]. 497 vráiv. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 náif. 505 wáif. 506 wáivn. 507 wívin. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáivn. 513 wáiv. 514 áis. 515 wáiv. 516 wívdv. O- 520 voo. 521 fúv. 522 op'n. 523 úvp. O: 526 kof. 527 bóvt. 528 thóvt. 529 bróvt. 530 róvt. 531 dóvtv. 532 kúv kóil. 534 éil. 536 goold. 538 wvd. 540 oliv. 545 op. 550 vod. 551 stAA. 552 kAA. 553 AAN. O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 559 mvdhv. 563 mvdv. 565 núvz. 566 vdhv. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 gvđ. 572 blvd. 573 fívd. 575 stúvd. 576 wvd'nvzv. 577 buu. 578 plíu [vb.], pluu [sb.]. 579 vuvf. 580 tvf. 581 sóvt. 582 kuul. 583 tuul. 584 stúul. 585 bruum. 586 duu. 587 dvn. 590 fívv. 591 múvv. 592 sávv. 594 buut. 595 ívt. 596 ruut. 597 svt. U- 599 vbu. 600 luv. 601 fául. 603 kvn. 605 svn. 606 dvvv. 607 bvthv. U: 608 vglí. 609 íul. 610 wvl. 612 svn. 613 druvk. 614 ávnd. 615 pvnd. 616 grvnd. 617 sávnd. 618 wáivnd. 619 ívn. 620 grvn.

621 wáund. 622 undæ. 625 tuq. 626 uqge. 628 nun. 629 sun. 630 wun. 631 thæozdæ. 632 up. 633 kup. 634 thraf. 637 tusk. 638 busk. 639 dust. U'- 640 káu. 641 áu. 642 dháu. 643 náu. 645 dæv. 647 ánd. 648 áwæ. 649 tháuzænd. 652 kwd. 653 but. U': 655 fául. 656 ráum. 657 bráun. 658 dáun. 659 táun. 660 báuw. 661 sháuw. 662 uz. 663 áus. 664 láus. 665 máus. 667 áut. 668 práud. 670 bundh. 671 máuth. 672 sáuth.
 Y- 673 mutj. 676 lái. 679 tjetj. 680 bizi. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báí. 689 bíld [pp. (bælt, biult)]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 697 bæri. 701 fost. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thætti'n. 708 áiv. Y': 709 fáiv. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 733 skáav. 737 meet. 740 weev. .E. 743 skríem. 746 bríudh. 751 píst. I. and Y. 756 srímp. O. 761 láued. 762 okem. 768 kóuk. 769 modi. 778 efúed. 782 pudhæ. U. 792 skwab'l. 799 skul. 802 rum. 803 djump. 805 krudz. 808 put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 828 eegi. 840 tjeemur. 845 eenshent. 846 tjanle. 847 deendjæ. 852 apæren. 864 kos. 865 faat. E.. 878 salæri. 886 friie. 890 bíest. 891 fiest. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 910 djáist [the verb (te djáist) to put cattle out to feed]. 911 sæstræn. O.. kúvtj. 916 onjen. 917 rúeg. 921 ekwent. 922 bushil. 925 va'is. 926 spo'il. 929 káukambæ. 931 djugle. 933 frunt. 940 kúvt. 942 butjæ. 943 tutj. 944 eldu. 947 bo'il. 950 super. 952 kúes. 955 dóut. 956 kuva. 957 emplo'i. U.. 961 gríu'el. 963 kwáit. 964 síujit. 965 o'il. 966 frút. 967 síut. 969 síue. 970 djúst. 971 fiút.

D 25 = wMM. = Western Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the mouth of the Mersey, and pursue that river to just w. of Stockport, then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to the confluence of the Etherow and the Goyt, at nw. corner of Db., and continue along the b. of Db. to Whaley Bridge, then entering Db. proceed se. over Horwich, keeping n. of Combs Edge township, and just sw. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. Then pass along the summits of Combs Moss, Long Hill, and Burbage Edge (lying n. and w. of Buxton, Db.) to Moss House on the b. of Ch., and enter St. at Quarford between Flash and Leek Frith, passing over the hills called the Roaches (:ræ'utjæz), and, sweeping on the w. of Butterton and Wetton, e. of Grindon and through Blore e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and so pass sw. to Rocester. Then go w. along the s. *teeth* line 4 to the Dee, first passing wsw. to n. of Leigh, which has (áu), and probably through Hilderstone to Stone. Then pass just w. of Norton-in-Hales (ái) in the ne. horn of Sh., and go nearly n. by the n. of Audlem (áu), to the b. of Ch. s. of Burley Dam (just s. of Combermere Park). Then keep s. of Marbury, w. of Malpas, and Broxton, and e. of Farndon to the Dee about Aldford, and follow this river and the sea round to the mouth of the Mersey. The part of the nw. horn of Ch. which lies n. of Bebington, Higher and Lower (3 s. Birkenhead), is affected by Liverpool and Birkenhead influence, that is, it has no dialect proper, but is included in D 25 for geographical reasons, just as Scilly and w.Co. in D 12 were considered to belong to the S. div. For the whole description of this boundary I am indebted to the personal observations of TH., confirmed in part by Mr. T. Darlington.

Area. Nearly the whole of Ch. (except its ne. horn, and a narrow strip at the sw.) with a small strip on the nw. of Db., and most of St. lying n. of a line drawn nearly e. and w. through Stone, including "the Potteries," with the exception of the narrow slip adjoining Db.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic orthography, ° io.

Ch. || Altrincham, † Alvanley, † Audlem, † Beeston, * Bickley, † Bowdon, † Broxton, † Buerton, † Congleton, † Great Neston, † Hatton Heath, † Helsby, † Knutsford, † Lymm, † Malpas, † Marbury, † Middlewich, ° Mobblerly, † Mouldsworth, † Nantwich, † Northenden, † Northwich, † Pott Shrigley, † Sandbach, † Stockport, † Tarporley, † Waverton.

Db. † Combs Valley, † Fernilee.

Sh. † Norton-in-Hales, † Pipe Gate.

St. ° Audley, ° Betley, ° Biddulph, † Blythe Marsh, † Burslem, ° Cheadle, † Frog-hall, † Leek, † Leek Frith, † Longport, † Madeley, † Oakamoor, † Rocester, ° Shelton, † Stoke-upon-Trent, † Stake Gutter Farm, † Stone, † Tunstall, ° Wolstanton.

Character. The general and most striking characters to a stranger are the treatment of

U' in (*áis dáin táin*) house down town.

I' in (*táim*) varying to (*ta'im*) time, and always distinct from the last, with (*éi*) in a few words, as (*wéi b'éil*) why boil.

E', as (*míi*) me, varying to (*éi*), especially in m.Ch., and to (*é'i*) in St.

A- in (*tiil*) tale, except in ne.Ch. and St., where it is (*teel*).

ÆG and EG (*tiil wii*) tail way, becoming (*teel wee*) in ne.Ch. and part of St.

O', most frequently (*é'u*), as (*mæ'un*), varying as (*mæ'un*) in St.

These may be taken as the great characteristics, of which (*ái*) for U' is chief.

We may consider that there are three varieties in Ch. and one in St., but the differences are very minute. T.H. draws two lines through Ch., (1) from opposite Warrington, La., w. of Knutsford and e. of Northwich, just w. of Siddington (5 wsw. Macclesfield), and e. of Lower Withington (1 sw. of Siddington) and n. of Bosley (5 s. Macclesfield); and (2) from Frodsham (4 s. Runcorn on the Mersey) through Delamere Forest, e. of Tarporley and Calverley, and w. of Wettenhall, to 2 n. Nantwich, and then e. by Crewe to Church Lawton (5 ssw. Congleton). All e. of (1) may be termed e.Ch., and uses (*dee*, *teel*) day, tail and tale, and (*míi*, *íi*, *dhíiz*) me, he, these; all w. and s. of (2) may be termed w.Ch.; and the part between (1) and (2) m.Ch. In the s. parts of w. and m.Ch. they say (*méi*, *éi*, *dhéiz*), and in n.St. these are (*mé'i*, *é'i*, *dhe'iz*), but in the n. parts of w. and m.Ch. these become (*míi*, *íi*, *dhíiz*), as in e.Ch.

T.H. has made a thorough examination of the pronunciation of received long *ā* (*ee*, *ee'j*) in these districts, and gives the words he actually heard used. These words are very varied in origin, and it is best perhaps to leave them in T.H.'s order, marking only the Ws. or Norse forms; the rest, the majority, being English or Romance.

Var. i. wCh. The following words had (ii): (1) bacon, conversation, Æ-father, newspaper, relations, station, 'tatoes, Æ- water, Waverton; (2) cane, crate, escaped, estate, face, facing, female, A- game, A' lane, A- late, lately, A- name, often (*neem*), place, plate, sale, mostly (*seel*), A same, A- take, taken, wake, often (*week*), Wales; (3) entertaining, explain, fail, faint, laid, ÆG nail, paint, plain, EG rain, E1 raise, EG sails, train, wait; (4) EG away, ÆG day, Æ'G gray, I'G hay, jay, lay, leastways, May, Naylor, pay, EG play, EG say, stay, EG way. T.H. also remarks that *tr-*, *dr-*, or *-ter*, *-der* become (*t.r*, *d.r*) or (*-t.r*, *-d.r*) in e.Ch., and are ordinary English (*tr-*, *dr-*) elsewhere.

Var. ii. m.Ch. The following words were heard with (*ee*): Æ- father, station, 'tatoes, EA: gate, A' lane, A- make.

But *all* the following had (ii): (1) baby, bacon, A- baking, crazy, Davenham,

father [which had both (*ee*) and (*ii*)], grandfather, potato [also (*ee*)], Ravenscroft (:riinzkrøft), station [also (*ee*)], *Æ*: wakened, *Æ*- water; (2) agate, Bates, A- cake, change, crape, A- game, A'- lane [also (*ee*)], A- late, A- made, A- name, place, plate, platelayers, safe, A- stake, trapes; (3) drain, EG laid, paid, plain, EG rain, *Æ*G tail, train, wait; (4) EG away, *Æ*'G clay, *Æ*G day, *Æ*'G grey, I'G hay, hayfield, *Æ*G may, pay, platelayers, EG play, EG say, EG way. TH. says that the words in (1) and (2) have (*ee*) in the s. of m. Ch. at Congleton, Sandbach, and Lower Withington and neighbourhood.

Var. iii. e.Ch. With very few exceptions all rec. (*ee*) remain (*ee*), and do not become (*ee*'j) or (*éi*).

Var. iv. n.St. Here the change is slightly more considerable. A- is (*ee*), A' commonly (uu) or (oo), *Æ*- (*ee*) in father, water, but *Æ*G (ii), *Æ*' generally (ii), EG is (ii), long E'- is (é'i), apt to sound to a Londoner as his *ā*, thus *green grain* pron. (græ'in griin) sounds nearer to *grain green*, the words being just reversed. This belongs also to m.Ch., but it is more marked in n.St.; long EO'- is also pron. (é'i) in three, tree, etc. I' becomes almost (A'i) though intended only for (ái). O' is still occasionally (æ'u), but this passes into (ÿu), as (diu) do, on the one hand, and (æ'u), as (mæ'un) moon, on the other, shewing clearly the instability of the combination (æ'u) and its aptitude to generate (ÿ, a'u) forms, by a direct process, which must have played a great part in the history of language. Of course U is (u_o), but *come* is singularly enough (kam), elsewhere also it is often an exception. U' is (ái), but Y' becomes (é'i) the same as E, hence we have *mouse, mice* (máis, mæ'is), which has a singular effect.

In all these varieties there is a peculiar form of the negative auxiliary verb, as (kone, ku_odnə, aznə, mu_onə, shanə, shatnə, winə, wu_onə, wu_odnə) can't, couldn't, has'n't, mus'n't, sha'n't, shall not, won't, wouldn't, all of which receive a euphonic (r) when a vowel follows, according to the observations of TH. He has also pointed out the singular omission of the preposition *to* in Ch., which extends also to n.St., thus in sentences actually heard, (gu_o bɛ'd) go to bed, (i)l kam àr áis) he'll come to our house, (ev A gu :kræ'u) if I go to Crewe, (fast ez A kam wark fɛr) first as I came to work here, (art dhə gæ'uin fɛr :kristis tenít) art thou going to hear Christies (the Christy Minstrels) to-night? Even in the common, though not at present literary, form *for to*, the *to* is omitted, thus (fɛr gu ən-) for to go, and, (ka'rɪn fɛr ku_ot jɛt) corn for to cut yet, (i was fɛr séi) he was for to see [all over the forest, as steward of the Crown], (iv ani bádí kamz fɛr bái), if anybody comes for to buy, (wi ad fɛr gu ráind) we had for to go round.

Illustrations. First, four dt. from Bickley, w.Ch., Sandbach, m.Ch., and Leek, St., all obtained from dict. of natives, and from Combs and Fernilee, Db., from the personal knowledge of TH. Next, five cs. placed interlinearly in order to make the minute distinctions of the varieties more distinct. As they were obtained at different times, and from different people, there are little discrepancies in the versions, but there is a surprising agreement of pronunciation. Tarporey illustrates Var. i. w.Ch.; Middlewich, Var. ii. m.Ch.; Pott-Shrigley, Var. iii. e.Ch.; while the Dale of Goyt variants shew the very slight differences in the Db. strip (which is also shewn in the Combs dt.), and the Burslem illustrates Var. iv. n.St. Also cwl. are appended from w.Ch. and n.St. The differences in m. and e. Ch. being regular, no cwl. have been made for them. I am also able to give a very complete cwl. for the neighbourhood of Bickley, s.Ch., arranged from Mr. Darlington's *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, communicated to me in MS. In the L. div. I also give the first chapter of Ruth, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington, and transliterated into pal. by AJE. It is given there in connection with three L. and one S. version of the same chapter. I wish here to express my obligations to Mr.

T. Darlington, and to refer the reader to his excellent Folk-speech of s.Ch. printed by the English Dialect Society, with its numerous examples in Glossic, and its prefixed essays on Grammar and Pronunciation.

FOUR INTERLINEAR dt.

B. Var. i. *Bickley* township, Ch. (5 n.w. Whitechurch, Sh.), pal. in June and July, 1886, by A.J.E. from the dictation of T. Darlington, Esq., native of Burland (3 w.w. Nantwich), who was perfectly familiar with Bickley sp.

S. Var. ii. *Sandbach* (4 n.e. Crewe), m.Ch., pal. in 1881 by T.H. from dict. of J. Capper, native, b. 1823, boot and shoemaker, his sister and her family.

L. Var. iv. *Leek*, St., pal. in 1880 by T.H. from dict. of Mr. V. Daniels, native, b. about 1835.

C. Var. iv. also, *Combs* and *Fernilee*, especially the Db. valley s. of Chapel-en-le-Frith and n. of Buxton, written 1882 in pal. by T.H. from his own knowledge and consultation vv. with his relatives there, see also D 21, p. 321, l. 15 from bottom. In this case I have deviated from the usual plan here pursued (see p. 317, l. 16), and have inserted suspended consonants, and T.H.'s own form (*ú*, *u*) for my (*æ*, *u*), and retracted (*i*), but no peculiar mark for (*r*), as this specimen represents his own personal observations upon himself and relatives.

1. *Bickley*. *só a sii*, *mèts*, *ʒ séin* [siin] *nái*, *əz di*)m *réit* [riit]

Sandbach. *ʌ sii*, *tjaps*, *ʒo séin* *naa*, *əz ʌ*)m *réit*

Leek. *ʌ sii*, *tjaps*, *ʒ séin* *naa*, *ʌ*)m *re'it*

Combs. *ʌ)se'*, *ladz*, *ʒo)siin* *naa*, *əz ʌ*)m *riit'*

B *əbáit* dhat *lit'l* wensh *ku*,*mi*,*n* frəm)th *skæ'u* *jandə* *r*,*o*.

S *əbáit* dhat *lit'l* wentj *komín* frəm)s *skiæ'u* *jonder*.

L *əbáit* dhat *lit'l* wentj *kamín* frəm) *jonder* *skjæ'u*.

C *əbáit* dhat *lit'l* wentj *kamín* *fər*)s)sk, *ú*,*ù* *jond*.

2. B *æ'u*)z *gæ'u*,*in* *dáin* th)rood *dhí* *r*,*o*, *thræ'u* th)red *gíit*

S *æ'u*)z *gæ'u*,*in* *dáin* th)leen *dhí* *r*,*o* *thræ'u* th)red *atj*

L *æ*)z *gu*,*in* *dáin* dh)rood *dhí* *r*,*o* *thra'u* dh)red *jeet*

C *ú*,*u*)z *gu*,*in* *dái*,*n* th)rood *dhí* *r*,*o* *thr*,*ú*,*u* th)red' *jeet*

B *ə*)dhə)liff and *sáid* *ə*)dh *wii*.

S *on*)th *liff* and *sáid* *ə*)dh *leen*.

L *on* dh)liff and *sá'id* *ə*)dh *rood*.

C *u*,*pə* th)liff and *sáid* *ə*)th *rood*.

3. B *shæ'ur* *ənu*,*f* th)tj*d*i)l)t)s *gɔn* *stre'it* *u*,*p* tə)th *dæ'ur*

S *lu*,*k*)*ʒ*! th)tj*d*i)l)t)s *gɔ'n* *stre'it* *u*,*p* tə)th *ru*,*q*g

L *lu*,*k*)*ʒ*! th)tj*ɔ*'i)l)z *gɔ'n* *stre'it* *u*,*p* tə)dh *ru*,*q*g

C *sú*)*ʒ* *ladz*! th)tj*d*i)l)t)s *gɔ'n* s,t,r*e'it* *u*,*p*' tə)th *raq'*

B *ə*)th *raq*g *áis*.

S *dæ'ur* [áis].

L *dæ'r*.

C *dæ'r* [áis'].

4. B wíer_r æ'u)l mii)bi fáind dhat dru_oqk'n djef dráid
 S wíer æ'u)l mii)béi fáind dhat dru_oqk'n def wíðherd
 L wíer er)l ap'n fá'índ dhat dru_oqk'n dif wíðherd
 C wíer ú_o)l ap'n sí dhat dru_oqk'n díef wíz'nt

B u_op tjiap e)th niim e :tu_om_s.
 S á'ud ma'n es dhi kAAN :tu_om'.
 L á'ud tjiap' ez dhi kAAN á'ud :tu_om'.
 C fel_e ez dhi, kAAN :tu_om'.

5. B wéi A noon im veri wel.
 S wi AA noon im wel enu_of.
 L wéi AA noon im
 C wi [wí,] AA noon im veri, wíl.

6. B wu_o)ne dh)á'ud tjiap sæ'un títj e_ro n_e)t_e
 S wu_oner éi sæ'un títj er not fer
 L wu_one dh)á'ud tjiap sæ'un sháft er ? é'i)l stop)er frém
 C win_e th)á'ud tjiap' s.ú_oun títj)er non)t'

B dæ'u it egeN, pæ'u_ro thi_oq!
 S dæ'u it egj_en, pæ'uer thi_oq!
 L gu'in dhíer egj_en, púe thi_oq!
 C d_uu)it egj_en, púer thi_oq!

7. B lü_ok j_e! iz)ne it træ'u ?
 S lu_ok j_e! in_er it træ'uu ?
 L lu_ok j_e! A tæ'ud j_e.
 C lú_ouk! it)s t_rú_o, sí j_e!

Notes to Bickley dt.

1. *mate*, *butty* (bu_oti), is frequent, but not in addresses, (mets, miits, miits) are all said, the last rare, the regular form is (læ'dz).—*about* (ebáwt), is also heard.—*school*, the (l) is not always omitted.—*yonder*, they sometimes say 'yonder school,' but not 'yon school.' The final (r) was felt by Mr. D., but not by me. It was not at all trilled, and I could not myself hear it. Hence I mark it as a faint (r_o).

2. *she*, (æ'u) hoo, is the regular form.—*going*, in very rapid utterance, is heard as (gy_oin), not quite (y) as it struck me; this change does not seem to occur otherwise, but it points to the origin of the change from (uu) to (y) through (æ'u).—*gate*, for a large field gate, *hatch* for a small garden gate; the sound of (giit) is mostly natural at Bickley, but at Nantwich (:na'ntwæ'itj) this and other long *a* are pure (ü), as

in the phrase invented there to shew it, (tæ jæt tütez en biik'n of e blæ'u edj_o pliit) to eat potatoes and bacon off a blue-edged plate; this is comparable to Gloucester habits.—*hand*, (hand, hont) are 'traditional' forms, they seem to have been used by the ancestors of the present generation, and old people if asked will give them as the sound, but Mr. D. has not observed them in actual use; *hand* is most commonly used at any rate, (h) is frequently omitted.—*side*, observe the difference of the diphthong in (nái) now, (sáid) side, which approaches (sæ'id), and is often written *oi*.—*way*, this would not be used here, they would repeat *road*; observe the sound in the pause is (wí), but the (i) was short and slightly touched.

3. *door* (dæ'r_o), like (hond), is a traditional sound, no longer used.—

wrong, (raq) is the usual, (ru_g) a traditional form, Mr. D. could almost name the few families who still use it, (-qg) occurs in the pause.

4. *where*, also, but less commonly, (wéw_r).—*deaf* (d_ɪf), the alterations of *ea* are as in Sh.—*shrivelled* is not used, (shr-) not used, shrub=(sru_b).—*name*, both (niim, n_ɛm) are used, but (niim) is commonest.

5. *we*, this is a rapid unaccented form, the emphatic form is (w_i).—*know*, the verbal plural in *-en* is used regularly in *present* tenses, except in *can*, *may*, *mum* (obliged to), *must* (which is rare); but verbs in *-st*, *-et*, lose the *t* always; in the past tense the *-en* is only used by old people, the younger have lost it.

6. *will not*, sometimes (wu_net), and rarely (wu_ned), where it is affected by Sh.—*teach*, learn (laa_r) is also used;

the master of a school is termed the (skæ'ugaf_r), (tiit_r) may be used for Sunday-school teacher, but it is not common.—*not to* (nə'tə), or (næ_r)_{tə}, (na'tə, nat'tə). The use of *to* is unexpected, see the Sandbach dt.

7. *look you!* (l_ʌk_ʊ) has an exceptionally short vowel, but this is only used in this phrase, to look is (l_ʌ'uk).—*see thee* (s_i, dhi) might be used, but not in such a connection, it is rather "do you understand," or "mark my words," not "look in that direction." *Thou* is always used to the very young, between brother and sister, from parent to child (not conversely), between husband and wife, used from master to inferior servants, by fellow-servants, School Board children generally thou one another, the usage varies in different districts.

Notes to Sandbach dt.

1. *coming*, the vowel seemed to lie between (o) and (u_o).

2. *through*, the diphthong seemed to lie between (ə'u) and (æ'u).—*hatch*, a small garden gate.

Notes to Combs dt.

1. *so* (s_ʊu) = (sæ'u) omitted.—*lads*, *mates*, is not used in direct address, workmen sometimes say 'my mate' (m_{ai} m_{et}), but (bu_i) is generally used in this sense.—*wench*, usual word, *girl* (g_jel') is used in half-refined speech.—*road* used twice, *way* would not be used here, but in which way is he gone (wit_i w_ee iz i, g_ʌn?).

3. *see you lads*, sure enough when used would be (sh_ʊur ənu_f).

4. *happen*, *chance* would not be used here, but they say 'a good chance'

(ə)gu_d t_ɪans).—*wizzend*, *shrivelled* is not used, and *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srimps) shrimps.

Observe that generally in transliterating TH.'s pal. into AJE.'s, (i, æ'u) are used for (i, u_o), the final lengthening of consonants, and generally of the second element of diphthongs and fractures are omitted, as explained on pp. 292, 317, 324, for the reasons there given, and they are used in this example as a specimen only.

FOUR INTERLINEAR CS. WITH VARIANTS IN A FIFTH.

T for Tarporley (9 ese.Chester), Var. i., pal. in 1877 by TH., from the dictation of Mr. John Clarke, b. 1848, native of Burland (3 nww.Nantwich), whence he removed when 13, having since lived at Tarporley, and of his wife, then 26, a native of Tarporley.

M Middlewich (9 nne.Nantwich), Var. ii., pal. in June 1878 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Thos. Nightingale, b. 1832, joiner, native, and (except for 2 years) constant resident; paragraphs 1 to 9 had been first dictated by Mr. T. Whittaker, then 60, sawyer, and Mr. John Hutchinson, then 35, slater, both natives, and the result supervised by Mr. Nightingale.

S Pott-Shrigley (4 nne.Macclesfield), Var. iii., pal. about 1874 by TH. from dict. of Mr. John Jackson, native, b. 1833.

G Variants from Pott-Shrigley in the Dale of Goyt, Db.

B Burslem (3 n.w. Stoke-upon-Trent), Var. iv., pal. in Oct. 1877 by TH., from the dict. of Mr. W. Latimer, b. 1831, potter, native, perused and variants added by Mr. J. Bolland, parish clerk, resident about 40 years.

These four versions cannot be accurately compared word by word, on account of slight differences in the rendering, but they are given interlinearly for facility of reference, and to shew the substantial resemblance, T, M, S represent the three principal forms of Ch. pron., the w. and s., the m., and the n. and e., while B represents Potteries of n. Staffordshire.

0. *Tarporley* wɛ'i :dʒɑ'n az)nɜ dái'ts.
Middlewich wɛ'i :dʒɑ'n az nɜ'u dái'ts.
Shrigley wɛ'i :dʒɔn)z nɜ'u dái'ts.
Goyt wái
Burslem wɛ'i :dʒɑ'n)z nɜ'u dái'ts.
1. T wɛl, lád, A rɛk'n jii)n bɜ'uɛth laf' ɛt wot
M wɛ'l, lád, dhíi ɛn ɪm mɜ bɜ'uɛth ɔn jɜ laf' ɛt wot
S wɛ'l, lád, dhíi ɛn ɪm mɜ)búvɛdh laf' ɛd)dhíz
G
B wɛ'l, lád, dhɛ'i ɛn ɪm kɛn bùth laf' ɛt)th
- T A)m gɜ'u'ín sii ; bɜr)ɜ'uɛ kjɛɛr? dhat)s
M A)m gɜ'u'ín t' tɛl)jɜ ; bɜr)ɜ'uɛ kjɛɛr? dhat)s
S ní,ùz ɜ mái'n ; úɛ kjɛɛr? dhat)s
G
B níùz ɛz A)m tɛlín jɜ ; uu kjɛɛr? dhat)s
- T nɜ mɛtɜ ɜ mái'n.
M niidhɜ ɪɛr nɛr dhíɛr.
S noodhɜ ɪɛr nɛr)dhíɛr.
G
B niidhɜ ɪɛr nɛr dhíɛr.
2. T jɜ du.ɔnɜ ɔf'n ɪɛr ɛv)ɜ mɛ'n dái'ín b'íkjɛs ɪ)z laft àt.
M dhɛr ɪz)nɜ mɛni ɛz dái'n b'íkɔs dhɛ)r laft àt.
S dhɛr ɪz nɜ mɛni ɛz dái'n b'íkooz dhɛ)r laft àt.
G
B dhɛr ɪz nɜ mɛni mɛn ɛz ɛd dɛ'ii b'íkɛ'uz dhɛ)r laft àt.
- T wɛ'i shu.ɔd dhí? ɪt)s nɛ
M wɛ'i shu.ɔd dhí? ɪt)s nɛ
S wí noon, du.ɔnɜ wí? wot shu.ɔd mak)ɛm? ɪt)ɪz)nɜ
G du.ɔnt)ɛz?
B wɛ'i noon, du.ɔnɛr)ɛz? wot shɛd mɛɛk ɛm? ɪt ɪnɛ
- T vɛrɪ lái'klí, ɪz)ɪt nái?
M lái'klí, ɪz ɪt?
S vɛrɪ lái'klí, ɪz)ɪt [ɪs)t]?
G
B vɛrɪ lái'klí, ɪz)ɪt?

3. T ber)ái)EV'ər dhis iz áí ít wá'z, sɛ
 M áí)EV'ər dhis iz áí ít wá'z, su
 S aaver [ət ani reet] dhis iz áí ít wá'r, sɛ
 G ət ani reet ít wɛr ɛdhis'n,
 B a,aa·vɛr dhe'iz ɛr th)faks ɛ)th kjɛs, su

T dju_ost ɛ'ud dhi ndiz ɛ bít, ɛn bi kwíit tɛl ɛ)v tɛ'ud dhi
 M dju_ost ɛ'ud dhi ndiz, ɛn bi kwíit tɛn ɛ)v dɔ_on, ɛn
 S dju_ost ɛ'ud dhi nɛ'iz, mɛn, ɛn bi)kwɛ'ɛt tɛn)ɛ)v dɔ_on,
 G kwɛ'ɛt tɛl ɛ)v dɛ'ɔ_on.
 B dju_ost ɛ'ud dhi ndiz, mɛn, ɛn bi kwɛ'ɛt, tɛl ɛ)v dɔ_on.

T ɛɛ ɛbáit ít.
 M dhɛn dha)l noo.
 S fɛr dhi!
 G
 B ɛrk'n.

4. T ɛ)m vɛrɪ sàrtɪn ɛ fɛrd ɛm sɪi — su_om ɛ dhɛm
 M ɛ)m sàrtɪn ɛ fɛrd ɛm sɪi — su_om ɛ dhɛm
 S ɛ)m sàrtɪn ɛ fɛrd ɛm sɛɛ—ɛ)mɪɛn su_om ɛ dhɛ'ɔz
 G ɛ)m
 B ɛ)m sàrtɪn ɛ fɛrd ɛm sɪi — su_om ɛ th)

T fɔk ɛz wɛnt thrɛ'u dh)ɛ'uɛl thiɔɔ frɛm fɔst dhɛrsɛlz
 M fɔks ɛz wɛnt thrɛ'u ɛɛ)th kɛnsàrn dhɛmsɛlz
 S fɔk ɛz wɛnt thrɛ'ù th)wɔ_ol kɛnsàrn frɛ)th)fast dhɛrsɛlz
 G fɛr
 B fɔks ɛz wɛnt thrɛ'ù th)wool thiɔɔ frɛm th)fast dhɛmsɛlz

T —dhat ɛ dɪd shɛ'uɛr ɛnu_of.
 M —dhat ɛ dɪd shɛ'uɛr ɛnu_of.
 S —dhat ɛ dɪd shɛ'uɛr [sɛf] ɛnu_of.
 G
 B —dhat ɛ dɪd sɛf ɛnu_of.

5. T ɛz)dh ju_oqgɪst lɔd ɪmsɛl', gɔjɛrɪn ɔn' fɛr ndɪn, nood
 M ɛs th)ju_oqgɪst lɔd ɪmsɛl', gɔjɛrɪn ɔn' fɛr ndɪn — ɪi nood
 S ɛs)th ju_oqkst lɔd ɪssɛl', ɛ big' lɔd ndɪn fɛr ɛ'ud, nood
 G ɛz ju_oqgɪst
 B ɛz)dh ju_oqgɪst lɔd ɪmsɛl', ɛ big lɔd ndɪn fɛr ɛ'ud, nood

T ɪs fɪ·dherz vɛ'ɪs ɪn ɛ mɪ'nɪt, ɛv ɪt 'wɛr sɛ kwɪɛr ɛn
 M ɪs fɪ·dherz vɔ'ɪs ɪn ɛ mɪ'nɪt, ɛv ɪt 'wɛz sɛ kwɪɛr ɛn
 S ɪs)feedherz vɔ'ɪs ɪn ɛ mɪ'nɪt ɛv)ɪt 'wɛr sɛ)kwɪɛr ɛn
 G vɛ'ɪs
 B ɪs feedherz vɔ'ɪs ɛt wu_onst fɛr ɛɛ ɪt wɛs sɛ kwɪɛr ɛn

T skwàk'in, en əd tru_ost ·dhat lād t' spiik t' træ'uth
 M skwaak'in, en əd tru_ost ·im fər tel)th træ'uth
 S skwíek'iqk, en əm shæ'wær i)ð tel [speek] t')t'ræ'uth
 G skwíek'in, əd t_rru_ost ·im t' tel t' t_rræ'uth
 B skwíkin, en əd tru_ost ·im fər spiik)th træ'uth

T ani dii, âi ·dhat ə wù_od.
 M ani dii, ·dhat ə wù_od.
 S ani tām [dæ] ·dhat i wù_od.
 G A
 B ani dii, ·dhat ə wù_od.

6. T en dh)ə'ud wu_omən ɜrsel el tel ani ɔn)ɜ ez laf'n,
 M en th)ə'ud wu_omən ɜrsel el tel ani ɔn)ɜ ez laf'n,
 S en th)ə'ud wu_omən ɜrsel el tel ani ɔn)ɜ ez)laf'n naa,
 G
 B en dh)ə'ud wu_omən ɜrsel ɛd [ɛl] tel ani ɔn)ɜ ez lafs naa,

T en prati stre'it fɔret tæ'u, en wídháit mu_otj bodher
 M en stre'it færed tæ'u, báit mu_otj bodher,
 S en tel ɜ st_rɛ'itfɔret tæ'u, báit mítj bodher,
 G [en əə]
 B en tel)ɜ stre'it faret tæ'u wídháit ani bodher,

T en əə, ɛv jii)n ɔonli aks)ɜ—əə bɜr æ'u wù_ol.
 M ɛv jo)n ɔoni aks ɜr.
 S ɛv)jo)n ɔonli aks)ɜ, oo! wínet æ'u?
 G wínet ɜ?
 B if ɜ)n ɔoni aks)ɜ, wu_onɜr)ɜ?

7. T aniâi ·æ'u tæ'ud)mi wɛn ə ast ɜr, tæ'u ɜr
 M aniâi æ'u tæ'ud ·mɛi[míi] wɛn ə akst ɜr, tæ'u ɜr
 S ɛt ani rɛɛt æ'u tæ'ud it ·míi wɛn ə akst ɜr, tæ'u ɜr
 G
 B aniâi ·ɛr tæ'ud mɛ'i wɛn ə akst ɜr tíu ɜr

T thríi táimz ó)ɜr, en ·æ'u díd)nɛ ɛ'ut t' bɪ
 M thréi [thríi] táimz ó)ɜr, en ·æ'u ɛ'utnɛ bɪ
 S thríi táimz ɔɜr, en)·æ'u du_oz)nɛ ɛ'ut)t' bɪ
 G
 B thre'i táimz ɔɜr, ɛr díd, en ɛ'r du_onɜr ɛ't t' bɪ

T ru_oqg i sítj ɜ thiqg ɛz dhís, wɔt)n ·ʒoo thiqk?
 M ru_oqg i sítj ɜ thiqg ɛz dhís, wɔt)n ·ʒoo thiqk?
 S ru_oqg ɛbáit sítj ɜ)thiqg ɛz dhís, wɔd du_on ɜ thiqk?
 G
 B ru_oqg u_opɛ sítj ɜ pɛ'ínt ɛz dhís, wɔt du_on ɜ thiqk?

8. T we'l bær ez a wær sii'in, ·æ'u)d tel)ʒ bæ'ueth ái
 M we'l ez a wæs sii'in, ·æ'u)d tel)ʒ bæ'ueth wíer
 S we'l ez)A'wær se'iqk, ·æ'u)d tel)ʒ búedh ái en)wíer
 G SEE)in aa
 B we'l ez di wæs sii'in, æ'r)d tel)ʒ bùth ái wíer

T en wíer æ'u fu_ond t' dru_oqk'n biest ez æ'u
 M en wen' æ'u fu_ond t' dru_oqk'n pig' [slotʃ] ez æ'u
 S en wen' æ'u fu_on t')dru_oqk'n biest ez)æ'u
 G slotʃ
 B en wen' æ'r fu_ond [fu_on] t' dru_oqk'n talok ez æ'r

T kAAZ ær u_ozbent.

M kAAZ ær u_ozbent.

S kAAZ ær)u_ozbent.

G

B kAAZ ær u_ozbent.

9. T æ'u swóer æ'u siid im widh ær oon áiz.
 M æ'u swóer æ'u siid im wi ær oon áiz, lái'in
 S æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wi)er oon áiin, lái'iqk
 G swæer lái'in
 B æ'r swóer ær se'id im wi ær oon áiz lái'in stretʃt

T AA fu_ol leqkth on)th gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 M e)th fu_ol retʃ on)t' gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 S A'ev)e) leqth u_opə)th)gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 G A' iz
 B et th)fu_ol leqth on)dh gráind, widh iz best [su_ondi]

T kæ'uet, tlæ'us' e)saíd e)dh áis dæ'uer, dáin bi)th
 M kæ'uet, tlæ'us' e)saíd e)th áis dæ'uer, dáin et t'
 S dʒakət [kúet], tlós' bi)th áis dæ'r, dáin et)th
 G kúet tə)th áiz
 B kuut on', tlós' bi)dh áis dæ'uer, dáin et)th

T kA'rner e jonder leen

M kA'rner e jonder leen

S kA'rner e)jond loon

G kA'rner

B kA'rner e)dh leen

10. T ði wez belderin ewii, fer AA)th wærlð láik e
 M ði wez blaatin. fer AA)dh wold láik e
 S ði wær mak'iqk e ne'iz, æ'u se'd, tə)AA)th)wærlð láik e
 G mak'in d'n fer
 B e'i wez ró'erin ewii fer AA)dh wold láik

T tʃdilt.
 M kɑːf, ɛn rɑːulɪn ɛbɑːt lɑːk ɛ pɪgˈɪn ɛ fɪt.
 S bɑːli tʃdilt, ɛr)ɛ)lɪtˈl wentɪ skrɑːkˈɪqk.
 G kɹɑːɪn [rʌrɪn].
 B dh)ɑːud grɛndɪ bʌl.

11. T ɛn dhat apˈnt ɛz ɑːr ɛndhɛr:dɹɑks
 M ɛn ʌɑ dhɪs apˈnt ɛ)dh wɛshɪn dii, ɛz ɑːr ɛn ɛr dɑːtˈɛr
 S ɛn dhat apˈnt, ɛz ɑːr ɛn)ɛr)dɑːtˈɛr
 G
 B ɛn dhat apˈnd ɛn)dh wɛshɪn dii, ɛz ɑːr ɛn ɛr dɑːtˈɛr)

T wɛˈɪf kɑm θrɛˈu)th bɑk ʒɑːrd — dhɪ)d bɪn ɛqɪn
 M ɪn ʌɑ kɑm θrɛˈu th)bakˈ ʒɑrd wɛn dhɪ)d bɪn ɛqɪn
 S ɪn ʌɑ kɑːum θrɛˈu th)bak ʒɑrd, wɛn)dhɪ)d bɪn)ɑqɪˈqk
 G ʒɑrt ɪqɪn
 B ɪ)lɑˈu kɑm θrɛˈu dh)bak ʒɑrd frɛm ɪqɪn

T ɑːtˈ th)tlɛˈuz ɛn)th wɛshɪn dii.
 M th)tlɛˈuz ɑːt fɛr drɑːi.
 S ɑːt th)tlɛˈuz fɛr)tˈ)d,rɛˈɪ ɛ)th)wɛshˈɪqk dɛɛ.
 G tˈ tlɛˈuz ɑːt)tˈ)d,rɛˈɪ wɛshɪn
 B dh)wɛt tluz ɑːt fɛr drɑːi.

12. T wɛˈɪl th)kɛtˈl wɛz bɛˈɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɑːn nɑːɪs
 M wɛˈɪl th)kɛtˈl wɛz bɑːɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɑːn fɑːɪn
 S wɛˈɪl th)kɛtˈl wɛr)bɛˈɪlɪqk fɛr)th bɑgˈɪqk [tɛɛ], wɛn brɪɪt
 G wɑːɪl wɛr bɛˈɪlɪn bɑgˈɪn [tɛɛ] fɑːɪn brɪɪt
 B wɛˈɪl th)tii kɛtˈl wɛz bɛˈɪlɪn, wɑːn fɑːɪn

T aftɛrnɛˈun ɪ)th suːmɛr, ɔːnli ɛ wɪkˈ sɪnˈ
 M aftɛrnɛˈun ɪ suːmɛr, ɔːnli ɛ wɪkˈ sɪnˈ
 S aftɛrnɛˈun ɪ)th suːmɛr, ɛn)ɪtˈl ɔːnli bɪ)ɛ wɪkˈ sɪnˈ
 G ɪ wɪk
 B aftɛrnɛˈun ɪ)th suːmɛr, ɔːnli ɛ wɪkˈ sɪnˈ

T tˈ nɛks θɑːrzdɪ.
 M ɛ θɑːrzdɪ.
 S tˈ)nɛks θɑːrzdɪ.
 G
 B nɛks θɑːrzdɪ.

13. T ɛn duːn)ɹɛ noo? A nɛvɛr ɪvɛˈrd nɛ mɑːˈɛr ɛ dhat
 M ɛn duːn)ɹɛ noo? A nɛɛr ɪvɛrd ɑːnɪ mɑːˈɛr ɛ dhɪs
 S ɛn duːn)ɹɛ noo? A nɛvɛr fɛrd nɛ mʌːr ɛbɑːt ɪt
 G nɛvɛr ɛ dhat
 B ɛn duːn)ɹɛ noo? Aˈ nɛvɛr ɪvɛrd nɑːˈu mʌːr ɛbɑːt ɪt

T frəm dhat dii tē dhís, ɛsh shæ'uer ɛz
 M dʒɒb', ɛn ʌ du_ɒnɛ want t' dæ'u, ɛsh shæ'uer ɛz
 S sɛn' [frəm dhad dɛɛ tē dhís], ɛsh shæ'uer ɛz
 G kɛnsàrn tē dhíz dɛɛ
 B frəm dhat dii tē dhís, ɛsh shæ'uer ɛz

T mði niim)z wɒt ɪt ɪz, ɛn ʌ du_ɒnɛ want t' nɔɔ
 M mði niim)z :dʒak' :shɛpɜrd.
 S mɛ)nɛɛm)z :dʒak' :shɛpɜrt, ɛn)ʌ)du_ɒnɛ want
 G ʌ)m fɛr t' dæ'u
 B mði nɛɛm)z wɒt ɪt ɪz, ɛn ʌ du_ɒnɛ want

T niidher, ɛn dhat)s fɛr)rɛ!
 M
 S noodher, naa dhɛn'!
 G
 B niidher, ɛn ʒɔɔ)n got)ɪt dʒu_ɒst ɛz ʌ)v got ɪt.

14. T ɛn sɛ nâ_ɪ ʌ)l gu wʌ'm tɛ mɛ su_pɜr.
 M ɛn)naa ʌ)m gœ'uɛn wʌ'm tɛ mɛ su_pɜr.
 S ɛn)naa ʌ)m gu'ɪqk wɛ'm tɛ)mɛ)su_pɜr.
 G gu'ɛn wɛ'm)p'mɛ
 B ɛn ʌ)m gu'ɛn woom—mði su_pɜr)z wiitɛn on mɛ.

T gu_d nɪt', ɛn du_ɒnɛ bɪ sɛ shàrp fɛr kroo ɔɜr
 M gu_d nɛt', ɛn du_ɒnɛ bɪ sɛ redɪ ɛ kroo'in ɔɜr
 S gu_d nɪt', ɛn du_ɒnɛ bɪ)sɛ)redɪ fɛr)t)mɛɛ gjam ɛbáɪt
 G nɛt' t' mag)gjam ɛ
 B gu_d nɛt' ɛn du_ɒnɛ bɛ'ɪ sɛ shàrp ɛt kroo'in ɔɜr

T ɛ bɔdɪ ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn dhɪ tʌak'n ɛ dhɪs dhàt ɛn dh)u_ɒdher.
 M ɛ bɔdɪ ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn ɪ tʌks ɛbáɪt a'ut.
 S wɔ'n ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn dhɪ)tɛln ɛbáɪt anɪthɪqk.
 G anɪ bɔdɪ ɛgʒɛ'n, tʌak'n a'ut.
 B anɪ bɔdɪ ɛgʒɛ'n, wɛn ɛ'ɪ)z tʌak'ɛn ɛbáɪt anɪthɪqk.

15. T ɪt)s ɛ pœ'uer fœ'ù ɛs tʌks wɪdháɪt sɛns.
 M ɪ)z ɛ kriizɪ fœ'ù ɛz tʌks báɪt sɛns.
 S ɪt)s ɛ)soft fœ'ù ɛz)tʌaks báɪt sɛns.
 G prɛts rɪɛz'n.
 B ɪt)s ɛ wɪk' [soft] fúu ɛs tʌks [prɛts] wɪdháɪt sɛns.

T dhat)s wɒt ʌ' thɪqk ɛbáɪt ɪt.
 M ɛn dhat)s ʌʌ ɛz ʌ)v gʒɛt'n t' sɪi ɛbáɪt ɪt.
 S ɛn)dhat)s ʌʌ ɛz)ʌ)v gʒɛt'n t' sɛɛ.
 G ʌv [(gʒɛt'n) omitted].
 B ɛn dhat)s wɒt ʌ)v got [got'n] fɛr sɪi ɛbáɪt ɪt nâɪ.

T sɛ gu_od nɛit.
 M gu_od nɛit [nɛit].
 S gu_od nɛit.
 G lɛd.
 B su gu_od nɛit tɛ ʒoo fooks.

Notes to Var. i. Tarporley cs., p. 414.

1. *you will-en*, (ʒii)n or (ʒii)n.—*going to say*, the *to* idiomatically omitted.—*but*, in all M. English there is a great tendency to alter *t* into (r) under such circumstances, as (g)ɛrɪn on) getting on, par. 5, p. 415.
2. *they*, shortened to (dhi) unaccented, in the same way as *thee* is thus shortened in par. 3, p. 415.
4. *from the first*, the def. art. omitted.—*that I did*, the unaccented *I* becomes (ɜ) or (o) uncertain, here and often.
5. *though it were*, the (ɛv) is intended for *if*.
6. *and all*=also or too, a common addition in several dialects.
7. *any how she*, for *she*, *hoo* is employed, which always becomes (æ'u) in this dialect.—*what do-en you think*, only the *n* of *do-en* remains.
8. *found the drunken*, the *the* assimilated to suspended (t'), only the silent position being suspended and not the voiced (d') continued, although it occurs

between two (d). Hence the (-d t' d-) shew a continuous position, first with voice; secondly without, and thirdly with voice again, and the effect of the (t') is very clear.

9. *good Sunday coat* or (bɛst kœ'ust).—*close*, with initial (tl) for (kl) as usual.—*lane*, although this word is A'- it generally follows the analogy of A-, and hence we should have expected (liin) instead of (*leen*), which is found in T, M, B. S has (*loon*) from the ags. *lone*, another form of *lane*.

10. *beldering* or (wiznɪn) *whizzening*, seem to be local words. Holland's Ch. Glossary has *bedderin*, bellowing, heard at Macclesfield, Darlington has *belder*.

12. *while, boiling*, observe the (ɛ'i) and compare (vɛ'is'), par. 5, p. 415, and (wɛ'i'), par. 0, p. 414; in the case of *while*, (wɛil) would have been anticipated.

14. *for to crow* with the *to* omitted as usual.

Notes to Var. ii. Middlewich cs., p. 414.

3. *tin*, a regular Ch. form of *till*.—*thou wilt*, here (dha) where (dhái) would have been expected.
5. *any day that I would*, or (AA noo) I know with *I* emphatic, given as a variant.
6. *if you will-en only ask her*, the informant gave as a variant (ɛn ɛv ʒɛ [ʒo] wu_ons biléiv méi [biléiv mɛi], gu ɛn aks 'æ'r), and if you won't believe me, go and ask her. The double forms (éi, éi) are both in use, and the former often becoming (éi) at Bickley,

is then difficult to distinguish from the latter.

7. *ought not to be wrong* with the *to* suppressed.

9. *retch*, reach or stretch, dialect word.

11. *for dry*, that is, to dry, Ch. idiom.

12. *a week since on Thursday*, or (ɛ wik sin t' nɛks thɛrzdɛ), a week since the next Thursday, to express future time definitely.

14. *night* or (nɛit).

Notes to Var. iii. Pott-Shrigley cs., p. 414.

1. *lad* or (:tu_omez, :tu_om, sɛri) Thomas, Tom, Sirrah.—*thee*, the emphatic form of *you* is (ʒoo, ʒo), whether used as singular or plural. Children and young people generally *thou* each other whether familiar or not; older people only when familiar from youth; but adults *thou* children, and parents their own children of all ages; husbands and wives generally *thou* each other. To *thou* a senior is an offence.

5. *in a minute*, or (ɛs sœ'un)ɛz i:(ɛrd)it) as soon as he heard it.

7. *two or three*, or (tœ'uthri) two-three.

14. *home*, the words (wɛ'm, kɛ'm) home come, are peculiar, they approximate at first to (wɛ'm kɛ'm) "the vowel, however," says T.H., "is slightly on the way from (ɛ') to (æ'), and these words have the same pron. at Poynton, Norbury, and Disley, Ch."

Notes to Var. iv. Burslem cs., p. 414.

2. *because* or (bikδuz, bikas, bikos). —*do not*, the (r) euphonic.—*is not*, or (iznə).—*likely* or (lA'ikli), and generally the diphthong printed (di) shades into (A'i), and would be so heard by many.

4. *through*, the form assigned is probably a mere individuality for the usual (thrə'u).—*safe* or (shæ'uer).

6. *too*, or (tə'u), the other must have been an individuality.—*ask*, (eks) newer form.

7. *asked*, (ekst) newer form.—*two* or (ta'u).

8. *beast*, or (bist), the word (talek)

is explained by Darlington as "a good-for-nothing idle person, a ragamuffin."

10. *world*, (ward) new form.—*the old Grange bull*, refers to a local history of a dangerous bull kept at the Grange farm near Burslem.

11. *daughter*, the form here given must be individual.—*dry*, here and in many other cases not noted (di), as already stated, par. 2, shades into (A'i).

12. *fine*, or (brɛ'it) bright.

13. *you*, or (joo).—*and you) have-n got it just as I've got it*.

14. *home*.—*my supper's waiting on [for] me*.

WEST AND SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Alvanley (:AAV'nli), Ashton, Beeston, Broxton, Churton, Great Neston, Hatton Heath, Helsby, Nantwich, Tarporley, Waverton. The places are not distinguished. See also the cwl. for Bickley on next page.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- letter A (aa). — tiin [ta'en, taken]. 21 niim. 23 siim. — giim [game]. 31 liitli [lately]. A: 54 want. 56 wɛsh. A: or O: 64 ru,gg. A'- 67 gaz gA'z gæ'uin. 72 æ'u æ'us. 74 tæ'u. 76 tæ'ud. 81 leen. 84 mæ'uer. 86 wu,ts. 87 tlæ'uez. 89 bæ'ueh. 92 noo. A': 105 rōd. 113 æ'uel. 115 wa'm. 118 boon. 122 nœ'u. 124 stoon. 125 oonli. Æ- 138 fiidher. 152 wiiter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 194 ani. 197 tjiiz. Æ': 214 niidher. 216 dñal. 223 dhæ'ur. 224 wæ'ur.

E- letter E (ii). 232 briik. 233 spiik. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 ewii. 265 stræ'it. — fild [field]. 269 -sæl. E'- 290 ii xi. 292 mæ'i. 293 wii. 301 fier. E': 305 A'i di. 312 fier. 316 mks+t [in pause].

EA- 320 kyær. EA: 326 æ'ud. 330 æ'ud. 332 tæ'ud. 334 iiv. 338 kAA. EA'- 348 diz. 349 fæ'u. EA': 359 niiber. EI- 373 dh [unemphatic]. EO: 399 bræt brüt. EO'- 411 thrá. 412 [hoo (æ'u) used]. EO': 425 lít. 426 fe'it. 427 bá. 428 sïn [seen]. 435 joo. 437 træ'uth. EY- 438 dá'in [dying]. EY: 439 tru,st.

I- 446 náin. I: 458 niit néit náit. 459 ráit. 465 stɛ. 466 tɛáit. 480 thiig. I'- 494 tɛimz. — báit ba'it [bite]. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 505 wæ'if. 506 wu,men. 510 ma'in máin. — swæ'in [swine].

O: 528 thæ'ut. 535 fók. — ma'urnin [morning, from Huxley Green]. O'- 557 tæ'u. 558 læ'uk. 559 mu,dher. 560 skú skæ'u. O': — kæ'uk [cook]. 579 wu,f. 586 dæ'u. 588 næ'un. 594 bæ'ut.

U- 603 ká'm. 604 su,mer. 606 dæ'uer. U: 609 fu,l. 616 gráind. 619 fu,nd. 634 thræ'u. U'- 641 ái. 643 naa nái. 650 ebát. 651 widháit. U': 658 dáin. 663 áis. 666 u,zbent.

Y- 673 mu,tɛ. Y: 701 fast fast. Y'- 706 wæ'i.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 761 luud. 767 náiz. U. 797 skwák'in.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fiis. 811 pliis. 813 biik'n. — siidɛ [sage]. — tlíier [clear]. — kiin [cane]. — slíit [slate]. — plíit [plate]. — stiishen [at Mouldsworth]. — raliishen. 866 pæ'uer. E.. 867 ti. 890 bíust. I.. and Y.. 898 náis. O.. — bíif [beef]. 925 væ'is. 938 ká'rner. 939 tlòs. 940 kæ'uet. 941 fæ'u. 947 bæ'il. 950 su,per. 955 dáits. U.. — træ'uent [truant]. 963 kwát. 969 shæ'uer.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Burslem, Froghall, Leek, Leek Frith, Longport, Rocester, Tunstall. The places are not distinguished.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 17 la'u. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. A: 40 kom. 56 wæsh. A: or O: 60 lu,gg. 64 ru,gg. A'- 70 tun. 72 uu. 73 suu. 74 tû. 81 leen. 82 wu,nst. 84 mûer ma'ur. 87 tluuz. 89 bûth. 92 noo. A': 104 rood. 111 a't. 113 wool. 115 woom wa'm wa'm. 117 wan- [connected], wa'n [in pause]. 122 næ'u. 124 stuun. Æ- 138 feadhur. 152 weetur. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 183 tæ'ty. 195 meni. 197 tpe'iz [(tj)iz at Leek Frith]. 200 wiit. Æ': 210 thii. 214 niidher. 223 dhîer. 224 wîer.

E- 233 spiik. 241 riin. 244 wê'l. 251 miit. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 ewii. 265 stre'it. — fe'ild [field]. 287 be'izemz. E'- 290 e'i. 291 dhe'i. 292 me'i. 293 we'i. 299 gre'in. E': 312 ier.

EA- — shiik [shake]. EA: 326 a'ud. 328 kja'ud. 331 sa'ud. 332 ta'ud. 334 aapeth [half'orth old, new (eapeth)]. 338 kaa. 346 jeet. EA'- 347 je'd. 348 aiz. EA': 350 dpe'd. 359 niiber. — ier [year]. 366 griit. 371 straa. EO: — brw,nt [burnt]. EO'- 411 thre'i. 412 [(a'r) her used]. EO': 426 fe'it. 427 be'i. 428 se'id [see'd=saw]. 437 træ'uth. EY- 438 dx'ii. EY: 439 tru,st.

I- letter I (A'i). 440 wik. 446 ndin. 448 dhe'iz. I: 452 di, A-. — brid [bird]. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 467 we'ild. 480 thi'gg. I'- 492 sa'id. I': 500 laiik. 505 we'if. 509 we'il. 513 we'ier. — we'it [white].

O- 524 wold. O: — sru,b [shrub]. 531 da'ut'er [Burslem], da'uter [Leek], da'ut'er [Froghall]. 535 fôks. 537 me'ud. 552 kaa. O'- 555 she'u. 558 le'uk. 559 madher [Leek Frith], modher [Rocester], ma'dher [Longton]. 560 ska'ul skia'ul skiu. 562 ma'un [Rocester]. O': 569 be'uk. — ka'uk [cook]. 579 enu,f. 583 ta'ul. 586 dîu. 587 dî,n. 588 na'vn na'un. 591 mûer [by Mr. Daniels, of Leek, who called more (ma'ur)].

U- 603 kam. 604 su,mer. 605 su,n. 606 daer, da'r [an old form at Leek]. U: 616 gra'nd. — bu,n [bound, as a book]. 623 fu,nd. 634 thra'vu. U'- 640 kjâi. 641 ai. 643 naa nai. 650 ebâit. 651 widhâit. U': 658 dâin. 663 ais. 665 mâis. 667 âit.

Y- 674 did. 675 drâi. Y'- 706 we'i. Y': 712 me'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lād. I. and Y. 756 srimp. O. 761 luud. 767 nâiz. U. 797 skwikin. 798 kwîer. — ori [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 pleez'n [places]. 824 tji'er. — tiiler [tailor]. — griin [grain]. 851 ant aant. 857 kjâs. 862 sêf. E.. 867 tiî. 890 bis [beasts=cows]. I.. and Y.. — mishe'in [=machine]. O.. 920 pe'nt. 925 vâis. 939 tlôs. 940 kuut. 947 be'ilin. 955 dâits. U.. — wiit [wait, at Burslem]. 963 kwêit. 964 she'u'it. 965 e'il. 969 she'ur.

SOUTH CHESHIRE OR BICKLEY cwl.

by Mr. Darlington, of Bickley, written in glossic for his Folkspeech of s.Ch., pp. 15-29, and here transliterated and rearranged by permission.

A- 3 biik. 4 tak tee. — wak'n [to make awake, get up]. 5 mak mee. 14 draa. 15 aa. 20 liim. 21 niim. — skraap [scrape]. 28 eer. — skîter [scatter]. 33 riidher rædhur. 35 naal. 36 foo. A: — om [ham]. 39 kœ'um. 41 thqk. 43 ont eqkity [handkerchief]. 44 land. — stond [stand].

46 kand'l. — gander [gander]. 47 wander. 48 su_oq. 49 sq. 50 tu_oqz. — kon [can]. 51 mon. 52 ween. — pan [a pan]. 54 want. 55 es. 56 wvsh. A: or O: 58 from. 59 lam. 60 lu_oq. 61 smu_oq. 62 stru_oq. 64 rang ru_oq. 65 su_oq. 66 thu_oqk. A'- 69 na'u. 70 too. 72 æ'ue. 76 tæ'usd. 81 liin. 83 moon. 84 mæ'uer. 85 soor. 87 klæ'uez. 89 bæ'usth. 91 moo. A': 101 ook. 104 rood. 106 brood. 108 dof. 111 æ'ut. 112 æ'ul. — Aaf [an oaf]. 115 wòm. 117 ælæ'usn [alone]. 122 næ'u. 124 ston. — 134 loth [loath]. 135 kloth.

Æ- 138 fiidhør feedhør. 141 niil. 143 tiil. 146 miin. — tæ'iem [teem, pour out, empty]. 150 læ'üst. 152 wiiter wator [as a vb.] waater [as a sb.] weeter. 153 sæterdi. — prati [pretty]. Æ: 154 bak. 155 thætj. — atjern [acorn]. — sheed [a shade]. 156 ædher [an adder]. — gædhør [gather]. 161 dii. 163 læ'i. 166 miid'n. — baarfet [barefoot]. — wwaar [aware]. 172 græs. — rot [a rat]. 180 bath. Æ'- 184 læ'ied. 185 ræ'id. — spriid [spread]. 187 læ'iev. 188 nii. 189 wæ'i. 192 mæ'ien. 194 ani. 195 meni. 196 wòn [= (wør-en)]. 199 blaas. 202 jæt. Æ': 204 dæ'id. 205 thrid. 207 næ'id'l. 210 klii. 212 wii. 216 dæl djel dæ'iel. 217 æ'itj. 218 shæ'ip. 219 slæ'ip. 221 fæ'ier. 222 jæ'uar [see No. 222, p. 347]. 223 dhæ'ier. 224 wæ'ier. 226 mæ'usst. — røsl [wrestle]. 228 swat swiit. — jæth [heath]. — shæth [sheath]. 230 fat.

E- 232 briik. 234 need. — triid [tread]. — stid [stead]. 235 wæ'iev. 237 bliin. 239 siil. 247 ween. — æt'n [eaten]. — fiidhør [feather]. E: — fatj [fetch]. 260 lii. 261 sii. 262 wii. 264 iil. 265 stræ'it. 267 jild. 269 sæl. 270, ii, balk. 278 wvsh. 284 thræsh. 287 bæ'izem. E'- 289 jee. 290 æ'i. 291 dhæ'i. 294 fæ'id. — stæ'il [steel]. 299 græ'in. 300 kiip. — shæ'it [sheet]. E': 305 hæi. 306 æ'it. 307 næi. 308 næ'id. 310 æ'il. 312 æ'ier.

EA- 317 flæ'i. 319 gaap. EA: 323 fæ't'n fæ'ut'n. 324 æ'it. 328 kæ'ud. 330 æ'ud. 331 sæ'ud. 332 tæ'ud. 333 kaaf. 334 æf iif. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. — æ'up [holp=helped]. 340 joord. — soord [sword, rind]. 343 waarm. 345 daar. — joorn [yarn]. 346 giit. EA'- — shad'n [past part., shed], shæ'id. 347 jæd. 348 æi [pl. (æ'in)]. — læ'iev [leap]. — jæ'u [hew]. 349 fæ'u. EA': 350 djæd. 354 shof. 355 djæf. 356 læ'ief. 359 niibør. — shem [seam]. 360 tjæm tæ'im. — bæ'iem. 361 bæ'ien. 363 tjæp. — stæ'ip [steep]. — loos [loose]. 365 naar. 366 griit. 368 djæth. — djæ'u [dew]. 371 strii. EI- 374 nii. 375 riiz. 376 biit. EI: 379 iil. EO- 386 jæ'u. 387 næ'u. EO: 390 shu_od. 394 jænder. 395 ju_oq. 399 bræ'it. — bæarm [barm, yeast]. 402 laarn. EO'- 409 bæ'i. 410 æ'u. 411 thræ'i. 413 dæ'v'l. 414 fæ'i. 415 lig. — æp [hip berry]. 416 dhæ'ier. 417 tjæ'u. 418 bræ'u. 419 joor. EO': 423 thæi. 425 læ'it. 426 fæ'it. 427 bæ'i. 431 bæ'ier. 434 bæ't. 435 joo joor [your]. 436 træ'u. 437 træ'uth. EY- 438 dæ'i. EY: 439 tru_ost.

I- 440 wæk. 442 ivi. 443 fræidi. 444 stæ'il. 446 ndin. — sænw [sinew]. 447 or. — sheer. 448 dhæ'iz. I: 452 di. 453 skwatj [cowitch grass]. 454 witj. 455 læi. 458 næ'it. 459 ræ'it. 460 wæ'it. 462 sæ'it. 465 sitj. 466 tjæilt. 467 wæ'ild. 469 willan [to will], wu_ol. 473 blæind. 475 wæ'ind. 477 fæind. — bæ'hint [behind]. 478 græind. 485 fæ'l. 487 jæ'sterdii. 488 sæt. I'- 491 sæk. 494 tæim. 498 ræ'it. 499 bæ'tl. I': — dæ'itj [ditch]. 500 læik. — wæ'itj [-wich in names of towns, as Nantwich]. 501 wæ'id. 502 fæiv. 503 læif. 505 wæ'if. 507 wu_omen. 508 mæil. 509 wæ'il. 510 mæin. 511 wæ'in. 512 spæier. 513 weer. 514 diæ. 515 wæ'iz.

O- [Here Ch. almost universally follows the standard English and only exceptions are marked.] — bræk [broke]. — shæ'uv [shove]. — stæ'um stæ'ul'n stoon [stolen]. O: [Only exceptional pronunciations noted.] — kraft [croft]. 526 [(æ'us) is used, Ws. hwósta]. 528 thæ'ut. 529 bræ'ut. 531 dæ'uter. 536 gæ'uld. 538 wu_od. 539 bæ'u. — swæ'ul'n [swollen]. — æ'up'n [holpen, helped]. 542 bæ'ut. — krap [crop]. 546 far. 547 bæ'uerd. — tharn [thorn]. — os [horse]. — græsliat [grassplot]. — goth [girth]. O'- 555 shæ'u. 559 mu_odher. 560 skæ'u. — gæ'um [gum of a tooth]. 563 mu_ondi. 566 wæ'dher. O': 569 bæ'uk. 570 tæ'uk. 571 gu_od. 572 blæ'u_od.

575 *stu*.d. 577 *bə'u* *bə'u*. 578 *plə'u*. 579 *ʋnə'u*. — *pə'u* [pool]. 584 *stə'u* [stool]. 587 *du*.n. 595 *fə'ut*. 596 *rə'ut*. 597 *su*.t.
 U- 599 *əb*.v. 600 *lu*.v. 601 *fə'ul*. 602 *sái*. — *thəm* [thumb]. 603 *ku*.m. 606 *də*'*ʋər*. 607 *b*.tər. U: 609 *f*.l. — *pə'u* [pull, same as for pool, top line above]. 614 *áind*. 616 *gráind*. 617 *sáind*. 619 *f*.nd. 620 *gr*.n. 621 *w*.n. — *oonder* [under]. — *bərə* [borough]. 634 *thrə'u*. — *kos* [curse]. 635 *woth*. — *ráist*, *rá'ust* [rust]. 639 *du*.st. U- 640 *kái*. 642 *dhái*. 644 *su*.k [suck]. 645 *du*.v. 646 *bə'u*. — *stə'up* [stoop]. 648 *aar*. 650 *əbáit* *əbá'ut*. U: — *bə'uk* [bucket]. 655 *fái*, *fə'u* [ugly]. 656 *rə'um*. 657 *bráin* *brá'un*. 658 *dáin*. 661 *shá'ʋər*. 662 *u*.z. 663 *áis*. 665 *máis* *má'us*. — *kláit* [a clout]. 671 *máith* *má'uth*.
 Y- 676 *lái* *lig*. 677 *drái*. 680 *bizi*. — *du*.zi [dizzy]. Y: 686 *bái*. 688 *sitj*. — *shilf* [shelf]. 690 *kə'ind*. 691 *máind*. — *dənt* [dint or blow]. 700 *wəs*. 701 *fəst*. Y- — *kjɛ'i* [ky, kine=cows]. 705 *skái*. 706 *wɛ'i*. 707 *thartɛ'in*. 708 *dí'ər*. Y': 709 *fá'ər*. — *pismá'ʋər* [pismire]. 711 *lɛ'is*. 712 *mɛ'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *məe'gət* [maggot]. 723 *diiri*. 733 *skjaarkroo* [scarecrow]. — *skɛ'it* [skate]. 741 *maa'zi*. E. 743 *skriem*. — *taligraift* [telegraph]. I. and Y. — *skráik* [shriek]. — *lɛmbər* [limber, limp?]. — *splɛnt* [splint]. 757 *tiini*. — *stɛrɛp*. O. 761 *lɛ'ʋəd*. 763 *raam*. — *su*.k [sock, a ploughshare; either Fr. soc. or Welsh swch]. — *nu*.d [nod]. 766 *mɛ'idhərd*. — *rə'ʋl* [to roll]. 771 *fand'l* [fondle]. — *lɛ'ʋp* [loop]. — *fɛu*.p [flop]. — *looʒ* [lose]. — *gɛslɪn* [gosling]. — *natj* [notch, a cog]. — *pá'ʋər* *pá'ʋər* [pour]. 790 *bɛdʒɪn* [bedgown]. U. — *də'ʋk* [to duck, bend down]. 797 *skwɛak* [squeak]. — *trɪnd'l* [trundle]. — *pá'ʋəʃ* [paunch]. — *lɛ'ʋəʃ*, *lɛ'ʋəʃ* [hunch]. 805 *krɛ.dz*. — *ɔri* [hurry]. — *skɔri*. — *is'l* [to move along the ground, to hustle?].

III. ROMANCE.

Generally only irregular words are given.

A.. — *kɛtj* [catch]. 824 *tjɛ'ʋər* *tjɛ'ʋər*. — *maa* [a mall]. — *mɛstər* [master]. 852 *apɛrn*. 866 *pə'ʋər*. E.. 868 *dji*. — *pil* [peel]. — *rikmɛpɛns* [recompense]. 871 *ɛgrɛ'i*. 878 *salɛri*. — *jaarb* [herb]. — *ri'fɔr* [refer]. 887 *klaardji*. — *jaarn* [heron]. — *mizər* [measure]. 893 *fɛá'ʋər*. I.. and Y.. 898 *nɛ'is*. — *sɛggl* [single]. — *rɛns* [to rinse]. 909 *brɛ'iz*. 911 *sɛstɛrn*. O.. — *pɛ'ʋtj* [to poach]. 920 *pɛint*. 921 *ɛkwɛ'ɪnt*. 924 *tjɛ'is*. 926 *spɛ'il*. — *kə'ʋmfɛrt*. 929 *kái* *ku*.mber. — *koord* [cord]. 939 *klə'us*. 940 *kə'ʋst*. 941 *fə'u*. — *ɔ'u* [a hoe]. 944 *ɛlái*. 945 *və'u*. 949 *mə'ʋld*. 952 *kə'ʋərs*. 955 *dáit*. — *ráit* [route, which many people call (rə'ut) in rec. sp.]. U.. 963 *kwɛ'ɛt*, *kwɛt*. 966 *frə'ut*. — *pilpit* [pulpit]. — *skwɛrɪl* [squirrel]. — *skwɛər* [a squire].

D 26 = e.MM. = eastern Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on Combs Moss, opposite Black Edge (1½ n. Buxton, Db.), and pass s. along the summits of Long Hill and Burbage Edge to Moss House on b. of Ch. Here go ssw., taking in a small strip of Ch., and enter St. about Quarnford between Flash and Leek Frith. Pass over the hills called the Roaches (rə'ʋtʃɪz), and sweep se. on w. of Butterton, e. of Grindon, and through Blore. Then turn s. to the e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and proceed sw. to Rocester (rooster), through St.: this is the e. b. of D 25. Then follow the Db. b. along the Trent to Repton, just s. of the river, and then probably (but not with absolute certainty) across the s. peninsula of Db. to the Trent again, where it forms the b. of Db., and pursue this border e. and n. round to Stanedge. Then turn w. passing over Bamford Edge, s. of Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Mam Tor [misprinted Man Tor on p. 315], where turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest Liberty to Hay Dale, and then to the starting-point. From Stanedge this is the s. b. of D 21. This minute description is due to TH.

The s. part of this b. from Repton across the Db. peninsula is uncertain, the country not having been well explored. But the dialect has a s.Db. or Le. character.

Area. This district comprises all Db. s. of the line which divides the North from the South Peak, with the exception of the peninsula between St. and Le., and contains also a narrow slip to the e. of St.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ so., ° io.

Db. †Alvaston, †Ashbourne, †Ashford and Bakewell, †Ashover, †Bamford, †Barlborough, †Belper, †Bolsover, †Bradwell, †Brailsford, °†Brampton, †Castleton, †Chellaston, †Chesterfield, °Codnor, †Codnor Park, †Combs Valley, †Crich, †Cromford, *†Derby, †Doe Hill, †Dronfield, †Eckington, †Eyam, †Foolow, †Great Hucklow, †Hathersage, †Heanor, †Higham, †Idridgehay, †Ilkeston, †Little Hucklow, †Matlock Bath, †Middleton by Wirksworth, †Middleton by Youlgrave, †Milford, †Morton, °Norton, †Quarndon, °†Repton, †Ripley, †Sandiacre, †South Wingfield, †Stenson, †Stretton, †Sutton, †Taddington, †Tideswell, †Twyford, †Unstone, †West Hallam, †Whittington, †Winster, °†Wirksworth.

St. †Alstonefield, †Flash, †Rocester, †Stake Gutter Farm.

It will be seen that the whole of my information for this district comes through TH., who is a native of Db., and has frequently travelled over the country on foot and by rail during many years for the purpose of examining the dialect. In fact I am able to give only a very small part of his collections.

Character. As a whole the character of this dialect may be given as: A- (*ee*), A' (*úv*, *uu*, *oo*), E' (*ɛ'i*), I' (*ái*), O' (*æ'u*) most distinctive, and U' (*aa'*, *aa*). But there are many slight differences. It seems best to distinguish at least four varieties, though the distinctions are neither strong nor always consistently marked, Var. i. northern, or the South Peak, Var. ii. western, Var. iii. eastern, and Var. iv. southern.

Var. i. The Northern, or the South Peak form (the n. Peak is part of D 21), generally has (*dii*) and not (*dee*) day. O' is regularly (*æ'u*), though (*æ'u*), which probably generated (*æ'u*), is still heard. U' is occ. (*á'u*), but regularly (*aa'*). This dialect extends over all the s. and sw. slopes of the Peak as far s. as Winster.

Var. ii. The Western has regularly (*dii*, *sii*) day, say. O' is regularly (*æ'u*), but occ. (*æ'u*). U' is regularly (*aa'*), but occ. (*á'u*) in Db., and regularly (*á'u*) in St.

The (*kh*) was heard here from the fathers and grandfathers of living people. The dental (*t,r-*, *d,r*) has also been heard here sporadically. This variety extends from Winster to Ashbourne, and over the small slip of St.

Var. iii. The Eastern shades off to D 24 and 27. In the n. part (*dee*) is regular, though (*dii*) is found, but at Ashover and further s. (*dii*) becomes regular. I' seems to be regularly (*o'i*), a degeneration of (*ái*). Singularly enough U' becomes (*ái*) in a few places, as in D 25, and (*á'a*) has been heard, which is intermediate between (*ái*, *á'a*), and is found also in D 27. But (*á'u*, *ái*) are exceptions, and (*aa*) is the general form. This variety extends from the n. b. on the e. of the ridge of hills which runs down the middle of Db., as far s. as Ilkeston, but the separation of (*dee*, *dii*) indicates a difference at a few miles s. of Chesterfield. There is another ridge passing n. to s. through Bolsover, and to the e. of this the verbal pl. in *-en* does not extend. It is doubtful whether that portion of D b. should not rather be included in Nt. D 27, as the configuration of the country also suggests, but in the absence of sufficient information the county b. has been followed. Northward, Chesterfield, Unstone, Dronfield, and Norton approach very closely to D 24, which at Rotherham and Sheffield has the verbal pl. in *-en*. The chief distinction is therefore in the treatment of O' as (*o'i*) in D 24, and its treatment as (*æ'u*) in D 26. Though in deference to the feeling of the inhabitants that their speech differs materially from Yo., I now include the whole of this region in D 26, I at one time included

Dronfield and Chesterfield in the same district with Rotherham and Sheffield. As far as pron. and grammar are concerned, the distinction seems to be very slight.

Var. iv. Southern. There are only two points in which this variety is clearly distinguished from the others. O' is regularly (ú, ú, u), and U' regularly (ěáú, ěáú), a triphthong arising out of (áú), according to TH.'s observations, by lengthening the transverse opening of the mouth, which action in my own speech leads rather to (á'ú, ú'ú). The triphthong is very neatly uttered, the first element being remarkably short, so that (ěáú) down approaches (djáú). The (ú) is another derivative from (ə'ú), such as we have in D 19, and hence can only be regarded as a variety like (ə'ú) itself, neither (ú) nor (ə'ú), having entirely displaced (ə'ú). But for some time I was inclined to make the part of Db. s. of Quarndon (3 nw. Derby), at which the s. character seems to commence, a part of what is now D 29.

Throughout all these varieties, except perhaps to the e. of Bolsover, the verbal pl. in *-en* is heard, the definite article is (th), sometimes (dh) before vowels and voiced consonants and (s, f, t') by assimilation, but in the n. parts of Var. iii. (t') seems to be used exclusively, as it is in most of D 24.

Illustrations. TH. had with great pains and trouble obtained for me eight cs. and six dt. to illustrate this s. and m. part of his native county, as a contrast to his native region Chapel-en-le-Frith, in the North Peak, D 21. These I give first, arranged so as to bring their resemblances and differences prominently forward. And I adopt for this purpose most of TH.'s minute distinctions. These shew the relations of the four varieties very clearly. But I have added also seven dt. similarly arranged bringing out the character of Var. iii. in especial. Then follow some specimens chiefly for Var. ii. and the Bolsover form of Var. iii. Finally I add a cwl. for each variety arranged from the wn. by TH. at the places mentioned.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE CS.

The following eight cs. were written in pal. by TH., mostly from direct dictation. In conjunction with the following dt. they illustrate the principal varieties of Db. pron.

Var. i. SOUTH PEAK.

1. *Bradwell* (:brade) (9 ne. Buxton), lying almost immediately south of the n. b. of D 26. This was pal. in 1876 from the dict. of S. Dakin, b. 1831, assisted by his father and brother, all shoemakers, natives and residents. This is the only place in the district which calls wait day pay (*weest dee pee*) in place of (*wiit dii pii*), etc.

2. *Taddington* (:tad'ntən) (6 ese. Buxton), pal. by TH. from his own knowledge, but corrected by Mr. T. Oldfield, native, resident in Manchester.

3. *Ashford* (:ashfərt, :ashfəd) (9 ese. Buxton), pal. in 1874-5 from dictation of Mr. Joshua Birley of that place.

4. *Winster* (4 nw. Matlock Bath), pal. in 1874 from his own knowledge by TH., and submitted twice to Mr. Wm. Rains, native, resident in Manchester 25 years, his cousin, Mr. W. Foxlow, grocer, b. 1830, and Foxlow's assistant, b. 1850, the last two of whom had only just moved from Winster to Manchester, and spoke the dialect purely.

Var. ii. WESTERN DB.

5. *Ashbourn* (:ashbərn, :ashbən) (10 sw. Matlock Bath), first version pal. in 1874, from dict. of B. Plant, sexton and native.

6. *Ashbourn*, second version pal. in 1876 from dict. of J. Coxon, b. 1800, then a farm-labourer, and his wife, b. 1819, both natives and constant residents.

Var. iii. EASTERN DB.

7. *Brampton* (Old 3 w., New 1½ sw. Chesterfield), pal. 1873 from dict. of Mrs. Bennett, b. about 1825, and her husband, b. 1823, both natives of New Brampton, who resided there and spoke the dialect till 1848, visiting the place frequently afterwards. The dt. was subsequently corrected where necessary from inquiries made by TH. at New Brampton in 1873. This specimen is peculiar in using (âi) for U', found in very few places. But TH. informs me that in 1883 he found (âi, âi) for U' at Dore (3 nw. Dronfield), Totley (3 wnw. Dronfield), Holmsfield (2 wsw. Dronfield), Dronfield Woodhouse (6 nw. Chesterfield), Chesterfield (from an elderly man), Old Brampton, and Brampton Moor, and also, together with (aa, aa'), at Ashover. This shows a small district near Chesterfield in which this peculiarity occurs.

Var. iv. SOUTHERN DB.

8. *Repton* (:rep'n) (7 ssw. Db.), pal. in 1876 by TH. from dictation of Mr. G. Smedley, native, once overseer and relieving officer, and always a constant resident, b. 1808. Smedley gave the refined form (âu) to U', but TH. has used (âau), the common form in the neighbourhood.

* * To shew the great resemblance between the several cs. here considered, when a word is *exactly* repeated in a following line, it is represented by (,) only. Hence whenever the reader sees (,,), he must take the next printed word above it. Sometimes the passage has been altered, so that there are no corresponding words, and some lines or parts of lines are therefore entirely blank. But this will occasion no difficulty. The seven dt. which follow are treated in the same way. In these two sets of illustrations all TH.'s suspended final consonants are inserted, and the (,,) is not used if two words differ in this respect.

0. 1	<i>Bradwell.</i>	wâi	:dʒən	z	nə'u	daats.
2	<i>Taddington.</i>	"	"	"	nə'u	dáuts.
3	<i>Ashford.</i>	waa	"	"	nə'u	daa'ts.
4	<i>Winster.</i>	wâi	"	"	"	daats.
5	<i>Ashbourne i.</i>	"	"	"	"	dà'ts.
6	<i>Ashbourne ii.</i>	"	"	"	"	"
7	<i>Brampton.</i>	wô'i	"	"	nə	dáits.
8	<i>Repton.</i>	wâi	"	"	nə	děáuts.

1.	1	wel,	lâr,	ʒə		mə	buudh	laf	ɜz	ʒə)n
2	"	:tu _o məz,	ʒoo	ɛn	ɪm	"	"	"	əd	dhíz
3	"	:tu _o m,	dhee	"	"	"	buudh	"	"	"
4	"	"	dhe'i	"	"	"	buudh	on	ʒə	"
5	"	meet,	dhe'i	"	"	"	"	"	lof	ɛt wət
6	"	:dʒɪm,	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
7	"	:təmɜz,	ʒoo	"	"	"	búudh	laf	əd	dhíz
8	"	:dʒɪm,	ʒo'	"	"	"	buudh	lof	ɛt	"

1	ɜ	máɪnd,		ʌ	du _o)nɜ	kéɜr	fɜr	dhat'.
2		níùz	ɜ	máɪn.	uu	kjéɜrz ?		
3		"	"	"	"	"	"	
4		"	"	"	"	kjéɜrz ?		
5	ʌ	m gu)ɪn)	t'	tɛl)ʒɜr.	"	"	"	
6	"	"	"	tɛlɪn ʒə.	"	kjéɜrz ?		
7		níùz	ɜ	mó'ɪn.	úɜ	"	"	
8		"	"	máɪn.	uu	"	"	

1 dhat)s noodher e'er ner dhier.
 2 " " " " "
 3 " " " " "
 4 " " " " "
 5 " niidher fer " "
 6 "
 7 " noodher " " "
 8 " niidher " " "

2. 1 nobde' dâz thra'u bi)en laft at.
 2 dher iz ne moni ez dâin bēkAAZ dhæ)r " " dhat
 3 ") z na'n " " de'iz kAAZ " " "
 4 " iz)ne " dhet " bēkAAZ " " " dhat
 5 " " " " ez dâz " " loft "
 6 " " " " men de'iz bēkOS " " "
 7 " " " " ez dâin kAAZ " laft "
 8 " " " " " dâz bēkAAZ " loft "

1 wot shud mak)em ? it)s non
 2 wi noon, du)nt)ez ? " shu)d " " iz ner
 3 we'i " " wi ? " " ")s non
 4 " " " " " " " " iz)ne
 5 " " " " " " " " "
 6 " " dhat. " shud " " "
 7 wi " du)ne " " shu)d " " "
 8 " " " " " shud meek)em ? " " ner

1 e lăiklî thi)qg et AA.
 2 veri lăiklî iz et ?
 3 " " " "
 4 " " " "
 5 " " " "
 6 " " " is)t ?
 7 " lo'iklî iz et ?
 8 " lăiklî " "

3. 1 we'l ber le)me' tel)dhî
 2 et onî reet it wer e dhis'n, se dyu)st a'ud rer
 3 a)aa'ver " " " " suu " a'ud dhî
 4 aasem'er " " " " se " a'ud "
 5 et onî reet " " " " sù " "
 6 " " " " " su " a'ud "
 7 " " " " ap'nt " " se " a'ud rer
 8 éâusem'iver dhis is f fakt ,,)th mater, su " a'ud "

1			weet	tíl)í)v	da'un.	
2	náiz,	mén,	en	bí kwáivét	,, ,, ,,	íer jø.
3	,,	,,	,,	kwáivét	,, ,, dū _o n.	àrk dhí!
4	,,	,,	,,	kwáivét	,, í da'un.	drk'n!
5	,,	,,	,,	kwáivét	,, í)v dū _o n.	,,
6	,,	lād,		,, Δ)v	ta'úd dhí.	àrk-dhí!
7	ne'iz,	mén	,,	,, kwó'ivét	,, ,, dū _o n.	,, jø!
8	náiz,	,,	,,	,, kwáivét	,, á'n	,, dū _o n jø íer!

4. 1	Δ)m	shæ'uer	Δ	færd	em	see—	
2	·à)m	sártin	Δ)	,,	,,	sii—Δ)miin	su _o m en em ez
3	·à)m	,,	a	,,	,,	,, —	,, e dhæ'iz fók's ,,
4	Δ)m	shæ'uer	Δ)	,,	,,	—Δ)	,, e dhæ'uz ,,
5	,,	sártin	,,	,,	,,	—,,	,, e dhæ'uz ,,
6	Δ)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	—,,	,, e dhæm fók' ,,
7	Δ)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	see—	,, e)t' ,,
8	Δ)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	sii—	,, e dhooz fók's ,,

1	dha'uz		et	nood	AA	vbaat	it—	aa!	esh
2	went	thræ'u	th)wū _o l	kensårn	fræ)th	farst	dhærsel'z,—		
3	,,	thra'u	th)uul	thiqg	,,	,,	dhærsen'z—		
4	,,	,,	th wū _o l	,,	,,	,,	,, —		
5	,,	,,	,,	kensårn	fræm)th	fast	,, —		
6	,,	thræ'u	dh)wū _o l	thiqg	,,	,,	,, fræm		
7	,,	,,	t' wū _o l	kensårn	,,	)t'	,, —		
8	,,	,,	th	thiqg	,,	)th	farst	,, —	

1			shæ'uer	ez	Δ)m	w'k'.
2	dhat)í	díd	shæ'uer	enu _o f.		
3	,,)a	,,	,,	inu _o f.		
4	,,)í	,,	,,	enu _o f.		
5	,, Δ	,,	,,	,,		
6	farst	te	last.			
7	dhat	Δ	díd	seef	,,	
8	,,	,,	,,	séf	,,	

5. 1	et)th	ju _o qkst	lad	issen',	e	grit)en	e	náin	íer	æ'úd,	nood
2	ez)	,,	ju _o qgíst	låd	issel',	,,	big'	låd	náin	íer	,,
3	,,	,,	,,	,,	issen',	,,	grit	,,	náin	,,	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	big'	,,	,,	,,	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6	es)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7	ez)t'	,,	,,	,,	,,	gret)en	no'in	,,	,,	,,	,,
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	big'	låd	náin	,,	,,	,,

1 is feedher tu_ogg in e mánit,
 2 ,, feedherz váis dírēklé, ev it 'wær sē
 3 ,, ,, ,, es sá'un ez e'í ferd it, ,, ,, wær ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, in e mánit, ,, ,, 'wær ,,
 5 ,, ,, váis' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wær ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ev ,, wær ,,
 7 ,, ,, vó'is' es sá'un ez íi ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 8 ,, ,, váis' in e mánit ,, ,, 'wær ,,

1 kwier ez it iz, en a)m shæ'uer 'E'id speak)t' trúuth
 2 ,, en skwík'in, en a)d tru_ost 'ím t')tel,, ,,
 3 ,, ,, skwá'k'in, ,, a)d ,, ,, fe)t spik),, træ'uth
 4 ,, ,, skwík'in, ,, a)d ,, ,, t' tel),, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, bak' ,, fer telin),, ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, A kud tru_ost ,, t' spik)th trúuth
 7 ,, ,, skwí'k'in ,,)d ,, ,, tel)t' træ'uth
 8 ,, ,, skwík'in ,,)d ,, ,, fer)t' spik)th ,,

1 oní aa, 'dhat í wú_od.
 2 ,, dii ,, ,,) ,,
 3 ,, ,, dhat a ,,
 4 ,, ,, A ,, dhat'.
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, dhát.
 6 ,, ,, ,, kú_od.
 7 ,, dee 'dhat ,, wú_od.
 8 ,, dii ,, ,, ,,

6. 1 jð mí laf, ber)th a'úd wú_oman ersen' el tel jē,
 2 ,, en)th ,, ,, ersel' ,, ,, oní
 3 ,, ,, ,, ,, ersen' ed ,, ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,, a'ú)l ,, jē, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ar)d ,, jēr, ,,
 6 ,, en)dh ,, ,, el ,, ,,
 7 ,, en)t' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 8 ,, en)dh ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

1 djú's' s seem,
 2 on jē ez laf's naa, en tel jē stre'itforet, ta'u,
 3 ,, ,, ,, iz laf'in naa', ,, ,, ,, re'it à't, en AA,
 4 ,, ,, ,, laf's naa, ,, ,, ,, stre'it aat ta'u,
 5 ,, jēr ,, lof's naa', ,, ,, ,, à't' ,,
 6 ,, jē dhæt ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 ,, ,, ez laf'n naa, ,, ,, ,, ,, àit tæ'u
 8 ,, ,, ,, lof's nēáu, ,, ,, ,, ,, of' tíu

1			iv jə)n gu ɛn	aks)er —
2	báut	mítj	bodher, ɛv jə)n oonli	,, — oo!
3	widhaa't	oni	ɛdæ, iv jə)l	,, — a)m
4	widhaat	,,	bodher, ɛv ,,	,, — oo!
5	widhaa't	,,	,, jə)d	eks)er — ,,
6	,,	mítj	ɛdæ'u, if jə)n ɛ má'nd t'	,, — ,,
7	widhá't	mu _o tj	bodher, iv ,, nɔbet	aks er — ,,
8	widhěáút	oni	,, if jə)l oonli	,, ,, — ,,

1				
2			wu _o nt ɛr ?	
3	shæ'uer	æ'u	wu _o l, wu _o)nt	,, ?
4			,,	ɛ ?
5			,,	ɛr ?
6			,,	ɛ ?
7			wi)net	,,
8			wu _o nt ɛr ?	

7. 1	ɛt	o'ni	reet, æ'u	ta'úd	'mɛ'i	wɛn	A	akst)er
2	,,	,,	,,	,,	it	,,	,,	,,
3	,,	,,	,,	,,	'mɛɛ	ɔn)t	a	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	,,	'mɛ'i	,,	A	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ekst)er
6	aa'iver		æ'r	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7	ɛt	,,	æ'u	,,	'má	,,	,,	akst)er
8	ěáu)iver		æ'r	,,	'mɛi	,,	,,	,,

1	ts'uthri	táimz	óer,	ɛn	'æ'u	fAAZ)t'	
2	ts'u	ɛr	thre'i	,,	,,	shu _o d)nɛr	
3	ts'uthri	,,	óer, æ'u	díd,	,,	æ'ut)nɛ	
4	ts'u	ɛr	thre'i	,,	,,	wu _o nɛ	
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	æ'r	shu _o d)nɛ
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	'æ'r	,,
7	tæ'ù	,,	thrá	tó'imz	,,	'æ'u	,,
8	tíuthri	táimz	,,	,,	'æ'r	ɛd)nɛ	át' tɛ

1	noo	iv	ɔnibodi	dæ'uz,	wɔd)'n	joo					
2	bí	ru _o qg	i	sítj ɛ	thiqg	ɛz	dhis',	,,	du _o n	jɛ	
3	,,	,,	ɛbaa't	su _o tj	,,	,,	,,	,,	wɔt		
4	,,	,,	i	sítj	,,	,,	,,	,,	wu _o t)'n	jɛ	
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wɔd	du _o n	,,
6	,,	,,	óer	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	shu _o d-ɛ	?	
7	,,	rɔqg	ɛbá't	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wɔd	du _o n	jɛ
8	,,	ru _o qg	ɔn	su _o tj	,,	,,	,,	,,	wɔt	,,	,,

1	AA	ev	iz	leqkth	i)th	rood,	in	iz	gʷod	suondz
2	A'		„	„	u _o pe)th	gráund,	„	„	„	„
3	AA		„	„	on)th	graa'nd	wi	„	„	„
4	A'		„	„	on)t'	graand	in	„	„	„
5	„	„	„	„	u _o pe)th	graa'nd	„	„	„	„
6	stretjt	AA)z	„	„	on)th	„	„	)z	best	
7	oo		„	„	)t'	gráund	wi	iz	„	„
8	stretjt	AAl	„	„	)th	gréáund	in	„	gʷod	„

1	kuut	tlús	et)t'			dæ'r,		daan	et)t'
2	„	tlús'	e)ssáid e)th	áuz	„	„		dáun	„)th
3	„	on',	tlús)tu	er	oon	dúer	stuun,	daa'n	„
4	„	tlús'	tə)th			aaz	dúer,	daan	„
5	tluuz,	„	tə)th			aa's'	dóer,	daa'n	„
6	kuut,	„	egjən)dh			á's'	dúer,	„	„
7	kúet	on',	agjən)t'			á's'	dóer,	dáun	„)t'
8	kuut,	„	bə)dh			éaus'	dúer,	déáun	„)th

1	botem	e)th	loon.
2	kørner	„	jønder leen.
3	ka'rner	„	jønz
4	kærner	„	jønder
5	botem	„)th	„
6	ka'rner	„)th	„
7	kørner	„	jønd
8	bot'm	„)th	„

10.	1	E'i	wer	rúerín	en	bel'ín	
	2	„	„	makén	e	náiz,	æ'w se'd, fur AA th)
	3	„	„	fret'én	ewii,	„	se'z, i su _o tj e wii
	4	„	„	makén	e	náiz	„ se'd,
	5	„	„	„	„	er	„
	6	„	„	gruunén	ewii		„ „ dh
	7	i	„	makén	„	ne'iz	„ óo)t'
	8	E'i	„	wáinén	ewii	„	„ AAl)th

1		lái'k	e	griit	soft	ka'f.
2	ward	„	„	badli	tjáilt,	er e lét'l wentj krá'ín.
3	djw _o st	lái'k	„	„	„	„ „ „ „ „
4	ward	lái'k	„	„	„	„ „ „ „ skriimén
5	„	„	„	bú _o l.		
6	„	„	„	píg	[swáin].	
7	ward	lái'k	„	badli	tj _o 'ild,	„ „ „ las' kro'ín.
8	„	lái'k	„	„	tjáild,	„ „ „ wentj in e temper.

11. 1	en	it	wer	dju _o st	es)th	a'ud	wu _o men	en	er	da'ut'er)
2	„	dhat		ap'nt,	ez		a'r	„	„	„
3	„	it	dju _o st	suu	„	„	„	„	„	„
4	„	dhat		„	„	buudh	„	„	„	„
5	„	„		„	„	„	„	„	„	„
6	„	„		wa'r,	„	„	„	„	„	„
7	„	„		ap'nt,	„	„	„	„	„	„
8	„	„		ap'nd	„	„	„	„	„	„

1	i)lAA	kja'um	thra'u)th	bak'	fe'ud,	fræ		iqg'in
2	„	ka'um	thra'u)„	bak'	ja'rt	wen	dh(i)d	bin
3	„	ka'um	thra'u)„	bak'	ja'rd		fræ	„
4	„	kjeem	thra'u)„	„	„		fræm	„
5	„	ka'm	thra'u)„	„	„	„	dh(i)d	bin
6	in	„	thra'u)„	„	„		fræm	„
7	i	ka'md	thra'u)t'	„	„		„	aqg'in
8	„	ka'm	„)th	„	„		„	iqg'in

1	th)	tluuz	at'	wen	dh(i)d	wesht	em.
2	„)writ	„	aut	t' drði	e)th	wesh'in	dii.
3	„)wet	„	at' fæt	„ on)	„	„	„
4	aat t'	„	fæt'	„ e)	„	„	„
5	th)	„	at'	„	„	„	„
6	„	„	t'	„ e) dh	wesh'	„	„
7	t' wet	tluez	at' te	dro'ð on)t'	wesh'in	dee.	
8	th)	„	tluuz	„	drði on e	wesh'	dii.

12. 1	wáil)th	kjet'l	wer	ba'ilén	fer)th	dríqkín,	won	fáin
2	„	„	„	ba'ilén	„	tii,	„	„
3	wáil),	„	„	ba'ilén	„	„	„	„
4	wáil),	„	„	ba'ilén	„	„	„	„
5	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
6	„	„	tii-	„	ba'ild,		wa'n	„
7	wó'íl)t'	„	„	bo'ilén	„	„	won	„
8	wáil)th	„	„	wéz	ba'ilén		wa'n	„

1		su _o mer	dee	i)th	afterna'un,	en	it)'l	bi e
2	bríit	afterna'un	i	su _o mer,	„	„	oonlè	„
3	bré'it'	su _o mer		afterna'un,	„	„	„	„
4		su _o merz		„	„	„	„	„
5		afterna'un	„	su _o mer,	„	„	„	„
6	bré'it'	su _o merz		afterna'un,	„	„	„	„
7	bró'it (bríit)	aftena'un	„	su _o mer			„	„
8		su _o mer		aftena'un			„	„

1 we'ik' sɪn' t' neks therzdi.
 2 we'ik' ,, ,, ,, ,,
 3 we'ik' ,, ,, ,, ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,,
 5 wɪk' ,, ,, ,, ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 wɪk' ,, kɛ'm ,, ,,
 8 wɪk' ,, t' ,, ,,

13. 1 ɛn Jo noon, A nɛvɛr fɛrd nɛ'ʊt' ɛbaat it sɪn'.
 2 ,, du_n Jɛ noo? ,, ,, ,, nɛ'ʊ mʊɛr ɛ dhat
 3 ,, du_ɔnt ,, sɛɛ? a nɛr lɛrnt ɔni mʊɛr abaa't ,,
 4 ,, du_st dhɛ'i noo? A nɛvɛr fɛrd nɛ'ʊ mʊɛr ɔn)t
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 6 ,, du_n Jɛ ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, nɛ ,, ɛ ,,
 8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ɔn)t

1 ɛsh shɛ'ʊɛr ɛz mɔi neem)z wɔt ɪt.
 2 kɛnsɔrn tɛ dhɪz dii, ,, ,, ,, mɪ ,, :dʒɔn
 3 bɪznɪz u_p' tɪl tɛdii, ,, ,, ,, maa ,, :dʒak'
 4 frɛm dhad dii tɛ dhɪs', ,, ,, ,, mɔi ,, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wɔt ɪt
 6 ,, ,, ,, tɪl tɛdii, ,, ,, ,, A)m fɛr
 7 kɛnsɔrn tɛ dhɪz dɛɛ, ,, ,, ,, mɔ'i neem)z :dʒak'
 8 frɛm dhɔt dii tɛ dhɪs' ,, ,, ,, mɔi ,, ,,

1 ɪz, ɛn A du_nɛ noo, ɛn A du_nɛ kjɛr nɛ'ʊt' nɛ
 2 :shɛpɛrt, ,, ,, ,, want noodhɛr, naa dhɛn'!
 3 :shɛpɛd, ,, a ,,)nɛr ,, fɛ)t dɛɛ noodhɛr, dhat)s
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,,)nɛ ,, t' dɛ'ʊ ,, ,, naa dhɛn'!
 5 ɪz, ,, A ,, ,, wont niidhɛr, naa' ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 :shɛpɛrd, ,, ,, do)nt want noodhɛr, dhɛ'er
 8 ,, ,, ,, du_nɛ wont niidhɛr, A)m

1 mʊɛr ɛbaat ɪt.
 2
 3 sɔrtɪn.
 4
 5
 6
 7 naa!
 8 shɛ'ʊɛr.

14.	1	en naa	A)m	gu)in	wòm)p')mí	su)per.	gu)od	ne'it',
	2	" "	A)m	"	wám)p')mí	"	" "	" "
	3	" "	a)m	"	wám)ft)t é mí	"	naa¹.	" "
	4	" "	A)m	of	ts mí	"	" "	ne'it',
	5	" naa¹	"	gu)in	" "	" "	" "	na'it',
	6	" su	"	of	wám	" "	" "	ne'it',
	7	" naa	"	gu)in	" "	" "	" "	ni'it',
	8	" néáu	"	"	"	t'ee mí	wel	na'it',

1	en du)ne	bí se	redí	t'	mag	gjam' e	oni'bodi
2	" "	" "	" "	t'	kroo	óer	ne'ubdi
3	" du)ner	" "	kwík' ebaa't	kroo)in	óer	" "	bodi
4	låd, en du)ne	" "	redí	t'	mag	gjam' "	u)bdí
5	låd, en	" "	" "	e	makín	gjam' "	oni'bodi
6	" "	" "	" "	t'	kroo	óer	" "
7	" do)nt	" "	shârp ts	" "	" "	óer	w'ón
8	" du)ne	" "	redí	t'	" "	óer	oni'bodi

1	egj'en,	wen	dhe'	taak'n	ebaat	á'ut'.
2	" "	" "	" "	ebáút	" "	" "
3	egj'een,	" "	e'í	ta'ks	ebaa't	dhe's' dhàt en)t tu) dher ta'ù dhe'.
4	egj'en	" "	dhe'	taak'n	ebaat	á'ut'.
5	" "	" "	dhe'r	taakín	ebaa't	" "
6	egj'een,	" "	e's	" "	" "	" "
7	egj'en,	" "	íi	taaks	e	dhe's' er dhàt er)t tu) dher.
8	" "	" "	dhæ	taak'n	" "	" "

15.	1	e'í	mu) d	bi e	hød'	et	ta'ùd	su)met	wí
	2	e't)s	"	kwíer	fá'ùl	ez	preets	báút	"
	3	e'í)z	"	púer	wík'	fá'ùl	" "	wídhaa't	"
	4	" "	"	kwíer	tjep'	" "	taaks	wídhaa't	oni
	5	" "	"	soft	" "	" "	" "	wídhaa't	" "
	6	e'í)z	"	"	fá'ùl	es	" "	" "	" "
	7	íi)z	"	"	fíùl	ez	" "	wídháit	" "
	8	e'í)z	"	préti	" "	es	préts	wídhéáut	" "

1	na'u	sens	ín)t.	A	naút	ne	múer	t)si	ta'ù	æ.
2	riiz'n.	en	dhat)s	mí	last	ward.				
3	u)nbíthéqkín	ésseñ'	e	bit'.	a	du)ner	noo	ez	à)v	á'ut' múer
4	riiz'n.	en	dhat)s	AA	ez	A	av	t'	sii.	
5	" "	" "	A)v	na'u	múer	t'	sii.			
6	sens.	" "	dhat)s	AA	ái)v	got'n	t'	sii.		
7	riiz'n.	" "	oo	ez	AA	av	ts	see.		
8	riiz'n.	" "	AA	ái)n	got	t'	sii.			

1		gu _o d	ne'it'.
2		"	"
3	fe)t sii naa'.	su	,, ,, tæ'ù dhè.
4		"	,, lād.
5		"	ndit', "
6		su	,, ne'it'.
7		"	ndit'.
8		"	ndit'.

Notes to No. 1, Bradwell cs., p. 426.

0. *no doubts*, the forms here are regular.

1. *lad*, and similarly *but*, par. 3, with (t) changed into (r).—*mind*, (di) or (A'i) is the regular long I' form, and hence form of short I Y before (nd).

2. *through*, although not a O' word, is treated as such, and becomes regularly (æ'u), but see par. 4 in Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, p. 429.

4. *say*, and subsequently *day*, have (ee), but the regular form would be (ii).—*sure*, this word is the only word in the cs. which retains (æ'u) instead of using (æ'u).—*wick*=*quick*, alive.

5. *that*, either (t) or (s).—*in a minute*, or (s) sæ'un ez i'ver i ferd im) as soon as ever he heard him.—*I'm sure he'd speak the truth any day*, 'that he would, or (s) (A)m shæ'wær 'E'i)l nA'n tæl v lāi, 'dhat i wu,)ne) and I'm sure he'll not tell a lie, 'that he will)not.

Notes to No. 2, Taddington cs., p. 426.

0. *no* (næ'u) should probably be (næ'u).—*doubts*, etc., 9. *ground house down*, etc. The diphthong (äu) for (aa) having created suspicion, TH. especially visited Taddington in Dec. 1875, "and after conversing with and making inquiries from several natives, found that the sound was (äu, äü); among the persons interviewed three were of 50, 70, and 80 years of age." This, therefore, is a similar peculiarity to Chapel-le-Frith, D 21, which is only 9 nw. Taddington, but on the other side of the Peak, and differing in many respects. Adjoining Chapel, the Vale

Notes to No. 3, Ashford cs., p. 426.

1. *thee* or (soo) you.

2. *don't we* or (dwe)ne wi?)—*is it* or (is)t).

3. *of this way* (v dhis'n)—*thy* or (væ) your.—*done* or (dæ'un).—*thee* or (væ) you.

5. *any day*, or (s) sæ'un ez on:bodi) as soon as anybody.

7. *two or three*, or (vbi)v wu_onst v r twais') above once or twice.

8. *she found him drunk as muck*, or (s) (æ'i wær ez dru_oqk ez mu_ok') and he was as drunk as muck.

9. *declared* (di)tlært).

10. *crying and bellowing*, the par. was translated at Elyam, (æ'i wær rúerin s) belderin lái_o v grüt soft kA'f), he was roaring and bellowing like a great soft calf.

12. *drinking* or (tii) tea.

13. *as my name's what it is*, or (s) i'ver A wær bA'rn) as ever I were born.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p) represents a (t) for to, assimilated to the two (m) between which it stands; the sound is the same as in 'thump me' (themp' mæ); there is no voicelessness of the first (m). A variant is (A)m baan t' mi su_oper) I'm going to my supper.—*make game*, or (mæe gjam').

15. *that*, (s) as also used.

of Goyt had (æi), and we shall meet this again in No. 7, Brampton cs. The forms (aa, äu, äi) are strangely mixed in these regions.

1. *Thomas*, the usual address is by name, or *lad*.

2. *is not*, observe the (r) added, although not before a vowel; "euphonic (r) is much used at Taddington, Flag, etc.," TH.

4. *through*, *sure*, these are not O' words, and apparently for this reason have not (æ'u), but (æ'u), but from the analogy of other words this itself should give (æ'u).

6. *right out* or (stre'it of) straight off.—*ado*, this (vðæ) should analogically be (vðæ'u), as *do*, *done*, are properly (dæ'u, dæ'un), but (dæ) is used again, par. 13, p. 435.

8. *both how and where and when she found*, or (A) vbaa't aa' æ'u fu_on') all about how she found.

Notes to No. 4, Winster cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, (daats) with distinct (aa) and not (aa'), and so elsewhere.

3. *hearken*, a before r=(a) as in yard are part barn garden etc. here, and at Middleton-by-Youlgrave.

4. *say* or (si suu) say so.

7. *what do-en*, the remarkable pron. (wu_ot)'n) was originally dictated, and was confirmed by Mr. Rains, p. 426, No. 4, in Sept. 1888.

10. *like a badly child or a little wench crying*, the simple (lák v tjáit skriimin) like a child screaming, would be much more common.

14. *make game*, the (k) of (mak) is altered to (g) by the attraction of the

following word.—*anybody*, (u_obdi) seems to have been coined from (nu_obdi) nobody, by omitting the *n*.

15. *chap* or (fa'ul) fool. With regard to this diphthong, Foxlow and Salt, who were fresh from the spot, said (a'u) distinctly in hold, old, told, no, done, too, two, etc., but Rains, who had been absent 25 years, used another form, which TH. first represented by (ou) and afterwards by (ó,u). As we find (a'u) cs., Nos. 2, 3, 6, this (ó,u) is evidently not the present pron.; whether it was an older one, or a mere individuality, must remain uncertain.

Notes to No. 5, Ashbourne cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, for U', OU.. etc., the regular form is (aa') or (aah), as TH. wrote it, or as I appreciated his own pron. (ææ). In one case at Ashbourne he heard (áu) as (bráán) brown, but (braan) also occurred.

6. *any of you as laughs*, the (rə) for *you* has the euphonic (r) before the following vowel (jər əz), and this is regular in the district. The (r) not before a vowel is constantly marked, and has the usual M. sound, probably (r).

SEVEN INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE dt.

These were all pal. from dict. by TH. The first five specially illustrate Var. iii, e.Db., which is not adequately represented in the eight cs., by No. 7, Brampton, for it has the peculiarity found only in a few places near Brampton of (ái) for U'.

Var. iii.

1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of J. Antcliffe, b. 1805, native, wheelwright.

2. *Barlborough* (7 ne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of A. Cooper, fitter at iron-works, b. 1832, and his elder brother, both natives. This is almost identical with the preceding.

3. *Bolsover* (:bá'uzər) (6 e.Chesterfield, on high ground), pal. 1880 by TH. from G. Shacklock, b. 1820, native. This scarcely differs from the preceding, but has (dān), which approaches D 27. The absence of the v. pl. in *-en* is remarkable in these three.

4. *South Wingfield* (5 nne.Belper), pal. 1883 by TH. from dict. of G. Hawksley, b. 1810, native, parish clerk. The v. pl. in *-en* appears in this and the two following.

5. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from another Thomas Hallam, b. 1809, native, collier. There is rather a remarkable coincidence of names here.

Var. iv.

6. *Brailsford* (7 nw.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from J. Hancock, b. 1835, native, small grocer and letter-carrier, assisted by another native, a farm-labourer.

Var. ii.

7. *Flash* (:flas') (7 nne.Leek, St.), pal. 1880 by TH. from the dict. of J. S. Coates, b. 1843, native, small farmer, who used (t,r-, d,r-), which was not heard from others in the same place, and hence is omitted in this transcript. As this is the only St. specimen, it has been placed last, although belonging to Var. ii; it also bears a very close resemblance to No. 6, Brailsford.

* * The (,) shews that the word is the same as in the preceding line.

1. 1 *Eckington.* A)see, meets, jə)sii naa et
 2 *Barborough.* di'dn't A tɛl)jə soo? jo)si
 3 *Bolsover.* A)see, tʃaps, [ladz] ,, ,, naa
 4 *South Wingfield.* ,,sii, ladz, ,,se'in naa [nâu]
 5 *West Hallam.* ,, ,, tʃaps jə)se'i ná'ə ez
 6 *Brailsford.* ,, ,, ,, jo)se'in naa' ,,
 7 *Flash.* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

- 1 A)m)re'it' ebaat dhat lit'l las' ku,mín frem)s'
 2 " " " " " " " " " "
 3 " " " [ebâet] " " " " " "
 4 " " ebaa't " " wentʃ kəmín frem)t'
 5 " " eba'et " " wensh " ")s'
 6 " " ebaa't " " wentʃ ku,mín " "
 7 " " ebâut " " " komín " "

- 1 skuul jonder.
 2 " " "
 3 " " jonds.
 4 skjə'ul "
 5 skjə'ul jonder.
 6 skjə'ul "
 7 skə'ul "

2. 1 shə)z)gu'in daan t')rúed dhíe thruu t')red gjeet on)t'
 2 shi " " " " " " " " " "
 3 shu " " dáən " " " " " red' jeet " "
 4 ə'u " " daan " rood " thra'u " " " "
 5 " " " dá'ən dh) " dhíe " dh)red " " th
 6 " " " daa'n " " dhíe " dhat " gjeet ")dh
 7 " " " dáun " " dhíer " dh)red' jeet " "

- 1 left and sáid v)t' rúed.
 2 " " " " " "
 3 " " sá'id " " "
 4 left " sáid " " rood.
 5 left " sáid " " "
 6 left " sáid v)dh) "
 7 " and " " " "

3. 1 lu_ok)jə! t')tjáild) z gá'n u_op' tə)t'
 2 " " ,, tjáil " " stre'it " " "
 3 " " ,, tjá'íld " " " u_op' " " "
 4 lə'uk ladz! ,, tjáilt)s " " u_op' " " ru_oq'
 5 lu_ok) jə dhíe_r! th) " " " " ")dh ru_oq'
 6 " " " " " " " " " dh ru_oq'
 7 " " " " " " stre'it " " " "

1 dūer ɐ)t' raq às.
 2 " " ru_oq âəs.
 3 " " " "
 4 dūe.
 5 â'əs "
 6 dōe.
 7 dā'r.

4. 1 wīer shù)l ap'n fđind dhat dru_oqk'n dñef wīz'nd tɔap
 2 wīe shi)l " " " " def " fēle
 3 wīe shu)l " fa'nd " " dñef " "
 4 wīer a'u)l " fđind " " dñf " "
 5 wīer " " " " " " " "
 6 wīer ɐ)l " " " " def " ma'n
 7 whīer a'u)l " " " " dñf wīdhert fēle, im

1 ɐt dhi kaal :təm'.
 2 ɐz dhe " "
 3 " dhe " "
 4 " dhi kaan a'ud :təmi.
 5 " " " :təm'.
 6 " " " :tu_om'.
 7 " " " "

5. 1 wi)aal noo ðm veri wēl.
 2 " " " " " "
 3 Jo) " " " dōnt)ɔe " "
 4 wE' AA noon " " "
 5 " " " " " wēl ɐv)a'ud.
 6 " " " " " wēl.
 7 " " " ðm " "

6. 1 weent t'a'ud tɔap' suun tE'itɔ)er not tE)du)it
 2 wu_od'nt " " " [fēle] " titɔ " " " "
 3 wéent " " " " tel " su_omet,
 4 wīne " " " " sE'um titɔ " not tE)dx'u)t
 5 wu_oner dh) " " " " sE'um " " " " " it
 6 wunt th) " " " " " tE'itɔ " " t' " "
 7 wu_one dh) " " " " sE'um " " fer)t' not dE' " "

1 egjen, pūe thiq'!
 2 " " "
 3 " " "
 4 egjēn " tɔá)lt!
 5 " " thiq'!
 6 " " thiq'!
 7 " pūer thiqk!

7. 1 lu_ok)ɾɛ! iz'nt it triù ?
 2 " " " " "
 3 naa dhɛn! " " "
 4 lɛ'uk ladz! " " tr'ú_ou ?
 5 lu_ok)ɾɛ dhíe! " " triù ?
 6 lɛ'úk! " " tr'ú_où ?
 7 lu_ok ɾɛ! iz'nt " tr'æ'ù ?

Notes to the Seven dt.

1. *mates*, No. 1, boys would say in this case *lads*, but addressing one only (*sári*) *sirrah!*

2. *side*, No. 2 the diphthong is said to lie between (*ái*) and (*á'í*), a mean difficult to hit; and similarly for par. 3, *child*, No. 2.

5. *very*, No. 1, a few say (*vari*).—*you*, the Bolsover informant has altered the phrase into a question, *you all know him, don't you, very well?* to which he supposed there would be an answer: (aa, s')lá'ík wí dæ'u) aye, its like we do.

6. *soon*, No. 7, TH. marked Coates's pron. as lying between (*sə'un*, *sæ'un*), another speaker said (*sə'un*), which I have adopted, as it harmonises with the following *də'u*.—*thing*, obs. St. (*thiik*) in No. 7.

7. *true*. TH. writes the diphthong (*i,ù*) in Nos. 1 to 3, but makes the first element between (*æ_o*, *e*) in No. 4, and between (*i*, *e*) in No. 5, while in No. 6 and No. 7 he writes his equivalent for my (*æ'u*), taken with a deeper (*æ_i*) in No. 7, though others said (*trə'uth*). TH. adds that he has often felt in doubt as to the first element, and thinks it must be (*e¹*) or (*ɣ₁*) of D 10, p. 146. The diphthong is evidently affected by the preceding (*r*), which renders (*riù*) difficult, but I think the intention is to say (*riù*). The *r*, printed (*r*) in the text, I presume to be TH.'s (*r*), p. 293, as the true (*r*) seems to be unknown in these regions.

Further Examples; all observed by TH.

Var. ii. WEST DERBY.

1. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth*, spec. concocted by people of Wirksworth, to shew how much 'broader' the miners at Middleton speak.
 (wíɹ ɹt gu)in, sári? A)m gu)in daa'n tɛ :wæɹ fɹ ɹ paa'nd ɹ paa'dɛ),
 where art going, sirrah? [a common and not disrespectful address].
 I'm going down to Wirksworth for a pound of powder. Compare D 23, Ex. 5, p. 357.
2. *Wirksworth*. (lɛn)z ɹ'ut ɛn)t; if dhi du_s'nɛ, A)l tlaa't dhi), lend us hold on it; if thee does not, I'll clout thee. (dha)z gɹɛt'n ɹ níu pɹɹ ɹ bɹ'uts on), thou hast gotten a new pair of boots on. (dhi kAAɛn it :ɹùl :blɔk), they callen it Yule Block=log.
3. *Idridgehay* (3 s. Wirksworth). (iz dhat ɹ'r du_n ɾɛ thiɹk?), is that her do-en you think? (non t' bi sɹ'ín), none [=not, as often] to be seen. (dhe)n gjan it tɛrɹ ru_qg wu_nmɛn), they have-n given it to [euphonic r] a wrong woman.
4. *Flash* (7 nne. Leek, St.) (ɛ'iz ɹ bad' mɹ'n, ɛ'iz wu_nst bɔrɛd thru_n pɹns ɹɹpɹnɹ of mɛ'iz, ɛn ɛ'iz) niver piid mɹ bak ɛgɹ'n), he's a bad man, he once borrowed threepence halfpenny off me, and he's never paid me back again.
5. *Altonfeld* (9 e. Leek, St.) (A thɹ'ut ɹ bɹ'iz)in in' fɹ ɹ ráid wí :tu_m' t' nɛ'it', bɹ A)m disift), I thought of being in for a ride with Thomas [who has a conveyance] to-night, but I'm deceived.
6. *Hartington* (7 sw. Bakewell, Db.). The following very old joke was told TH. at Ashbourne for Hartington as local, and pal. by him, and then inserted by a friend in conventional spelling in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and *North Staffordshire Journal* of 16 Dec. 1887, as a dialogue between two old women at Hartington.

(A. *ee*, :pal', aa' du, st dæ'u, en aa' du, z dh)æ'ud mæ'n dæ'u?—B. *ee*, wæi æ'i)z dʒæ'd.—A. dʒæ'd! en pridi: aa' lu, gg az i bin dʒæ'd?—B. *wæi*, if æ'i)d livd til tæmərə mæ'rmin, æ'i)d æ bin dʒæ'd æ færtnit.—A. en pridi: wot dʒæth did i dæ'i?—B. *wæi*, æ'i sit)im daa'n i)th tæ'u ærmt tʃi:er, en fel fast æslæ'ip, en wen i wak'nt, æ'i wer stuun dʒæ'd.—A. :lærd blæ:z æs! wæ'i)er æ'ier tædii en gæ'n jistærdii.)—A. Eh, Poll, how dost do, and how does the old man do?—B. Eh, why, he's dead.—A. Dead! and prithee how long has he been dead?—B. Why, if he'd lived till to-morrow morning, he'd have been dead a fortnight.—A. And prithee, what death did he die?—B. Why, he sit him down in the two-armed chair and fell fast asleep, and when he wakened, he was stone dead.—A. Lord, bless us! we are here to-day and gone yesterday.

Var. iii.

7. *Bolsover*. (aat i)t' éær), out in the air. (i)t' mærkæt ʌʌl), in the market hall. (gü bi)t' kjarier), go by the carrier. (riid t' pæpær), read the paper. (raand t' taan), round the town. (i i wu, d)nt gʒæt it wæil dhiz mæ'rmin), he would not get it till this morning. (stap æt wææm), stop at home. (dhe wæ: telin æ, l'æik), they were telling you, like=so to speak. (æ do)nt kjæ:er, as tæ gʒæt in it?), I don't care, hast thou gotten it?

VAR. i. NORTHERN SOUTH PEAK CWL.

compiled from wn. by TH. from South Peak, exclusive of those marked in the cs.

- B Bradwell (:brædæ) (9 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 Bd Bamford (:bææmfært) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 C Castleton (10 ne.Buxton), pal. 1873-9.
 H Hathersage (:adhærsiti) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. in 1876, mostly from very old people, b. about 1810, 1794, 1793, and 1782.
 E Eyam (:ii'im) (10 ene.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 T Tideswell (:ti:dzæ) (6 ene. Buxton), where the dialect has altered within twenty years, pal. 1865-77.

Notes.—(djævæ:er) jabberer, (v) for (b) by a man b. 1810 at Hathersage.—'s possessive usually omitted.—(kh) strongly pron. by grandfather of the Castleton informant, and lightly by his father.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 E tak, teed [took]. 5 B mak, mag, mee, æ'i)z næ'ut' t')mæ: næ'ut' on' [he's nought to make nought on]. 6 CH meed. 20 B leem. 21 C næem. A: 39 B kæ'æm. 43 B ont and. — B sænd [sand]. 51 C mæ'n. — B pon [pan]. 54 B want. 55 B as. A: or O: 58 B fræ'u. 60 H lu, gg. 64 C raqg, E ru, gg. A'- 67 E guu. 69 HCET næ'u. 70 C tuu. 73 BT sæ'u. 74 HE tæ'æ [from man b. 1782]. 76 BE tuud. 81 BH loon leen, C loon, E leen. 82 B a wænst [at once]. 84 B mæ:er. 86 C uuts æts. 87 T tluuz. 89 B buudh. 97 C sæ'æl. A': 101 H æk [man of 66]. 104 B ruud [old], T rood. 106 C bræd. 107 C læf [pl. (luuvz)]. 108 C dæf. 115 B wæ'm, wæ'm, H wæ'm, E wòm. 118 B buun. 122 B næ'n [=not]. 124 BHC stuun. — C ruup ræp [rope]. 132 B wæt, C wæt. 137 B noodher. Æ- 138 C fædher. 144 H æg)æn. 152 BCT weeter water. Æ: 161 BH deæ, CE dii. 172 B græ:æ. Æ'- 182 B sii. 192 E miin. 197 BE tʃæ'iz. 200 C wiit. Æ': 207 E næ'id'l. 212 E wæ'i. 214 B niidher. 218 E shæ'ip. 224 H wæ:er. 225 H flæ:sh. 228 E swiit. E- 231 th [generally]. 233 C speek. 241 E riin. 243 ET pleæ. — B eet [eat]. 251 B meæt, H miit. E: 260 B lii. 261 C see, E sii. 262 C wii. 263 H wii. — BC fæ'ilt [field]. 270 E baliz [bellows]. E'- 290 BH æ'i éi æ. 291 B dhæ:æ, C dhæ'i. 292 B mæ:æ, C mæ'i. 293 E wæ'i. 299 CT græ'in. E': 305 B æi. 312 BE æ'æ:er. 314 C iærd.

EA: 322 C laf. 326 B a'ud. 328 BET kja'ud. 330 H a'ud [the noun is in T (a'ut) a hold]. 333 B ka'f. 334 C AA'v, A'pni [halfpenny]. 337 E wa'u. 341 Bd mara [in the sense of match, fellow]. EA'- 347 B ja'd. EA': 350 B de'd, C did'. 353 C br'e'd. 355 E diif. 360 H tiim. 366 C griit. EO- 387 B nuu jvz dee [New Year's day]. EO: — B a'm [hem = them]. 394 B jønder jønd. 395 H ju,gg. 399 ET br'e'it. 402 C læ'rn. EO'- 410 BEH a'u, H æ'u [man of 82]. 411 BH thr'e'i. — B trēe [tree]. EO': — E kráud [crowd]. 425 BT læ'it, H láit [man of 94]. 427 H be'i. 428 E sēe sē'i, H sē'i, B sē'id [see'd, saw]. 437 C tríuth. EY- 438 BC de'i. I- 440 BH wē'ik. — gji [give]. 444 B stáil. I: 458 BCT nē'it. 459 H ráit [man of 66], re'it [man of 82]. 462 T sē'it. 468 B tyldēr. 469 E wú,l wú,tst [will wilt]. 475 B wáind. I'- 492 H sáid. 494 B táim. Y: — C dáitj [ditch]. 500 H láik. 505 B wáif. — BE ee [hay]. O- — BC smā'uk [smoke], smē'ik [(smē'ik) v. applied to a chimney or kiln, (smā'uk) to smoke a pipe of tobacco], T smook. 519 H ó'vēr. 522 B op'n. 523 Bd oop. O: — T kjāuk [cook]. 525 Bd a'f of [off]. 528 H thā'ut. 531 H dā'ut'ēr. 537 B mē'ud. — B nā'ū [knoll]. 541 CH wu,nnē. 544 Bd kām dæn [come then, speaking to children]. O'- 555 C shæ'u shu,f, T shæ'un [shoes]. 556 B tē'u. 557 H tē'u [man of 66]. 558 BC læ'uk. 559 B nu,dhēr, C madhar. 560 BTE skja'ul. 562 BC mē'un, H mē'un [man of 94], mīē'un [man of 66]. 564 B sē'zn, E sanēr [sooner]. O': 569 E bā'uk. 570 C tē'uk. 571 H gū,d. 579 BE inu,f. 580 C tō'kh [old], tō'kh [older]. 582 E kja'ul. 586 BHC dā'u. 587 C dā'un. 588 BCT nā'zn, H nē'un [man of 66]. 591 H mūēr. — T gja'us [goose]. U- 603 BC kām. 606 BC dā'r, E dūēr [at E. (dūēr) is gen., (dā'r) rare]. 607 B bu,t'ēr [the dentals heard from several old people, but they have gen. died out]. Ū: — H bā'zn, E baan. 615 BH paand. 619 T fu,n. 632 B u,p. 634 H thræ'u [man of 82]. — C ráusti [rusty]. U'- 641 E ā. 643 B naa, H nāu [men of 66 and 82], E in)nāu [e'en now, directly]. 650 E vbaat. 651 C bā'nt. Ū: — H tlāud [cloud]. 655 C fā'ū [ugly]. 658 BHE daan, CHE dáun. 659 BE taan. — H doon [down feathers]. 663 HC āus [from men of 66 and 82]. 667 B àt. 671 B maath. Y- 673 B mī'tj. 679 H tjartj. Y: 686 H bāi. — E spārd [speered, inquired after, here meaning asked in church by banns]. 702 BT wē'z, wīd.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 C lār. — C bā'qk, bāqz [bank, banks]. I. and Y. — E eelēk [lilac, *not* (leelēk), a common older form]. O. 761 H luud, E luud'n [loaded]. — B dāg [dog], C dōg.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plēs'vz [places, man of 82]. — T kjetj [in the sentence (dhv)z v trap dju,st v'vēr, ber joo kon)v kjetj it, jv noon) there's a trap just before, but you can)not catch it, you know-en]. 822 E mi. — CE pii [pay]. 824 T tjiēr. 830 T triin. — C tliēr tli'vēr [clear]. 833 E pēvēr. — B groon gron [grand, in grandsire (groonsvēr), etc.]. 851 B eent [formerly (noont)]. — C soosvēr [saucer]. 864 T bā'koz. — B fā's [false]. — H t'ra'vilin [travelling, the old dental heard from a man of 94]. E.. 867 BHC tii. — Bd fēēr [a fair]. I.. and Y.. 898 B nā'ist. O.. 913 C ku,tjmen [coachman]. — BC bē'if [beef]. — H sē'íl, E sáil [soil]. 925 C vāis. — B sū'rt [sort]. 939 H tlūs. — C tuust [toast]. 940 BT kuut. 947 B bē'íl, E bāil. 955 Bd daa't. U.. — E wiit [wait]. 965 B a'íl, E áil. 969 E shæ'vēr. — H jæ'ust [used], E dhi jū'zn [they use, man of 84].

VAR. ii. WESTERN DERBYSHIRE AND EAST STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. at

(1.) w.Db.

Mb Matlock Bath.

C Cromford (1 s. Matlock Bath).

M Middleton-by-Wirksworth (2 sw. Matlock Bath).

W Wirksworth (3 ssw. Matlock Bath).

W That part of W. taken in 1876 from S. Simpson, b. 1800.

I Idridgehay (:idridjæ) (6 ssw. Matlock Bath).

(2.) e.St.

F Flash (7 nne. Leek), wn. 1880 by TH. from Pickford, b. 1835, and family, and Coates, b. 1843, natives.

A Alstonefield (:a'rsfild) (9 e. Leek).

R Rocester (:roostər) (15 ese. Stoke).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tee tak. 8 F ee. 19 F teel. 21 F neem. — W gjam [game]. A: 50 W tu, qz. 51 F ma'n. 54 W want. 56 W F wesh. A: or O: 64 FI ru, qg. A': 69 F na'u no'u nōu. 74 WA ta'u. 76 F tuud. 82 W wu, ns. — F grun [groan]. 84 MbF máur. 86 F úts. 87 I tluuz. 89 W buudh. 92 F noo. 93 W snoo, F sniù [old people formerly]. A': 102 R eks. 104 F rood. 115 W woom, F wa'm ə)wha'm [at home] wòm. 117 M won, F t) a'n [the one]. 118 W F buun. 119 C guu. 122 I (non). 123 R nu, thi qk. 124 MF stuum. — W F röp [rope]. 131 W gót.

Æ- 138 W F feedhur. 143 WF tiil. 144 W egjern. 152 F weetur. Æ: 161 MbF dii. 172 MbF græs. 173 Mb wō'r. Æ'- 189 W wā. 195 Mb mæ'ini, W F moni. 197 MbFR tje'iz. 200 F wiit. Æ': 207 F néild. 210 W tlii. 214 WR niidhur. 218 W shæ'ip. 222 F hīer. 223 W dhīer. 224 M wīer, F whīer.

E- 233 F spiik. 241 F riin. 243 W plii. — F bæer [to bear]. — W iit [eat]. 251 W miit. E: — MF fatj [fetch]. 261 W sii. 262 F wiil. 265 W stre'it. 270 F balc. 287 F bæ'izumz. E'- 290 MFR æ'i. 291 WR dhæ'i. 292 WFR mæ'i. 299 F græ'in. 300 WF kjæ'ip, W kæ'ip'n. E': 312 W æ'ier. 314 F iæ'rd. — W tæ'ith [teeth].

EA- — W eel [ale]. EA: 322 W lof, F laf [(lakh) mother and grandfather of Coates]. 328 F kæ'ud. 330 WR æ'ud [sb. (æ'ut)]. 333 F ka'f. 334 F aaf. 338 W kaa, F kjæl (dhi wa'n kjæln əv unu, dhur) they [the children] one call-en of=on another]. — F sa't [salt]. 340 M jærd jæ'rd. EA'- 347 Mb jæ'd, F [(læt jhæd) light-headed]. EA': 350 F dja'd. 355 F dif. 359 W niibar. 366 F griit. EI- 375 MbA riiz.

EO- 388 W milk. 399 F bræ'it. — W ban [burn], F bræ'nt [burned]. EO'- 410 F æ'u, æ'u. — F nhéi [knee]. — F flækh [lea, mother and grandfather of Coates]. 411 WR thræ'i. 412 I [(æ'r) used]. 415 M lái [a lie]. EO': 424 F ru, kh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 425 F læ'it. 426 F fæ'it. 428 MbFR æ'i. 437 F træ'uth. EY- 438 F dæ'i.

I- — F wīk'. — W gjæ [give]. 442 F iviz. 446 R náin. I: 452 M à. — F brīd. 458 MF næ'it, R na'it. 459 FR ræ'it. 461 F æu léity dha kōv [how lights-it,—happens it,—thou cannot]. 487 F sīstardii. — W dæt [dirt]. I'- 494 M tæ'im. I': 500 F læk. 504 F nhæ'if. 505 F wæ'if. — F hii [hay]. 508 MR máil. 509 F whæ'il.

O- — W smook [smoke, v]. O: 526 F kokh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 527 F bæ'ut. 528 F thæ'ut. 531 F dæ'utar. 532 F kool. 535 W fòk. — M tæ'ul [toll]. 541 C wu, nv. 544 F tìn [(ju, qgur tìn dhæt) younger than that]. — W skæ'v [score]. — W a's [horse more used than (tīt) tīt]. O'- 555 F shæ'un [shoon pl.]. 558 I lu, k, F læ'uk læ'uk. 559 W WFR modhur. 560 W ska'ul, F ska'ul. 562 WR mæ'un, F mæ'un. 564 F sa'un. 567 F t)u, dhur. O': 570 F tæ'uk. 584 W stæ'ul. 586 F dæ'u dæ'u. 587 F dæ'un. 588 MR na'un. 591 A mæ'ær. — W tæ'uth [tooth]. 594 W bæ'ut, F bæ'ut.

[1876]

U- 603 *WW* kam, F kom'n. 605 F s*u*.n. 606 MI d*u*r, F da'r. U: 612 F s*u*.m. 614 *W* aa'nd, [but] v pak' v *au*nz [a pack of hounds]. 615 M paa'nd. 616 *W* graa'nd. 632 *W* u.p. — *W* f*ar* [a fir]. U'- 640 Mb k*ja*. 642 W d*ha*. 643 WR naa', R naa. 648 R aa'r. 650 MI v*baa* t, W v*baa*t. 653 F b*er*. U': 654 F s*ra*ud. 655 F f*au*. 658 M*W* daa'n, WR [between] daa'n daan, FA d*au*m, AR daa'n. 663 *W* *as*, IR *a*'s, F *aus*. 667 WIR *a*'t, F *aut*. 671 F m*au*th. Y- 677 F d*ra*i. 679 W t*ja*rt*j*. Y: 700 F was'. — *W* shat' [shirt]. 702 M we'i. Y'- 707 *W* thatt*a*'n. Y': 709 F d*iv*er.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — F boqk [bank]. E. 749 F lift ont [left hand]. I. and Y. 756 F s*rimps*. O. 761 *W* luud. — *W* dog. 767 W n*au*z. U. 805 F k*ru*d [cheese curd]. — *W* k*al* [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W f*as*. 818 F eed*j*. — F pii [pay]. 824 *W* t*ju*r. — F t*ju*n [chain]. 851 W eent. — M stii [stay]. E.. 867 MbF tii. — F s*ar*-vent s*ar*vi[zs] [servant service], R s*ar*vis. 890 W bis [pl. cows]. — F l*et*'*er* [letter, Coates, Pickford had no dental]. — F *au*r [hoar]. 894 A d*is*it [deceived]. I.. and Y.. 901 F d*in*. — M s*ar*i [sirrah, not a term of contempt]. O.. — *W* s*ai*l [soil]. — R b*er*'if [beef]. — A maa'nt [to mount]. 939 *W* t*us*. 940 *W* k*ut*. — M paa'd*is* [powder]. U.. — WF wiit [wait]. 966 *W* friut. 969 F sh*er*'*er*.

VAR. iii. EASTERN DERBYSHIRE cwl.

wn. by TH. except when otherwise stated, exclusive of Brampton, which has a cs. The places are arranged in order from n. to s.

N Norton (7 n.w. Chesterfield), from the Vicar.

D Dronfield (5 n.w. Chesterfield).

U Unstone (4 n.w. Chesterfield).

W Whittington (2 n. Chesterfield).

B Bolsover (:b*er*'uz*er*) (3 e. Chesterfield), no verbal plural in *-en*.

Su Sutton (4 e.s.e. Chesterfield).

St Stretton (6 s. Chesterfield).

A Ashover (:ash*ur*) (5 s.w. Chesterfield). Beardow, about 55, parish clerk, native, gave (*ai*) in *down town*, and (*ai*) in *round house*, but his son gave (aa') in *round boum down*, this is therefore a later form.

M Morton (8 n.e. Belper).

Hi Higham (7 s. Chesterfield).

Dh Doehill (7 s.e. Chesterfield, close to Doehill).

C Codnor (5 e.n.e. Belper), and Cv from the Vicar.

Cp Codnor Park (5 e.n.e. Belper).

R Ripley (3 n.e. Belper).

Bp Belper (:b*er*lp*er*).

Mi Milford (2 s. Belper).

H Heanor (5 e.s.e. Belper), dt. from Mrs. Parker.

I Ilkeston (8 n.e. Derby) (:i*ls*'n), by most working people.

Only a very few words were obtained from each place.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 BI e'v. 19 A teel. 33 A r*æ*d*h*ur. A: or O: 60 I l*u*.q*g*. A'- 67 N g*u*s, B g*u*'in [going]. 70 A tuuz [toes]. 72 N woo. 74 A t*æ*'u, I t*æ*'u. 84 BR m*ur*. 86 N u*ts*. 93 I snoo. A': 104 DU r*u*ed. 115 N *u*sm, BA w*am*, I w*am*. 117 N w*on*. 118 DU b*u*en, R buun. 122 R non [in the sense of *not*]. 124 D st*u*en, R st*u*un. — A r*u*p [rope].

Æ- 138 I f*æ*d*h*ur. 143 A tiil. 152 Cp w*at*er. Æ: 161 NDB d*æ*, ACCP*R*I d*i*, Dh d*i* [and (i)] for Æ*G* in several words]. — D k*ja*rt. Æ'- 182 DE s*i*, Cv s*er*'i [or (*see*)]. 193 I t*li*in. 194 BR *on*i. 197 D t*ju*'iz, I t*ju*'iz.

200 ND wíut, Cv weet, R wiit. Æ': 210 MoCp tlii. 214 A niidher. 223 A dhíur, Bp dhíe-r.
 E- 231 NDUAB t' [always], Mi th. 233 N spɛ'ík. 241 N reen, A riin.
 243 CpMiI plii, I plɛ'í [both (ii, ɛ'í) several times]. — A bæɛɛ [a bear]. —
 Su ɛ'ít [eat]. 251 Su mɛ'ít. E: 263 Cp ɛwii. 265 Cp stɛɛ'ít. E'-
 290 BpI ɛ'í. 292 IBp mɛ'í. 294 Cv fíed, R fɛ'íd. E': 312 Cp íe.
 EA: 326 DCpR ɛ'ud. 328 DBAR kɛ'ud. 331 A sɛ'ud. 332 B teld.
 333 N koof. 335 Cp ɛɛ. 338 Cp kɛɛ. 343 A wɛɛm. 346 Cp gɛɛ't. EA'-
 348 A ɛin [eyes]. — N déu [dew]. EA': 360 Cv tíem. 361 Cv bíenz, R
 biinz. EI- 376 A bit. EO: 392 Cp ɛonz. — B dɛɛk [dark]. 396
 Cp wɛk. 399 N brɔ'ít, A brɛ'ít. EO'- 410 Mi ɛ'u. 411 CpR thrɛ'í. —
 C trɛ'í [tree]. 412 N shu. — CvR wɛ'íd. 415 N lɔ'í. 416 R déer. EO':
 425 N líit ?líit, A líit. 426 fɔ'ít. 428 RI sɛí. 431 A bíer.
 I- 446 N nɔ'ín, Dh nɛ'ín. — NDCv pɛ'íz [pease], R piiz. I: 455 N
 líg. 458 A nít. N níit, ?nít, nɔ'ít, HDh nɛ'ít, R [between] nɛ'ít nɛ'ít. 462
 N sɔ'ít. 466 N tɔ'íld. 473 N blɔ'índ. 477 N fɔ'índ. 487 A ɛístɛɛdii. 488
 B ɛít. I'- 492 Hi sɛ'íd. 496 U ɛ'íern. I': 500 NB lɔ'ík, R líík. 502
 N fɔ'ív, A fɛ'ív. 508 U mɔ'íl. 509 B wɔ'íl wɛ'íl. 510 DW mɔ'ín.
 O- — A smook [smoke]. 519 R ɛɛɛ. O: — DR frɛg [frog]. — N
 fɛg [fog, between u and o]. 528 B thɛ'ut. 529 B brɛ'ut. — B mɔ'rnín
 [morning]. O'- 555 B shɛ'u. 556 R tɛ [for the inf. not (t)], I tɛ'u. 559
 B mɛɛdher, I mɛdher. 560 R skjɛ'ul, Mi skɛ'ul. 562 N muun [that is, as
 being rec. pr. no mark was put against, but (mɛ'un) would have been treated in
 the same way], D mɛ'ún, Cv míun, RI mɛ'ún, etc. 564 Mi sɛ'um. O':
 579 N mɛ'f. 586 CpR dɛ'u. 588 ACpI nɛ'ún, Cv níun, D nɛ'ún.
 U- 603 B ku'mín [coming], Cp. kɛɛ [come up, to a cow]. 605 A sɛ'n.
 606 Cp. dúɛ. U: — D báun [boun going, see 658]. 615 N páund, Cp
 paa'nd, U páind. 616 A gráind. — A wɛ'nder [wonder]. 632 Bp ɛ.p. 634
 Cp thrɛ'u. U'- [R (aa) normal (aa)]. 640 N káɛ. 643 NB naa, CpBp
 naa'. 648 B aar. 650 B ɛbá'ut, A ɛbáit [see 616, only two instances heard],
 HCpI ɛbaa't. U': [MoDh rather (aa) than aa]. 658 D dáun [from people
 of good education], BW daan, StACpRI daa'n, I dá'en, UA dáin. 659 D táun
 [see 658], BW taan, U táin. 663 N áus, H á's, BBp aa's. 667 B aat, HiBpI
 á't, U áit. 671 I mà'th.
 Y- 679 Cp tɛɛtɛ. Y: 690 N kɔ'índ. 691 N mɔ'índ, I mɛ'índ. 694
 Bp wɛɛk.

II. ENGLISH.

O. — D dɛg [dog]. 767 I nɛ'íz, D nɔ'íz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — A teeb'l [table]. 811 A plɛs. — DB pɛɛ [pay], ACvR pi. 866 R
 púɛ. E.. 867 Cv tee, I tii. 890 N bíst. 891 N físt, A físt. — Cp
 pɛ'íp'l [people]. 893 Cp fláɛɛ, fláɛɛ. I.. and Y.. — 900 N krɔ'í [cry].
 O.. — D bíif [beef], Mi bɛ'íf. 920 Cp pɛ'ínt. — B ɛkaant [account]. —
 B raand [round], I raa'nd. — NCv rúst [roast], AR rúst. — NC túst
 [toast], AR túst. 940 A kunt. 947 R bóil. — B kraan [crown]. U..
 965 DR óil, I ɛ'íl. 969 B shɛ'uar.

VAR. iv. SOUTHERN DERBYSHIRE cwl.

wn. by TH.

Q Quarndon (3 nnw.Derby).

A Alvaston (:AAvɛstɛn) (3 ese.Derby, said to be under refining influence of Derby).

C Chellaston (:tɛɛlɛstɛn) (4 sse.Derby).

S Stenson (4 ssw.Derby).

R Repton (:rɛp'n) (7 sw.Derby), just s. of the Trent.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 R ɛ. A'- 76 R tuud. A': 118 S buun. 124 S stuun.

[1878]

Æ- 138 S *feedhe*. 152 SR *weeter*. Æ: 161 A *dee* [refined], CSR *dii* [not refined]. Æ'- 182 S *sii*. 200 S *wiit*. Æ': 218 Q *shéip*, R *shíp'*. — R *stré'it* [street].
 E- Q *th*, A *th dh*, S *th dh* [the latter before vowels and perhaps voiced consonants]. 232 R *breek*. E'- 290 R *æ'i*. 292 R *mæ'i*. 294 S *fé'id*. 299 S *gré'in*. 300 S *kjæ'ip*. EA- 317 R *fií*. EA: 322 R *lof*. 326 S *æ'ud*. 328 S *kæ'ud*. 330 R [sub. (*æ'ut*)]. 331 S *sæ'ud*. 332 SR *ts'ud*. 333 S *kæ'f*. EA': 350 R *djæ'd*. 360 R *tiim*. 361 S *biinz*. — R *díuu* [dew]. EO: — S *daa'rk* [dark]. 399 S *bræ'it*. EO'- — S *træ'i* [tree]. — S *wæ'id* [weed]. 417 R *tjúu*. EO': 426 R *láit*. 426 S *fræ'it*. 428 R *sæ'i*. I: 458 S *náit*, R *náit*, R *næ'it*. 462 S *sáit*. I'- [A *o'i*]. 492 S *so'id*. I': 503 R *láif*.
 O- — S *smök smùk* [smoke]. O'- 556 R *tíu*. — R *fíud* [food, from incubent]. 559 R *mædhær*. 562 SR *míun*. 564 S *síun*. Ó': 578 S *plæ'u plóu*. 586 R *díu*. 588 S *níun*. 589 R *spíun*. 594 R *biút* [from incubent].
 U: 615 R *peáand*. U'- 640 Q *kjáuz*. 643 R *nǽau* [see p. 426]. U': [at A (*æ'á'u*)]. 658 SR *dǽá'un*, R *daa'n*. 659 Q *táun*, S *tá'un tǽá'un*, R *taa'n*. 663 S *éá'us*. 667 R *ǽá'ut*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. — S *kíln* [they kill-en for meat]. O. — SR *dóg* [dog]. U. — S *tsá'un* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — R *píi* [pay]. E.. 867 A *tii*. O.. — Q *béif* [beef], S *be'if*. 921 R *ekwé'ínt*. 939 AS *tíuus*. — R *túst* [toast]. — R *rúst* [roast]. 941 S *frá'ud*. — R *træ'b'l* [trouble]. 947 S *bo'il*. U.. 965 R *áil*. 969 S *sha'vær*. — S *mæ'uzik* [music], R *míuzik*. 971 S *flæ'ut* [flute].

D 27 = EM. = East Midland.

Boundaries. Those of Nt. Sufficient is not known to assume any other boundaries, and pronunciation is tolerably homogeneous throughout the county, quite distinct from D 20 to the e., and D 26 to the w., but not sufficiently distinct from D 24 at its extreme n., or from D 29 at its extreme s., to mark a line of separation with any confidence. The resemblance to D 26 was apparently much greater in 1844 than at present. But no other boundaries could be safely assumed.

Area. That of Nt.

Authorities. See County List under the following names in Nt., where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || so., ° in io.

°Beckingham, *†Bingham, °Blyth, †Bulwell, †East Retford, †Eastwood, †Finningley, °Gringley, †Kirkby-in-Ashfield, °Laxton, †Mansfield, †Mansfield Woodhouse, °Mattersey, °Misson, °Misterton, †Newark, †North Carlton, °North Wheatley, †Nottingham, °Radcliffe, °Rempstone, †Southwell, °Sutton, °Walesby, †Worksop.

Characters. The present pron. must be very modern, and due to education, because it agrees so much with rs. TH. was, however, fortunate enough to find from two families at Bulwell (4 nnw. Nottingham) a direct proof of the change since 1844. He learned that the words *keen*, *feet*, *rain*, *lane*, *night*, which are now there called (*kiin*, *fiit*, *keen*, *leen*, *náit*), that is, practically, in rp., were in

1844 called (kjɛ'ɪn, fɛ'ɪt, riɪn, lɛ'ɪn, nɛ'ɪt'), of which the first three really agree with D 26. It is principally for this reason that I have considered it proper to group this district with D 25, 26. In the same place he also found an instance of the verbal plural in *-en*, (*if wi wɛrn tʌkɪn tu ɐ shepɜrd dæg'*), if we were-n talking to a shepherd dog. The speaker was a labourer born in 1801 in the house where he resided in 1879. This was, however, the only instance that TH. heard.

The characteristic pron. is that the U' words s. of Worksop and East Retford have (ā̄), varying occasionally to (âu, a'ə,) and even (aa), but the first element is enunciated in a particular way. According to TH.'s observations, the vertical opening of the lips remains as for (a), but the horizontal length is abnormally increased, and the teeth are quite free from the side walls of the mouth. The effect of this is, he says, to introduce a faint (l̄e) before the (a), thus (d̄l̄eā̄n) down, and this was probably the sound intended when I appreciated (dɛ'ʌn) in Mr. F. Miles' pron. from Bingham. Generally, I apprehend that it is not so much the shape as the area of the opening of the mouth which affects the vowel sound, and I regard TH.'s description as rather that of his own organs when attempting to imitate the sound, than the practice of natives themselves. The effect can certainly be produced without this peculiar mouth opening. North of Worksop and East Retford, U' seems to be generally (âu).

Nt. also lies in *the teeth* region, that is, where the def. art. appears as (dhe, t', th), and the (th) is sometimes assimilated to a following (s). The regular usage is (dhe), then (th) and its (s) form, and finally (t'). Thus TH. heard at Worksop (ɐ)th ru,q ā̄s) of the wrong house, at Bulwell (A)m th)last ā̄t ɐ)th mārkit) I'm the last out of the market, and at Kirkby (lɛt mi tɛi th)at on) let me tie the hat on, but (dh) is used occ. before a vowel, as (dh)ā̄'əs) the house, heard at Mansfield. Examples of the assimilated (s) form are, from Mansfield and Worksop (frəm)s)skuul) from the school, from Bulwell (tɛ)s)skuul) to the school, from Mansfield and Worksop (dɔnt tɛk)s)stʌ,nt) don't take the stunt, don't be sulky, from Newark (i)z pu,l'ɪn)s signəl) he's pulling the signal. Examples of (t') are from Mansfield Woodhouse (t' tʃaɪld, tʌ)t' dūe) the child, to the door, (ɛv t' lu,qgɪst dɛe) have the longest day.

The *r* not before a vowel is practically lost, as TH. was told at Bingham, or vocalised, but TH. very frequently writes it in. Such an (r) is, however, nearly (r_o) or (r).

The *h* generally disappears.

There are very few peculiar words or expressions, as (-sen) for *-self* and *it falls*, probably. Boys (jɔ) you, *i.e.* use you in speaking to each other.

The sp. is therefore like rs. without the vanishes and with (u_o) for (æ). It is almost entirely free from fractures, which abound in the adjoining D 20.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE dt.

from Mansfield Woodhouse (2 n. Mansfield), pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of a labourer, native, 59, and in all cases of different usage compared with others, also pal. by TH. from dict. of other natives from

B Bulwell (4 n.w. Nottingham), retired labourer, 78.

M Mansfield, patten-maker, 58 to 60.

N Newark, from a butcher.

R East Retford (7 e-by-n. Worksop), from the lock-keeper, 71.

W Worksop (:wasep), from a porter at the canal wharf, 56.

1. [wɛl N, náu R] A see, tjaps [ladz R, meets M], jo [ɜ B] si náæ dhæt A)m re'it [ráit BMNR] ebâæt [abâut R] dhat lit'l gjæl [gjerl MNW, gje'l B, las R] ku_omín frəm jən skuul [frəm)s skuul jəndər N].

2. shi)z gu'in dâæn [dâæn R] dhæ rood dhíe [dhéer R, dhéæ W] thruu dhæ red gjeet ən dhæ left and sáid ə)dh rood [əv dhæ rood BM, N and R omit the words əv dhæ wái W].

3. luuk! [A)m shúer N, shúæ vnu_of R] t' [dhæ BWM] tjadild)z gA'n stre'it [stráit R] u_op tət' [tə dhæ BMN, tət)th W] dūæ əv dhæ [dóv ə)th W] roq [ru_oq BW] âæs [inclined to (âus)].

4. wíæ shi)l ap'n [mɛ)bi B] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n dæf [dif B] wíz'nd [sloqk'i N] fæle kA'ld :təm.

5. wi AAL noo im vɛr' wɛ'l.

6. wɛ'int [wɔnt MR] dhi æ'ud [æ'uld BW] tjap suun titj [laan N] ɛr nɔt tɛ du it ɛgje'n, púæ thiq!

7. luuk [lu_ok ɜ N, dju_ost luuk W]! iz'nt it trúu [træ'ù BM, truu R]? ə tóud ɜ shi wɛr ru_oq N].

A few insignificant variants have been omitted.

This gives a practical uniformity with only an occasional variety of (áu) for (âæ) = U'.

OTHER EXAMPLES DICTATED TO TH.

1. At Bingham, being an old woman's account of what she said to a clergyman who asked her for subscriptions [(ɜu sii, sɛr, sɛz di, di)v vnu_of tɛ dū wídh wɔt lit'l di ɛv tɛ gjív ɛwæe, ɛn A líik tɛ gí it mɛis'e'n, ɛn dhɛn A noo dhæ)l gjet it), you see, sir, says I, I've enough to do with what little I have to give away, and I like to give it myself, and then I know they'll get it.

2. At Mansfield (i)z got it ən im tɛnA^it), he's got it on him—is tipsy—to-night.

BINGHAM (7 e. Nottingham).

fragments of the cs. (1) as pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. Frank Miles, artist, son of the former rector, marked M, and (2) as pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Henry Doncaster, a native and retired tradesman, marked D. The numbers in () shew the paragraphs of the cs. where the passages occur.

M (4) ái)m saatín ái híiəd ɛm sɛe—dhæt ái did seef vnu_of
D ái)m saatín shùv)r ái íəd ɛm sɛe—dhat ái did sɛf' vnu_of

M —(6) dhæt dh)ood wu_omɛn ɛsɛ'lf (8) fɛund dhæ druqk'n biis.
D — dhæt dh)æ'ud wu_omɛn ɛrsɛn fá'ənd dhæ dru_oqk'n biis.

M (7) wɔt d)juu thiqk? (9) shi siid im wi hɛr oon ɔ'iz lɔ'í'iq
D wA)r)ɜ)ɜ thiqk? shi siid im wi ɛr oon áiz, dɛ'd

M deun ɔn)th græ'und, tloos bɔ'í dhæ dúæɛr ɛA ɛ heus. (13) ɛn
D dru_oqk ɔn dhæ grá'ənd, ɛgje'n iz oon á'əs dūæ. ɛn

M d)ɹə noo? (11) dhat hapt ɔn ɐ wɔʃɪn dee ɐz shii ɛn ɐr
D dhat ap'nd ɔn dh)wɛʃɪn dee, ɐs shii ɛn ɐr

M da'utɛr ɪn lAA kɛm θruu dhɛ bæk jaad frɛm ɪqɪn ɛ'ʊt dhɛ wɛt
D da'utɛr ɪn lAA kɛm θruu dhɛ bæk' jaad frɛm ɪqɪn á'ət dhɛ wɛt

M tlooz tɛ drii. (1) uu kɪvz [k'évz]? (14) ái)m ɐ goo'ɪn hoom
D tluuz tɛ dráí. uu kèv[rz ɛbá'ət joo? Δ)m gu'ɪn òm)

M tɛ sʊpɛ. gud nɔ'it.
D p'i)mɪ sʊpɛ[r. gu'd nA'it [ndít].

This shews a few points of difference, principally in the U' and I' words. I am not certain if I appreciated Mr. Miles correctly as (ɛ'u) in place of (á'ə) for the first, and for the second, which varied from (ái) to (ə'i), the (di) of Doncaster was probably more correct. But under these circumstances I do not consider it advisable to give more of Mr. Miles' version and words, with which he so obligingly furnished me. Transcripts from natural dialect speakers are always more satisfactory than from gentlemen who can only speak from memory, based possibly upon an originally incorrect appreciation.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE CWL.

Containing the principal wn. by TH. from natives at Bingham, Nottingham, Bulwell, Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Newark, Southwell (:su_odhi), Worksop, and East Retford. The general sameness, as shewn by the dt., renders it unnecessary to distinguish the places.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 ták. 8 ɛ'v. 18 kjeek. 21 neem. A: — kjat [cat, observe (kát) cart]. A: or O: 60 lu_oq. 64 ru_oq. A'- 67 goo, gu, gu'ɪn. 69 nòò noo. 73 soo. 81 leen. 86 óts, ùts. A': 104 rood. 115 oom òm a'm ùm. 117 wan won. 118 bóen. 123 nu_othiqk. 124 stóòn sto'ɛn.
Æ- 138 faadhɛ feadhɛ. — lɛdhɛ [ladder]. — stéevz [stairs]. Æ: 159 ɛ'z. 161 dee. — kát [cart]. Æ'- 193 tliin. 197 tjiiz. Æ': 209 nive. 212 wee. 224 wíe.
E- 231 th, dhɛ, dh, t'. 233 spiik speak. 243 pleɛ ple'i. 251 miit.
E: 262 wee. 265 strɛ'it stráit. 278 wɛnsh. E'- 299 griin. E': 312 ɪv. 314 ɪv_ord.
EA: 324 ɛ'it. 326 a'ud. 328 ka'ud. 330 óud. 332 tɛ'ud [usually (tæld)]. 334 ɛ'pɛth [halfpenny worth]. 335 AAl. 340 jaad. 346 gjeet. EA'- 347 ɛ'd. EA': 355 dɛf. 360 tiem. 361 biin, biɛn. 366 greet grɛt [usually (big)]. EI- 372 aa. EI: 377 stéik. EO: — ɛalu [yellow]. 396 wak. 402 laan. EO'- — trɪ [tree]. EO': 426 fɛ'it. 435 jo soo. 436 trúu, trúu. 437 trúuth. EY- 438 dáí da'í.
I: — bád [bird]. 458 náit. 459 ráit rɛ'it. 465 sítj. 466 [between] tjo'ild tjo'ild. 487 ɹisterdee. I'- 492 [between] sA'id sáid.
O- 519 ove. O: — traf [water trough]. 528 thɛ'ut. 531 dA Atɛ. 541 wònt wɛnt wɛ'nt. 550 wɛ'rd. O'- 555 shuu. 558 luuk. 559 fòdhɛ [fodder]. 560 skuul. 564 suun. 567 t' tu_odher. O': 578 plá'u [with laterally elongated mouth opening, see p. 448]. 579 ɛnu_of. 587 dū_on.
U- 606 dúe. 607 bu_ote. U: 612 su_omɛt [somewhat]. 616 grɛ'ɛvnd. 629 su_on. 632 u_op. Ú- 643 nãx, [between] nãə ná'ə [at Bingham], nãu naa ná'. 650 ɛbaat. U': 658 dá'ʊn [mouth as for 578], daæn d[ɛ]æan daæn. 663 ɛɹɹ [as for 578], ɛus. 667 ɛət [as for 578], ɛət á'ət ət.
Y- 679 tɹatj. Y: 694 [between] wokin wakɪn [working]. Y'- 706 wái.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. 758 g]el [uncommon]. O. 767 nðiz. 789 ráu. U. 796 blíu. 805 kærðz kru_odz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fès. E.. 888 saatin. 890 bíus [pl. cows]. I.. *and* Y.. 898 [between] naíst no'íst. 901 [between] íáin fò'in. — sære sære [sirrah]. O.. 947 bóil. 948 báal. — tán [turn]. U.. 965 óil. 970 dju_os.

D 28 = w.SM. = western South Midland.

Boundaries. Begin between Flint and Connah's Quay in main Fl., n. Wales, on the river Dee, and follow the CB to Chirk, Dn., on the b. of Sh., and hence pass in Fl. southwards, leaving Northop and Mold on the w. and Hope on the e. Entering Dn., deflect slightly to the se., then, passing through Wrexham, go s. to the e. of Ruabon and w. of Chirk to the b. of Sh. Enter Sh. on the n. *sum* line 1, and go se. between Oswestry on the s. and Ellesmere on the n. Pass through Hordley and w. of Upton Magna till you strike the Severn by Atcham (4se. Shrewsbury). Then probably go n., passing e. of Upton Magna, Wem, Whixall, and Prees, but w. of Hodnet, to Whitchurch, Sh., and Wirwall, Ch. (2 n. Whitchurch). Enter the s. b. of D 25, and proceed along it sw. of Malpas and e. of Farndon to Aldford and Eccleston, and then, avoiding Chester, to the Dee, which pursue till the starting-point is reached nw. of Connah's Quay.

Area. This small district comprises the se. of main or Welsh Fl. and ne. of Dn., with the whole of detached or English Fl., a small portion of the n. of Sh. and a still smaller slip to the w. of Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but, thanks to the exertions of TH., some very fair conception of its character may be formed.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || so., ° io.

Wales, Dn. °Chirk, °†Holt, °†Wrexham.

England, Ch. †Churton, †Eccleston, °†Farndon, †Shocklach.

Wales, Fl. (detached). †Bettisfield, °†Hanmer.

Wales, Fl. (main). †Bretton, °†Hawarden, °Hope, °Northop.

England, Sh. †Ellesmere, †Hadnall, °Hordley, °Loppington, °Prees, †Upton Magna, †Welsh Frankton, †Wem, †Whitchurch, °†Whixall, †Yorton.

Characters. This small district, composed of five distinct constituents Sh., det. Fl., Ch., Dn., main Fl., is not at all homogeneous; even each constituent is not so. But it is chiefly under the domination of Ch. A comparison of all the information obtained leads to the following as the general characters.

A- (ii ee), as (niim neem) name.

A' (oo uu), as (stoon stuun) stone.

E' (ii), as (griin) green, slight leaning to (íi éi).

IH (ii e'i), as (niit nx'it) night, the last chiefly in *good-night*.

I' (ə'i ə'i ai A'i), say about (ái).

O' (ə'u íu), as (næ'un niun) noon, the former observed by TH., the latter is felt by others.

U (u_o) this is regular.

U' (ə'u ə'u áu óu), say (áu).

The whole of these characters together mark the dialectal pron. The U = (u_o) distinguishes it from Sh. on the one hand, the U' = (áu) connects it with s.Ch. on the other, and the U' = (ə'u) connects it with Sh. A- = (ii) is a Ch. form. The

IH = (ii) is singular, but occurs in w.Ch. There is most schism about O', TH. having almost invariably observed (æ'u), as Mr. Darlington does in s.Ch., whereas other informants give (iu), a form we know in s. D 26 and D 29. But (æ'u) is a remarkably unstable combination, as we already know.

The *r* has become Midland, say (r), instead of Welsh, except in most of the Sh. portion. The Welsh rising inflexion is uncertain. As a rule the Midland character prevails. The detached Flint is called English Flint by the Welsh, and, although the names of places are still Welsh, the language has been English for nearly a thousand years.

Varieties. There is so much uncertainty of speech everywhere, that it is not possible to define any particular varieties. It has therefore seemed best to make the varieties purely geographical, Var. i. containing the parts of Sh. involved, Var. ii. detached Flint, Var. iii. the small part of w.Ch., and Var. iv. parts of the Welsh counties of Dn. and main Fl. These are easily delimited. The phonetic limits may be taken as U = (u_o) from the U = (ø) of Sh., and U' = (áu æ'u) from the U' = (ái) of Ch., and English as against Welsh in Dn. and Fl. But the distinctions between the varieties are difficult to seize, if only because of the non-homogeneity of each variety. The e. b. as already mentioned is not certain.

Illustrations. The forms of speech in this district are illustrated by four dialect tests, of which two were from dictation. The other two are rather uncertain, though one was written by a native, because of the difficulty in understanding the notation of the writers without personal interviews. These represent varieties i., ii., iii., and are arranged interlinearly. It will be seen that the Ellesmere and Hanmer forms are almost identical. Besides these there are 4 cwl., arranged almost entirely from wn. by TH. from trustworthy sources. So far as they go, they give the best information possible; but they are necessarily defective, because as a general rule the information was obtained as it was offered, and there was no opportunity for systematic investigation. We must rather be surprised at the amount of information obtained, than disappointed by its paucity.

FOUR INTERLINEAR DIALECT TESTS.

These illustrate three out of the four varieties. I was unfortunately unable to interpret the dt. sent me from Hawarden, Fl. Two of these were written from dictation of natives by TH. The other two are my own interpretations of io.

Var. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE.

E. Ellesmere, Sh., pal. in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of the town-crier, Davenport, b. 1809, native, and son and grandson of natives. See also cwl.

W. Whixall, Sh., written in 1879 by the Rev. J. Evans, vicar, not a native, but resident from 1844 (he was still so in 1886), who had much examined the dialect and gave full details respecting the pron., by which the dt. has been pal. by AJE.

Var. ii. DETACHED OR ENGLISH FLINT.

H. Hanmer, written in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Heatley, b. about 1828, bricklayer, of the Arowry, a hamlet of Hanmer. Another dt. given me by Mr. Bateman, of the same place, could not be interpreted. See also cwl.

Var. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE.

F. Farnon, written in 1879 by Mr. E. French, native, and pal. by AJE.

from his indications and the wl. I have retained his (iu), although he says the sound is *not* that of *u* in *mute*, and TH. heard (æ'u). Mr. F. says that Farndon is not in the slightest degree affected by Du., but rather the contrary, and thinks that "the first effect that the Welsh influence has on English is to destroy all provincial pron." The pron. of Farndon is perhaps more correctly given in the following cwl.

Var. iv. WELSH FLINT and DENBIGH is illustrated only by the cwl. formed from TH.'s wn.

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|-------|---------|-----------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Ellesmere.</i> | ə'i see, | ladz, | ɾə sii | nə'u dhet | ə'i)m rit |
| <i>Whixall.</i> | suuə di | sez, | tjaps, | ɾə sin | nə'au ez au di)m rit |
| <i>Hanmer.</i> | ə'i sii, | ladz, | ɾə siin | nə'u ez | ə'i)m rit |
| <i>Farndon</i> | suu A'i | sii, | miits, | ɾə séi | nəu dhet A'i)m rit |

E	əb'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	kə'mɪn	frem	dhe	skuul
W	əb'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	ez iz	əkʊ'mɪn	fɾe	dhe skɪul
H	əb'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	ku'mɪn	fɾəm)	s)	skuul
F	əb'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	ku'mɪn	fɾəm	dhe	skɪul

E jander.
W jander.
H jander.
F jander.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|---------|---------|-----|------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-------|
| 2. E | ər)z | gʊjɪn | də'uən | dhe | rood | dhɪər | θruu | dhe | rɛd | wɪkɪt |
| W | ər)z | ɛgwiin | dɪ'auən | dhe | lɛən | dhɪər | θruu | dhe | rɛd | ɡɛt |
| H | ər)z | ɡə'u)ɪn | də'uən | dhe | rɔ'd | dhɪər | θrə'u | dhe | rɛd | wɪkɪt |
| F | ɪu)z | ɡu)jɪn | də'uən | dhe | ruud | dhɪər | θrɪu | dhe | rɛd | ɡɪt |

E ɔn dhe lift and sə'id ɛ dhe rood.
W o dhe lift and sə'id o dhe lɛən.
H ɔn dhe lift an' sə'id dhe rɔ'd.
F ɔn dhe left and sə'id ɛv dhe wii.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-------|-----|-----------|------|---------|---------|------|-----|---------|
| 3. E | sɛf | ɛnu_f | dhe | tjə'ɪld)z | ɡə'n | strɛ'ɪt | u_ɔp | tɛ | dhe | raq |
| W | sərtɪnli | ɛnəf | dhe | tjə'ɪld | ɛz | ɡwɔn | riit | u_ɔp | tɛ | dúr ɛ |
| H | luk | ɾə! | dhe | tjə'ɪld)z | ɡə'n | strɛ'ɪt | u_ɔp | tɛ | dhe | rɔq' |
| F | shúr | ɛnu_f | dhe | tjə'ɪld | ɛz | ɡɔn | strɛ'ɪt | u_ɔp | tɛ | dhe dúr |

E dúr.
W dhe raq jháus.
H dúr.
F ɛv dhe ru_ɔ áus.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------|------|-------|--------|--------|----------|----------|------|
| 4. E | wàr | ər | mɛɛ | fə'ɪnd | dhat | dru_ɔk'n | dɾɛf | |
| W | wiər | ər)l | mɛ ap | fə'ɪnd | dhat | dru_ɔk'n | dɛɛf | |
| H | mɛɛbii | ər)l | | fə'ɪnd | dhat | dru_ɔk'n | dɾɛf | θɪn |
| F | wiər | ɪu)l | tjans | tɛ | fə'ɪnd | dhat | dru_ɔk'n | dɛɛf |

E ə'ud tjap kAald :tu_m.
W srɪvɛld fɛlɛr o dhe nɛəm o :tu_mes.
H rɪq'ld fɛlɛ dhɪər, ɛz dhe kA'ln :tu_m.
F wɪz'nd fɛlɛr ɛ dhe niim ɛv :tu_mes.

5. E wi ʌʌl noo ðm veri wɛl.
 W ɛs ʌʌl noon ðm varɛ wɛl.
 H wi ʌʌl noon ðm veri wɛ'l.
 F wi ʌʌ nuu ðm veri wɛl.
6. E wu_onɛ dhɛ ɔ'ud tʃap suun tɛtʃ ɛr nɔd tɛ du)it
 W wu_onɛd dh)ɔ'ud tʃap sɪun lɑrn ɛr nɔd tɛ doo it
 H wu_onɛ dhɛ ɔ'ud tʃap sɔ'un lɑrn ɛr bɛtɛr tɪl dæ'u it
 F wu_onɛ dhɛ ɔ'ud tʃap sɪun tɛtʃ ɛr nɔt tɛ diu it
- E ɛgʃɛ'n, pʊɛr θi:q!
 W nɔd nɔ mɔɛr, pʊɛr θɛn!
 H ɛgʃɛ'n, pɔ'uɛr θi:q!
 F ɛgɛn, piur θi:q!
7. E luk ʒɛ! ðn'ɛd it tru:?
 W liuk, ðn'ɛd it driu?
 H luk ʒɛ! ðn'ɛt it træ'u?
 F liuk, ðzn't it triu?

Notes to Ellesmere dt.

2. *wicket* or (atʃɛt) hatch-et, little hatch, common low garden gate.
 3. *child* or (ʃu:q ɛn) young one.—door or (s'us) house.
 5. *we all know him very well*, or (ʌmɛst ɛvɛri bɔdi nooz ðm) almost everybody knows him.
shr- initial, is replaced by (sr-), as (srɪmps srɔ_obz) shrimps shrubs.

Notes to Whixall dt.

1. *chaps*, (ladz), or (ʒo félez), not *mates*.—*a coming*, with either (u_o) or (ɛ).
 2. *left* or (laft).
 3. *enough*, probably (ɛnu_of).—*child* or (brat), which means pinafore, and hence one who wears a pinafore.—*right up to*, occ. (striut u_p til).—*house*, the aspirate was especially said to be used.
 4. *may hap to find*, to omitted.—*deaf* or (dɪɛf).—*shrivelled*, this word was noted to have been heard.—*name* or (niɛm).
 5. *us*, this looks like an error.
 6. *learn* or (tɛtʃ), the (ɛn) for (ɛr) seems to be a mistake.—*do*, as (doo), was marked occ., perhaps (diu) is the usual word.—*thing*, possibly (θɪn) is an error for (θi:q).
 7. *true*, here (driu) looks like an error.

Notes to Hanmer dt.

1. *lads* or (tʃaps) chaps.—*school* or (skæ'ul).—*wicket* or (atʃ) hatch.

3. *door* or (s'us) house.—*may be*, perhaps.
 6. *learn* or (tɛtʃ) teach.

Notes to Farnon dt.

The U' words are altered from (éu) to (áu). TH. heard (áu) generally, and sometimes (s'u ɔ'u), but with no approach to (éu ɔ'u), unlikely sounds in this part of the country. The (iu) was almost constantly heard by TH. as (s'u), but the two forms are often confused), see O' words in D 26, s.Db., and D 29, Le. Mr. French was very positive of the (iu), though he said it was not *u* in *mute*, and repudiated what he understood by (s'u). The (A'i) was heard by TH. as (ái); the confusion is common among (ái A'i s'i ói).

1. *say*, see, Mr. F. wrote (sái séi), TH. (sú sái) respectively.—*right*, TH. (ríit).—*coming*, TH. (kámín) the (ɛ u_o) in this is always uncertain in this neighbourhood.—*yonder* should probably be (jander).

2. *she's* (íu)z should probably be (ar)z, the customary form, but TH. heard (s'u) once.—*road*, TH. (rood).—*gate*, TH. (gʃɛ't).—*way*, TH. had (wii), and F. had (wí).

4. *name*, TH. heard (nɛm) twice, and (niim) once; there is much uncertainty of usage here, just as there was a fight between (ɛɛ ii) in the E, E-, E' words in received English in the xvth and xvith centuries.

5. *know*, probably (noon) would be more correct.

VAR. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE cwl.

E Ellesmere, wn. by TH. Said to have no verbal pl. in *-en*, but (*noo dhis ku_ontri* d_u_on jəʔ) know this country, do-en you? was heard. No Welsh *r*; that is to say, (r), and not (r), was used when not before a vowel. Negatives, [shəns, bɪns, w_uns] shan't, ben't, won't.
 F Welsh Frankton (3 w. Ellesmere), wn. by TH.
 Y Yorton (7 n. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.
 W Wem, wn. by TH. and † from Miss Jackson's Wood-Book.
 L Loppington, wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Davis, Vicar.
 H Hordley (13 nw. Shrewsbury), wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, Rector.
 U Upton Magna (4 e. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 EU *neem*. 25 H *maan*. 28 ELH *aar*. 31 U *leet*. 33 L *reedher*.
 A: 50 H *tu_oqz*. 51 EU *ma'n*, L *møn*. 56 W *wash*, L *wash*, H *wəsh*. A:
 or O: 58 F *frəm*. 61 L *vm_uqst*. 64 E *raq*, U *ru_oq* [occ.] *raq*. A'- 67
 F *gōo*, U *gwiin*. 84 E *mûter*. 86 L *wu_ots*. 90 L *blāu*. 91 L *māu*. A':
 104 YU *rood*, W† *ru_osd*. 108 H *du_of*. 113 E *uul*. 115 E *oom wòm wə'm*,
 EFU *wa'm*. 118 U *boon*. 124 U *stoon*.
 Æ- 138 UE *faadhər*, [occ.] *feedher*, UFYL *feedher*. 144 L *vəgn*. — E
staarz [stairs], F *stə'rz*. 152 E *waatər*, *wee-*, L *weeter*. Æ: 158 L *aatər*.
 161 E *dæ^l dæ*. 172 E *gras*, EL *grəs*. — E *rot* [rat]. 179 W *wod*.
 Æ'- 183 F *təty*. 190 E *keē*, U *kjee*. 194 L *eeni*, U *ani*. 195 L *mœni*.
 196 H *waar*. 197 H *tjeez*, U *tpiiz*. 200 UE *weet*, W† *weet*, H *wiet*. — W†
jeth [heath]. Æ': 216 E *deel*. 218 L *ship*. 219 F *sliip*. 222 L *jeer*.
 223 EU *dhür*, H *dhaar*. 224 EU *wür*, H *waar*. 228 H *sweet*.
 E- 232 F *breek*. 233 EU *speek*. 248 L *maar*. 251 U *meet*. E: 261
 E *see^l see*, U *see*. 262 E *wee^l wee*, U *wee*. 265 W *strə'it*. 270 L *bali*. 272
 L *el'm*. 278 U *wəns*. E'- 290 U *i*. 297 W *fəlv*. 299 EU *grin*. 300
 U *kiip*. E': 312 W *ür*. 314 E *ürd*.
 EA- 320 WLH *kaar*. EA: 322 UY *läf*. 326 EU *s'ud*, L *æuld*. 327
 L *bə'uld*. 328 EU *kə'ud*. 333 L *kAAF*. 334 L *ɛɛf*. 345 L *dərst* [did dare].
 346 E *gjeet*. EA'- 347 UEY *ɛɛ'd*. EA': 350 E [between] *də'd dəd*,
 LHU *dɛd*. 355 L *diif*, U *dɛf*. 356 W† *liuf*. 360 L *tɛm*. 366 E *greet*, U
grət. EO- 385 L *bineeth*. EO: 388 U *milk*. 395 E *joqg*, U *ju_oq*.
 402 EYLHU *lärn*. 404 E *staar*. 407 L *feedhiq*. EO'- 413 H *div'l*.
 EO': 437 U *trüth*. EY- 438 E *däi*.
 I- 442 LH *ivi*. 449 F *gjet*. I: 458 E *ne'it*, FU *ne'it*, W *nit*. 459
 E *re'it*, W [between] *ra'it re'it*, W† *rit*. 478 E *grə'ind*. — E *ru_on* [run].
 487 H *isterdi*. I'- E [between] *ə'i éi* [or] *ə'i ɛ'i* *äi*, W *ä'i äi*. 494 U
 [between] *tə'im taim*. I': — *də'itɪ* [ditch]. 500 H *lä'ik*. 506 H *wəmən*.
 — E *ee* [hay].
 O: 526 H *keuth*. 527 E *bə'ut*. 531 EU *dAatər*. 552 U *kA'rn*. — E *A'rs*,
 EU *A's* [horse]. O'- 555 E *shæ'u*, U *shuu*. 558 E *luk lük lük*. 559 E
mu_odher mə- mə-, F *mə-*. 563 E *mu_ondi*. 564 E *sə'un*, U *suun*. 566 F
u_odher. 568 E *bru_odher*. O': 569 E *buk bük bu_ok*. 570 E *tuk*. 571 F
gu_od. 573 U *flu_od*. 577 H *biu*. 579 U *inu_of*. 587 EU *dū_on*. 588 E
ne_o'un, U *nuun*.
 U- 603 E *kəm*, U *kəmin*. 604 U *su_omər*. — FYW *thu_ondər* [thunder].
 605 E *søn*, U *sū_on*. 606 EU *dür*, F *dó_ovr*. U: 612 EU *sū_om*. — Y
tu_omb'l [tumble]. 622 U *u_onder*. 625 U *tu_oq*. 629 U *su_on*. 632 EFW *u_op*.
 633 EYW *ku_op*, F *kop*. 636 H *fardher*. 639 U *du_ost*. U'- 641 EU *s'ū*.
 643 E *nə'u*. 645 E *vəb'ut*. 647 E *wu_olet*. U': 658 EU *də'un*, F *dāun*.
 659 EU *tə'un*. 663 F *s'us*. 665 E *mə'us*. 666 U *u_ozbənd*. 667 E *s'ut*.
 Y- 673 EY *mu_otj*. 679 E *tjartj*. Y: 700 L *wərsər*, U *wərst*. Y':
 709 E *fäivr*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — Y *baqk*. E. 744 H *meez'lz*. 745 H *tjeet*. 751 H *part*. I.

and Y. 758 H gal. O. 766 H m^o'idh^ored. 767 H na'iz, U [between] na'iz na'iz. 769 L ma'ul. U. — E tu^ob [tub]. 794 YW dju^og. 803 YW dju^omp. 804 WU dru^oqk'n. 805 H kru^odz. 807 W pu^os. 808 F pet, E pu^ot, [between] pu^ot pet.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 U pl^os. 817 H radish. 824 E tji^or. 835 H reez'n. 836 H seez'n. 838 H treet. 841 U tja'ns. 845 H anshent. 850 E deens. 851 F n^ont [old form], H aant. 852 H apurn.

E.. 867 UY tee. 868 L djii. 869 UEH veel. 877 L aar. 878 H saluri. 887 H klaardi. 888 LH earti^on. 889 H sees. 890 E b^ost, H beest. 891 H feest. 894 H diseev. 895 H riseev.

O.. — E bif [beef]. 916 H u^on^orn. 918 H feeb'l. 922 H bash'l. 923 H ma'ist. 924 H tja'is. 926 H spa'il. 929 H ka'ukumber. 942 H batj^or. 947 H ba'il. — Y kolur [colour], W ku^olar. 950 F su^oper. 954 H ku^oshin.

U.. 965 H a'il. 968 H a'ister. 969 F sh^ouer.

VAR. ii. DETACHED FLINT cwl.

H Hanmer, wn. by TH. from several natives.

B Bettisfield (2½ s. Hanmer), wn. by TH. from a native workman.

Notes.

Construction. H and B both have verbal pl. in *-en*. B (dhe milk'n, dhe kiip'n; an *ɜ* d^ou^on? wu^on *ɜ* d^ou^o it? du^on *ɜ* noo? *ə*'u bin *ɜ*?) , they milk-en, they keep-en; have-n you done? will-en you do it? do-en you know? how be-n you? H (w^oi^om *ɜ*u^om) we am, you am.

Negatives. (wu^ons k^ons didns shans bins du^ons) won't can't didn't sha'n't ben't don't.

Letter Names. Old A (aa), E (ii).

Intonation. No final rising inflexion.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — B w^ok [wake, feast]. 21 H neem nee'm, B nee'um. 33 H reedher. A: — H g^onder [gander]. A: or O: 60 H lu^oq. 64 H roq, B ru^oqg. A'- 67 [“(g^oz) goes, is a characteristic form in w. and sw.Ch., and in this district.”—TH.] H gu^oin. 72 H *u*ɜ. 73 H s^o. 81 H leen. A': 104 HB rood, H r^od. 115 H [between] w^om w^om, HB w^om, H wa'm.

Æ- 138 HB feedher, [many others said] H faadher f^oidher. — H steerz, B staarz [stairs]. 152 H w^oiter. Æ: 161 H dii, B dee tudee. 172 H gres. Æ'- 183 H t^otj. 187 H leev. 200 H w^oit, B weet. Æ': 216 H dje'l. 223 HB dh^or. 224 HB w^oter.

E- 231 HB dh^o. 233 HB speek. 235 H weev. 241 B reen. 248 H meer, B maar. — H eet [eat]. E: — B fatj [fetch]. 261 H sii see. 262 HB wee, H wee'. 265 HB stre'it. E'- 295 B bred. 299 HB griin. 300 H kip kiip. E': 307 B nai. 312 HB ter. 314 B i^ord. 315 B fit.

EA: 322 HB laf. 326 H *ə*'ud, B a'ud. 328 H k^o'ud. 332 H t^o'ud. 346 H giit gjeet. EA'- 347 H *ɜ*'d. EA': 350 HB dje'd. 355 H dje'f. 360 H tjem. 361 H bi^oenz. 363 H tje'p. 366 H gree't, B greet. EO: 394 H jander. 395 H ju^ogg. 398 H st^orvd. 402 HB larn. 404 B st^orz. EO': 428 H sii. 437 HB t^outh. EY- 438 HB dai.

I- 440 H wk. 447 H *ɜ*r [=she]. I: 458 HB nit n^oit [but in the farewell] gu^od ne'it. 459 H rit. 466 B tje'ild. 469 H w^ol [will]. 477 H fa'ind. I'- 492 H s^o'id. 494 H t^oim t^oim t^o'im, B [between] t^o'im t^oim t^o'im. I': 509 H w^oil.

O: 531 HB daater. — H krap^os [crops]. — H *ə*s *ə*'iz, B a's [horse]. 554 H *ə*kras. O'- 555 B sh^ou. 559 H mu^odher. 560 H skuul sk^o'ul. 562 B m^o'un. O': 579 H v^ou^of. 586 HB d^o'u. 587 HB d^o'n. 588 HB n^o'un. U- 603 H ku^omin ku^omen [pres. p.], HB k^omin. — B th^onder [thunder].

605 HB s_in. 606 HB d_our. U: 634 H thræ'u. U'- 640 H kx'u)us'
[cowhouse], B kjáuz [cows]. 641 H áu, B ó'u. 643 H nǝ'u. 650 HB vbo'ut.
U': 658 HB dǝ'un, H dáun. 663 HB ó'us. Y: — B shu_ot [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 H meet [occ.]. E. 749 H lift. I. and Y. 756 H srump.
758 B gǝrd, H gjǝ'rl [when used]. O. — B frók [frock, a woman's gown].
790 B gǝ'und. U. 804 B dr_uok'n. — H bu_oti [butty, mate].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plès. 841 B tjans. — B sleet [slate]. E.. 867 H tee.
885 H veri. — B fār [fair for cattle]. O.. — B bif [beef]. 947 H be'il.
950 B su_opr.

VAR. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

S Shocklach (4 wnw. Malpas), wn. by TH.

Construction. (kos) canst thou.

Negatives. (wu_one shane kons du_one) won't shan't can't don't.

F Farndon (7s. Chester) (:fārn), wn. by TH., † from W. Gronnow, a native, b.
1797-8, † from the same and others also.

Constructions. (am jǝ) am you? verbal pl. in -en (an jǝ got'n ə basket
lənd ez?) have you got a basket to lend us? Omission of to (as in
last sentence).

Negatives. (anə shane du_one wu_one kons) haven't shan't don't won't can't.
Letter Name. J (dʒei dʒa).

Vocabulary. No thou, no (wəli) well-nigh.

C Churton (1 n. Farndon), wn. by TH.

E Eccleston (:eklistən) (2 s. Chester), wn. by TH. The Duke of Westminster's
Eaton Hall is called (:eet'n).

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en.

Negatives. (kons) can't, (ku_odnə) couldn't.

Letter Names. A (aa) originally, altered when the Bishop of St. Asaph's
daughters came.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tak. 5 S miik, F meek. 21 SF niim, F† neem. A: or O: 64
F ru_oq roq'g. F† raq'. A'- 67 F† guj'in. 69 F† noo. 74 E tǝ'u. 80 S
olǝdi. — S sǝp [soap]. 86 F wets, F† wu_ot+miil [oatmeal]. A': 102 S
aks. 104 SF rood, C ruud. 115 S wa'm, F'oom wa'm wǝm [and between the
two last]. 124 S stuun. — S rǝp [rope].

Æ- 138 SF faadher, F†E feedher. 152 F wiitar. Æ: — E gjǝdherd
[gathered]. 161 SF dii. 164 F† mi. 166 S miid. Æ'- 183 SF tǝiti, E
tǝti. 193 E klǝien. 194 E ani. 197 S tjǝiz. 200 SF wǝit, F wǝit. F†
wiit weet. — S jǝth [heath]. Æ': 213 F† niidher. 216 E dǝl. 223 F
dhǝar, E dhǝier.

E- 233 F†E speekin. 241 S riin. 243 S pli. E: — E rǝti [reach].
261 F sii. 262 SF†C wii. E: 278 F† wǝnsh. E'- 290 E ā. 299
S grǝin, F† grǝin. 300 F† kiip. E': 312 E iier. 314 SF† iurd.

EA: 322 S laf. 325 F wa'k. 326 SFE a'ud [they divide (ə nǝ'ud) an old].
328 S ka'ud. 332 E tǝ'ud. 334 S if. 343 FE wǝrm. 346 F gjǝt. EA'-
347 SF jǝ'd, F† ǝd. 348 F† áiz. EA': 355 F dǝf. 359 F† niiber. 361
SF bǝien, F biin [refined]. 364 F tjap. 366 S griit, F† greet. EO: 390
F† sha'uld. 394 SF† jǝnder, E jan-. 399 F brǝt. 402 SF†E lǝrn, F lǝrn.
EO'- 410 SE ó'u. EO': 425 F lǝit. 428 F si. 437 F† trǝ'uth. EY-
438 F† dái.

I: 452 F† ái. 458 S néit, [between] nǝit nǝ'it, F nit nǝit, F† nǝit, E nǝit.
459 F riit. I'- 490 E bái. 494 F† táim. I': 505 E wǝ'if. 508 F
mǝil. 509 E wǝ'il.

O- 522 F oop'n. O: — F sru_ob [shrub]. 531 SF† daatar. 538 F†

wa'uld. — E A's [horse]. O'- 555 F†shæ'u. 559 F† madher. 560 F skæ'u skæ'ul. 564 F sæ'un. O': — E bruk [brook]. 586 SF† dæ'u. 587 SF† dū.n. 588 F† næ'un. 594 F† bæ'ut.
 U- 603 F† kam. 605 SF† sū.n. 606 S dūer, FE dæ'uer. U: — F dūm [dumb]. 615 F† pāund. 636 E færdær. U'- 640 F kāmz. 643 F† nāu. 652 F† kæ'uld. U': 654 F srāud. 658 F† dāun, C dāun. 662 F† ū.z. 663 F† āus' o'us' E āus'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — S biibi [baby]. 726 FE taak. — S boqk [bank]. — C atjiz [hatches, applied to the small gates themselves, and on this occasion to the valves of double iron gates 4 feet wide each]. — S tiitæz [potatoes]. E. — E eez [ease]. I. and Y. 756 F srimp. O. 767 F† nāiz. 770 F :tu,mæz. U. 798 E kwāer.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 S plis. — C wiidjiz [wages]. — S niitiv [native]. — C stiishen [station]. E.. 867 F tee. — E prètj [preach]. — F† piin [pain]. — E sārvisz [service]. I.. and Y.. 898 F† nāis. O.. — S béif [beef]. — E djæ'inær [joiner]. 928 F† āuns. — E rāund [round]. 939 F† tloos. — S tōst [toast]. 940 F kūt. 943 F tu,tj.

VAR. iv. WELSH FLINT AND DENBIGH cwl.

H Holt (:æ'ut), Dn., separated from Farndon, Ch., only by a bridge over the Dee, wn. Dec. 1882 by TH. chiefly from Parish Clerk, 58, and wife, 57, both natives.

Negative. (wu,ne) won't.

Peculiar (gg). (siqin) singing.

W Wrexham (:riksəm), Dn., wn. Dec. 1882 by TH.

B Bretton (:bræt'n), Fl., wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. from S. Mitchell, native.

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en (an jə got it?) have-n you got it?

Hw Hawarden (:årdn), Fl. (5 w-by-s. Chester), wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. The schoolmaster, Mr. Spencer, at the request of Rev. S. Gladstone, wrote a dt., but I have not succeeded in interpreting it, even with the help of this cwl., and a few words given to TH. by Mr. Speacer. † marks words for Buckley (:bu,klɪ) (2 wsw.Hw.). Most of the Hw. words were from two old men, b. 1798 and 1802, cutting fire-wood at Hw. Castle, who had been on the estate many years.

Constructions. (dhi an ad it) they have-n had it.

Negative. Hw (wònt) won't, † (wu,ne kɔnə shanə mu,ne du,ne) won't can't shan't mustn't don't.

Letter name. A (aa).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H biik. 21 B niim. — Hw giim [game]. A: — B pon [pan]. 44 B land. 51 B ma'n. A: or O: 64 H raq, B ru,gg. A'- 67. H gu,jin, B guu. 69 B noo. 72 H wúe+r. 74 Hw tæ'u. 86 W wu,ts. A': 102 W aks. 115 H wæ'm, B wòm, Hw oom. 118 B boon. 122 B nò. 124 B stoon.

Æ- 138 HB faadher, HwB fædher. 152 HB wiiter. Æ: 161 HBHw dii. 172 HB gres. Æ'- 193 B kliin. 194 Hw ani. 200 H wiit, B wiit, Hw weet wist. Æ': 216 Hw dæl deel. 223 W dhær, B dhær. 224 HWHw wîer, B wîer.

E- 233 HHw speak. 241 HBHw riin. 243 H plii. 251 B meet. E: 261 H sii. 262 H wii. 278 H wentj, B wensh. E'- 290 H á, BHw éi. 299 H griin, B grín. E': 312 H íer. 314 HBHw færd.

EA: 322 HB laf. 324 Hw e'it. 326 BHw æ'ud. 328 B kæ'ud. 332 Hw tæ'ud. 333 Hw ka'f. — BHw fàrn [a fern]. 346 B git, Hw giit. EA'- 347 H jæ'd, BHw æ'd. EA': 350 Hw† djæ'd. 355 Hw dif. 360 H tiim tjæ'm. 361 H bíenz, B bíen. 366 H greet, B griit. EO: 395 Hw

ju_og. 402 HB lār. EO'- 410 HHw æ'u. 416 H dāiv. 420 Hw fō_ler.
 EO': 437 B træ'uth. EY- 438 HB dāi.
 I- 449 HHw gjet. I: 465 B sitj. 466 Hw tjadild. 469 H wu_l. —
 Hw ru_n [run]. I'- [W (ə'i ə'i) from various people]. I': — W dāitj
 [ditch]. 509 H wāil.
 O: — BHw kraft [croft, field]. 531 H dAAter dōut'er, B dAAter. — B
 krap [crop]. 552 B kār. O'- 555 H shuu, B shæ'u [pl. (shæ'un)]. 560
 BHw skæ'u, Hw skiu. 564 H sœ'un. 566 W u_odher. 568 H bru_odher, W
 brōdher. O': 569 H bœ'uk. — W bræk [brook]. 571 Hw gū_od. 578 W
 [between] plə'u plə'u. 586 Hw dœ'u. 587 HHw dū_n. 588 HB nœ'un.
 U- 603 H kām. 604 H sū_omer [summer]. — HB thū_onder [thunder].
 605 HBHw sū_on. 606 HB dæ'ur, Hw dūr. 607 W bœ_oter. U:
 [W, both (ə u_o) used, but mostly (u_o)]. 612 W sū_om. — Hw sū_omut [some-
 what]. 616 Hw grœ'und. 629 H sū_on. 632 H u_op. 633 H ku_op, W kōp
 kop. U'- 640 B kjāu [pl. (kjē'i) kine]. 641 B āu. 643 Hw nāu. U':
 658 HBHw dāun, W dōun [various speakers]. 659 H tāun, W tōun [various
 speakers]. 662 Hw ū_oz. 663 HB āus. 667 H æ'ut. Y- 682 B lit'l.
 Y: 701 Hw fōst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 B ladz [often, (tjaps) occ.] — W bāqk. — 738 H teetuz, W titūz,
 B pētii'tez. O. — H dōg [dog]. U. — W tob [tub]. 794 W djoğ
 dju_og. 803 W djəmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B teeb'l. 811 H plis. 835 Hw reez'n. 848 H tpiindj. E..
 867 Hw tee. — B piin [pain]. I.. and Y.. — W la'inz [lines]. O.. —
 B pu_omp [pump]. — W kōrd [cord]. — W soop [a sup]. — H mu_ot'n
 [mutton].

D 29 = e.SM. = eastern South Midland.

Boundaries. Start from near Atcham on the Severn (4 se. Shrewsbury), and proceed northwards to e. of Upton Magna, of Wem, of Whixall, and of Prees, but w. of Hodnet and just e. of Whitechurch, to the b. of Sh. near Marbury, Ch. (7 sw. Nantwich). Then turn e. and se. along the b. of Sh. to Burley Dam, and, following the s. *teeth* line 4, proceed ne. to n. of Audlem, Ch., round which turn suddenly, re-entering Sh. near Adderley. Cut across the ne. horn of Sh., passing s. of Norton-in-Hales and going ese. by Muckleston, St., and s. of Ashley and Standon to Stone, and then ene. to Rocester, on b. of Db. Follow the b. of Db. to the s. and e. till just s. of Repton. Cut across the s. tail of Db. to the Trent on the b. of Db. and Le. From this point circumambulate Le., following its b. to the b. of Wa., which pursue till you strike the n. *sum* line 1, where it coincides with the reverted *ur* line 3, and follow it to the w. and sw., passing through Wa. s. of Southam and Warwick, e. of Henley-in-Arden, w. of Solihull. Enter Wo., passing n. of King's Norton and s. of Hales Owen and Stourbridge, but n. of Kidderminster to the Severn, where quit the reverted *ur* line 3, but continue the n. *sum* line 1 and go up the Severn to the starting-point, Atcham.

Area. Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn; St. s. of Stone, a slip on n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db., and all Le.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || so., ° io.

Db. No authority, but this narrow peninsula is assumed to belong to the same district as m.St. on its w. and Le. on its e., and from the analogy of Repton, Db., D 26, it, as well as the outlying parts of Db., probably resemble Le. more than St., but this little peninsula has not been explored phonetically.

Le. † Ansty, † Barlestone, ° Barwell, || Belgrave, ° Birstall, † Blaby, ° Cottesbach,

*†Enderby, †Glenfield, °Harby, †Illston-on-the-Hill, *†||Leicester, †Loughborough, †Market Harborough, †Mount Sorrel, °Normanton, *Syston, †Thurcaston, *Waltham.

Sh. †Bolas Magna, †Coalbrookdale, †Crudgington, †Edgmond, †Hodnet, †Ironbridge, †Madeley, †Market Drayton, °Newport (also TH. in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook), †Shifnal, †Wellington.

St. *°Barton-under-Needwood, °Bradley, *†°Burton-on-Trent, †Cannock Chase, †Cannock Town, °Codsall, †Darlaston, †Eccleshall, †°Enville, †Hanbury, †Haughton, †Hopwas, †Leigh, †Lichfield, °Newborough, †Stafford, °Stretton, †Tamworth, †Tutbury, °Upper (or Over) Arley, †Uttoxeter, †Walsall, †Wednesbury, †West Bromwich, †Willenhall, †Wolverhampton, †Wootton, †Yoxall.

Wa. †Allesley Gate, *†Atherstone, †Bedworth, °Birmingham, †Brandon, †Bulkington, †Coventry, °Curdworth, °Elmdon, †Leamington, †Nuneaton, †Polesworth, †Saltley, °Sherborne, †Warwick.

Wo. †Cradley, °Dudley (locally in St.), †Hagley, *†Selly Oak, †Stourbridge.

Notwithstanding this large number of authorities, there is a deficiency of exact information in the outskirts, which has rendered much of the boundary conjectural, as through Wa., and has obliged me frequently to take refuge in county boundaries, a confession of ignorance in itself.

Character. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to find one determinative character on which reliance can be placed. The speech is on the whole very homogeneous, and I have found it impossible to maintain a division into three parts, which I at one time tried. But I have noted four so-called varieties, the first three with several subforms. These are, however, scarcely more than geographical, and hence I append to each a list of some of the places from which information has been obtained.

Var. i. ne. Shropshire and nm. Stafford.

ia in Sh., Edgmond, Hodnet, Market Drayton, Newport; in St., Eccleshall, Wootton.

ib wm.St., n. of Watling Street.

Bradley, Cannock, Haughton, Stretton.

ic em.St.

Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Hopwas, Lichfield, Tamworth, Tutbury, Yoxall.

Var. ii. ne. and se. Shropshire, s. Stafford, and n. Worcester.

ii_a me. and se.Sh., Ironbridge, Madeley, Shifnal, Wellington.

ii_b s.St., Codsall, Darlaston, Dudley, Walsall, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.

ii_c n. Wo., Cradley, Hagley, Selly Oak, Stourbridge.

Var. iii. Warwickshire.

iii_a e.Wa., Allesley Gate, Atherstone, Bedworth, Brandon, Bulkington, Coventry, Nuneaton, Polesworth.

iii_b w.Wa., Birmingham, Curdworth, Elmdon, Knowle, Leamington, Warwick.

Var. iv. Leicestershire.

Belgrave, Birstall, Cottesbach, Leicester, Loughborough, Syston, Waltham.

The main points to which attention has to be directed are the treatments of A in open syllables, of AEG in both open and close syllables, of EG, E', EO', Y', O', U, U'. Now my information is

not complete enough to furnish an example of each of these cases for each variety and shade of variety, but the following table (p. 462) will show the general character and the extremes of divergence.

In all these, A-=(éɐ) is the older form; (ee éi) are modern variants. AEG=(ii) and EG=(ii) seem also to be the older form (how old, of course, cannot be said), of which (éɐ éi) are variants; the (ái) form found at Selly Oak in (náíl snáíl) nail snail, seems to be an importation from the S. div. But observe the change in Var. iib., s.St., where (éi) is regular. In Var. iii. the (reen wéi) seems to have been quite recent; E', EO' are more commonly (éi). In the S. div. we say with our mouths and see with our eyes. It might be pretty well said to be reversed in the M. div. The (éi) form is particularly strong in Var. iε. em.St. The O' (iu) has become the regular form for O', as in s.Db., D 26, but it is only a variant or development of (æ'u), which also occurs, and the other development (ɑ'u) is likewise found, as in m.Db., D 26. The U' is not very certain, but any form except (áu) is merely local.

In addition to this the omission of (h) is universal, and even pervades the better-educated classes. In Le. it is sometimes wrongly inserted. The (r) before a vowel is mild, and probably Midland (r). Whether it is really trilled or not I am not prepared to say, but, following TH., who considers it to be "the common English r," as it is his natural r, I use (r) for it, wrongly as I believe. When not before a vowel, I consider it as the Midland (r), which is readily slightly trilled and as readily produces an effect like (ʁ), although by a different collocation of the organ. The definite article is always (dhə), I believe, though TH. gives some cases of (th t') in the neighbourhood of Cannock, m.St. See notes on the Cannock cs., par. 3, p. 470.

In s.St., Var. iib., but apparently not in Var. iia., occurs a very peculiar way of marking the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs, tantamount to rec. *I don't*, etc. We generally omit the vowel of *not* and alter the preceding vowel; they generally omit the *n* and also alter the preceding vowel. This occurs, likewise, in Cradley, Wo. The following were heard by TH. at Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Willenhall, Wolverhampton, and Cradley.

1. *I a'n't* (ái ént). 2. *I haven't* (ái èt). 3. *it isn't* (it êi, éint).
4. *isn't it* (it it?). 5. *I ben't* (ái bit béint). 6. *I don't* (ái dut).
7. *I shan't* (ái shee, sheet, shèt, shAA). 8. *I won't* (ái woo wôu wôu wùt).
9. *I can't* (ái koo koot, kAA kA't). 10. *I wouldn't* (ái u_od'n).

In the Dudley cs. we also find *I don't care* (ái doo kéeur), *that doesn't matter* (dhat doo mater), *won't she* (woo ɛr?), *I don't want* (ái doo want), *don't you be* (doo ɛr bi). This has not been noticed in the Black Country district of se.Sh.

The verbal plural in *-en* is quite distinct in Sh. and St. It is very little heard in Wa., and it is now almost lost in Le., but was not so in the lifetime of the late Dr. Arthur B. Evans, who in his *Leicester Words, Phrases, and Proverbs*, 1848, art. *sen*, p. 80, says: "A shepherd said of some sheep, which did not

See p. 461, line 2.

[1894]

	VAR. i.			VAR. ii.			VAR. iii.		VAR. iv.
	ia ne.Sh. and nm.St.	ib wm.St.	ic em. St.	iiā em. and s.Sh.	iiḃ s.St.	iiċ n.Wo.	iiiā e.Wa.	iiiḃ w.Wa.	Le.
A-	léem	neem	neem niim	neem	néem néim	néem	néem neem	néem	neem
AEG-	tiil	tiil	—	—	—	éi náil	—	téul	tiil
AEG:	dii	dii, dee	dii	dee	dêi	dêi	dii	—	dii
EG	riin	riin, reen	riin	reen	rêin	réun	reen	wéi [ʔ]	riin
E'	bileev	griin, grêin	gréin	griin	griin grêin	green	griin	—	gréin
EO'	three	thrii, trii	thréi	—	—	thrii, three	thrii	—	thréi
I'	wáif	wáif	wáif wa'if	wáif	wáif wa'if	wáif	wáif	wáif, wo'if	wáif, wo'if
O'	shiu	míun	tíu díu má'un	muun	tíu díu míun	níun mu _o n	læ'uk sœ'un	skíul	míun
U	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	ku _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p
U'	æ'us	áus, éáut	áus á'os	nœ'u	á'æ't Yáut áut	dáun dx'um	áus	áus	dáun æ'ut nó'u

fatten so well as was expected: 'Lord bless ye, they *worrin* their *sens* to death with *warmint*, and I han baccared 'em, but its no use at all,' i.e. 'They tease' (present tense) 'and torment themselves with vermin, and I have washed them with tobacco-water; but it is of no use.' The present tense is formed in this way—'They *worrin*,' i.e. 'They worry.' 'They *pushin*,' i.e. 'They push.' 'They *pullin* 'em up,' i.e. 'They pull them up.'

Dr. Sebastian Evans, in re-editing the work, with additions, for the E.D.S. in 1881, omits this article, but in his preface, p. 27, inserts:

"A number of monosyllabic verbs have an alternative form ending in 'en' in the present and past tenses indicative, and sometimes in the infinitive. 'Pushen,' 'pullen,' 'looken,' 'gotten,' 'patten,' for 'push,' 'pull,' 'look,' 'got,' 'put,' are of very common occurrence, but most common on the Wa. borders. 'An' somehow ye looken sorry, too"—*Adam Bede*, "I allays patten a sprig o' mint in mysen."—*Ib.* 'What d'ye goo fur to pushen a thatns fur?' 'Known, seen, gi'n, done, ta'en,' are always used instead of 'knew, saw, gave, did, took,' and sometimes even stand as the presents of these verbs."

Neither of the two Dr. Evanses seem to have properly appreciated the grammar, and both write apparently in ignorance of the usage of La., Db., Ch., St. George Eliot refused to be considered an authority on dialect, and quotations from her are far from being conclusive in Le. grammar. Here *ye looken* is right enough, but *I patten* could hardly have been said. I should have been glad to see Dr. S. Evans's authority for 'to pushen,' the inf. in *-en* (on which see D 24. p. 404); *known, seen, gi'n*, are probably never used except in the verbal pl. in *-en* in the present tense, in the past they use (*nood, seeid, gid*) *know'd, see'd, give'd, 'done ta'en'* lend themselves to either use. Again, it is quite wrong to suggest that dialect speakers have 'an alternative form ending in *en*' in verbs, for this is the original form which rs. has *omitted*, and when dialect speakers omit it also, they blindly imitate rs. Dialects are not arbitrary monstrosities, they are really living growths, and the deformative agencies are the results of an incursion of 'received speech' by education and intercommunication.

I think that Dr. S. Evans's statement that '*en* or *un* is a very general substitute for *him*,' must be an error. I have never found *en* = *Ws. hine* out of the S div. When given me from elsewhere, it has disappeared on inquiry. Of course *un* (*vn*) for *one* is common everywhere.

There is a common use of (*ai*)n *du_n* for I have done, see above, p. 338, col. 1, l. 8. Dr. S. Evans considers it to be *I'n* for *I han*, and gives also *he han, he'n. We han, we'n*, is of course quite right, but *I han, he han*, seem to be mistakes somewhere or another.

FIVE INTERLINEAR CS.

Var. *ib.* west mid Staffordshire.

C. Cannock Chase, n. side; pal. in 1877 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Thomas Rowley, b. 1823, many years storekeeper to a colliery company, born near Rugeley (:ridli) (8 ese.Stafford). In the form of the definite article *the* Mr. Rowley was not consistent, using (th, dh, dhe), which are preserved as he dictated. TH. considered that (th) was the normal form, and wished to use it throughout, but I have thought it best to preserve Mr. R.'s mixed usage, which probably prevails near the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. See further in note to Cannock Chase, par. 3, p. 470, where the results of TH.'s examination of this region are given.

Var. *iiβ.* The 'Black Country' of South Staffordshire.

D. Dudley, locally in s.St., practically in n.Wo., may be considered the centre of the Black Country, or coal and iron districts. This cs. was sent by Richard Woolf, Exchange Chambers, Worcester, to LLB. in 1875. It is not known who made the version. The cs. was first transcribed in received spelling, and then certain parts were struck out and re-written dialectally in red ink, after which they were revised by another person who used purple ink. The version is careful, but entirely in "io." I have attempted to pal. it by help of the *wn.* by TH. in the neighbourhood, and I think that it gives a good conception of the Black Country speech. The peculiar form of the negative is well brought out.

Var. *iiia. e.* Warwickshire.

A. Atherstone (8 se. Tamworth). This version was written in 1875 by Mr. R. S. Knight, F.R.S.L., then residing at Atherstone, with the dialect of which he had been 14 years acquainted, and in 1876 he read it to me. He wrote *whoy*, *daowts*, with a \sim extending over the *aow*, and it was difficult from his pron. to be quite sure how I should represent them. But in some *wn.* from natives by T.H. at Atherstone in 1886, which did not reach me till this page was in type, I find long *i* and *ou* represented by (Λ^i , $\acute{a}u$), and hence I have adopted these forms. The long *i* varied within the limits ($\acute{d}i$, Λ^i), the *ou* remained invariably ($\acute{a}u$). See the *cwl.* p. 487.

Var. *iv.* Leicestershire.

It was intended to insert a *cs.* for Leicester, which had been written by the late Mr. Findley, a second-hand bookseller of that town, in Glossic, and then read to me. After much correspondence T.H. went to Leicester to examine some of the sounds, and his correction of Mr. Findley's writing made it so little different from that of Waltham, while it still left some points in doubt, that I have unwillingly omitted it. The *cwl.* for *Le.* contains Mr. F.'s words as heard by T.H., marked *Lr.* They were essentially town and modern pronunciations.

W. Waltham (16 ene. Loughborough), in the n. of *Le.*, just at the base of the e. horn of *Le.*, was written for me by Miss H. Ball, then a student at Whitelands Training College, a native of Waltham, and subsequently read to me by her, in 1877, when I noted the principal points in pal.

E. Enderby (4 sw. Leicester). Miss E. Hirst, of Enderby, was present when Miss Ball read her version, and gave the variants inserted in the last line. Where no words are found in the line *E*, it must be understood that the words above in *W* are to be substituted. In the notes are several remarks obtained by questioning these students. These last three versions should be compared together and with the *cwl.* for *Syston*, given and read to me by Miss Adcock, a native, and one of the teachers at Whitelands Training College.

0. *Cannock Chase.* wái :dʒɔn)z nɔ dáuts.
Dudley. wái :dʒɔn ɛz noo dáuts.
Atherstone. w Λ^i :dʒɔn ɛz noo dáuts.
Waltham. wái :dʒɔn ɛz nóu dáuts.
Enderby variants.

1. C wɛl, :djak, dhì ɛn ðm mɛ bóth lof ɛt wɔt
 D wel, neebɛr, ʒoo ɛn ðm kɛn búɛth lof ɛt wɔt
 A wɛl, níɛbɛr, ʒoo kɔn booth ɔn ʒɛ laf ɛt dhɛs
 W wɛl, neebɛ, ʒau ɛn ii mɛ booth læf ɛt dhɛs
 E ʒoo ee

C Λ)m gu)ín tɛ tɛl ʒɛ. uu kjɛɛrz? dhat)s niidhɛr
 D $\acute{d}i$)m tɛlín ʒɛ. $\acute{d}i$ doo kéɛɛr! bu_ot dhat doo
 A níuz o m Λ^i ín. uu kíɛrz? dhat)s náidhɛr
 W níuz ɛ mɔ'ín. uu kaaz? dhat)s niidhɛr
 E nuuz m $\acute{a}i$ ín. kéɛɛz? náidhɛr

C íɛr nɛr dhíɛr.
 D matɛr.
 A íɛr nɛr dhíɛr.
 W íɛ nɛ dhíɛ.
 E

2. C *veri* f*ü* m*en* d*ái* b*kAAZ* dh*er* loft at, wi
 D dh*er* eent m*oni* m*en* d*áiz* k*os* dh*er*m laft at, wi
 A dh*er* eent m*oni* ez d*ái* k*oz* dh*er* laaft et, wi
 W f*ü* m*en* d*ái* k*oz* dh*er* læft et, wi
 E we

C noon, du_on*e* wi? wot ed meek em? it eent veri
 D noon, du_on wi? wot shod mak em? it eent veri
 A noo, dúv*nt* es? wot shod mak em? tjeent veri
 W nóu, dóent wi? wot shu_od mak em? tjeent veri
 E mek

C l*áikl*e**, iz it?
 D l*áikl*e**, wot)s dh*e* s*e*'i?
 A l*ái*'kl*e*, ez it?
 W l*ói*kl*e*, is)t?
 E l*ái*'kl*e*,

3. C áu*ve*r, dhiiz er dh*e* faks, se
 D áusemev*er*, dhiiz b*in* dh*e* r*áits* e dh*e* k*ees*, soo joo
 A áu*ve*r dh*is* iz dhi wii on it, soo joo
 W áu*ve*r, dhiiz e dh*e* f*æks* e dh*e* kees, so
 E

C óud dhi d*áiz*, m*en*, en bi kw*áist* t*il* á*v* f*in*isht,
 D d*pu*_ost shu_ot u_op, fr*end*, en bi kw*áist* t*il* á*n* du_on.
 A d*pu*st oold j*er* n*ái*'iz, en bi kw*ái*'st t*il* á*n* du_on.
 W d*pu*st a'ud j*er* r*ái*'u, fr*end*, en bi kw*ái*st t*el* á*v* du_on.
 E

C ark dhi!
 D aark*en*!
 A aarki.
 W
 E

4. C d*i*)m sh*æ*'uer a f*erd* em sii soo—su_om en em
 D d*i*)m sh*ú*uer d*i* f*erd* em s*ei* —su_om e dh*em* f*ooks*
 A á*i*)m s*art*in ez á*i* f*erd* em s*ee* —su_om o dh*em* f*ooks*
 W a)m s*æ*t*in* a f*ed* em s*ee* —su_om e dh*em* f*ooks*
 E

C ez went thr*æ*'u it a*al* dh*em*s*enz*—
 D wot noon dh*e* wu_ol th*iq* fr*om* dh*e* v*eri* fast —
 A ez went thr*uu* dh*e* h*ol* on it fr*om* dh*e* f*erst* dh*em*s*enz*—
 W ez went thr*iu* dh*ol* th*iq* fr*om* dh*e* fast dh*es*'nz —
 E

C dhat *di* did, shæ'væ' vnu_of.
 D *di* færd æm séi dhis :
 A dhat *ai* did, síef inu_of.
 W dhat a did, seef vnu_of.
 E

5. C æs dhe ju_oggist lād imsen', e big lād e náin ier
 D dhet dhe ju_oggist su_on iz self, e big tʃap náin ier
 A ez dhe ju_oqest lād imsen, e gret bɑ[^]'i e nɑ[^]'in,
 W dhet dhe ju_oggist su_on iz sen, e gret bɑ[^]'i e nɑ[^]'in
 E

C óud, nood is feedherz vɑis in e minit, iv it
 D ood, wɛl, éi nooz iz fíedherz vɑis et wu_onst dhoo it
 A nood iz feedherz vɑ[^]'is et wons, dhoo it
 W nood iz fe'edhez vɑ[^]'is et wu_ons dhoo it
 E

C was se kwíer, en *di*)d warent dhat lād
 D wez soo ru_om en skweekín, en *di*)d tru_ost 'im
 A wez se kwíer en skwiikín, en *ai*)d tru_ost 'im
 W wɑ[^]'e se kwíer en skwíekín, en a wəd tru_ost 'im
 E

C tæ spíik dhe tríuth aníwii.
 D tæ spéik dhe tríuth oni déi, dhat)s wət *di* 'u_od.
 A tæ spíik dhe truuth oni dii, aa, *ai* wod.
 W tæ spí,ek dhe tríuth eni dee, aa dhar)a wu_od!
 E spæek dii.

6. C en dh)óud wu_omæn ersen' ed tel aní on jɛ ez lɑf'n
 D en dhe ood u_omæn erself el tel oni on jɛ
 A en dhe áuld wu_omæn ersen el tel oni on jɛ ez lææf
 W e dh)ool wu_omæn esen wíl tel eni e jɛ dhet læf
 E

C náu, en tel jɛ stre'it áut', widháut ani bødher
 D en tel jɛ stréit of widháut oni bødher
 A náu, en tel jɛ stret of, tu, wi)áut mu_otʃ bødher
 W nɑ[^]'u, en tel jɛ'u street of, en aal, wi)áut mu_otʃ bødher
 E jo striit

C et aal ev jɛ)d dju_ost eks ɛr, *di*)l warent.
 D if jɛ)l ooni aks ɛr aa! woo ɛr? dhat)s aal.
 A if ju_o)l oni aks ɛr, oo wóoent ɛr?
 W if ju_o)l oni æks)ɛr, oo wíent shi?
 E

7. C anéwii, a'r tóud ít 'mii wEN dí ekst er, tíú er
 D áusemever, er tood 'mii wEN dí akst er, mǝní e
 A liistwiiz, shi too'ld 'mii wEN A'i akst er, tu_othri
 W ení)á'u shi tá'ud 'mii et wEN a ækst er, tuu er
 E 'mee tí'u

C thrii táimz óer, a'r díd, en 'a'r A't te noo AAL
 D táim, er díd, en 'e'r AAt te noo
 A tá'imz ó'er, díd shi, en 'shii ed'nt AAt te bi r_oq
 W thrii tó'imz, óve, díd shi, en 'shii hed'nt AAt te bi r_oq
 E táimz

C ebáut ít, wot)n 'Joo thiqk?
 D wot er)z tAAkin ebáut, wot du_on Jo thiqk?
 A ó'er sítj e thiq ez dh_{is}, wot du 'Joo thiqk?
 W on sítj e páint ez dh_{is}, hed shi, wa)r_e J_e'u thiqk?
 E w_o)da Jo

8. C wel, ez dí se'd dju_ost náu, 'E'r)d tel J_e
 D wel, ez dí w_ez guj_{in} te séi, 'E'r)d tel J_e
 A wel, ez A'i w_ez e sii)én shii)d tel J_e
 W wel, ez dí w_er e see)én, 'shii w_ud tel J_e'u
 E Jo

C wíer en wEN 'a'r fu_ond dhe dru_oqk'n as ez
 D áu wíer en wEN er fáund dhe dru_oqk'n beest ev
 A áu en wíer en wEN shi fu_on dhe dru_oqk'n biist ez
 W á'u wíer en wEN shi fá'und dhe dru_oqk'n bíest ez
 E

C er kAALZ er u_ozbend.
 D e mon ev 'arn.
 A shi kAALZ er u_ozbun.
 W shi kAALZ er u_ozbun.
 E

9. C a'r swóer a'r siid im wídh er oon áiz, lái)én
 D er swóer er s_{in} im wídh er oon áiz lái)én
 A shi swóer ez shi sid im wí er oon A'íz, e lá'i)én
 W shi swóer ez á'u shi siid im wí er oon ó'íz lee)en
 E áiz lái)en

C AAL iz leqth on th) gráund, en t')mend t')mater i)d
 D AAL elu_oq on dhe gráund,
 A stretjt AAL iz leqth o) dhe gráund,
 W sprAald et fu_ol leqth on dhe grá'und
 E

C got)s best koot on, tlòs tu iz oon dóer,
 D in iz su_ondi kúet, kloos tái dhè dúer
 A wi iz god su_ondi kúet on, klúuws tu dhè dúer
 W in iz gu_od su_ondi koot, tlòs bi dhè dóoer
 E

C dáun et th)ka'rner e)th leen jònder.
 D e dhè áus, dáun et dhè karnèr e)dhè leen dhier.
 A e dhè áus, dáun et dhè kórner o jon léen.
 W e)dh)á'us, dá'un et dhè kaanèr e jon leen.
 E léen.

10. C i wèz groonin fèr aal dhè wald láik
 D éi wèz blaatin ewéi, sez 'er, fèr aal dhè wald láik
 A ii wèz wa'inin ewii, shi sez, fèr aal dhè wald láik
 W ii waar e wo'inin ewee, shi sez, fèr aal dhè wald láik
 E wáinin

C su_om óud pig.
 D a babi.
 A a sík tja'íld, er e lét'l gel in e fret.
 W a badli tja'íld in e fret.
 E

11. C en it ap'nd dju_ost ez a'r en er daater i laa wèz
 D wiil, dhat ap'nd ez 'er en er daater e laa
 A en dhat ap'nd ez shii en er daater in laa wèz
 W en dhæt æp'nd ez shii en er daater e laa
 E

C kamin thre'u th)bak jàrd fròm iqgín th)
 D kàm thru dhè bak jàrd fròm aqín áut dhè
 A ekomín thruu dhè bak jæærd fròm iqín áut dhè wèt
 W kàm thriúu dhè bæc jææd throm iqín á'ut dhè wèt
 E

C tluuz áut on th)washín dii.
 D kluuz on e weshín déi.
 A kluuez tu dra'i ev e weshín dii.
 W tlooz tæ drái on e weshín dee.
 E

12. C wáil th)tii ket'l wèz báilín, wa'n fáin
 D wáil dhè tee ket'l wèz báilín fer tee, wón fáin
 A wa'il dhè ket'l wèz báilín fer téi wón fáin
 W wáil dhè ket'l waar a bó'ilín fer tii wu_on f'ín
 E tee fáin

C su_omerz afternæ'un, en it)'l bi e wɪk t'
 D bráit su_omær afterniun, dju_ost e wiik eguu kəm
 A bra'it su_omær aaternuun, ooni e wɪk eguu kəm
 W br'it su_omær aaternuun e wíiek sɪn ku_om
 E bráit niún

C neks thærzdi.
 D nekst thærzdi.
 A la'st thærzdi.
 W neks thærzdi.
 E thææzdi.

13 C en du_on juo noo? di never ferd noo móer ebáut it
 D en wot)s thi_oqk? di never ferd oní múer e dhís
 A en duu je noo? ez A'i never lærnd noo móóer nør dhís
 W en d)je nóu? a níve laant Ení móor nē dhís
 E

C frəm dhat dii te dhís, ɛsh shæ'uer ez mái neem)z
 D u_op te tədəi, ez shúuer ez mái neem)z
 A e dhat biznis u_op te tēdii ez shúuer ez ma'i nīem)z
 W e dhææ efées təl tēdee ez séeɛf ez mɔ'i nēeem)z
 E mai

C wət it iz, en di du_o)nē want te noo niidher.
 D :djak :shəpəd, en di doo want te noo nēedher, dhíer
 A :dʒən :shəpəd, en A'i dóóent want tu nA'idher, dhíer
 W :djæk :shəpəd, en a dóóəne wənt te iidhə, dhíe
 E náidhə dhéə

C
 D náu!
 A náu!
 W nɔ'u!
 E

14. C su náu di)l gu wɔ'm te mi su_opər, gu_od nɔ'it
 D en soo di)m gu)in wɔm te e mi su_opər, gu_od nɔ'it
 A en soo A'i)m e gu)in wɔm tu su_opər, god nA'it
 W en soo a)m gu)in om te hæ)mi su_opə, gu_od nɔ'it
 E nait

C en du_o)nē dhii bi sɛ rɛdi tɛ meek gjeem ɛv e fɛlɛr
 D en doo je bi so fast tɛ kroo ɔvɛr ɔni bɔdi
 A en du_o)nē jo bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo ɔ'ɛr e mɔn
 W en dúuent bii so fast tɛ króu ɔɛr e bɔdi
 E

C	agjɛ'n	WEN	i	ta'ks	ɛbáut	ɹ'ut.	
D	ɛgɛn,	WEN	i	tAAks	ɛ	dhɛs	dhat ɛr tu _o dhɛr.
A	ɛgɛn,	WEN	i	tAAɛks	o	dhɛs	dhat ɛr dhɛ todhɛr.
W	ɛgɛn,	WEN	ɛ	tAAks	ɛ	dhɛs	dhat ɛr dhɛ t)u _o dhɛ.
E							

15.	C	i	wu _o d	bɪ	ɛ	fæ'ul	ɛz	ta'kt	wɪdháut	ani	sɛns.	ɛn
	D	éi'z	ɛ	sɛl'i	fíul	ɛz	rat'lz	wi'jáut	ɔni	reez'n.	ɛn	
	A	ít's	ɛ	wéik	féul	ɛz	preets	wi'jáut	rèiz'n.	ɛn		
	W	ít iz	ɛ	wíek	fuul	ɛz	preets	wi'ɹ'ut	ri'z'n.	ɛn		
	E			wiik	fiúl				riiz'n.			

C	dhat's	AA	dí	got	t'	sii	ɛbáut	ít.	su	gu _o d	náit.
D	dhat's	AA	dí	v	got	tɛ	séi.		gu _o d	bái.	
A	dhat's	mA'i	laast	wárd.					god	bA'i.	
W	dhat's	mi	laast	wééwd.					gu _o bbái.		
E				wééwd.							

Notes to the Cannock Chase cs. p. 464.

2. *know-en*, the v. pl. in *-en* is well marked in this form.

3. *are the facts*. TH. wrote (th) here and in some other places, where the informant dictated (dhɛ), and that form is here restored; similarly in par. 5, *speaks the truth*; and par. 8, *found the drunken*, TH. changed the informant's (dhɛ) into (t'), which in these cases he considered to be "the normal form undoubtedly," and which was dictated in par. 12, *the next*. In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the usage, TH. examined the whole of his notes respecting m.St. for places a few miles on either side of the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. On the n. of this line the places were Rough Close near Longton, Barlaston, Stone, Leigh, Uttoxeter, Oakamoor, Rocester, and Alton. In these places, out of 13 definite articles observed, TH. found 7 (th) and 6 (dh), but no (dhɛ). On the s. of the line in Eccleshall, Wootton, Haughton, Hanbury, Tutbury, Burton-on-Trent, Cannock Town, Littleworth, Bony Hay (n. side of Cannock Chase), Lichfield, and Tamworth, TH. observed 65 instances of this use of the definite article. Of these there were 10 (th), 17 (dh), 35 (dhɛ), and 3 assimilations to (s) and (t). This shows a mixed region, but a prevailing (dhɛ) on the s., and a balance between (th, dh) on the north. It was not to be expected that there would be a perfectly sharp delimitation of usage, and mixed regions were to be looked for.

It is satisfactory to find that the mixed region is so narrow in the present case. This is another result due to TH.'s exceptional diligence and untiring powers of collation, to which I already owe so much.

3. *quiet*, either (kwáivt) or (kwA'ist). — *finished* or (dú_on).

9. *best coat* or (su_ondi koot, bɛst djakit, su_ondi djakit).

12. *fine* or (bráit) bright.

14. *make game* or (gjam).

15. *he would be a fool as talked without any sense*, or (it's ɔnli fæ'ulz ɛs ta'ks wɪdháut sɛns) it's only fools as talk without sense.

Notes to Dudley cs. p. 464.

1. *I don't care, that don't matter*, see p. 461, and the Darlaston note 7, p. 475, and example p. 477, for the peculiar method of expressing the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs. I have not met with it elsewhere, but Mr. Elworthy says he has met with it in Sm.; it is, however, so far as I know, unrecorded.

2. *they are*, represented by (dhéi)m they am, is suspicious. *what is it thou say'st*, (dhi) is unaccented (dhéi) thee.

8. *a man of hers*.

Notes to Atherstone cs. p. 464.

0. *why* (wA'i). The exact sound was not determinable. TH. found that it lay between (A'i, di) in this neighbourhood, and gave (A'i) from the pron. of a

native, which perhaps agrees with Mr. Knight's *oy*, but Mr. K. did not say (o'i) except in a very few cases, as (no'idher).—*doubts* (dâuts), this diphthong was also quite uncertain. Mr. K. had no clear idea of the sound, and varied it. TH. finds (tâvn) at Nuneaton, and (âut) at Polesworth, and Mr. K. said (dâ'vn ææ'vt) which shews a mixture of both. I have therefore selected the neutral (âv) throughout, which, indeed, I now find that TH. heard at Atherstone.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* seemed to have the usual M. character, and as Mr. K. always felt it I have left (r), as in TH.'s notes, to be pronounced probably (r), but very faintly. Indeed as informants in this district constantly wrote *corfe* to indicate (kAAf) they could not have much notion of a final (r), unless indeed they meant (kArf).—*laugh*, the miners say (lof).

2. *don't us*, this is a S. form widely diffused, but here (dâuent wi) is also used.—*it is not*, (t)æent) is a very common form, as in many places (beent biænt) are not used.

3. *I have*, (âi)n) is very common all about, even when it might not stand for (âi)m) as here, see p. 333, col. 1, l. 8, and p. 463, for Dr. Evans's opinion.

4. *certain*, not (saartîn).—*say* (sii, see, séi) are all heard.—*laugh*, (lææf) as pron., but compare par. 1 (laf) and (lof) in note and par. 2 (laaft).

6. *without*, here Mr. K. said (wi)âæst) which is like Nuneaton.

7. *she*, it is very probable that (shi) she, should be (ær) her, throughout.—*wrong*, (roq) was also said. I continually found it difficult to distinguish (o,u) in Mr. K.'s pron. of closed syllables.

8. *saying*, in such cases (sii)in) would be used.—*beast*, Mr. K. has heard (béist, thréi), the two sounds (ii, éi) are not kept well apart, probably through an intermediate (éi).

13. *do you know*. Mr. K. had never heard (du,n r), but he had heard (en r) have-n you? and also (wii)n bin âæst tudii) we have-n been out to-day, but as a general rule the verbal plural in -en is not used. It is, however, used commonly at Baddesley-Ensor (3 n.w. Atherstone), a mining village. The Atherstone farmers regard a (:badpli mon) Baddesley man as a 'foreigner,' and declare they cannot tell what he says.

Notes to the Waltham and Enderby cs.
p. 464.

0. *has*, the villages use (â'z), (a') is about the pron. of the unlettered.—no inclined to (nôu).

1. *he, me*. W has (ii mii), E (ee mee) or (ééi mééi), (sniil) snail, is recognised in E, not in W.—*may* emphatic is (mééi) at E.—*neighbour*, *r* final is not pron. except before a vowel, but becomes a vowel (æ) as in London.

2. *row, noise*, (ræ'u) approached (ræ'u).

3. *friend* (meet, tju,m) mate, chum, would be used rather than 'friend.'—*ill I've done* (wâil âi)v du,n) is more common.

8. *beast* (biést), pl. (biisez).—The plurals (s'uz'n pleez'n) houses places, are found at both W and E, but (næst næz'n) nest nests, at W only.—*door* (dôostæd) is used in W for threshold.—*yon* (dhøn) has been heard among little children.

10. *whining, squealing* (wô'inin skwi,elin) are both used.—*fret* used in W, not in E, (bæalin) was suggested.

12. *boil*, (bo'il) both W and E (pâint âil dâin), etc., point oil join, etc., used at W, not at E.—*ago* is seldom used for (sin).

15. *goodbye*, made into one word (gu,bbai), is used on all occasions, even when the parting is but for a short time.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. ia.

1. *Edgmond, Sh.* (1½ w. Newport), pal. by TH. in 1885 from the dict. of D. Pigott, shoemaker, native, b. 1818.

Var. ia.

2. *Eccleshall, St.* (7 n.w. Stafford), pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of T. Key, native, formerly workman, b. 1807.

Var. ic.

3. *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1879 from dict. of J. Hill, tailor, b. 1820, native, "as spoken when he was young."

Var. ic.

4. *Lichfield, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of E. Tredgold, labourer and native, b. about 1840.

Var. iia.

5. *Wellington, Sh.*, pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of W. Griffiths, working man and native, b. about 1850.

Var. iia.

6. *Coalbrookdale, St.*, pal. by AJE. from the writing in io. with full indications by Rev. F. W. Ragg, since 1880 vicar of Marsworth (15 wnw.St. Albans and 2 n.Tring, Ht.), formerly of Ratling, Ke., see p. 142.

Var. iib.

7. *Darlaston, St.* (4 ese. Wolverhampton), pal. by TH. in 1879 from the dict. of H. Blackhouse, foreman ironroller, native, b. 1833.

Var. iv.

8. *Belgrave, Le.* (2 ne.Leicester), pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss C. S. Ellis (no connection of the author), of Belgrave, in io. with very full indications and numbered wl.

Notes upon these tests are given immediately after the interlinear arrangement.

1	1	<i>Edgmond.</i>	Δ)	sí,	tjaps,	ɹɛ	sín	náu		
2		<i>Eccleshall.</i>	Δ)	sii,	tjaps,	ɹɛ	sé'in	náu		
3		<i>Burton.</i>		áí	sii,	ɹɔ	sé'in	náu		
4		<i>Lichfield.</i>		áí	sii,	ɹɛ	sín			
5		<i>Wellington.</i>		é'í	see,	ɹɔ	siin	nə'u		
6		<i>Coalbrookdale.</i>	sôu	sɛz	áí,	mi	bu _o tiz,	ɹɔ	sín	nèu
7		<i>Darlaston.</i>		áí	séi,	ladz,	du _o n	ɹɛ	sí	
8		<i>Belgrave.</i>	soo	Δ'í	séi,	tjaps,	ɹɛ	see	ná'u	

1	dhət	áí)m	rít	ɛbáut	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kəmín	
2		Δ)m	rɛ'ít	ɛbáut	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kəmín	
3	ɛz	áí)m	rɛ'ít	ɛbáut	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kəmín	
4	dhət	Δ)m	rɛ'ít	ɛbáut	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kəmín	
5		é'í)m	rɛ'ít	ɛbə'ut	dhat	lít'l	wensh	kəmín	
6	ɛz	áí)m	riit	ɛbóut	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kómín	
7		áí)m	ra'ít	ná'ɛ	ɛbá'et	dhat	lít'l	wentɹ	kómín
8	dhət	ɹ)m	ra'ít	ɛbá'ut	dhət	lít'l	gɛl	ɛk _u mín	

- 1 frəm)dhɛ skə'ul ɹander.
- 2 frəm skə'ul ɹander.
- 3 frəm skiul ɹander.
- 4 frəm skə'ul ɹəndɛ.
- 5 frəm)dhɛ)skiul ɹəndɛ.
- 6 frəm dhɛ skiul ɹander.
- 7 frəm)s)skiul ɹander.
- 8 thrəm dhɛ skiul ɹəndɛ.

2. 1 æ)z gǝ'u'in dǝum dhæ)rood dhier thræ'u dhæ)red gjeet
 2 æ)z gu'in dǝum dhæ)rood dhier thræ'u dhæ)red gjeet
 3 æ)z gu'in dǝum)dh rood dhie thræ'u)dh red gjeet
 4 æ)z gù'in dǝum dhæ rood dhie thruu dhæ)red gjeit
 5 æ)z gò'in dǝ'un dhæ rood dhier thræ'u dhæ)red wèk't
 6 æ)z gw'in dǝum dhæ rôud dhier thru dhæ)red géet
 7 æ)z gu'in dá'en dhæ rôud dhier thru dhat red gjeet
 8 shéi)z vgo'in dá'un dhæ rood dhier thru dhæ red giit

- 1 on dhæ)lǝft and sǝid v)dhæ)rood.
 2 on dhæ)lǝft and sǝid v)dhæ)rood.
 3 on)dh lǝft and sǝid v)dh rood.
 4 on dhæ lǝft and sǝid v)dhæ)wii.
 5 on dhæ lǝft and sǝ'id v)dhæ)rood.
 6 v)dh lǝft ond sǝid v)dhæ)wèi.
 7 on dhæ lǝft and sǝ'id v)dhæ)rôud.
 8 on dhæ left and sǝ'id v)dhæ)wii.

3. 1 wǝk)jǝ! dhæ)tǝáild)z gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ)dhæ)ruǝgǝ
 2 wǝi! dhæ)tǝáild)z gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ)dhæ)ruǝgǝ
 3 lǝ'uk dhie! dhat tǝáilt)s gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ)dh ruǝgǝ
 4 wǝk jǝ! dhæ tǝáild)z gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ)dhæ ruǝq
 5 luk! dhæ tǝáild)z gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ)dhæ ruǝgǝ
 6 shúer vnuǝf, dhæ tǝáild)z gǝn striit uǝp tǝ)dh dǝer v)dh
 7 wǝk jǝ! æ)z gǝ'n stre'it uǝp tǝ dhæ ruǝq
 8 shúer iná'u, dhæ tǝá'ild v)z gǝn striit uǝp tǝ dhæ dǝer v)dhæ

- 1 áus.
 2 áus.
 3 áus.
 4 áus.
 5 e'us.
 6 raq óus.
 7 á'es.
 8 raqǝ áus.

4. 1 wíer æ)l bi lǝ'ikli vnuǝf tǝ fáind dhat
 2 wíer æ)l mé)ap'n fáind dhat
 3 wíer æ)l fáind dhat
 4 wíer æ)l vǝri lǝ'ikli fáind dhat
 5 wíer æ)l vǝri lǝ'ikli fé'ind dhat
 6 wíe æ)l tǝaans tǝ fáind dhat
 7 ái shød thiǝk æ)l fá'ind óud drd
 8 wíer shi)l tǝaa'nsh fá'ind dhat

- 1 dru_oqk'n djef widhærd felæ ez dhi kAAln :tu_om.
 2 dru_oqk'n def widhærd læ'ukin felæ —dhe kAAAn)im :tu_om.
 3 dru_oqk'n dif drái-skjind æ'ud :tomæ.
 4 dru_oqk'n def widhæd u_op ma'n ez dhi kAAAL :tu_om.
 5 dru_oqk'n ærd iærin rív'ld felæ ez)dhe kAAAn æ'ud :tu_om.
 6 dru_oqk'n djæf sniv'lin felæ widh néem æ :tu_omes.
 7 iærin skini dru_oqk'n :tu_omi.
 8 dru_oqk'n diif srív'ld felæ æ dhe niim æ :tu_om.

5. 1 wi AAL noon)im wEL.
 2 wi AAL noon)im VERi wEL.
 3 wE'i AAL noon)im wEL.
 4 jð AAL noon)im, du_o)næ jæ? wEL enu_of.
 5 wi) AAL noon)im VERi wEL.
 6 wi aal noon im VERi wEL.
 7 jÓu AAL nðum im rA'it enu_of.
 8 wi AAL nóouz im VERi wEL.

6. 1 wu_onæ dhe æ'ud tjap sæ'un lærn)er not tæ dæ'u)it
 2 wu_onæ dhe óud tjap sæ'un lærn)er not tæ dæ'u)it
 3 wu_ont dhat æ'ud ma'n sæ'un tæ'itj er not tæ ka'm ta
 4 wu_od)nt dh)æ'ud ma'n sæ'un titj er not tæ) dæ'u)it
 5 wu_o)næ dhe)æ'ud tjap sæ'un teetj er not tæ diu)it
 6 wi)næ dh)óud tjap síun laan æi nu_ot tæ duu)t
 7 wù)t i mak er bóut, púer thiqq! er wù)t diu it
 8 wuunt dhe á'ud tjap síun teetj er not tæ diu it

- 1 egjæn, pæ'ær thiqq!
 2 egjæn, púer th'iqg!
 3 iz áus egjæn, púæ wentj!
 4 egjæn, púæ wentj!
 5 egjæn, púær thiqq!
 6 egæen, púær thiqq!
 7 egjæn!
 8 egæn, póær thiqq!

7. 1 læ'uk! ènt)it træ'u?
 2 læ'uk! i)nær)it træ'u?
 3 læ'uk! iz'nt it re'it?
 4 lu_ok jæ! i)nær)it dhe træ'uth?
 5 luk at)er! i)z snapt)er!
 6 luuk)i! èent it truu?
 7 luk! di)t di tel jæ?
 8 liuk! iz'nt it triu?

Notes on No. 1, *Edgmond, Sh.*, dt.

1. *coming*, marked as between (kəmin, komin).

2. *road* or (læən) lane, both here and at end of par.

3. *wrong house*, or (ru_oq dæ'uər) wrong door.

5. *him*, (im) or (im).

7. *isnot* (ɛnt).

Sentences. (A am)nə kləmd, I am not starved. (A wu_osh ʒə ad'n, I wish you had-en. (pikt in ʒəd fəst), pitched in head first.

Notes to No. 2, *Eccleshall, St.*, dt.

2. *road* or (læən), sometimes (loən) old.

3. *up* (u_op), but (ruq, druqk'n, :tum, wu_onə), considering this inconsistency to be an accident of transcribing, I have used (u_o) throughout. — *wrong house* or (ru_oq dūər), wrong door.

7. *true*, marked as between (trə'u, trə'u).

Notes to No. 3, *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, dt., with omitted words.

1. *so*, if used, would be (suu), as in (tomi, di tæ'ud dhi suu), Tommy, I told you so.—*girl*, when used, called (gɪl).—*way* would be (wi).

3. *sure* (ʃæ'uə).—*enough* (ənʊ.f).

4. *chance* (tʃæns).—*shrivelled* not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srɪmp, srə'ud) shrimp, shroud.—*name* (næim).—*old Tommy*, because they know him well; if they did not, they would use some such phrase as (æ'ud mæ'n ɛz dhe kæl :tomi) old man as they call Tommy.

5. *very well*, the very (vɛri) seldom used.

6. *fellow* (fɛlə).

7. *true* (trə'u).

Notes to No. 4, *Lichfield, St.*, dt.

1. *so*, (dhe sən sù)en)suu, ɛt su_otɪ ɛ pləs, they say-en so-and-so at such a place.—*right* (i)z réit, i)nɛr'i?, he's right, isn't he? (*so noon it's réit*) you know-en it's right.—*now* (nəu).

3. *child*, between (tʃáild tʃæ'ild).—*wrong house*, or (ru_oq dūər), wrong door.

4. *chance* (tʃæns).—*shrivelled*, not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srɪbz sru_oberi) shrubs shrubbery. (púər wɪdhəd u_op fælər, ɛ'nɛr'i?), poor withered up fellow, isn't he?—*they call* (dhi) or (dhe kæl), no verbal pl.

in -en here, possibly a slip, see (noon) = *know-en*, par. 5.

6. *teach*, or (læən læən), learn.

7. *truth*, between (trə'uth trə'uth).

Notes to No. 5, *Wellington, Sh.*, dt.

2. *wicket* (wɪkɪt) is in common use for a small gate.—*road, way* is used in (dhat)s dhe wee ɛr)z gæ'n).

3. *sure enough* (ʃhəʊər ɛnʊ.f).—*wrong house* (ru_oqg ɛ'us) or (ru_oq' dōər) wrong door.

4. *rivelled* = wrinkled or shrivelled, it occurs both in Chaucer and Gower, and is referred to Ws. *ge-rifian*, or *ge-rifian*, to wrinkle, as a diminutive of *to rive*, to tear, to split. *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srɪmps srə'ud) shrimps shroud.

7. *snapped* = snubbed, or has spoken snappishly to. *To snap a person up or short* is a common phrase. TH. considers it a form of *snape*, or *sneap*, which is widely diffused.

Notes to No. 6, *Coalbrookdale, Sh.*, dt.

4. *snivelling*, my informant had *snivelled*, which must be wrong.

6. *the*, the original has (t'), which also must be wrong, hence I have written (dh), as in No. 4. There is no tendency to (t') in these regions. Mr. Ragg was not always quite certain. We can really only trust uneducated natives.

Notes to No. 7, *Darlaston dt.*

The text has been rather freely treated by the translator. The (A'í) throughout approaches (ái).

3. *wrong house*, observe the diphthong (á'ə) for U': (ru_oq dūər) wrong door, may also be used.

6. *will not*, (wù)t that is (wu_ol nɔt).—*bolt*, run away.

7. *did not* (dì)t) = (dìd nɔt), the second (d) elided with the (n). This is the peculiar Black Country negative form. For (dì)t áí tɛl ʒə) it was suggested to use (i)t ɛr bóútín ná'ə), is)n't she (the little girl) bolting (running away) now.

Notes to No. 8, *Belgrave, Le.*, dt.

1. *so* (soo, sɔ).—*I* (ói, oi, ɪ).—*say* (séi see ɛ'u), (sez ói, sez ii) common.—*now*, Miss Ellis says, "a in pat, received English, and óö, is, I should say, the most common form amongst

the working people of my district of Le." I conjecture that she means my (á'u) rather than my (æ'u), and have therefore so written it.—*you* (soo), emphatic.—*that* as (vz) almost universally.—*I am* (a)m or (A)m.—*right*, 'r just trilled with the tip of the tongue,' in the wl. she refers to the 'uvula rise' (r_o), but I suppose she means the Midland (r) even before a vowel.—*that* (dha't), 'a in pass,' constantly followed by (dhiar) there.—*girl*, (wentj) is more common, (la's) lass less so.—*coming*, Miss E. thinks the verbal noun *-ing* is distinguished from the participle, but does not say how.—*from* (threm, threm), regular.—*school*, "skeeool or F. eul," this would give (skiul skæxl), I have used (fu), TH. writes (y'u), that is, nearly (i,u), but I translate him also by (fu).—*yonder* was not given in the dt. or wl., but I have added (jondər), which TH. heard at Loughborough.

2. *she*, (shi, shéi, shee) are given by Miss E., for which (shéi) is a compromise; TH. at Loughborough heard (shé'i).—*is*, (h) often inserted when emphatic, as (shi hiz A tɛl jə) she is I tell you.—*going* (gojin, gujin).—*on*, 'o in homme,' giving (on) not (ɔn), constantly (v) unaccented.

3. *enough*, 'now as in allow,' which must be taken as *now* in par. 1, (inu:u) often, and also (enu:f).—*has*, emphatic (ɛz), as (shi ez'nt gɔt wɔn) she 'has'nt got 'one.—*gone*, 'been and went are commoner than gone, "the child has been" would be most normal.—*to*, emphatic (tíu).—*door*, Miss E. 'thinks

dour as *our* (dá'uər) is used, but *dower* as *over* in *mower* is perhaps most common.—*wrong*, the (g) is added only before a following vowel as (vəri ræqg ɛv im) very wrong of him.—*house*, 'home is (oom) and often (wam).

4. *will*, Miss E. has heard (wu:l).—*shrivelled*, 'wizened is used often of an apple, and also (sriveld),' (sril sriqk srɔ:b), Midland (r).—*name* (nim niim), but (*neem*) was to be expected, see cwl. 'The people here often say in the name, for of the name,' both in and of become (v) when unemphatic.—*Thomas*, as the name was not supplied, I have inserted (:tu:m) as in the other versions.

5. *we*, at times (wéi wee), and with less emphasis (wi).—*all*, constantly (haal). "We knows, they knows present, I we they known in the past tense; I known 'im years ago, I seen 'im yesterday, I or we (dan nóu) don't know." That is, Miss Ellis was entirely unacquainted with the verbal plural in *-en* in Le.—*very* sometimes (verv).

6. *won't*, sometimes (uunt).—*old* 'owed as in *cow*,' which she called (ká'u), but I think (x'ud) as TH. heard at Loughborough was meant. The EAL is never treated in the same way as the U.—*teach* may also be used, but (lærn) is more common, (r) slightly marked.—*do it*, *it* is commonly used for *its* to a child or animal, as *it head*, *it feet*.

7. *look* (luuk) also used.—*isn't* (*zent*) is the usual word.

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

VAR. ia, *Market Drayton*, Sh., noted by TH. in 1882.

(an jv dɔ_n) have you done?—(lɛ)ɟ gɛ skjju) let's go [to] school.—(dhɛ iimer wii) the eamer [shorter] way.

Edgmond, Sh., noted by TH.

(ɛr)z gA'n) she's gone.—(áu bin jv?) how are you?—(ɛr tu_ɔq)z u_ɔq i)dhɛ mɪd'l, ɛn wɔgz ɛt éitj ɛnd) her tongue's hung in the middle, and wags at each end.

Eccleshall, St., noted by TH.

(vz if dhii kɔsnɛ stɔr) as if thou could'st or canst not stir.—(wi mɛn av vɜ tii) we must have us [=our] tea.—(A sl, sɛri, ù du_ɔs thɪqk A sɛ'id last nɛ'it vɜ spɔk tæ'u mi?) I say, sirrah, who dost think I seed [=saw] last night as [=dhat] spoke to me?

VAR. *ib*, *Haughton*, noted by TH. in 1882.

(*ték it i*)*dh*áus') take it in the house.—(an *jə* *dú*_n?) have you done?—(*dhe* *milk*'n, *jə* *noon*) they milk-en, you know-n.—(v *su*_o*p* *mûer* **weeter* on *fər* *bá*'*l*) a *sup* [drop] more water on for [to, omitted] boil. * Not recorded, but supplied.

VAR. *ic*, *Burton-on-Trent*, noted by TH. and *Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

(*wi*ŕ)z *jər* *modhə*? *ái* *noo* *dhə*s)*su*_o*mət* *u*_o*p*, *ər* *ər* *wu*_o*dnə* *bE*'*i* *əwii*: *ən* *dhə*s *su*_o*mət* *u*_o*p* *wi* *joo*, *fər* *jd* *kənər* *iit* *jər* *dínə*). Father at dinner to daughter, "Where's your mother? I know there's something up, or she wouldn't be away: and there's something up with you, for you cannot eat your dinner," the girl had lost £2, and the mother had gone to look for it.—(*jo*)*n* *bín* v *fá*'*in* *wá*'*il*) or between that and (*fá**in* *wá**il*), you have-n been a fine while.—(*é*'*i*)z *gu**in* v *dh* *áus*) he's going into the house.—(*é*'*i* *lívz* *ə**g**jən* *dhíer* *ín* *djənəl**i*) he lives against (opposite) there in general.—(*iz*'*nt* *é*'*i* *gu**in* *tə* *də*'*u* *it*?) isn't he going to do it.—(*jo*)*n* *brook* v *wíndə*, *jo*)*n* *é*'*i*)*t* *píi* *fá*'*r*)*t*) you have-n broke a window, you will-en have to pay for it.—(*it* *ínə* *jón*, *gl*)*t* *mé*'*i*) it is not yours, give it me.—(*gjer*)*u*_o*p*! *jd*)*n* *gar*)*t*) get up! you've got it.—(not *ət* *jə* *nóu*) not hot you know.—*(*eef* *pæst* *iit*) half-past eight.—*(*o*'*i*)*l* *duu*)*t* v *dhatənz*) I'll do it in that way.

VAR. *ic*, *Barton-under-Needwood*.

Carol as dictated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst.

(<i>az</i> <i>o</i> ' <i>i</i> <i>sat</i> <i>ən</i> v <i>su</i> _o <i>ni</i> <i>baqk</i>)	As I sat on a sunny bank
<i>ən</i> : <i>krəsəməs</i> <i>dii</i> <i>i</i>) <i>dh</i> <i>maán</i> <i>in</i> ,	On Christmas day in the morning,
<i>o</i> ' <i>i</i> <i>saa</i> <i>thréi</i> <i>shíps</i> <i>ku</i> _o <i>m</i> <i>siilən</i> <i>bó</i> ' <i>i</i> ,	I saw three ships come sailing by,
<i>ən</i> : <i>krəsəməs</i> <i>dii</i> <i>i</i>) <i>dh</i> <i>maán</i> <i>in</i> .	On Christmas day in the morning.
<i>ən</i> <i>ín</i> <i>su</i> _o <i>d</i> <i>béi</i> <i>ín</i> <i>dhéiz</i> <i>thréi</i> <i>shíps</i>	And who should be in these three ships
<i>but</i> : <i>djoozəf</i> <i>ən</i> <i>íz</i> <i>fées</i> <i>led</i> <i>i</i> ,	But Joseph and his fair lady,
<i>ən</i> <i>é</i> ' <i>i</i> <i>díd</i> <i>wís</i> ' <i>l</i> <i>ən</i> <i>shéi</i> <i>díd</i> <i>siq</i> ,	And he did whistle and she did sing,
<i>ən</i> <i>aal</i> <i>dhə</i> <i>bélz</i> <i>ən</i> <i>éevth</i> <i>díd</i> <i>ríq</i> ,	And all the bells on earth did ring,
<i>fá</i> <i>djə</i> ' <i>i</i> <i>dhət</i> <i>dhə</i> : <i>seev</i> <i>er</i> <i>éi</i> <i>wəz</i>	For joy that the Saviour He was born
<i>baán</i> ,	On Christmas day in the morning.
<i>ən</i> : <i>krəsəməs</i> <i>dii</i> <i>i</i>) <i>dh</i> <i>maán</i> <i>in</i>).	TH. thinks (<i>saa</i> , <i>led</i> <i>i</i> , <i>aal</i>) should have been (<i>séid</i> , <i>leed</i> <i>i</i> , <i>aal</i> .)

VAR. *ib*, *Darlaston*. Sentences noted by TH.

(*ái* *koot* *dú* *it*, *ən* *ái* *bít* v *gu*)*in* *tə* *dú* *it*, *nor* *ái* *sheet*, *bikAAZ* *ái* *du*)*t* *nóu* *wət* *it* *iz*) I can't do it, and I be not a going to do it, nor I shan't, because I don't know what it is.—(*dhí* *shudst* *təl* *dhə* *tríuth*) thou shouldest tell the truth.—(*i*)z *á*'*ət* v *wə*_{rk}, *ən* *i* *koo* *gjet* *ná*'*n*) he's out of work, and he can't get none.—(*wi*)*m* *of* *dhís* *afternún*) we am=are off this afternoon.—(*wi*)*m* *gu*)*in* *wòm* *tú* *ər* *su*_o*pərz*) we am=are going home to our suppers.—(*íer*)z *kóukə* *nu*_t *wət* *jə*)*v* *throud* *əwéi*) here's cocoa nut what (=that) you've throwed=thrown away.

Dialogue on the Darlaston "Wake Beef," between H. Blackhouse and J. Reynolds, a fellow-workman, on 22 August, 1879, related by himself on 29 August, and pal. by TH. The "Wake" is an annual feast and occurred that year on Sunday, 24 August. Printed afterwards in the *Wolverhampton Magpie*, 20 Sept. 1879.

B. :las fra[^]i di na[^]it, wen mi
en a[^]wer :tu_om wen gu_jin u_op
dhe strit t)av e luk et dhe
:week :bif, wi went es far ez
dhe :wa[^]it :la[^]ren; en tarnd
egj'en, en kam'in bak thru dhe
:a[^]li dhi wes thrii er fouer sit'in
et dhe duer kolier fashen, lit'l
:djaki :renelz, :djou :kj'rlis, en
tiu muer ev iz palz, dog-ru_on'urz.

R. w'er es' bin, :ari?

B. t)av e luk et dhe :bif.

R. w)in bin t)av e luk at it,
en dhat)s a[^]wer sh'er, iz it
dha[^]in?

B. aa, ai rek'n it iz. gu_od
na[^]it.

B. Last Friday night [(A[^]i) approach-
ing (ai)] when me and our Tom were-n
going up the street to have a look at
the Wake Beef, we went as far as the
White Lion, and turned again; and
coming through the Alley there was
three or four sitting at the door collier
fashion, little Jacky Reynolds, Joe
Careless, and two more of his palz
[companions], dog-runners.

R. Where hast been, Harry?

B. To have a look at the Beef.

R. We have-n been to have a look
at it, and that's our share, is it thine?

B. Ay, I reckon it is. Good-night.

VAR. iib. Walsall.

A servant girl's account of how her brother Jim's leg was hurt, pal. at Cannock from her dict. 1877, by TH. and two other sentences

(aar :djin wa[^] ku_omin bak frem si)in iz ant :sali, en i ku_om
ekra's dhe filz, en gjetin over dhe stail, en i art)s leg, en it waa
bad ever se loq_lg, en shi got su_om poultis tæ'u it, en it waa ever se
mu_oty better), our Jim was coming back from seeing his aunt Sally,
and he came across the fields, and getting over the stile, and he
hurt his leg, and it was bad ever so long, and she got some poultice
to it, and it was ever so much better.—(ris, ser, dhis iz it, dju_ost
ouer dhe bridj fer), yes, sir, this is it, just over the bridge here.
—(ai wu_od'nt gi thri eepens foo je), I wouldn't give three half-
pence for you.

VAR. ia.

NORTH-EAST SHROPSHIRE AND NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

N Newport, all the words referred to Newport (nuupert) in Miss Jackson's account of Sh. pron. as prepared by TH.

B preceding a word from Newport shews that it was sent by Mrs. Burne; following a word, that Mrs. Burne gave the same sound as Miss Jackson.

The following are from wn. by TH. :—

E Edgmond, Sh. (1½ w. Newport).

Nh Newport in 1885 [as distinguished from Miss Jackson].

M Market Drayton, Sh.

H Hodnet, Sh. (5 sw. Market Drayton) in 1881.

Ec Eccleshall, St. (7 nw. Stafford), including words given by Miss Burne, and wn. at Wootton (1½ ssw. Ec.)

The line separating Var. ia, b from Var. iia, seems to pass s. of Bolas Magna, Edgmond, Newport, Sh., and n. of Crudgington, Wellington, Sh., and s. of Cannock, St., but n. of Wolverhampton and Walsall, St.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tək B [before vowels], tē B [before consonants]. 5 N mək B [before vowels], mē B [before consonants], M miik. — M griiv [grave]. 19 B tiil. 20 B lēm. 21 M niim, Ec neem. 23 B séem. 31 B liit. 33 E rādher. A: 39 BE kam. 41 B theqk. 43 B ond, Ec and. 51 B man, MEc ma'n. 54 EM want. 55 B es. 56 NM wəsh B.

A: or O: 60 B lu_oq. 61 B əmu_oq. 64 BNhEc ru_oq, EM ru_oqg. A'- 67 N gū'in [going] B, E gju'in gæ'u, in, Ec gu, H guu. 69 M noo. 70 Ec tuu. 72 B uu. 73 B soo sv. 74 Ec tæ'u. 76 B tōvd. 81 Nh lēen. 82 NhEc wu_onst. 84 EcN māuer B. 86 BNhEEc wu_ots, M ōts. 87 M tluuz. 89 B būsth. 92 EEcU noo.

A': 102 B aks. 104 N rood, E rood, B rōed. 106 Ec brood. 110 N notī [naughty], B kanē. 113 Ec oolsəm [wholesome]. 115 B ōem [ʔ], EcNhE wōm, Ec [occ.] oom, M wa'm. 118 B bōen, E bæ'uen, Ec buun. 120 E əgoo. 123 N nu_othin. B 124 N stoon [accented], -sten [in composition and unaccented], E stæ'uen, M stā'n, Ec stuan.

Æ- 138 BNhEMEc feadhur, M fiidher. — E gjeðher. 140 E iil. 141 B niil. 143 B tiil. 144 B əgen. 148 B fiir. — N lez'ur [a leasow, pasture]. 152 Nh weeter, M wiiter. Æ: 155 NM thætj. — N gjeðher. 158 B aater. 161 NNhEMHEc dii B. 169 E wæn. 171 Ec bārli. 172 NEM gres B. 179 wot. Æ'- 185 Ec ræ'id. 187 E liiv. 193 B kleen. 194 N ænithin [anything]. 195 B moni. 197 M tpiiz, tjiiz tpi'iz, Ec tpi'iz. 200 N wēet, B, Nh wīet, ME wiet, Ec wiit. 202 B jæt. Æ': 207 B need'l. 209 E niver. 213 N eadhur B, āidher, B iūdher. 216 N dæ'1 B. 217 B eetj, E éitr. 218 E ship. 223 BMEc dhīer, Ec dhīer. 224 BMEc wīer. 226 Ec mūst māust. 228 B swat.

E- 232 N briik B, B breek. 233 B speek spiik, MEc spiik. 241 N rin rīten B, NhEMHEc riin. 243 BEEc plii. — N biir [to bear]. 248 N miir B. 249 N wīer. 251 B meet, EEc miit. — N fidher [feather]. E: 260 B lēe. 261 B séz, Nh dhe)sæen [they say], MEEc siit. 262 MEHEc wii. 264 B iil. 265 Ec stræ'it. 266 H wæl. — N feeld [field occ.], Ec fæ'id. 270 bæli, B bali. 287 B biizem. E'- 290 M āi, Ec r'i. 291 N dhee. 292 N mee, Ec mæ'i. 296 N bileev B, N bileef [belief], Ec biléiv. 299 M grīn, MEc grē'in. 300 M kiip. 302 E miit. E': 305 Ec āi. 306 EcN āit. 312 EcM iūr. 314 M iurd. — Ec gje'is [geese].

EA- — N jiel il [ale]. 320 B kiir. EĀ: 321 N siid [used]. 322 N lof B, M laf. 324 E r'it. 326 B ōud, EcM æ'ud. 328 N kod, B kōud, Ec kja'ud. 329 N fod. 331 N sod, B sōud. 335 B AA, AAL, Ec AAvis [always]. 336 N fAA, fAAN [fallen or we fall, less usual than (fæl'n)]. 337 B wAA. 338 NE kAA. — N shiir [share, portion]. 343 B waarn. 345 B daar. 346 B gīet, M giit, Ec gjeet. EĀ'- 347 BEM jē'd, M ē'd. 349 N fīce [nearly]. EĀ': 350 N dīē'd B, EMHEc dīē'd, Ec dē'd [of a person liked (i)z gā'n dē'd] he's gone dead, of a person disliked (i)z dīēd ən ə'ud dīē'l) he's dead, an old devil]. 355 BEc diif, E dīef [Ec says (dūm ən diif) in this order]. 356 N leef. 359 N niiber. 360 Ec tīm. 361 Nh bīēnz, EcM biinz. 363 N tīp, B tjeep. — Ec iūr [year]. 366 NEMHEcNh griit B, Nh griid big thiq [great big thing]. 368 N dīē'th. — N duu [dew].

EI- 372 NEc di dāi, EMHEc aa. 376 N bit, B biit. EI: 377 B stiik. EO- 387 N :nuupert, E :næ'upert [Newport], E næ'u. EO: 388 M miik. 390 N shad. 394 NEEc vander. 402 M lōrn lār. 405 B aarth. 406 B aarth. EO'- 409 B bee. 411 B three. — N tree [tree], Ec trēi. 413 Bdiv'l. 414 B fidi. 415 B lāi. 417 N tīAA, B tīiu. EO': 425 B lāit. 426 B fāit. 428 Ec sē'in sē'i. 431 M béier. — Ec nā'i [knee]. 436 N truu. 437 M træ'uth, Ec [between] træ'uth triuth. EY- 438 BNhMEc dāi, M dā'i.

I- — N sīner [sinew]. — N jēs [yes]. 450 N tuuzdi. I: 458 N nāit nāit [I take B.'s ōi to mean (āi)], Nh nit', M nē'it nāit, Ec nāit [approaching (nā'it)]. 459 N rāit rāit, Ec rē'it. 460 N wāit B. 467 M wā'ld. I'- 490 N bāi bāai. — Ec strāik [(w ken riməmber wiit bī'in v pāund v strāik), she can remember wheat being a pound a strike=bushel, i.e. £8 a

quarter]. 494 M *táim*. 498 N *rdait*. I: 500 NEc *lák lák*. — EEc ii [hay]. 505 B *wáif*, EM *wé'if*. 507 Ec *wu,mén*. 511 B *wáin*.

O- 519 Ec *oover óer*. 522 B *AAp'n*. O: — N *trú,f* [trough]. 526 B *káf*. 527 N *ba'ut* [coarse rough speaking], *bot* [fine]. 528 N *thaut thot* [as in 527]. 531 N *daater B*, EcNhEM *daater*. 533 B *du,l*. 536 N *gr'ud B*. 538 N *wed*. — EEc *os* [horse]. — N *gath* [girth].

O'- 555 B *shú*, M *shé'u*. 556 E *té'u*. 557 B *tú*, M *té'u*. 558 Ec *læ'uk*. 559 B *mu,dhær*, MEc *mædhær*. 560 N *skíul*, M *skjæ'u skjæ'u*, Ec *skjæ'ul skjéul skíul*. 562 Nh [between] *mæ'un mæ'un*, M *muun*, Ec *mæ'un* [at Wootton between (*míun mæ'un*)]. 567 B *tu,dhær*.

O': 569 B *bunk*. — N *shuk* [accented], *shøk* [unaccented]. — E *bru,k* [brook]. 570 N *tuk tak* [as in *shook*]. 572 B *blu,d*. 575 B *stæd*. 578 B *pláu*, Ec *pláu*. 579 B *unu*. 580 N *tú,f*. — N *píul* [pool]. 584 B *stíul*. 586 B *dáu*, E *dæ'u*. 587 BM *dú,n*. 588 NhM *næ'un*, EcM *næ'un* [at Wootton between (*níun næ'un*)]. 589 M *spæ'un*. 590 N *fíuær*, B *fíuær*. 591 B *móær*. — N *gus* [goose emphatic], *guzbríz* [gooseberries]. 595 B *fæt*. 597 B *sat*. — N *tu,th* [tooth].

U- 600 N *lu,v B*. 603 B *ku,m*, Nh *kæmín*, M *ku,mín*, E *kæmz*. 604 E *su,mær*. 605 B *su,n*, MEc *sú,n*. 606 N *dúær B*, M *dúær dæ'uær*, Ec *dúær* [formerly often (*dæ'r*)]. 607 BEEc *bu,tær*.

U: 608 B *u,glí*. — N *shæ'udær shæ'uldær*. 609 B *fæl*. — N *pæl* [pull]. 610 B *wal*. 611 B *bælek*. 612 B *su,m*. 615 B *pan*, Ec *pænd*. 622 B *u,ndær*. 629 B Ec *su,n*. 632 BNhEc *u,p*. 633 BH *ku,p*. 639 B *du,st*.

U'- 640 EEc *kjáu*. 641 B *æ'u* [marked as received pron., I have given (*æ'u*) as gen. Sh., it might be (*æ'u áu*)], EM *áu*, H *æ'u*. 642 B *dæ'u*. 643 B *næ'u*, Ec *náu*. 652 B *ku,d*. 653 M *bu,t*.

U': 658 NhEc *dáun* [at Wootton (1½ s.Eccleshall) (*dáin*) was heard twice], M *dæ'un*. 659 E *táun*, M *tæ'un*. 663 B *æ'us*, EEc *áus*, Ec *áuz'n*. 667 MEc *áut*.

Y- 673 B *mu,tj*. Y: 697 N *bæeri*. 700 H *was*. — N *shu,t* [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B *bod*. 714 B *lød*. — MH *riil* [rail]. 722 N *drin dríen B*. 723 B *diiri*. 742 B *laazi* [P?]. E. 744 B *mæez'lz*. 749 NhEc *líft*. I. and Y. 757 B *táini*. 761 N *lood*. 766 B [also] *midhærd*. U. — N *du,k* [duck]. 794 BEH *dju,g*. 796 N *blu*. 802 B *ru,m*. 803 BH *dju,mp*. 805 B *krædz*. 807 B *pæs*. 808 B *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — M *tíib'l* [table]. 810 B *féus*. 811 Ec *pleez'n*. 813 B *béek'n*. 822 BEc *mii*. 824 Ec *tjær B*, E *tjær*. 829 M *giin*. — Ec *pliin* [plain]. 830 H *triin*. 833 B *píær*. 835 B *reez'n*. 836 B *seez'n*. — N *mæster* [master, refined], *mæster* [usual]. — Ec *deem* [dame]. 841 BEc *tjæns*. 842 B *ploqk*. 850 B *dans*. 851 B *ant*. 852 *apærn*. — M *sliit* [slate]. — M *plíit* [plate]. 862 H *siif*. E.. 867 BM *tee*, EEc *tii*. 869 E *víul*, Ec *viil*. 874 N *ríenz*. — N *kíær*. — Ec *pe'íp'l* [people] 893 M *fíuær*. I.. and Y.. 898 B *náis*, M *na'is*. 901 B *fáin*, M *fa'in*. 904 B *váilet*. O.. 915 B *stu,f*. — Ec *be'íf* [beef]. 920 B *páint*. — N *stuuri* [story]. 924 B *tjáis*. 926 N *spáil B*. 929 B *kuukembær*. 930 B *láin*. 933 Ec *frú,nt*. 940 B *káust*. 941 N *fíul B*. 942 B *batjær*. — N *oo* [hoe]. 947 B *báil*. 954 B *kæshen*. U.. — N *du* [due]. — N *duuk* [duke]. — N *muuzik* [music]. 963 B *kwáit*. 965 B *áil*. 969 Ec *shúær*. — N *kúær* [cure]. — N *kuuríus* [curious]. — N *just'n* [we used, were accustomed]. 970 NE *dju,st*.

VAR. ið. WEST MID STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

B Bradley (:breedli), (4 sw.Stafford), sent in io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vicar.
Hn Haughton (:AAt'n), (4 wsw. Stafford), wn. by TH. in 1882 from T. Powell, native, b. 1798.

C Cannock and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. in 1877.

S Stretton (8 ssw.Stafford), wl. and dt. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Hn *beeker*. 4 C *tak*, Hn *ték*. 5 C *meeke*. 19 S *tiil*. 21 S *niim*. 31 C *leet*. A: 51 BS *møn*, C *ma'n*. 55 B *es*. 56 C *wash*, Hn *washin*. A: or O: 60 C *lu_oqig*. 62 S *stru_oq*. A'- 67 Hn *gu_oin*. 74 BHn *tú*, C *tæ'u*, C *túthri*. 76 C *tood*, S. *tuud*. 86 BS *wats*. 89 C *bóth*. 92 C *noo*. A': 101 S *uuk*. 102 C *eks*. 104 S *ruud*. 107 S *luuf*, Hn *lòf*. 108 S *du_of*. 110 C *koner wu_oner shouer* [can't won't shan't], *ái ee'nt* [I am not], *shànt* [shall not]. 111 C *AAat*. 115 B *óem*, HnC *wá'm*, S *óm*. 124 BS *stáen*. 131 S *guut*.

Æ- 138 CHn *feedher*. 141 S *niil*. 142 S *sniiil*. 143 S *tiil*. 147 B *brin*. 152 B *weeter*. ÆE: 161 BSC *dii*. 172 B *græs*. Æ'- 193 C *tliin*. 194 B *ani*, C *ani*. 197 B *tjéiz*, C *tjiiz*. Æ': 209 C *niver*. 210 C *tlii*, [occ.] *tlee*, S *klii*. 214 C *nüdhær*. 218 BSHn *shíp*. 223 C *dhíer*. E- 241 BSHn *riin*. 243 BS *plii*. 248 B *míter*. — Hn *iit*. E: 260 S *lii*. 261 CSHn *sii*. 262 Hn *wii*. 270, ii. B *balí*. E'- 290 C *ii*. 291 B *dhéi*. 300 CHn *kiip*. E': 314 C *íerd*.

EA- 318 C *loft*, *laft* [refined]. EA: 322 C *lof*, Hn *laf*. 326 C *á'úd*, *óud*. 328 C *kóud*. 330 C *óud*. 333 BS *kAAf*. 334 C *éf*. 335 C *AAI*. EA'- 347 B *æd*. EA': 350 BS *dæd*. 355 S *diif*. 359 CS *nüber*. 353 B *tjíp*. 366 C *grit*. 368 S *diith*. — C *dj'ù* [dew]. EI- 372 Hn *aa*.

EO- 386 B *æ'u*. 394 C *jónder*. 402 Hn *lørn*. EO'- 409 B *béi*. 410 Hn *æ'u* [?]. — C *trú* [tree]. 414 B *fii*. EO': 424 S *ru_of*. 428 C *si*. 435 C *íoo* [youths said *you* and not *thou* to each other]. 437 C *trúuth*. EY- 438 CHn *dái*.

I- 440 C *wik*. 442 S *ivi*. 444 B *stó'il*, C *stáil*. 448 C *dhiiz dhíz* *dhéiz*. I: 452 B *ó'i*, C *ái*. 458 B *noit*, C *ndit*, S *niit*? 459 S *riit*? 464 Hn *wítj*. 469 C *wu_ol*. 485 BC *fis'l*. I'- 492 S *sáid*. 494 C *táim*. I': 500 CSHn *láik*. — C *ii*, [occ.] *ee*, [hay]. 508 B *móil*. 511 S *wáind*. 514 S *áist*. 517 C *jáu*.

O- 524 C *wald* [often]. O: 526 S *kaf*. 529 Hn *brAAat*. 531 Hn *daate*. 550 B *wad*. Ó- 556 C *tú*. 558 C *lu_ok*. 559 BHn *mádhær*, C *mádhær*. 560 C *skæ'ul*, S *skíul*. 562 B *míun*, C *mú'un*. 563 C *mu_ondí*. O': 569 B *bíuk*. 586 C *dáu* [often]. 587 Hn *dú_on*. 589 B *spíun*. 597 Hn *su_ot'*.

U- 603 C *kam*. 606 C *dóer*, Hn *dúe*. 607 C *bu_oter*. U: 612 C *sú_om*. 619 C *fu_ond*. 620 S *gru_ond*. 624 B *grand*? 632 CHn *u_op*. 634 C *thréu* *thré'u*. U'- 640 Hn *kjáuz*. 643 C *náu*, Hn *náu*. — Hn *bræ'u* [brow] 648 C *áuer_orn*. U': 658 C *díáun dáin*, Hn *dáun*. 663 C *íáus*, Hn *áus*. 667 C *áut áaut*.

Y- 673 C *mu_otj*. 679 *tjatj*. Y: 691 SC *máind*. 692 C *mu_oqgist*. 701 C *fast* [often]. Y'- 705 B *skó'i*. Y': 709 B *fo'ier*, Hn *íáiver*. 712 B *mó'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B *bod*. 722 BS *driin*. E. 744 B *mæz'lz*. O. 761 S *luud*. — C *dog'* [dog]. 767 B *náiz*. 774 *puuni*. U. 804 S *dru_oqk'n*. 805 B *kredz*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 813 C *beek'n*. 822 C *mii*. — C *pii* [pay]. 824 Hn *tjáier*. 852 S *apren*. 865 B *faat*. E.. 867 C *tii*. 894 C *dísiiv*. O.. — C *bif* [beef]. 925 C *váis*. 940. C *koot*. 941 B *fíul*. 947 C *báil*. 950 C *su_opur*. — C *kriáun* [crown]. 955 C *dáut*. U.. 969 C *shæ'uer*.

VAR. ic. EAST MID STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

Bn Barton-under-Needwood, words communicated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

The following were from wn. by TH.

Bt Burton-on-Trent.

Ha Hanbury (6 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1880.

Ho Hopwas (:opez) (2 nw. Tamworth) in 1879.

L Lichfield.

Ta Tamworth (:tameth) in 1879.

T Tutbury (:tidberi) (4 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1874.

Y Yoxall (6 nne. Lichfield), wn. in 1879 by TH. from a native, b. 1805, and then living at Tamworth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 18 Ha kjeek. 21 Bn niim, HaYTaHo neem, Bt nêim neem. A: 39 Bn kam. 55 Bt es. 56 Bt wêsh, T wosh [ʔ]. A: or O: 58 Bt throm throm. 62 BtL stru. gg. 64 Bt rogg, LBtTa ru. gg, TaHo rogg. A'- 67 BtL guu. 69 BtYHo noo, Ha na'u. 72 Bn fu. 74 BtY tîu. 84 Ta múr. 85 Ta sár. 86 BtHa úts, L óuts. A': 105 Ho rood. 106 Y brood. 110 shu. dner wu. ne wone shana kane kane [shouldn't won't sha'nt can't, these were from several places in this variety]. Ta ai ènt wònt shànt kjànt [not so often] kànt. Ho wònt wa'nt wu. ne kànt dènt da. ner [by a few] shanur [by a few]. 113 Bt uul. 115 L wə'm, Bt [between] wa'm wòm, Ha wa'm, YTa òm. 118 L boon. 123 Bt nu. thiik. 124 Bt stuun, L stoon. — L ró[up].

Æ- 138 BtHaHoY feedhur. TaL fêdhur, TaLHo faadhur. 152 Bt weetæ, Ta waater. Æ: 161 BtHaTTaLY dii, Ta dee dêi, Ho dee dii. 164 Bn miî. 172 L græs. — Bt kjaat, L kaat [cart]. 177 Ta adhat'n [of that kind]. Æ'- 197 Bt tjez, Ha tje'iz. 200 BtYTaL wit wiit, Ha wé'it, Ho wiit [a few say (wîet)]. Æ': 218 LY ship'. 223 BtYHo dhîer, Ho dhêr. 224 BtHoYTa wier, Ho weer.

E- 231 T th)wosh'in dii [the washing day, (th) ʔ]. 233 BtHaHoTa spiik [Ha p.t. (spok)]. 241 BtHaL riin, Ta riin, [occ.] reen. 243 Bt plii. — Ho eet [eat]. 251 Ta miit. E: 261 BtY sii, Ta see, Ho see [and occ. (sii)], Bt sèi. 262 BtHaYL wii, Ta wéi wee wii. 265 Ta stre'it. — L fiid [field]. 284 L thresh. E'- 290 BtL x'i, Y éi, Ho éi, L íi. 292 Y me'i. 293 Y wéi. 294 Ta fiid. 299 BnY gréin, BtHa gré'in, BtHo gréin griin, Ta griin. 300 Bt kje'ip'n, Y kiip'n [both with verbal pl. in -en]. 302 Y me'it. E': 314 B ied, Ho ierd ə|rd, Y zəd, ə|rd.

EA: 322 BtHaL lof, Ta lof, [occ.] laf. 325 Y dhe waaKn [they walk-en]. 326 Bt [between] óud ə'ud, Ha ə'ud. 328 Bn kə'ud, Ho kóuld, Bt [between] kə'ud kóuld. 334 Ta éipni [halfpenny]. 336 Ta faal. EA'- 347 BtHoTa xəd, Y xəd. EA': — Bt lè'ik [a leek]. 350 Ha dxəd. 355 Ho dif dxif. 366 Bt griit, HaTa greet, Y grit, Ho griit, L gréit. 371 L straa.

EO- 387 Ta næ'u [the first element was between (æ) and (i), the transitional form to (nú)]. EO: 394 Ta jander. 399 Bt bra'it. 402 BtY laan làrn, TaHo læn, Ta lərn. — Ta shaat [short]. EO'- 411 Y thre'z, Ta thrii. — Bt tréi [tree], Ta tríi [tree]. EO': 425 Bt lè'it. 426 Bt fe'it. 437 BtY trə'uth, Ha trə'uth, Ho trə'uth [and nearly] truuth. EY- 438 Bt dái, HaHo dè'z, YHoTa dái.

I- 444 L [between] stáil sta'il. 447 BtY x'r [used for she]. — Bt piiz [pease]. I: 458 Bt nêit ne'it, náit, Ha ne'it, Ho nêit na'it, L nêit na'it. 462 Bn sàt. 469 Bt wu. l, Ho wíl [and by a few (wú.l)]. 484 Ta edhis'n [of this kind]. I'- 494 BtL ta'im, HaL táim. I': 504 Ta na'if. 508 Ta ma'il. 509 Bt wa'il.

O- 519 Ta oover. O: — Bt kraft kraft [croft]. 531 BtHoL daater, Ha da'ute. — Bt krop krap [crop]. 551 Ta staam. 552 L kaan. — BtL os [horse]. O'- 555 BtYTaHo shə'u, Bt shə'u shə'u shə'u, [the first element very peculiar, it evidently varied towards shəu] see 562, 588], Ha sha'ú.

557 Bn tíu. 558 Ta læ'uk, L luk. 559 Ho mæðher, BtTaHo modher, BnLta modher. 560 Bt skí'ul, Ho skí'ul, Ta skæ'u skuu. 562 Bt móun, Ha ma'un, TaL muun. 564 Ta sæ'un. 568 Bt bræ_dhe. O': 569 Bn bíuk. 579 TaL vnu_f. 586 Y dú, Bt dá'u. 587 BtHaHo dū_n. 588 Bt næ'un nóun, Ha ná'un, TaHo næ'un, Ho ná'un, L [between] næ'un næ'un. 595 Bn fæt.
 U- 603 LHo kæm, L ku_min. 604 L su_mæ. 605 BtTa sí_n. 606 Bt dóe[r] dáe, HaY dæ, Ta dæ, Ho dæ. U: 611 Bn balek. 615 Ta [between] pá'end pá'und. 632 LBt u_p. — Bt [between] kas kos [curse].
 U'- 640 Bn kjáu. 643 Ta ná'æ. 650 Ha vba'æt [with elongated lip opening], Y vbaút, Ta [between] vba'út vba'æt. U: 654 Ta sráud. 658 TaL dáun. 661 Ta shæ'uer. 663 BtYTaHoL áus, Ha á'æs' [with elongated lip opening], Ho [pl.] áuzziz áuz'n. 667 Ta [between] á'út áut, á'æt, L áut. Y: 701 Ta fæst.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 756 BtTa srímp. 758 Ta [occ.] gjeł [which is (mæ pæLA'i'ts) more politer than (wensh)]. O. 761 BtL luud. 791 Bt báí.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — Bt pii [pay]. — Bn griinz [grains]. — Ta pliin [plain]. 830 Ta tréin. E.. 867 Bt tii, Ha tæ'i. — BnL piin [pain]. I.. and Y.. 898 Ta na'is. 901 Ta íáin. O.. 916 L u_n'ienz. 940 BtTa kuut. U.. — Bt wit [wait]. — Ta sæt [hurt].

VAR. iia. MID EAST AND SOUTH EAST SHROPSHIRE cwl.

All from wn. by TH.

W Wellington (:wɛlɪtən), Sh., in Dec. 1881.

S Shifnal, Sh. (7 sse. Wellington), in Jan. 1882, with verbal pl. in -en (an æe e'u bín æe?).

M Madeley, Sh. (6 sse. Wellington) (:mæe'dli), in Jan. 1882.

I Ironbridge (6 sse. Wellington), Sh. (shanæ, kœus, wu_næ) shan't, can't, won't.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 W tak. 21 W neem [(naam) at Ketley, (1 se. W).], S néim. A: or O: 60 M lu_qg. 64 W ru_qg, S. rogg ræ_q, I rogg. A'- 67 W ga'z gó'in, M gu. 69 WS noo. 73 W soo. 74 W tíu. 82 W wu_nst. A': 104 WSI rood, S róud [also, a modernism?]. 115 W wu_m oom, S é,um, SI wa'm. 117 WS wa'n. 121 WS ga'n. 124 S stoon, I stæ'un? 130 I bót.
 Æ- 138 W fædher, S faadher, I fæðher. Æ: 161 WSI dee. 179 W wod [wɔd]z æer neem?, S wot. Æ'- 182 WS see. 197 I tjiiz. 200 W wiet, SI wit. Æ': 223 W dhær. 224 WSM wír.
 E- 233 W speak, S spiik. 235 W weev. 241 S réin, I reen. E: 261 W see. 262 WI wee. 265 W stræ'it. E'- 290 W i. 297 W fæls. 299 W griin, S gríin. 300 I kiip. E': 312 I fæ. 314 WS færd, I ard.
 EA: 322 WSI laf. 326 W a'ud, S óuld. 328 S [betw.] kæ'ud kæ'ud. 332 W tæ'ud. 335 W aal. 338 W kaa. 346 S gjeet. EA'- 347 WSI æ'd, S e'd. EA': 350 WI dæ'd. 351 I læd. 352 W red. 355 I dæf. 365 S nier. 366 W greet, S gréit. EO: 388 I malk. 395 SMI ju_q, I rogg. 396 S wark. 402 W lærn, S le'rn, I læ'rn. EO': 428 W sii. 437 W tráuth, I træ'uth, S trùth. EY- 438 W dæ'i.
 I: 452 W æ'i á'i. 458 W næ'it, S [betw.] náit na'it. 466 W tæ'ild, I [betw.] tæ'ild, tæ'ild. 469 W wu_n [will-en]. 477 W fæ'ind. I'- 492 W sæ'id. 494 W tá'im, S táim, I tæ'im. I': 500 W láik le'ikli.
 O: — W sru_beri [shrubbery]. 531 WSI daater. — S A's [horse]. O'- 555 WSI shæ'uz. 559 W mædher mu_dher, S mædhær. 562 SI muun. 564 W sæ'un. 566 M u_dher. 568 WM bræ_dher. O': 569 S buk. 571 W gæ'd. 572 W blu_d. 579 W vnu_f. 586 W dæ'u dú. 587 WS dū_n. 588 W næ'un, SI nuun.
 U- 599 M vba_v. 603 WS kæm. 604 I su_mær. 605 WS sí_n. 606 WSI

dóer. 607 W bu₂ter. — SI nu₂t [nut]. U: — W pu₂l [pull]. 622 W u₂nder. 632 WSM u₂p. 633 WS ku₂p. 634 W thræ'u. 636 M fá'r. U: 640 W kə'u, S kjə'u. 641 W áu, SI ə'u. 643 W nə'u. 650 I əbə'ut. U: 654 W srə'ud. 658 W də'un. 659 I tə'un. 663 W ə'uz'n, S ə'us. 667 M ə'ut. Y- 673 I mu₂tj. Y: 701 W fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — W baqk, [at Ketley (bæqk), bank]. 737 W mæts. E. 749 W lift. I. and Y. 756 W srimps. O. — S dag [dog]. U. — S dæ'uk [to duck]. 794 WS dju₂g. 803 WSMI dju₂mp. 804 W dru₂qk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 830 W treen. 841 W tjans. 866 W páur. E.. 867 WSI tee, I tii. 885 W veri. I.. and Y.. 901 S fáin. O.. 915 W stu₂f. 920 W pe'int. 947 W báil. U.. 969 W shóer.

VAR. *ii*b. SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

This is the Black Country proper.

Cs Codsall (5 nw. Wolverhampton), per E. Viles, Esq.
D Darlaston (:dàrlis'n) (3 wsw. Walsall), per TH., 1879, chiefly from Henry Blackhouse, b. 1833, foreman ironroller, and his wife, both natives.
Wa Walsall (:wAAs'l), per TH., 1877 and 1879.
Wb West Bromwich (5 s. Walsall), per TH., 1877, with verbal pl. in *-en* seldom used.
We Wednesbury (:wɛdʒburi) (3 sw. Walsall), per TH., 1879.
Wi Willenhall (3 e. Wolverhampton), per TH., 1879, from G. Dyke, keystamper, b. 1825, and his family.
Wø Wolverhampton, by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 4 CsD tak, Wi tēik. 5 Wo mek, Cs mak. 8 Wo av jə, an jə [have you? have-n you?]. 21 D nēm, WaWe nēm, Wi nēm [old], nēm [new]. 23 Wo sēm. A: 39 D kòm, Wb keem. 43 Wb and ond, Wi ond [obs.]. 51 WbWi ma'n. 56 Wa wesh, Wb wesh wash. A: or O: 60 Wa loqg. 64 D roq ru₂q ru₂qg, Wi ru₂qg.
A'- 67 D gò, Wo gòu, Wi gu. 69 Wa náu, We náu. 73 D sù. 74 Wa tíu. 76 Wb tood. 86 DWa uts, Cs u₂ts. 87 Wb tluus. 92 Wo nòu. A': 102 Wi aks [old], ask [new]. 104 DWi rôud. 106 Cs brood. — Wi léidi [lady]. 108 Cs daf. 110 [negative, see p. 461], D ái èt [have not], wòu [won't], shee sheet [shan't], koo koot [can't], bit [be not], ái du't nòu [I don't know], it it [isn't it], èi [isn't], Wa ái shánt, shAA, kánt, KAA, wóunt, woo, We wóu kAA shèt [won't can't shan't], Wb shee [shan't], Wi éint [is not], Wi béint, Wo ái ènt [am not], KAA [can't], dóunt [don't]. 115 DWb wòm, We óum, CsWb wám. 117 Wo wa'n. 118 WbCs buun. 122 Wa nòu, Cs nòn. 123 DWb nu₂thiqk. 124 Cs stuun.
Æ- 138 D faadhər féudhər, We faadhər, Wb feadhər, Wi fèadhər [old].
Æ: 161 DWaWeWbWo dèi. 164 Wa mee. 172 Wi gras. — D kàrt [cart].
Æ'- 183 Wa titj, Cs teetj. 190 Wo kjéi. 193 Wo tliin. 194 Wo kni. 200 WaWeWi wíit, WiCs wíut [occ.]. 201 Cs eedh'n. Æ': 209 Wo níver. 216 Cs deel [p' déil], Wi djɛl. 217 Cs éitj. 223 D dhíer. 224 D wier. 227 Wa wɛt.
E- 232 Cs breek [p' éi]. 233 DWeWi spéik, We spíik [first form occ. We]. 236 Cs feevər [p' éi]. 241 Wi réin. 243 We plèi. — We éit [eat]. 251 D mèit. E: 260 Wo le'i. 261 DWaWeWiWo sèi. 262 DWaWi wèi, WiWo wèi. 265 Wa stre't. 270 Cs balí. 278 DWe wɛnsh. E'- 290 D i, ii. 293 Wb wi. 299 DWe gríin, Wa grín. 300 WaWb kiip. E': 306 Cs áith. 314 DWe íerd.

EA: 322 D lɔf. 326 DWa ɔʊd, Wi ɔʊd, Cs ood. 328 D kɔʊd, Cs kood. 331 Cs sood. 333 Cs kAAf. 334 Wo ɛipəθ [halfpenny worth], Cs AAf. 345 Wi dɑr [obs.], DEER [new]. 346 Wa gjɛt, Wi gjɛt [obs.], gjɛt [new]. EA'- 347 DWe e'd, DWa jɛ'd. 348 Wo ʌ'i. EA': 350 Wb dɛd [coarse form (dɛ'd)], WoCs dɛ'd [occ.]. 355 Wa dif ɛn dʊm [deaf and dumb], Cs diif. — WbWi krɛm [cream]. 360 Wi tɪəm. 366 DWeWi grɛit. 369 Wo slɔu. EO- 387 Wi nɔ'u. EO: 394 DWiWo jɑndɜr. 402 D lɔ'm, We [between] lɛɛn lɛɛn. 404 Wo stɑr. — DWa shɔt [short]. EO'- 419 D jɑ'uɛn [yourn=yours]. 420 Wa fɔwɜr [approaching] fɑ'uɜr. EO': 425 We ʌ'i. 435 Wa jɑ'u. 437 WeWi trɔθ. EY- 438 D dɔi, WeWo dɔ'i. I- 442 Cs ɪvi. 444 Wa stɑ'il. 447 WiWo ɜr [=she, frequent]. I: 458 We [between] nɑ't nɑit, Wi nɑit. 459 WaWo rɑ'it. 466 D tɔɑ'ild. 469 Wo wɔ'l. 487 DWa jɪstɜdi. I'- 492 Wo [between] sɑ'id, sɑid. 494 DWi tɑim [at D approaching (tɑ'im)], Wi tɑim. I': 502 WaWo fɑ'iv. 504 Wo nɑ'if. O- 519 Wo ɔwɜr. 522 DWa ɔwɜ'n. O: — Wb kɔk [cook]. 527 D bɔut, Wb bɑ't. 528 Wb thɑ't. 531 D dɑtɜr dɔtɜr. 532 Wa kɔl kɔl, Wi kɔl, Wb kɔl kɔ'l. 552 D kɔrn [with a pursed rounding]. O'- — Wo ɔv [name of letter O]. 555 D shɔ'u, WaWe shuu, Wi [old] shɔ'u, [new] shuu. 556 DWo tɔu. 558 WoCs lɔuk. 559 DWo mɑdɜr, Wb mɔ'dɜr. 562 Wb mɪn. 564 DWi sɪun. O': 569 Wo bɔ'uk, Cs buuk. 570 Cs tuuk. 582 D kɔl. 586 DWbWi dɔu, Wo dɔ'u. 587 DWo dɔ'n. 588 D nɔn, WaWi nuun, Wi [old] nɔ'un. 594 Wi bɑut [by a few]. U- 603 D kɑm kɔm, Wi kɑ'm. 605 DWe sɔ'n. 606 We dɔv, Cs dɔv. U: — Wo shɑ'ldɜr. 615 Wo pɑ'umd. 625 Cs tɔqg. 632 Cs uɔp. U'- 640 Wa kjɑ'ɛz, Wo kjɑ'ɛ [see 663]. 641 Wo ɑu. 643 DWo nɑ'ɛ [see 663], We nɑ'ɛ, Wb nɪɑu. 648 D ɑwɜn [ourn=ours, similarly (dhɛɜn, ɪz'n ɑrn) theirn hissɛn hɜrn]. 650 WaWiWo ɛbɑ't [see 663], Wb ɛbɑut. U': 654 D srɑ'ɔd. 658 Wo dɑ'ɔn. 659 Wa tɑ'en tɑ'un. 663 DWaWo ɑ'ɔs [with elongated lip opening], Wi ɑuz'n [houses, by many], Wo ɑ'ɔs. 667 Wa ɪɑut dɪɑut [do-out=put out], ɑ'ɔt [see 663], Wb ɪɑut, Wi ɑ'ɔt. Y- 675 D mɔ'tj. Y: 697 Cs bɜri. 700 Cs wɑs. 701 Cs fɑst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 Wa mɛit. E. 749 Wo lɪft. I. and Y. 756 DWb sɪmp. O. 766 Wi mɑidhɜr, dɔnt mɑidhɜr, ɪz mɑidhɜrɪn ɪmsɛlf. U. — Wb tɔ'ɛun [old form], tɪun [new, for tune]. 806 Wa fu's.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 Wi ɛɔb'l ɛɔb'l. 811 Wb plɛz'n [places]. 822 Wb mɛi. — Wo pɛi [pay]. 830 Wo trɛin. — D tɔ'ɛinz [chains]. — Wo mɑstɜr mɑstɜr. 841 D tɔɑ'ns. E.. 867 D tɛi, We tii. O.. — WbWɔ bif. — D rɑ'ɔnd [round, see 663], Wa rɛɔnd [and approaching (rɛɔnd), see 663]. 940 Wa kɔat. U.. 969 Wo shɔ'uɜr. 970 Wa dɔu'st.

VAR. iic. NORTH WORCESTERSHIRE cwl.

Near Black Country proper.

C Cradley (:kɛɛdlɪ), (3 e.Stourbridge), per TH. in 1880.
H Hagley (6 ene.Kidderminster), per TH. in 1880, and especially in 1882 from G. Nock, workman, b. 1815, and his wife, b. 1814, both natives. TH. notes "speech quite Mid., (u) common, verbal pl. in -en, (ee) in rec. sp. (ɛt), no reverted (r); medial and final r more strongly trilled than usual Midland r," which to A.JE.'s ears is not really *trilled* at all.
St Stourbridge (:stɑ'rbɪdɪ), per TH., "no reverted (r), speech quite Mid."
S Selly Oak (9 e.Stourbridge), pal. by A.JE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, native, then student at Whitelands, who knew not (r).
So Selly Oak, wn. by TH., 1885.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 17 S ʌɑ. 20 S lɛɛm. 21 S nɛɛm. 22 S tɛɛm. 23 S sɛɛm. 24 S shɛɛm. 31 C lɛit. 36 S thɑɑ, thɑɑrɪn [euphonic (r)]. A: 43 S ɑ'nd.

54 S wont. A: or O: 58 S from. 60 H lu_q, S loq. 61 S emaq. 62 S stroq. 64 So ru_q. A'- 67 C góu, HS guu. 69 S noo [p nðu]. 70 S too. 73 S soo [p sðu]. 74 S tuu. 76 S tooed. 79 S óovn. 84 S múer. 86 S óovts. 87 S tlooz. 91 S mðu. 94 S krðu. A': 101 S óovk. 102 S a'ks. 108 S daf. 110 [negatives] C ka't [can't, said to be different 2 miles distant, but not stated in what direction], H ka'nt [can't]. 111 S Aat. 115 C wú_m. 123 So nu_{thin}. 125 S ooni. 130 S boot. 131 S goot.
 Æ- 138 CHS feedhur, H faadhur, S févdhur. 140 S éil. 141 S náil. 142 S snáil. 152 S weeter wéuter. 153 S svedrdi. Æ: 155 S thatj. 161 CHS déi. 166 S [little used, (gxl) not so common, (la's) somewhat used, (wéntj) common]. — St glas' [glass]. Æ'- 183 S teety. 185 S reed. 190 S kee. 192 S meen. 194 S éni. 197 H tpiiz, S tjeez. 199 S bleet. 200 HS weet. Æ': 207 S need'l. 213 S iidhur. 217 S etj. 223 HS dhír. 224 HS wíur.
 E- 233 S speek. 234 S niid. 235 S weev. 236 S feevur. 241 S révn. 243 S pléu. 251 HS meet. 252 S kit'l. E: 261 HC sêi, S see. 262 S wái. E'- 294 S feed. 296 S bileev. 299 S green, H griin. E': 308 S need. 314 HS íurd. 315 S fot [same as singular].
 EA: 324 S évt. 326 H óud, S ood. 330 ood. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 346 S gévt. EA'- 347 H jé'd, S id. 349 S fiú. EA': 350 C djèd, S diid. 353 S bríud. 354 S sheef. 355 S dif. 356 S leef. 371 S straa.
 EI- 373 C dhêi. EO- 386 S joo. 387 S nuu. EO: 395 H ju_q. 399 S bráit. EO'- 409 S bee. 411 C thri, S three. 413 S dív'l. 414 S fiú [(flee)=flea]. EO': 435 S jau. EY- 438 H dái, S dá'i.
 I- 440 S wik. 442 S ivi. 446 S náivn. 449 S git. 450 S tuuzdi.
 I: 452 S ái, So ái. 458 S náivt. 459 S ráivt. 462 S sáivt. 465 S sitj. 466 S tjáid. 468 S tjáidren. 472 S sriqk [always (sr-) for (shr-) initial].
 I'- 494 H tó'im, S táim. I': 504 S náif. 506 C u_{men}. — S ái [hay]. 513 C wáivur. 515 S wáiz.
 O- 521 S fól. 522 S oop'n. O: 527 S ba'ut. 528 S thaxut. 529 S bra'ut. 531 H daater, S daater. 532 S kóul. 533 S du_l. 536 S guuld. 550 S wod. O'- 558 S lu_k. 559 H madher, S mu_{dher}. 562 S mú_n. 564 S su_n. O': 569 S bu_k. 570 S tu_k. 571 S gu_d. 572 S blu_d. 573 S flu_d. 574 S brúud. 579 So vnu_f, S [enow not known]. 586 S duu. 587 H dū_n. 588 HC nuu, S nūn. 589 S spūn. 595 S fot [see 315, where (fot) is the form used]. 597 S sxt.
 U- C ū_d [wood]. 600 S lu_v. 606 S dúur. 607 St bu_{ter}. U: 609 S fol. 610 S u_l. 611 S bole_k. 612 StSo su_m. 614 S u_{nd}. 615 S pu_{nd}. 618 S wáund. 622 S u_{nder}. 625 S tu_q. 626 S u_{qger}. 628 S nu_n. 629 S su_n. 631 S thazdi. 632 HStS u_p. 633 HS ku_p. 635 S wath. 637 S tu_{sk}. 639 S du_{st}. U'- 640 S ké'u. 641 S é'u. 642 S dhe'u [not used]. 643 So náu. 644 S du_v. 645 S vbu_v. 648 S é'uer. 653 S bu_t. U': 655 S fé'ul. 658 StH dávn, S dē'vn. 659 St távn, S tē'vn. 663 H é'us é'uz'n, S é'us. 666 C u_{zbund}, S ['old man' common]. 671 S mé'uth. 672 S se'uth. Y: 700 S was. 701 S fast. Y': 711 S láis. 712 S máis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. Y. 753 S kit'l. 756 S srimp [see 472]. O. 761 S lóoud. 772 S buunfáivur. 773 S du_{qki}. 778 S efúurd. U. 794 H dju_g. 795 S sru_g. 799 S sku_l. 801 S ru_m. — C tún [nearly, tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A: 810 S féus. 811 S pléus. 813 S béuk'n. — C péi [pay]. 824 S tjíur. 827 S eegur. 835 S reez'n. 836 S seez'n. 840 S tjaamber. 852 S apen. — S maav'iz [marbles]. 865 S faat. 866 S póur. E.. 867 S tii. 869 S veel. 871 S vgrii. 878 S saluri. 879 S feemeel. 887 S tlaadyi. 888 S saatin. 890 S beest [regular pl.]. 894 S diseev. 895 S riseev. I.. and Y.. 899 S nees. 904 S vó'let. O.. 913 S kóvtj. 915 S stu_f. 916 S áinren. 918 S fiib'l feeb'l. 920 S páint [=pint measure]. 924 S tjáis. 925 S váis. 926 S spáil. 928 S u_{ns}. 930 S lán. — StSo mu_{ni} [money]. 935 SoS ku_{ntri}. 942 S batjur. 943 S tu_{tj}. 947 S báil. 948 S ba ul. 953 S ku_{z'n}. 955 S da'u. U.. 965 S áil. 970 S djxst.

VAR. *iii*a. EAST WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- A Atherstone (8 se. Tamworth), wn. in 1886 by TH. chiefly from J. Holland, hatter, about 40, native.
 Ag Allesley Gate (4 w. Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH.
 B Bedworth (:be:deθh), (5 nne. Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from W. Jaques, b. 1808, living in an almshouse.
 Br Brandon (5 ese. Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH.
 Bu Bulkington (6 ne. Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from H. Smith, a platelayer, b. 1850, native, and his mother; also (marked †), two servants there, natives, who spoke rather refined; verbal pl. in *-en* nearly extinct, (auw durs), used, no h.
 Co Coventry, a town refined speech, heard from Mrs. Cole, a tailor's widow, by TH., having a few dialectal forms, as (v-) before present participle, trilled (r) after *draw*, *law*, etc.
 N Nuneaton (9 nne. Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH., chiefly from a native labourer of 18; (:nu:nii't'n) general local pron.
 P Polesworth (4 ese. Tamworth, St.), wn. by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 Bu *teek*. — Bu† wêik [a wake, feast]. 8 AP e'v, P an jo [have, have-n you?]. 12 Co SAAR. 14 Co draAR. 17 Co LAAR. 20 Bu lésm. 21 APN *neem*, B *nëem*, ABu† *nëim*. 22 Bu† téim. 23 B sésm. — BBu omør [hammer]. 33 P rēdhēr, Bu† rēdhūr. A: 39 Bu kām. 49 A iqin. 56 AN wsh. A: or O: 58 P thrēm. 60 BuN l_wq. 64 APN r_wq, Br ròq. A'- 67 N gu, Bu goo. 69 A noo, P nōu. 72 A uu. 84 Bu mūr. 86 N òts, Br óuts. 87 A klúz. 92 AN noo. A': 104 N rood, B rôvd. 110 N [negative] it ènt [it is not], A shànt kànt wònt [shan't can't won't], Bu kaa'nt shaa'nt wònt dònt [can't shan't won't don't], Co eent [is not]. 115 P Bu òm, AN wòm, B wa'm. 122 A nò, Bu na'n. 123 A ná, tháqk. 124 N stoon, B stūen, A stuun.
 Æ- 138 A fēdhēr, P granfēdhēr [grandfather], N faadhēr fēdhēr, B fēdhēr, Bu faadhēr [new], fēdhēr [old], Br fēdhēr. — Bu† ladhēr [ladder]. 152 N wīstēr. Æ: 158 N àtenuun [afternoon, generally] afternuun [rare], A atenœ'un. 160 P eg 161 APNBBu dūi, N dee, BuBr dēi [new form]. 177 B ødha't'n [in that way]. Æ'- 200 B wīst, Bu wīit. Æ': 208 P ivør. 209 BP nīvēr. 211 Bu grīi [most speakers] grēe [some speakers]. 216 Bu dāl. 223 A dhēu, N dhīu, B dhīer-īe [there-here, with euphonic (r)]. 224 AN wīe.
 E- 233 ANB spīik. 241 A riin, Bu† reen. 243 NBu plee. — Bu it' [eat]. E: 260 Bu lii. 261 N sēe, NB see. 262 APN wīi, Bu wīi [old], wēi wee [new]. 263 Bu ewee. — P fēild [field]. 278 A wentj, B wensh. 285 Co kris. E'- 290 A ï, Bu i. 292 Bu mīi. 293 P wēin [we have-n]. 297 Co fēlēr. 299 NBBu grīin, A grīin. 300 Bu† kiip. E': 314 A iud [occ.] æad, N ierd, Br ø'rd.
 EA: 322 A lāf, N lā'f. Bu lāf laaf. 326 ANBu òuld. EA'- 347 BrP e'd, ANB jē'd, Bu jēd [a few], e'd [most], Co eed. 348 AN a'i. EA': — NBu kriim, B krēm [cream]. 360 N tiim. 361 Bu† biēn. 366 A grēt [occ.] grēt, N grēet, Bu grīit. 368 AN dēth. EI- 372 AB AA. EO: 394 PN jander, N jōnder. 395 ABu ju_wq. 402 P lā'rn, N lārn lōen. EO'- 411 Bu thrii. — Bu trii [tree]. 412 Bu shi. EO': 427 N jē noo wot dhēe bii [ye know what they be], Br ði bi gujin [I be going]. 428 Bu si sii. 436 Bu trœ'u. 437 NB trūth, ABu trœ'uth. EY- 438 AB dā'i, Bu i mu_{st} dāi tādii [he must die to-day (tādii) old form].
 I- 447 P ar [=she]. — Bu jis [yes]. I: 452 Bu ði. 458 A nīit nāt, N nā'it, B nāt. 459 N rā'it. 462 N sā'it. 465 ABu sitj. 469 P wū_l [will]. — P wīnder [window]. 477 B fāind. I'- 494 NBu ta'im. I': 500 Bu lāik. 507 B wu_wmøn. 509 Bu wā'il.
 O: 531 BBr daater. 532 Co kōul. 552 N kaan. — N øs'iz [horses]. — Bu naath [north]. O'- 555 N shuu. 558 P lœ'uk, N luk. 559 N mu_odher. 562 A mœ'un. — N mu_onth [month], Ag mu_ons [months]. 564 P sœ'un. 566 Co enu_odher. O': 569 Bu bīk. 587 B dū_n [in (āi)n dū_n] probably (āi)m I have done, see notes, p. 471, col. 1, par. 3]. 594 A bœ'nts.

U- 603 N *kəm*, B *ku_u.m̄n*. 605 ABN *sū.n*. 606 PN *dūr*, B *dūv* [except before vowel, then (*dūr*)], Bu *dūv* [old], *dōv* [new]. U: 612 N *su_u.m*. 616 *grāund*. 632 AP *u_u.p*. 633 BBr *ku_u.p*. U'- 641 N *āu*. 643 N *naa'*, ABu† *nāu*. 650 A [between] *ebā'ot ebāat*. 651 P *widhāut*. U': 658 N *dāvn*, ABu† *dā.v.n*. 659 N *tāvn*, Bu *tāvn*. 663 N *āss āuz'n* [houses], AB *āvs*. Y- 673 N *mu_u.tj*. 682 AB Bu *lit'l*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — B *baqk* [bank]. 737 Bu *mēt* [a fellow-workman on railway, (*bu_u.ti*) in collieries]. I. *and* Y. 758 ABBu *gjel* [used at Bu]. O. — N *dog* [dog]. 767 N *na'iz*. 789 N *rāv*. — Co *drāunded*. 791 Bu † *bāi*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 P *pleez'n* [places]. 824 A *tjier*. 851 N *aa'nt*. 862 A *sēf*. E.. 867 BrBu *tii*. — Bu *piip'l* [people]. I.. *and* Y.. 901 PNB *fa'in*. O.. — B [between] *rā'und rāund* [round, with elongated lip opening]. 917 Bu† *ba'āil*. U.. 963 P *kka'ist*. 965 Bu† *a'āil*. 970 B *dju_s*.

VAR. *iii*b. WEST WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- C *Curdworth* (7 ne.Birmingham), wl. and dt. in io. by J. Montague Dormer, Esq., almost all the words in the old wl. besides those here cited were asserted to be rec. pron.
- Bi *Birmingham*. The wl. sent by Samuel Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., indicated simply rec. pron., which he stated was "probably often modified by s.St. and e.Wo." It probably gave town pron. and hence is not here cited. Called (*brw_u.midrəm*) at Leamington.
- E *Elmdon* (7 ese. Birmingham), wl. in io. by F. J. Mylins, Esq., apparently son or brother of the Rector, who had then been 14 years there.
- K *Knowle* (10 nnw.Warwick), wl. in io. by Rev. J. Howe, M.A., Vicar since 1855.
- L *Leamington*, a very few wn. in 1880 by TH. from a mason, native, who observed with respect to the dialect, "we find it different all the while." The general sound of the speech was quite Mid.
- W *Warwick*, wn. by TH. in 1880, but no reverted (r), and sound quite Midland. *I* *be* used.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 E *bék*. 4 E *ték*. 5 E *mék*, K *miek*. 8 L *ev*. 10 C *aa*. 12 C *saar*. 14 C *draar*. 17 C *laar*. 18 E *kék*. 20 C *léum*, K *lium*. 21 CE *néum*, K *nium*. 23 CE *séum*, K *sium*. 24 E *shéum*. 25 CE *méum*. 26 C *wéum*. 31 K *liet*. 33 K *riudher*. A: 39 K *kéum*. 43 K *ond*. 44 K *lond*. 50 K *tu_u.qz*. 51 K *møn*. A: *or* O: 60 W [between] *loq lu_u.q*. 61 K *sm_u.q*. 62 K *stru_u.q*. 66 K *thu_u.q*. A'- 67 C *guu*, LW *gū_u.in*. 69 C *nōv*. 76 K *tūūd*. 81 C *lévn*. 86 C *wéts*, K *wóuts*. 87 C *klooz*. 98 C *nood*. 99 C *throd*. 100 C *sood*. A': 104 C *rōūd*, K *rāūd*. 106 L *braad*. 107 E *lōuf*. 108 C *daf* [occ.]. 113 C *wal*. 115 K *wóum*, L *òm*, *iz* *ga'n oom* [he's gone home]. 118 C *bōvn*. 124 CK *stōvn*. 125 W *ōnl*. 134 C *ōuth*. Æ- 138 E *feedh_ur*, K *fiudh_ur*. 141 C *névl*, K *nívl*. 142 C *snévl*, K *snívl*. 143 C *tévl*, K *tiel*. 144 C *egen*. 152 E *waater*. Æ: 155 C *thak*. Æ'- 183 K *teety*. 190 E *kee* [ʔ *éi*]. 193 K *kleen*. 195 E *moni*. 197 E *tjeez*. 201 K *eedh'n*. Æ': 218 CW *shíp*. 223 LW *dhíer*. 224 C *wíer*. E- 232 C *briik*. 236 C *feev_ur*. 251 EK *meet* [ʔ *éi*]. E: 262 C *wéi* [ʔ]. 280 K *leb'n*. 284 E *thresh*. 287 K *bizem*. EA- 319 C *gép*. EA: 322 L *láf*. 323 K *fa'ut*. 325 E *waak*. 326 E *ɛ'uld*. 333 C *kaaf*, CK *kaaf*. 346 C *gét*, K *giet*. EA'- 347 K *jød*. EA': 359 K *níuber*. 363 EK *tj_up*. 368 E *díeth*, W *dj_ueth*. EI: 377 C *stíik*. 378 C *week*. 382 C *dhíer*. EO- 386 K *jo_o*. 387 C *nuu*. EO: 394 C *jander*. 399 C *bráit*. 402 C *laan*. 403 W *far*. EO'- 414 K *fló'i*. EO': 423 K *thó'i*. 428 W *si*.

I- 440 E wik. 442 C *ivi*. 446 E *no'in*. 447 L *ar* [=she]. 450 C *toozdi*. I: 452 C *ai* ['inclined to (o'i), but not quite equal to it'], EK *o'i* [no modifying statement], W *ai*. 455 C *lee*. 458 C *ndit*, E *no'it*, W [between] *na'it ndit*. 462 E *so'it*. 465 C *sitj*. 466 C *tjild*. 467 C *wáild*. 477 CL *idind*. I'- 496 C *áivern*. I' [From E all I' words are written with *oi*, which may be (o'i, ai)]. 500 EK *l'ik*, L *l'ik*. 503 C *laif*, E *l'oif* [possibly the same sound]. 505 E *wo'if*. 506 E *u_omen*. 509 L *wáil*. 510 W *ma'í*. 514 E *o'is*. O- 521 C *foold*. O: 526 K *kaf*. O'- 556 C *tiu*. 559 E *mu_odher*. 560 C *skúul*, W *skuul*. 562 K *máun*. O': 587 L *dú_on*. 589 K *spáun*. 590 E *flúer*. U- 603 L *ku_omin*, W *kamin*. 606 K *dúer*. U: 618 C *wáund*. 622 W *u_ondur*. 625 C *toq*. 632 W *u_op*. 633 L *ku_op'*. 636 E *farder*. U'- 641 W *áu*. 643 W *náu*. U': 658 W *dáun*. 663 W *áus*. 667 L *o'ut*. Y- 676 E *l'o'i*. 677 E *dr'o'i*. Y: 690 E *ko'ind*. 691 E *mo'ind*. 700 C *was*. 701 E *fast*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 C *mét*, K *míet*. E. 744 E *meez'lz*. 749 C *lift*, W *left*. I *and Y*. 753 C *tig'l*. 757 E *tiini*. 758 E *garl*. O. 761 EK *lód*. 763 C *raam*. 772 C *barnfáuer*. U. — L *tu_ob* [tub].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 E *féus*. 811 W *pleezez*. 813 CEK *béek'n*. 817 C *rédish*, K *rodish*. 824 *tjier*. 837 C *liis*. 852 K *apen*. E.. 887 E *klaadjí*. I.. *and Y*.. 904 C *váivlet*. 911 C *sestern*. O.. 919 C *ántment*. 920 C *páint*. 925 C *váis*. 926 C *spál*. 929 CE *kuukembør*. 930 C *láin*. 933 L *fru_ont*. 947 C *báil*. — W *kræ'ún* [crown]. U.. 965 C *áil*.

VAR. iv. LEICESTER CWL.

- L Loughborough (l:*u_ofbørø*) (10 n.w. Leicester), wn. by TH. 1878-9. Verbal pl. in *-en* recently extinct.
 Lr Leicester, wn. in 1884 by TH., see p. 464.
 S Syston (:sòisten) (5 n.e. Leicester), wl. written by Miss M. A. Adcock, native, teacher at Whitelands Training College, and read by her to A.J.E., who palaeotyped it. Even before a vowel *r* is very weakly trilled or buzzed (l_r, [r], r).
 B Birstall (:bástel) (3 n.e. Leicester), Miss Allen, of St. Mark's Girls' School, a friend of the above Miss Adcock, who had known the dialect all her life, gave a few words in io.
 E Miss C. Ellis (no connection of the author), residing in Belgrave, (2 ne. Leicester), and purposing to give the pron. at Leicester and 8 miles round, wrote me a numbered wl. For brevity, only the vowel of the word when it differs from S and B is assigned.
 G Glenfield (3 w.n.w. Leicester), wn. by TH., 1884, from Orme, the carrier, a trustworthy informant.
 C Cottesbach (:kotesbatj) (14 s.w. Leicester), a wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rector, native. Only such words as differ from the above four are given, and then generally only the vowel is written in.
 M Market Harbro' (14 se. Leicester), wn. in 1882 by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S *bak_{u_os}* [bakehouse]. 4 SE *tek*. 5 LSE *mek*. 6 S *meed*. 8 L *ee*, G E, S *ev*. 9 S *bi_oeev*. 10 S *aa*. 12 SE *saa+r*. 13 E *naa*. 14 SE *draa_or*. 15 S *aa*. 17 SE *laa* [+r before a vowel]. SE *kéeik*. 19 LS *teel*. 20 SE *leem*. 21 LG *neem*, LrM *nèim*. 22 SE *teem*. 23 S *seem*. 24 S *sheem*. 25 S *meen*, E *ii*. 26 S *ween*. 27 S *neev*. 28 S *ee[r]* [slightly trilled]. 31 S *leet*. 32 S *beedh*. 33 S *reedhør*, E E, C *æ*, *o*. 34 SE *last*. 36 S *thaa*.

A: 39 S *ku*.md. 40 S *k*om. 41 S *thaaqk*. 43 L and, E *o*. 44 S *land*, E *o*. 46 S *kand*'l. 48 S *su*.qed. 50 S *toqz*, E *z*. — L *kjan* [can]. 51 L *m*an, S *man*. 54 LE *want*, S *w*aant. 56 LSE *w*esh. 57 SE *as*.

A: or O: [C (q), never qg]. 58 M *fr*om. 59 S *lam*. 60 LEGLr *lu*.q, S *l*oq, Lr *loq*. 61 SE *vm*.q. 62 S *str*oq, E *u*.o. 64 LLr *roq*, MS *roq*. 65 S *soq*, Lr *soq*.

A'- 67 L *gu*in, N *g*u'in, SEG *guu*, Lr *g*u, C [goes, becomes occ. (*g*az)]. 69 SL *noo*, M *n*ou. 70 SE *too*. 71 S *woo*. 72 SE *iu* [or very like (*ty*)]. 73 LSE *soo*, E *v*. 74 SEG *t*iu, G *t*æ'u, M *tuu*. 75 SE *strook*. 76 SC *t*oovd. 77 SE *l*ord. 78 SE *oo*. 79 SE *oon*. 80 S *al*dii. 81 SG *leen*. 83 S *moon*. 84 S *m*ur *n*er *j*au [more than you], G *m*ur, E *moor*. 85 S *soor*. 86 S *oots*. 87 SE *f*looz. 89 S *booth*. 90 SE *bloo*. 91 S *moo*. 92 L *n*æ'u, LE *noo*. 93 SE *snoo*. 94 S *kroo*. 95 S [(*al*), hurl, used]. 96 S *soo*. 97 SE *sool*. 98 S *nood*. 99 S [see 95]. 100 S *sood*.

A': 101 SE *ook*. 102 SE *aks*. 104 S *rood*, C *r*oovd *r*uud, MLr *r*oud. 106 S *brood*. 107 S *lof*, E *oo*. 108 SE *doo*. 109 SE *loo*. 110 S *not*. 111 S *aat*. 113 SE *al* [gen.] *w*al, [occ.], G *ool*. 115 L *æ*'m *oom* *om*, SG *om*, E *o*', *æ*, Lr *o*um, M *o*um. 117 LE *w*æ'n. 118 S *boon*. 121 S *gon*. 122 S *n*u,n, E *non*, M *n*ou, *n*æ'n. 123 LG *n*u *thiqk*, S *noot* [nought], E *nothiqk*. 124 S *stu*.n. 125 S *ooni*. 126 S *oor*. 127 S *o*os, E *o*ost. 128 S [(*dh*em) used]. 129 SE *goost*. 130 E *boot*, Lr *b*out. 131 E *goot*. 133 S *r*oited [used], E *root*. 134 SE *ooth*. 135 SE *klath*.

Æ- 138 LSG *fe*dher, E *a*', M *fa*dher. 139 SE *drii*. 140 LS *iil*. 141 SELr *niil*. 142 SE *snii*. 143 LSE *tiil*. 144 SE *egen*, C *eg*in [adv.] *egen* [prep.]. 146 E *miin*. 147 S *br*iin. 148 S *feer*. 149 S *bl*eeiz. 150 S *leest*. 152 SE *w*eter, Lr *w*ete. 153 LS *s*etardæ, L *s*etdæ.

Æ: 155 SBE *thak*. 158 S *a*after, E *a*fter. 160 SE *eg*. 161 LSE *dii*. G *dii* [old], Lr *d*æ'i, M *d*æi. 163 SE *liid*. 164 SGE *me*, [emphatic] *mii*, Lr *m*ee. 165 S *szid*, E *sed*. 166 S *meed*. 168 SE *talæ*. 169 SE *w*en. 170 S *e*evist, E *a*, *i*. 171 SE *b*ææ'rli. 172 SG *g*res, E *a*. 173 SE *w*oz, SB *w*aa'v. 174 S *a*ash. 175 SE *fast*. 178 S *nat*. 179 S *w*or [but (d) assimilated]. 180 E *b*æ'th. 181 S *pad*, E *á*'.

Æ'- 182 S *s*æi, E *sii*. 183 LE *t*iitj, S *t*æitj. 184 S *l*æid. 185 S *r*æid, E *riid*, Lr *r*id. 187 S *l*æiv. 188 S *nii*. 189 S *wii*. 190 S *k*æi. 191 S *æ*il, E *iil*. 192 S *m*æin. 193 S *t*læin, EM *t*liin. 194 S *oni*, E *e*, C *a*. 195 S *mon*i, BC *man*i, E *e*. 197 L *t*æ'iz, S *t*æiz, E *ii*. 199 S *bl*æit. 200 LSEGM *w*iit, G *w*iut [old]. 201 S *æ*idh'n. 202 SE *iit*.

Æ': 203 S *s*pæich. 204 S *d*æid. 205 S *t*hrid. 206 SE *r*æd. 207 E *n*iid'l. 208 G *i*ve. 209 G *n*ivæ. 210 SE *t*hii. 211 S *g*rii, E *ee*. 212 S *wii*, E *wee*. 213 SC *e*dher, E *ii*. 215 S *t*æitj. 216 S *d*æil, E *d*iil. 217 S *æ*itj. 218 S *sh*æip, E *sh*ip. 219 S *sl*æip. 221 E *f*ir. 223 S *d*hæ, M *d*hæ, E *d*heer. 224 LSLr *w*æ, M *w*æ. 225 SE *f*æsh. 226 E *m*oost. 227 SE *w*æ. 228 S *sw*æit, E *e*. 229 S *br*æth, E *e*. 230 S *fat*.

E- 231 L *d*hæ [rarely by assimilation (t)]. 232 S *b*reak. 233 LGMLr *s*piik, S *s*pek. 234 S *n*eed. 235 S *w*æv. 236 S *f*æver, E *ii*. 237 S *b*liin. 238 E *æ*dj. 239 S *s*eel. 240 E *liin*. 241 SEG *r*iin, Lr *r*æin. 243 LSE *p*lii, Lr *p*læ'i. 246 SE *k*wæin. 247 SE *w*æen. 248 S *m*eer. 249 SE *w*eer. 250 SE *s*weer. 251 SE *m*æet. 252 SE *k*æt'l. 253 SE *n*æt'l. 254 SE *l*edher. 255 S *w*edher.

E: 257 S *æ*dj. 259 S *w*ædj. 260 SEG *lii*. 261 LM *s*æi, L *s*ee, S *s*æi. 262 L *w*æi *w*æ'i *wii*, SE *wii*, Lr *w*æi, M *w*æi. 263 M *w*æ'i. 264 S *iil*, E *eel*. 265 LLr *str*æ't, S *str*æit. 267 S *æ*eeld. — L *f*æild [field] *f*æild, G *f*æilz *f*æilz. 268 S *o*oldist [used], E *h*eld'ist. 270 S *b*elæ, SE *b*eli. 272 SE *æ*lm. 273 SE *m*en. 276 SE *th*iqk. 277 S *s*ook [used]. 278 LSE *w*æsh. 280 S *l*æv'n. 281 S *l*æqkth, E *l*ænth. 282 S *str*æqkth, E *str*enth. 283 SE *m*eri. 284 SE *thr*æsh, B *thr*ish. 285 S *k*res. 286 S *æ*re. 287 S *b*æz'm, E *e*, C *ii*. 288 E *l*æt.

E'- 290 L *æ*'i, S *æ*i, E *ii*. 291 S *d*hæi, E *d*hii. 292 L *m*æi *m*æ'i, S *m*æi, E *m*ee. 293 S *w*æi, E *w*ee. 294 L *f*æ'id, SE *f*æid. 296 S *b*ilæiv. 297 L *f*elæ [(*t*æp) not so common]. 298 SE *f*æil. 299 L *g*ræin, SE *g*ræin, G *g*ræn *g*riin *g*riin, M *g*riin. 300 S *k*æip, E *k*æep, G *k*æip, M *k*æip. 301 S *æ*er. 302 S *m*æeit.

E': 305 S *æ*i. 306 E *a*'it. 307 SE *n*æi. 308 L *n*æ'id, S *n*æid. 309 S

spéid. 310 S ésil. 311 E ten. 312 S ïur, G ïu. 314 LGLr ïed, M æd
æd. 315 S féit. 316 E nekst.

EA- 317 S [(tʊ skɪn) used]. 319 S geep. 320 SE keer.

EA: 321 S [(sæd) used]. 322 LGM lãf, B laaf. 323 SE [(fɪt)] used.
324 LG e'it, S áit, E iit. 325 S waak, E aa. 326 LG e'ud, S ood, E oold,
M óuld. 327 SE boold. 328 L k'a'ud, LrSE koold. 329 SE foold. 330 S
ood, [sb tak ood on)t [take hold of it], C oot [noun]. 331 SE soold. 332 L
t'a'ud. 333 SB kAAf [both spelled it corf, shewing that they did not feel the r].
334 S eef. 335 S ol on em [all of them]. 336 SE fAal. 337 SE wAal. 338
L kAal. 340 SE jæed. 342 S eerm, E aa'. 343 S wAam, E aa', ææ. 345

L de[r], S dos'nt [dare not]. 346 L gjeet, S geejet.

EA'- 347 LSEG e'd, M èd. 348 SE ói, E ái. 349 S fuu, [fɪne, E (fɪu)].

EA: 350 SEG de'd. 351 SE led. 352 LSG red. 353 SE brød. 354
S sheef. 355 L def, S deev. 356 S leef, E ii. 357 S [(fər ol dhat) for all that,
used], E dhoo. 359 SE niibur, B neeibur. 360 S teem, E ii, C úb, G tiim
[old], tiim [new]. 361 S been. 362 S slii. 363 S tjeep, E e. — G ïur
[year]. 365 S neer, E ii. 366 L greet, SE græt, M grét. 367 SE thret.
368 SE deth. 369 SE sloo. 370 S rAA'ur, E rAA. 371 S strAA'ur, E strAA.

EI- 372 S [unused]. 374 S nec. 375 S riiz. 376 S bëit.

EI: 377 C stiik. 378 S week. 380 S dhem. 382 S dher, E ii.

EO- 383 E sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S baneeth. 386 E joo. 387 S níu
[modern], nuu [gen.], E nuu.

EO: 388 SE milk. 389 S jook. 390 SE shu.d. 393 S beyond. 394 L
jædur. 396 SE wák. 397 S sóourd, C swærd. 398 SE stæærv. 399 L
bráit, S bróit. 400 S arnest. 402 LE læn, S laarn, GM læan. 403 SE fæ.
404 SE steers [also for stairs]. 405 S aarth, E æ. 406 SE arth. 407 S
fad[used], E fardh'n. 408 E níu.

EO'- 409 S béi, E bee. 411 S thréi, E three, G thrèi. 412 L [between]
sh'eí shéi, S shéi, E ee. 413 S dívil dævil, E dævil. 414 S fái. — L w'e'íd
[weed]. 415 S lói. 416 SE díer. 417 SE tju. 418 S briu. 420 S fóov.
421 S fóovti.

EO: 423 SE thói. 424 SEC ru.f. 425 L láit, SE lóit. 426 LG f'e'it,
S feet [no (i) after (ee)], G fáit. 427 L b'e'í, S béi, G bëi. 428 S séi,
E see, G séi. 430 E frænd. 431 SE bíer. 433 SE bræst, Lr bræszs [breasts].
434 LrS beet. 435 SE joo. 436 L tríu, SE triu. 437 L træ'uth, SE tríuth.

EY- 438 GLS dáí, E do'í. EY: 439 SE tru.st.

I- 440 S week [used for a feast, wake]. 441 S sav. 442 S áivi, B óivi.
443 E fróidi. 444 SE stóil. 446 SE nóin. 448 S dheez, E ii. 449 S gar
[certainly before vowels, ? before consonants, E git]. 450 SBE tuuzdeé.

I: 452 SE ói. 454 S witj. 455 S lói daan [written aarn]. — S bad
[bird]. — Lr thærd [third]. 457 S móit. 458 LM náit, SE nóit, G náit.
459 LM ráit ra'it [almost impossible to decide between them], SB róit. 460
L w'e'it, S wéit, E wiit. 461 S ulóit. 462 SE sóit. 464 E w'itj. 465 SEG
sitj. 466 L t'áild, SE t'óild. 467 S wóid. 468 SE t'ilden [commonly
called (kɪdz)]. 471 S tímbar. 472 S shriqk, E sriqk. 473 S blónd. 474
S pil [used]. 475 S wínd, E a'í. 476 S bóind. 477 L fain', SE fóind. 478
S gróind. 479 S wóind. 481 SE figger. 484 E dhis. 485 LB this'l. 486
S baam [barm, used]. 487 SE jistærdii. 488 SE jit. — Lr [betw.] dat,
dot [dirt].

I'- [(óí) was the nearest approach I could make to Miss Adcock's diphthong,
which she identified with my (ó'í). Miss Ellis writes (A'í), but I use (óí) for both,
TH once heard (ó'í) Lr]. 490 SE bóí. 491 SE sóí. 492 L sáid. 493 S
dróiv. 494 LM táim, SBE tóim. 496 SE óien. 498 SE róit.

I': 500 SBE lóik. 501 SE wóid. 502 SBE fóiv. 503 SBE lóif. 504
SE nóif. 505 SE wóif. 506 S wu.mæn, E wamen. 507 SE w.mín. — L
ii [hay]. 508 G máil, SE móil. 509 SE wóil. 511 L wáin, SB wóin. 512
SE spóiv. 513 S wóiv. 514 S óis. 515 S wóis. — G wát [white].
517 L jú, E jú.

O- 519 G ove. 521 SE fool. 522 S ap'n, Lr op'n. 523 S ap, ói ap æ
mi gar it [I hope you may get it, (r) for (t), as frequently]. 524 S wald.

O: — M sru,b [shrub]. — L kíuk' [cook]. — L [between] fagi fogi [foggy].

526 SE kaf, C kof, Lr kof'. 527 SE baat. 528 S thiqt [used], E thaat. 529 S briqd [used], E braat. 531 S daater, MEG daater. 532 SE kool. 533 SE du.l. 534 S óowl [pitch rises at end], E ool. 536 SE goold [not (used)]. 538 SE wu.d. 539 SE bool. 540 S ol. 542 SE boolt. — G krap' [crop]. 547 SE bóoverd. 549 S óovd. 550 S wad, EC ar. 551 S stórum, E staam. 552 LE kaan, S korén. 553 S orén, E aan. 554 SE krós, C aa.

O'- 555 L shæ'u, SE shú, M shuu. 556 SE tíu, S [omitted before the name of a place, *I'm going church*]. 557 SE tíu. 558 L líuk læ'uk, SE luuk líuk. 559 L mádhær, S modhær, E mu.dhær, GM mádhæ. 560 L sk'ul, M skuul. 561 S blósem [used]. 562 LG má'un, SBE míun, Enderby máun. 563 SBE mu.ndi. 564 LSE sún. 565 SE noz, E nooz. 566 LSEG u.dhær. 568 GLr brú.dhær.

O: 569 LSE búk, E buuk. 570 SE tuuk túk. 571 SE gu.d, E gad? 572 SE blu.d. 573 SE flu.d. 574 S brút. 575 SE stu.d. 576 S wenzdi. 577 S bá'u, E bæ'u. 578 S plau, E æ'u. 579 LSE wu.f, S wú. 580 SE tu.f. 581 S seetjt, E saat, líukt. 582 SE k'ul. 583 S túl. 584 SE stúul. 585 S bríum. 586 L dá'u dá'u, SE díu. 587 SE du.n, GM dū.n. 588 L ná'un níun ná'un, S núun. 589 SE spún. 590 S floovr. 591 C múr. 593 S mu.n [used], E mu.st. 594 SE bíut. 595 SE fu.t, C fat. 596 SE ríut. 597 SE su.t.

U- 599 SE wu.v. 600 SBE lu.v. 601 S faul, E æ'u. 602 ES se'u. 603 LM kam ku.m. 605 SE su.n, LGM sú.n, Lr sun. 606 LGM dór, S daa'ær, E dóer. 607 S bu.tær, G bu.tækup.

U: 608 SE u.gli. 609 S fu.l, EC fal. 610 SE wu.l. 611 S bu.læk, EC æ. 612 LSE su.m. 613 SE dru.qk. 614 S æ'un. 615 S paund, E æ'u. 616 L gréáund, E græ'und. 617 E se'und. 618 S wu.nd, E æ'u. 619 S fu.nd, E æ'u. 620 S graunded. 621 S wu.n. 622 SEG u.ndær. 625 SE tóq. 626 L u.qgrí, SE u.qgrær. 627 G su.ndi. 628 S nu.n. 629 SEG su.n, Lr sun [no difference between *son, sun*]. 630 S wu.n. 631 S thazdi, E ær. 632 SEGLr u.p. 633 SEMLr ku.p, Lr kop. 634 L thræ'u, S thrú. 635 SE wath. 636 SE fæde. 637 S tu.sk. 638 S bu.sk. 639 SE du.st.

U'- 640 S kæ'u, E kæ'u, C íau. 641 S æ'u, E æ'u, C íau. 642 S dhæ'u, C íau. 643 S næ'u, E næ'u, G nâu, C íau. 645 S du.v. 646 [S (kríuk) used], E bæ'u. 647 S æ'ul, E æ'u. 648 L àr, S aarn [ours], C wær [unemphatic]. 652 SE ku.d [used thus, 'I used to couldn't']. 653 SE bu.t.

U': [Miss Adcock said (æ'u) throughout, Miss Ellis gives the numbers for (æ'u) throughout, but very possibly she meant (áu), which was accidentally omitted from the numbered lists, and it is most likely that the actual sounds used by both ladies were identical. In her dt., E gives naðð, 'a in pat, ðð' which should be (æ'u), but may be (áu). The actual diphthong meant is therefore uncertain; see 663 L. The C wl. gives the triphthong (íau, jáu, záu); see D 26, p. 426, l. 9.] 654 E sræ'ud. 655 E fæ'ul. 656 S rúm. 657 S bra'un E æ'u. 658 LGMLr dáun [(éau) not used at L], C íau, S dá'un [see 659], E de'un. 659 LM táun, S ta'un [with raised voice at end], E æ'un, C íau. 661 S [rarely used, generally a (pæ'ur), meaning a pouring down of rain], E shæ'ur. 662 SE u.z. 663 L áus, [between] áas, áus; áas, S æ'us æ'uz'n, E æ'us, G áus áuz'n, M áus. 665 E mæ'us, C míaus. 666 SE u.zben, man, Lr u.zbend. 667 S æ'ut, E æ'ut, MLr áut. 668 S præ'ud, E æ'u. 670 S bíudh. 671 S ma'uth, E æ'u. 672 S sæ'uth, E æ'u.

Y- 673 S mu.tj. 674 S ded, E i. 676 SBE lói. 677 SE drói. 678 S din. 679 L tjátj, Lr [betw.] tjátj, tjátj, SE tjátj. 680 SE bizi. 682 SE lít'l.

Y: 684 S brig. 685 S radj [common], rig, G ridjæz. 686 S bóí [a slight difference from 490], E bóí. 687 S flóit. 688 C sitj setj satj. 689 SE bild. 690 SE kóind. 691 SE móind. 693 SE sín. 694 L wak, Lr wok. 695 S ærk. 696 E barth [æ]. 697 E beri. 699 S róit. 700 LSE was, Lr [between] was, wos. 701 CSE fast. — L shu.t. 703 SE pit.

Y'- 705 SE skói. 706 SE wói. 707 SE thartéin, G thortéin. 708 SE óier. Y': 709 SE fóier. 711 S lóis [usually (diks)]. 712 S móis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 E bad. 714 E la'd. 716 E ad'l. 717 S djéid. 718 S triid.

722 S driin. 723 E dñiri. 725 S séeil, Lr sêil [country] seel [with depressed intonation]. 729 E friim. 733 S ói wór amos skéerd tñu deth [I was almost scared to death]. 734 S dææn, E ææ. 737 S meet. — G teetv [potato]. 740 S wéev. 742 S liizi.

E. 743 E skriim. 744 S meez'lz, E æ. 745 S tjeéit. 746 S breeidh, E ii. 747 S indíver. 748 S fligd. 749 L left. 750 E beg.

I. and Y. 753 S tit'l [more usual], E tik'l. 754 E pig. 756 LSEM srímp. 757 S tñni. 758 SE gel. 759 E fit.

O. 761 SE lood, C óov. — L dog. Lr dog dóg [dog]. — L tlogz [clogs]. 767 S nóiz, EC ái. 768 S kóok. 771 SE fond. 773 S du,qki, E æ. 774 E pooni. 775 S biubi, E uu. 777 SE shop. 779 E órts. 781 S bádher. 782 SE pu,dhæ mu,k [? a powder of muck, very dusty]. 783 S póoultri. 784 S ba'uns, hæ'uns. 789 E ræ'u. 790 S ga'un. 791 GLr bði.

U. 792 S skwob'l. 793 SE u.g. 794 LrM dju.g. 795 S sru.g. 796 L blæ'u. 799 SE skv.l. 801 SE ræ.m. 803 SELr dju,mp. — GLr gu,n [gun]. 804 LS dru,qk'n [S 'very broad']. 805 SE kárdz, kádz. 806 SE fæ.s. 807 SE pu.s. 808 LS pu,t [S fine, E (pat)].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E éeib'l. 810 SE fééis [rising pitch], [country about Lr] fees. 811 SE plééis [rising pitch], M plèis', E [pl. pleez'n]. 812 S lééis. 813 L beek'n, S béek'n, E ii. 814 SE mees'n [usually (brik-liier)]. 816 S féeid. 817 SE ræd'ish. 818 E hæeidj [often]. 819 SE réeidj. 821 S dílii. 822 SE mii. — LG pii [pay]. 824 SE tñiur. 827 S eeger. 828 SE eegu. 830 L tréin, SE triin. 832 S miier, E ee. 833 S péewr. 835 S ræiz'n, E ii. 836 S séeiz'n, E ii. 838 S tréit, E ii. 839 S béeil. 840 S tjeéimber, E æ. 841 S tjeæns, E æ? 842 S plaqk. 845 S eenshæn, E h-. 846 C tjaandlar. 847 E deendjær. 848 SE tjeendj. 849 SE streendjær. 850 S dææns, E aa. 851 SE aant, E æ. 852 SE epæn. 853 S baargin, E ær. 854 SE barul. 855 SE karet. 856 S pa'rt, E æ. 857 S kééis. 858 S brééis. 859 E tjees. 860 SE pééist. 861 S tééist. 863 S tjeæf. 864 SE bekoz. 865 S fáat. 866 L pûæ.

E.. 867 S teei, E tii. 868 E djii. 869 S véeil [but veil and veil (veel)]. 870 S buiti buuti. 871 S egréei. 872 S tjeéif, E ii. 874 S riin. 875 S fiint. 877 S éeer, E h-. 878 SE salri. 879 [S never used by dialect-speakers, only (wæntj)], E fæmeel. 880 S egezææmpl. 881 SE sæs. 882 S panzi. 884 S eprentis. 887 S tlaardj. 888 S saartin, E ææ. 890 S beest beests, E ii. 891 E fiist. 892 S næfe næve, E nævi. 893 S flæ'ur. 894 S diséev. 895 S riséev.

I.. and Y.. 897 SE dulóit. 898 SE nóis. 899 S nééis, E ii. 900 S pree. 901 SE fáin, Lr fáin. 902 S móin. 903 S [uses only (tæ æv jær dñur) to have your dinner], E dóin. 904 SE vóilet. 908 SE ædvóis. 909 S bréiz. 910 E djæ'ist. 911 SE sæstern. 912 SE róis.

O.. 913 SE kootj. 914 E brootj. — L bæ'if [? (béif) beef]. 915 S stu.f. 916 S u,njæn, E æ. 917 SE roog. 918 S feeb'l. 919 E a'intment. 920 E pa'int. 921 E ekóint. 922 S bu,s'l, E bash'l. 923 EC ma'ist. 924 EC tja'is. 925 S vóis, E a'i. 926 SG spóil, EC a'i. 927 S tru,qk. 928 SE nææns, E æ'uns. 929 S kæ'uku,mber, E kæ'u-. 930 SE lóin. 931 S dju,glær. 932 C emiáant. 933 SE fru,nt. 934 S ba'unti. 935 SE ku,ntri. 937 E kæk. 938 S kaarnær. 939 tlos bi, SE tlas, S [close the door (pa'r dhæ dóer tñu) put the door to]. 940 SE koot. 941 SE tñul. 942 S bu,tjær, E batjær. 943 SE tu,tj. 947 S bóil, E a'i. 948 S bæ'ul [this is also used for a hoop, to trundle a hoop, is to (bæ'ul v bæ'ul)]. — GM ku,læ [colour]. 950 E sæ,par. 951 E ku,p'l. — L krææn [crown]. — Lr næs [nurse]. 952 S kuz'n. 954 E kash'n. 955 E de'ut. 956 S kiver it u,p [cover it up, as frequent as (ku,vær)]. 957 E empla'i.

U.. 961 SE griiuul. — L wéitin [waiting]. 963 SE kwóivt. 964 S súuet súuet. 965 S óil, EC a'il. 966 SE fríut. 967 S síut, E suut. 968 S óister, E a'i. 969 L shæ'uv, SE shidur [never used alone, but always after (saatin)]. 970 S djist næ'u [but] v dju,st man, E u,. 971 SE flíut.

V.

NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 30, 31 and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18), and on the n. by the L. line 10 (p. 21); and on e. and w. by the sea.

Area. The entire North and East Ridings with some of the West Riding of Yo.; n.La., most of Cu. and Nb., all We. and Du.

Districts. Only three districts have been formed, with rather numerous varieties, which, however, do not show any very important differences.

Characters. In the greater part of the division U' is represented by (uu), which in n.La. and Craven becomes (óu, áú). But through Cu. and We. at least if not in Du. and Nb., U' becomes (ú₁u) leading on to (óu). In the whole s. part, up to the n. *tee* line 7, p. 20, the def. art. is simple suspended (t'), but beyond that line (dhv). *I is* or (a)z is the regular form in the s. part and even in the n. part is more frequent than *I am* (a)m, which however is there heard. The verbal pl. in *-en* is quite unknown. The pron. in Cu. and We. seems to retain more of its original form than on the e. coast, although the use of English in those counties is certainly more recent than on the e. This is partly due no doubt to the mountainous formation of the w. regions.

Phonetically (ú₁u), which forms the transition from (uu) to (a'u), is most important, and is highly developed on the w. and in the n. It consists essentially in beginning the (uu) with a sound much more closely resembling (oo) than (uu), and gradually sinking to (uu), which is sustained. Thus JGG. observes that *soup* in Cu. and We. sounds to a southerner almost like *soap*. Of course this is an exaggeration. The native hears (suup), and hence writes *soop*, the fact being that he associates the conception of oo with (ú₁u) and not (uu). But (ú₁u, ú₁i) are strictly analogous, and are the means, or one of the means, by which (uu, ii) become (a'u, a'i), see p. 293. Although my information on the e. side gives me (uu, ii), it is very possible that (ú₁u, ú₁i) are said in many places. In the M. div. (ú₁i) occurs freely, especially in the milder form (ú₁i), but (ú₁u) only occurs in the milder form (ú₁u), and that unfrequently. The variation of the (uu) sound we find there is chiefly (æ'u), arising from beginning the sound of (uu) with the mouth open, producing (æ), which resembles (æ). In reality however the sound may be and is generally produced with the lips considerably closed through an effort of will (see p. 292). But in (ú₁u) the sound of (uu) begins, as has been said, with a sound closely approaching (oo). There is therefore an essential difference

of origin between ($\text{æ}'u$, ú_1u), though both are varieties of (uu). The first ($\text{æ}'u$) arises from O' , which is quite differently treated in the N. div. The second (ú_1u) arises directly from U' . It is quite true that ($\text{æ}'u$) extends to a few words which do not contain O' , and that in all cases O' must have sunk to (uu) before the change ($\text{æ}'u$) occurred. It is also true that ($\text{æ}'u$) as well as (ú_1u) generates ($\text{æ}'u$), but that is by direct confusion of (æ) with (e , æ); whereas (ú_1u) passes through (óu). The treatment of O' in the N. div. is not at all ($\text{æ}'u$), but rather (iu , iv), which may have had a different origin.

The letter r occasions considerable difficulty. On the e . as far as the two Shields Nb. and Du. it practically disappears when not preceding a vowel. Even on the w . its power is very small. The difficulty of ascertaining the fact is very great, because the speaker, feeling the effect of the written r in modifying the preceding vowel, insists on its presence. In the same way in London people will assert that they pronounce r in *part*, *sort*, which they call (*paat*, *saat*), because had there been no r written, they would have said (*pæt*, *sot*). (See pp. 189, 234 and 247.) But they will admit that they do not "rattle the r " as in Scotland. In the n. part of Nb. and adjacent to Scotland, the peculiar uvular (r) prevails, and it will be specially discussed hereafter; but it seems to be rather a defective utterance than a distinctive dialectal pronunciation.

The guttural (kh), which was sporadically heard even in the M. div., has practically vanished from the N., though on passing the L. line 10, (kh) as well as (r) is strong.

The fact that a small portion of n.Cu. and n.Nb. belongs to the L. division must be particularly noted. The whole of the n. part of the N. div. was for long renowned for its "Border" warfare, but this portion has now quietly settled into possession of L. speech, and mostly L. people, although politically a part of England.

D 30 = EN. = East Northern.

Boundary. Beginning at Middlesborough, Yo., at the mouth of the Tees, proceed along the border of Yo. and Du. as far as Croft (14 sw. Middlesborough). Then go sw. from Croft to Middleham (8 s-by-w. Richmond), passing e. of Richmond and Leyburn. Turn s. and enter the West Riding just e. of Middlesmoor (13 w-by-n. Ripon), when turn slightly se. and go direct to Burley (7 n. Bradford), about where strike the s. *hoose line* 6 (p. 19). Follow this line, passing along the Wharfe by Otley, to about Arthington (17 s-by-w. Ripon), when quit the Wharfe, but pursue the s. *hoose line* to the s. of Tadcaster (9 sw. York), w. of Selby and Snaith, (passing 8 w. Goole) across Hatfield Chase, se. to the n. part of Nt., and then by the b. of Li. to the Humber, at the mouth of the Trent, and crossing the Ouse opposite Blacktoft (6 e. Goole), go by the Humber and coast round to the Tees mouth and Middlesborough again.

It must be understood that this line from Croft to Burley, separating EN. = D 30 from WN. = D 31, is merely approximative. The upper part of Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Nidderdale belong certainly to D 31, which, as we shall see, differs distinctly in character from D 30, but whether the boundary lies slightly e. or w. of that assigned has not been ascertained. Probably no definite line could be drawn. The one proposed is very nearly the w. b. of the great plain of

Yo., and while it satisfies JGG., my authority for the adjacent part of D 31, does not interfere with any of CCR.'s indications.

Area. This district comprises the greater part of the North Riding, omitting the nw. horn of Yo., all the East Riding and a small portion of the West Riding, a very large extent of country, which has not been completely explored, although there can be but little doubt of the general character of the parts from which no information has been received.

This large area I have found it convenient to divide into four main varieties, which are themselves divided into subvarieties as follows:

VAR. i. *The Great Plain of York.*

- (a) Mid Yo., (b) York Ainsty, (c) North Mid Yo., (d) New Malton, (e) Pateley Bridge and Lower Nidderdale, (f) Washburn River.

VAR. ii. *The North East Moors.*

- (a) South Cleveland, North Cleveland being spoiled for dialect by the iron works, (b) North East Coast and Whitby.

VAR. iii. *The Wolds and South East Coast.*

- (a) Market Weighton, (b) Holderness.

VAR. iv. *The Marshes.*

- Goole, and Marshland.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists for Yo. under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in so., principally CCR.'s Glossic, ° in io.

Var. i. (a) || Mid Yo., ° Ripon to Thirsk. (b) || York Ainsty, || York city. (c) || North Mid Yo., ° Thirsk. (d) || New Malton. (e) || Pateley Bridge. (f) || Washburn River.

Var. ii. (a) || Stokesley for South Cleveland, ° Skelton, ° Danby-in-Cleveland. (b) || North East Coast, ° Hackness, ° Whitby.

Var. iii. (a) *° Market Weighton, ° Pocklington. (b) *†° Holderness, † Burton Constable, † Hornsea, † Hull, † Leven, ° Skeffling, || Sutton, † Swine, ° Waghen.

Var. iv. ° Drax, ° East Haddlesley, * Goole, ° Hatfield, ° Selby, ° Snaith.

Character. Throughout this large extent of country, it is surprising what small varieties exist. Although following principally the lead of CCR., who was my first and has been my chief authority for the central parts of this region, I have laid down 11 forms, it is very difficult if not impossible to say with even moderate certainty (so far as the information I have obtained extends) what are the characteristics of each, and to discover any but a geographical test to distinguish them.

The great uncertainty commences with the chief characteristic, the peculiar mode of fracturing the vowels in the A-, A', Æ, E-, EA', O' words by prefixing an accented (e) or (i) and reducing the vowel itself to indistinct (ə): thus A- (néəəm) (níəəm) name, A' (twéəv, twíiv) two, Æ (déəv, díiv) day, and so on. All we can say is, that (éəv) is more affected in the s. and (íiv) in the n., but both occur everywhere. In case of A', O', this is further confused with (úuv). Numerous instances will be seen in the subjoined cwl. for Vars. i, ii, iii.

The next great peculiarity is the treatment of I' as (aa). This also pervades all the varieties, although it is certainly modified in Var. iii, especially in form b. In this form (aa) occurs principally before voiced consonants, as (waad) wide, but even in this case frequently becomes (ái) as (wáid) wide. Before voiceless consonants, and even in other cases, the sound is (éi) or possibly (ɛ'i) as (néif náivz) knife knives. CCR. cannot prevail on himself to believe in these (éi) forms, but the testimony of so many observers is overwhelming in their favour.

The treatment of the vowel in the U' words as (uu) is by no means peculiar

to D 30; we have already met with it in the n. of D 20, but it is characteristic in conjunction with the other marks. In D 31 we shall find it somewhat modified. Here, however, it forms a strong contrast to the (aa) treatment of the same U' in the adjoining D 24, and the whole course of the s. *hoose* line 6 should be carefully observed. The vowel in the U words is (*u*) apparently, and not (*u*_o). But my vv. authority for Market Weighton, Rev. Jackson Wray, seemed to incline to an (*u*₁) sound, and (*u*₁) certainly occurs in D 31. See introd. to M. div. p. 291.

The *r* before a vowel seems to be gently trilled, and when not before a vowel, either to be entirely vocalised or reduced to a species of faint unflapped (*r*) of some kind, but the special kind has not been determined, and hence (*r*) simply is sometimes written, the value of which must be thus determined.

The definite article is generally reduced to the suspended (*t'*), and in Holderness is, according to its glossarists, reduced to nothing at all. Mr. Stead, however, one of the glossarists, admits the occasional use of (*t'*). Much more remarkable is its transformation into (*th*), which CCR. finds in the Washburn River form *f* of Var. i, and which he has traced sporadically as far as Harrogate. If this is confirmed by other observers, the n. *theeth* line (5) would have to be modified at the point where it at present unites with the s. *hoose* line (6), say at Burley (26 w-by-s. York), and would proceed n. for about 6 miles to Blubberhouses, go round by Harrogate, and join line 6 again about Arthington (20 w-by-s. York). But at present it seems best to preserve the line 5 with this provisional statement.

A further characteristic which separates D 30 from D 24, and from the n. of D 20, is the universal use of *I is* (aa)z for *I am*. But this is common also to D 31, and may even be heard occasionally in Dumfries.

Var. i and ii I cannot separate at all, so far as pronunciation is concerned. But there may be many differences in idiom and vocabulary, with which I am not concerned, and as we have for Var. i CCR.'s Mid Yo. Glossary, for Var. ii Rev. J. C. Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary for form *a*, and Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary for form *b*, all highly elaborated, I have been induced to make the distinction, which, so far as pron. is concerned, seems to me to consist principally in the preference of (*iie*) to (*éev*), compare the cwl. below.

Var. iii is characterised by the threefold treatment of I' (taam, *néif*, *náivz*) time, knife, knives, the absence of the def. art. and the use of (*thr-*, *dhr-*) for (*t,r-*, *d,r-*), although TH. found only the latter form, and Mr. Stead admits that on his last visit to Holderness, he found those dentals coming into use among the younger people.

Var. iv is still less easy to separate than the others. It gives me the impression of an immigrant form from m. Yo. In the cwl. for Var. iii form *b*, I have marked all those words which were given me at H [Holderness] in a full wl., differently from those at S [Snaith]. They are certainly very few. In A-, made cake tale lame same mane wane, S used (*éev*) for H.'s (*iie*). In A: S (*kéem*), H (*kom*). In A' S (*gaa naa tuu klúvus*) for H (*gúus níe twíe tliús*) go no two clothes, and bone none stone oar had also (*aa*), and so on. The principal variants were: *Æ'*- S (*meni*), H (*moni*) many. *E*: S (*seg*), H (*sedj*) sedge; *EA'*- S (*feev*), H (*ffu*) few; *EA'*: S (*shíief*), H (*shaf*) sheaf, S (*néevbur*), H (*néiber*) neighbour. *EO* S (*bréit*), H (*briit*) bright, *I-* S (*stii*), H (*stáil*) stile. *I*: S (*néit eléit*), H (*niit liit*) night alight, S (*grúnd*), H (*grúnd*); the last was the most considerable difference observed. For *I'*, S has (*aa*) in place of (*éi*), and for *O'*, S (*spúuin búuit*), H (*spúün búist*) spoon boot, are decidedly singular, and approach D 24.

MARKET WEIGHTON AND MARSHLAND.

The following contrast of W [Market Weighton] and M [Marshland] was given me by Mr. Kirkpatrick (see Introd. to cs. No. 9, p. 501), in his own orthography, which I interpret to the best of my ability. W is said to be "gruff and hard," M "soft, whining, and slightly sing-song." I write it interlinearly with R [received speech].

No. 1.

R Good night, Tom, I'll go home at once, and get into bed and
 W gud niit, :tom, aa]l gan jam et jans, en git inti' bed en
 M gud niit, :tomí, aa]il gúwə úwəm et wons, en get tì bed, en

R rest my old bones, for I am vastly afraid I shall never get
 W rist mi' AAD bíwenz, fer aa)z weent en fleed aa sal nívr get
 M rest mai' ood búwenz, fer aa)z fruit'nd aa shel nívr get

R to Londesborough Park to-morrow.
 W tə :londesbro :peek tì mAAŋ.
 M ti :usfi't :pasther tì morə.

Notes to No. 1.

Vastly afraid, the (*weent en*) used for (*weentli*); and *whent* in Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary is explained as 'vast'; (*fleed*) flayed, is

commonly used for frightened.—*Londesborough's Park* is 2 n. Market Weighton.—*Ousefleet Pasture*, Ousefleet is 6 e. Goole, on the Ouse, the places are varied to suit the speakers.

No. 2.

R Dr. Patrick, you've got upon a bonny-ish horse there.
 W :doksə :patherík, juu getən pon ə bo'ni)ish os dhéev.
 M oo :doksə :patherík dhat's ə náist əs júu)er wəŋ.

R What's he gotten with? How old will he be? I don't know
 W wat)s i getən wiv? uu AAD wíl)ə)bi? ái' díwənt nAA
 M uu óud wíl)ə)bi?

R that I've [or, I haven't] seen such a pretty horse [of a very long while].
 W et a)v siin sáik ə prati' os.
 M ái' eent siin sitj nə prati' əs əv)ə vari loq wáil.

Notes to No. 2.

W. *Dr. Patrick*, he was a general practitioner of course, but in Yo. they style these *doctors*, and speak of the physicians as *Mr.*, which is supposed to imply a higher rank. He never had his full name of *Kirkpatrick* given him. *What's he gotten with?* what were his sire and dam?—*seen* should probably be *seed*.

M. *nice horse*, the pron. (əəs), written *hirse* for horse, is Li., Marshland rather affects the adjoining Isle of Axholme in Li.

Mr. K. said that the dialect of Howden (of which he is a native) and Blacktoft, both just opposite Marshland on the other (or north) side of the Ouse, is rather that of Marshland. The speech of Goole and Snaith are illustrated below.

Illustrations. (1) CCR. and other informants have kindly furnished me with 10 cs. illustrating 10 out of the 11 forms previously mentioned. These I have arranged interlinearly, by which means their relations and differences are readily seen. The form not here contained is Var. iv, Goole. As I had been so much dependent on CCR. for Yo., it seemed advisable to check his pron. by other information; hence I give (2) a set of 4 dt. interlinearly for Var. ii, and (3) a set of 3 dt. interlinearly, two for Var. iii,

and one for Var. iv, written by different hands. I conclude my illustrations by 4 very full word-lists, illustrating (4) Mid Yo. Var. i, (5) n.e.Yo. Var. ii, (6) Market Weighton, Var. iii, (7) Holderness, Var. iii. To the last the differences from Var. iv have been added. These taken together give the completest accounts of the pron. of this district which I have been able to procure. For transliteration of CCR.'s Glossic see p. 394, l. 6 from bottom.

(1) TEN INTERLINEAR CS.

illustrating D 30, Var. i, ii, iii, to shew the small extent of their differences.

1. *Mid Yo.* Var. 1a. The typical form with which the others have to be contrasted; embracing the area defined by lines joining the towns of Ripon, Ripley (7 s-by-w.Ripon), Wetherby (15 sse.Ripon), York, Easingwold (12 n.w. York) and Ripon again, and extending slightly beyond this limit in every direction. This is the district to which CCR.'s *Mid Yorkshire Glossary* refers. The cs. was pal. by A.J.E. from CCR.'s glossic, after a full discussion. See also the cwl. which follows, and which is likewise due to him. CCR.'s familiarity with this speech was principally with the neighbourhood of Wetherby. He considered that York Ainsty was also involved, but probably only the n.w.Ainsty was meant, and it and York City should be omitted, see No. 2.

2. *South Ainsty*, Var. 1b. The Ainsty of York is an irregular quadrilateral, of which York City, the junction of the Wharfe and Ouse (8 s-by-w.York), Wetherby (12 w-by-s.York), and the junction of the Nidd and the Ouse, are the angular points. A line from Wetherby to Easingwold would therefore just avoid the Ainsty, and Mr. Stead, headmaster of Folkestone Grammar School, a native of the Ainsty and for 20 years there resident, thinks that CCR.'s Var. 1a, cs. No. 1, must have just avoided the Ainsty. The following cs. written by Mr. Stead in gl. and pal. by A.J.E. refers to the undernamed villages in the Ainsty, all less than 6 m. from York: to the s., Bishopthorpe, Naburn, Acaster, and Appleton; to the sw., Dringhouses, both Askhams, Copmanthorpe, and Billbrough; to the w., Acomb, and to the nw., Poppleton. The differences between this version and CCR.'s No. 1, which will be seen at a glance from the inter-linear arrangement, formed the subject of an inquiry by me, the results of which are given in notes to this version No. 2. Mr. Stead says that the forms in the s. and e. part of the Ainsty differ in many points from those in the n. and w. villages of the same district, as Nun Monkton (7 nw.York), Tollerton (10 nw.York), Alne (4 sw.Easingwold, 11 nw.York), which lie beyond the Ainsty. After the full exposition in the notes to this version, I do not reproduce the complete wl. for s.Ainsty with which Mr. Stead kindly furnished me. The whole district is influenced by the refined speech of York City on one side, and the ordinary speech of the East Riding, as at Market Weighton, cs. No. 9, on the other. Both CCR. and Mr. Stead gave me a cs. for the refined petty tradesman's speech of York City, differing in minute particulars, and CCR. gave me a cs. for the refined peasant speech of the whole country from Wetherby to Northallerton and Stokesley, ranging therefore over cs. Nos. 1, 3, and 7; but although these are interesting, they are such manifestly modern interferences with hereditary dialect through education and received speech, that I considered they lay beyond the scope of these inquiries.

3. *North Mid Yo.* Var. 1c. This represents CCR.'s "Near North," that is, the district lying immediately north of his Mid Yo. Draw lines connecting Northallerton, Kirkby Moorside (20 ese.Northallerton), Thirsk, Middleham (19 w-by-n.Thirsk), and thence to Northallerton. This gives a flat quadrilateral, beyond which the region is supposed to extend in all directions. To the n. of this region up to Du. I have almost no information. Nor have I any means of checking the present. But as it lay beyond CCR.'s immediate observation, and depends upon memories many years back, some errors are unavoidable. The notes are almost entirely due to CCR.

4. *New Malton*, Var. 1d. This version for New Malton was written to shew

how (aa) prevailed in many words in this part of Yo. The dialect, so far as I know, was not very familiar to CCR., but he endeavoured to convey the impression he had received. It cannot be considered to be a particular study of purely local Malton speech, but merely an exemplification of the use of (aa). In other respects it agrees closely with cs. Nos. 1 or 3. The following is a list of all the words in which (aa) occurs either in cs. No. 1 or No. 4, with the corresponding sound in the other, arranged in the order of the cwl. The figures 1 and 4 refer to these versions.

A-	1 léev 4 laa <i>law</i> , 1 féev 4 faa <i>fare</i> .	I-	1 and 4 naan <i>nine</i> .
A:	1 géevth 4 gaath <i>garth</i> .	I:	1 saak'n 4 sáik'n <i>such</i> .
A'-	1 noo 4 naa <i>know</i> , 1 kréevk 4 kraa <i>to crow</i> .	I'-	1 biv 4 baa <i>by</i> , 1 and 4 taam <i>time</i> , 1 and 4 waan <i>to whine</i> .
A':	1 téevn 4 taan <i>the one</i> .	I':	1 and 4 laak <i>like</i> , 1 and 4 waal <i>while</i> , 1 maan 4 máin <i>mine</i> .
Æ:	1, 4 wáav, wor <i>was</i> .	O-	1 and 4 waald <i>world</i> .
Æ':	1 dhiiv 4 dháav <i>there</i> , 1 wiier 4 wáav <i>where</i> .	Y-	1 d,raa 4 d,rái <i>to dry</i> , 1 and 4 laal <i>little</i> .
EA-	1 kéevz 4 kaaz <i>cares</i> .	A.	1 tóoek 4 taak <i>talk</i> .
EA:	1 soo 4 saa <i>saw</i> , 1 oóvd 4 aad <i>old</i> , 1 éxvl 4 aal <i>all</i> , 1 kóovl 4 kaal <i>call</i> , 1 and 4 shaap <i>sharp</i> .	I..	1 and 4 faan <i>fine</i> .
		O..	1 n'íak 4 kaan <i>corner</i> .
		U..	1 wisht 4 kwaat <i>quiet</i> .

There is certainly a singular preponderance of (aa) if all has been correctly remembered, but there is no evident reason for it, and possibly the change is modern.

5. *Lower Nidderdale*, Var. *ie*. The lower portion of the valley of the Nidd, including Pateley Bridge and Greenhow Hill, both 11 nw. Harrogate. The pron. here, and in cs. No. 6, is transitional to D 31, Var. *iii*. The district of Lower Nidderdale is not uniform, Lofthouses at the n., Ramsgill a little s. of it, but still n. of Pateley Bridge, and Dacre 4, se. of it, have apparently slight differences in the pronunciation of the long O' words, soon noon done enough plough, and the Fr. U.. word *sure*, which have (iu) in the first, (iiv) in the second, and (iu) in the last, supposing Dacre and Pateley Bridge to have the same diphthong.

6. *Washburn River district*, Var. *if*. This extends from Blubberhouses and Fewston (6 sw. Harrogate), to Otley (9 nw. Leeds), just on the border of D 24. This dialect approaches to that of Skipton, D 31, Var. *iii*, and is the extreme w. form of D 30, Var. *i*. It is peculiar as having (th) for the def. art. *the*, although lying in the midst of a (t') speaking population, and n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. See p. 497. Otley, too, which is here included, seems geographically to belong to D 24. The exact position of the line 5 and part of line 6 along this part has not been perfectly traced for want of such a precise phonetic survey as TH. has made for lines 1 and 2. CCR. considers the northern district about Fewston, Thruscross, and Blubberhouses, on the e. bank of Washburn River, and the southern by Otley, to form two subvarieties, but he has not given me the points of difference.

7. *South Cleveland*, Var. *ia*. This may be taken as slightly exceeding the triangular area of which Stokesley (8 s. Middlesborough), Egton (20 se. Middlesborough), and Pickering (20 w-by-n. Filey), are the points. North of Stokesley the dialect has been corrupted by the development of the ironworks, of which Middlesborough is the head. The line of railway from Stokesley to Egton may be considered to form the n. base of this triangle. The east coast, giving form *b*, is closely connected with this, which includes the Moors of Yorkshire, and has been especially illustrated in the Rev. J. C. Atkinson's 'Cleveland Glossary,' 1868, where he endeavours to trace a connection between these forms and the Scandinavian. The difference as regards pron. between cs. Nos. 1 to 6, and cs. Nos. 7 and 8, is very slight indeed. This cs. is also by CCR.

8. *North-East Coast*, Var. *ib*. This extends "from Guisborough (8 se. Middlesborough) eastwards and from Tees mouth southwards to s. of Filey," as defined by CCR. This is especially the district illustrated by Mr. F. K. Robinson's *Whitby Glossary*. What facilities CCR. had for investigating this

dialect I do not know, but there is a great peculiarity in this version, of which I find no indication in the Cleveland or Whitby glossaries, namely, the use of (éi) for the vowel in ye, here, there, we, themselves, himself, great, sickan = such, herself, eyes, me, did, she, well, beast, will, washing, tea, week, deed. This affects only cs. No. 8. In other respects this v. agrees well with the preceding. See ne.Yo. cwl. and dt. below, Illustrations (5) and (2).

9. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n), Var. *iiiα*. This cs. was written in io. by Mr. J. W. Kirkpatrick, of Market Weighton, a native of Howden (16 sse.York and 11 sw.Market Weighton, which is 10 w-by-n.Beverley), and may be considered to represent the triangular area of which Pocklington (12 e-by-s.York), Beverley, and Howden are the vertices, or the w. side of the East Riding. It was then revised by Mr. H. Dove, of Market Weighton, and translated into glossic by CCR., and finally, in 1877, it was gone over with the Rev. Jackson Wray (author of an admirable Methodist dialect tale called *Nestleton Magna*), and pal. by AJE. CCR. considered it to be "a presentation of dialect in a refined form, which is the general mode of speech in e.Yo.," and that it is "faithful and characteristic." Mr. K. also gave me a number of notes respecting this dialect, especially as contrasted with that of Marshland, Var. iv (see p. 497).

10. *Holderness*, Var. *iiiβ*. This is the district on the se. coast of Yo. from say Bridlington southwards to Spurnhead, the extreme se. point of Yo., and eastwards through Driffield, Beverley, and Hull, the b. following the line of railway from Hull to Bridlington (:bo'liten). The authors of the Holderness Glossary divide this region roughly into three, termed n., w. and e. Ho., by straight lines connecting Hornsea with Driffield (12 nw.Hornsea) on the one hand and Hull on the other. The following cs. specimen was pal. by AJE. in Dec. 1873 from the dictation of the Rev. Henry Ward, who had then been well acquainted with the country for thirty years or more. His information referred especially to n.Holderness, but Mr. Stead, who is responsible for the e.Holderness part of the Glossary, gave me the variants for that region. This version was also submitted to CCR., who considered it in many respects refined; some of his observations are given in the notes. To examine the peculiar use of (thr- dhr-) TH. visited Hornsea, Burton Constable (7 ssw.Hornsea), Leven (7 wsw.Hornsea), Swine (5 nne.Hull), and Hull. From the last, being thoroughly refined, he obtained (tr-, dr-), and from the other places he got (t,r-, d,r-), which Mr. Stead on a subsequent visit found that it was the tendency of younger people to use in place of (thr-, dhr-), the form he found to prevail among the peasantry. As in Market Weighton (thr-) is constantly written when (t,r-) is said, it is the most natural substitute. But Mr. Stead is quite familiar with both (t,r-, thr-), and knows the difference in their character, and can pronounce both, as I know by a personal interview. He has also visited every village in e.Holderness. Hence I have no hesitation in accepting his conclusion, written to TH. on 20 Feb. 1878, namely, "Amongst persons of somewhat superior education or position there is a modification or sliding towards (t, d), and the same is almost invariably the case where the rustics address strangers of presumably superior position and education; but where a free and unembarrassed utterance by a genuine native can be obtained, we get decided (th, dh). And yet after all it is only in this latter case that we get the true Holderness sounds at all."

Another point is the regular and total omission of the def. art. *the*, which is queried by CCR. In the Holderness Glossary it is much insisted on for n. and e.Holderness, but *the* admittedly occurs (1) as (t') before vowels, as (t' egz), and (2) as (d) added to prepositions, as (i)d uus, *ups*d grund in the house, upon the ground. In the Glossary Mr. Stead says, "The peculiar effect on the pronunciation of the omission of the definite article can scarcely be conceived by one who has not heard the dialect spoken." And it must be recollected that Mr. Stead is from birth familiar with suspended (t') for the def. art.

CCR. is also sceptical as to the separation of (éi) before voiceless consonants from (ái) before vowels and voiced consonants, the latter of which, and not the former, has a tendency to fall into (aa), and he thinks it must be a refinement; but it seems to be generally admitted by natives of se.Yo.

Much information respecting pron. is given in the Introduction to the Holderness Glossary.

Arrangement. In order to make evident the coincidences and differences of these ten versions in the clearest possible manner, they have been arranged interlinearly, and when a word in one line is *exactly* repeated in the *next* following line, it is not rewritten, but its place is supplied by (,). It must be remembered that (,,) means "the same word exactly as in the *next preceding* line." When a word in one line has *no* corresponding word in one or more of the next following, (—) is inserted when it seemed advisable for clearness; otherwise the space has been left blank. Hence (—) means "No word corresponding to that in *any* preceding line." Thus in par. 1. (təgi,də) occurs only in cs. No. 6, and blanks are left in the other numbers. But nothing answering to (o ʀə) occurs in cs. Nos. 2, 9 and 10. Hence (o ʀə) have to be rewritten in cs. No. 3, but they are replaced by (,,,) being two words in cs. No. 4, then (on) supersedes (o) in cs. No. 5, but (ʀə) remaining is represented by (,,). In cs. No. 6 (o) recurs, and (o ʀə) remain through Nos. 7 and 8, as shewn by (,,). On the other hand, there is nothing corresponding to them in cs. Nos. 9 and 10. See also the 8 interlinear cs. in D 26, p. 427*.*.

Very minute differences are thus pointed out, much more minute than perhaps the versions were intended to imply. It would be incorrect, especially in the seven cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, which are all due to CCR., to suppose that any slightly different form was *always* heard in the places named, to the exclusion of that in a neighbouring district. But they were certainly his impressions, and he carefully corrected his versions, after many written questions from me.

0.	1	<i>Mid Yorkshire.</i>	wat	fə	:dʒuən	ez	nées	duuts.
	2	<i>South Ainsty.</i>	wái	—	:dʒon	,,	nə	,,
	3	<i>North Mid Yo.</i>	wat	fə	:dʒuən	ez	níʔ	,,
	4	<i>New Malton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒan	ez	nées	duuts.
	5	<i>Lower Nidderdale.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuəni	,,	níʔ	duuts.
	6	<i>Washburn River.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuən	,,	,,	,,
	7	<i>South Cleveland.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	nées	,,
	8	<i>North-East Coast.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	<i>Market Weighton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒon	,,	níʔ	duuts.
	10	<i>Holderness.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	nə	duuts.

1.	1	wiil,	néesbə,	jii	ʊn	ím		mə	béerth	o	ʀə
	2	wel,	néiʔə,	juu	,,	ii		,,	búerth	—	—
	3	wiil,	níʔə,	jii	,,	ím		,,	bíʔrth	o	ʀə
	4	,,	néesbə,	,,	,,	,,		,,	béerth	o	,,
	5	,,	níʔə,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	bíʔrth	on	,,
	6	,,	níʔəbə,	jii	,,	,,	təgi,də	,,	béerth	o	,,
	7	,,	níʔə,	,,	,,	,,		,,	bíʔrth	,,	,,
	8	,,	níʔəbər,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	néiʔə,	juu	,,	,,		,,	,,	—	—
	10	,,	néesbə,	juu	,,	,,		,,	béerth	—	—

1	laf	lék	ʊt	dhis	níʔ	ʊ	maan,	wéʊ)	s)	t	kéerʔ
2	,,	,,	,,	níʔ	,,	,,	wAA	—	—	—	kéerʔ?
3	,,	laak	,,	níʔ	,,	,,	wíʔ	—	—	—	kíʔ?
4	,,	,,	,,	níʔ	,,	,,	wíʔ	—	—	—	kaaz?
5	,,	,,	,,	níʔ	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,
6	,,	lóek	,,	,,	,,	móʊn,	,,	—	—	—	kéerʔ?
7	,,	,,	,,	níʔ	,,	maan,	,,	—	—	—	,,
8	,,	,,	,,	níʔ	,,	,,	wéiʔ	—	—	—	,,
9	,,	,,	maa	níʔ	—	—	wat	div	a	kaaz?	,,
10	,,	,,	dhis	,,	ʊ	maan,	wíʔ	—	—	—	kéerʔ?

1	·dhat)s	néedhər	ivə	nə	dhiv.					
2	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhéevr.					
3	" "	nóudər	" "	" "	dhiv.					
4	" "	néedhər	" "	" "	dháav.					
5	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhaa.					
6	" "	néedər	" "	" "	dhiv.					
7	" "	nóudər	" "	" "	" "					
8	" "	nóudhər	" "	" "	dhéev.					
9	it) s	níedhər	" "	" "	dhiv.					
10	dhat)s	nóudhər	" "	" "	dhéev.					
2. 1	jan	kenz	it) s	nubəd	v	féev	v	mín	et	
2						fiu		fúvks	—	
3	jan	nóoəz	it) s	néubəd	v	"	v	men	et	
4	"	naaz	" "	nobet	"	"	"	"	"	
5	"	nooz	et	" "	"	fiu	"	"	"	
6	"	nóoəz	" "	nobet	"	fiu	"	"	"	
7	"	"	" "	nobet	"	"	"	"	"	
8	"	"	" "	"	"	"	"	"	"	
9	—	—	it iz'nt	"	"	moni	"	"	"	
10	—	—	—	vari	"	fiu	"	fooks	—	
1	gaqz	en	diiz	eko's	dhər	fióutid	at		di)net	
2	—	—	"	koz	"	laft	"	wii naa	daant	
3	gaqz	en	díez	eko's	dhí)v	fiivəd	"		du)net	
4	—	—	diiz	"	dhə	laft	"		di)net	
5	ganz	en	déiz	biko's	dhéi)r	"	"		du)net	
6	gaqz	en	diiz	koz	dhər	gənd	"		díevnt	
7	—	—	"	kos	dhí)v	laft	"		du)net	
8	gaqz	en	"	eko's	"	"	"		du)net	
9	—	—	"	kos	dhéev)	"	"	wi nóov	díevnt	
10	—	—	"	—	v bi'in	"	et	wi noo	díevnt	
1	ez?	préi	wat	səd	mak	em?		it)s	nut	
2	wə?	—	"	shəd	"	"	"	"	"	
3	ez?	préiv	"	səd	"	"	"	it bfi)	ent	
4	ez nu?	—	—	—	—	—	—	it)s	nut	
5	wéi?	pree)v	wat	səd	"	"	nuu?	"	"	
6	es?	préiv)	"	"	"	"	nuu?	"	"	
7	wə?	—	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	
8	wéi?	—	"	"	"	"	nuu?	"	néevn	
9	wí?	—	"	sud	"	"	"	"	'nt	
10	wə?	—	"	"	"	"	"	"	)s not	
1	varə	laaklən	iz	it	nuu?					
2	vari	lé'kli	"	"	—					
3	varə	laaklən	bíez	"	nuu?					
4	"	laaklé	iz	"	nu?					
5	"	laaklən	"	"	nuu?					
6	"	lá'klən	"	"	—					
7	vari	laaklé	"	"	nuu?					
8	varə	"	"	"	—					
9	vari	lé'kli	is)	t	—					
10	"	lé'kli	"	"	—					

3.	1	usəm'i'va	dház)zə	)z	tálnz	ə)t'	t, réeəth	ə)t'				
	2	ə'u)i've	dhívez	—	iz)t'	fakts	„ „	—					
	3	uusəm'i've	„	—	„	tálnz	„ „	t, ríivəth					
	4	„	„	—	„	„	„ „	„					
	5	uusəm'i've	„	dher	)t'	matəz	—	„ „				
	6	usəm'i've	„	ivə	)z	tálnz	„	t, ríivəth „)th				
	7	„	„	—	iz t'	matəz	„ „	t, ríivəth					
	8	„	„	—	„	telənz	„ „	t, ríivəth „ „					
	9	uu)i've	„	—	is)t'	faks	—	„ „					
	10	u)i've	„	—	iz	„	o)t'	—					
	1	kíivəs,	séev	djust	ganz	tə	ən	óovd dhə dhuu dhi dín,					
	2	kéevs,	súuv	djust				od rə — nóiz,					
	3	kíivəs,	síiv	„				óovdz tə dhuu dha dín,					
	4	kíivəs,	séev	„	—	dhu	—	óovd — „ „					
	5	„	síiv	„				ood — dhuu dhéi „					
	6	„	„	„				od — jii rə „					
	7	„	séev	djust				od — dhuu dhí „					
	8	„	„	djust				óovd — dhu „ „					
	9	kíivəs,	síiv	„				od — — rə tuq, „					
	10	kéevs,	soo	„				ood — rə — nóiz,					
	1	frínd,	ən	bí	—	wisht	—	nu waəl aa)z díivən.					
	2	frénd,	„	bí	—	kwéivt	—	— tál aa)v „					
	3	„	„	—	—	wisht	dhə	nuu waal a)v díivən.					
	4	frínd,	„	bí	—	kwaat	—	nu „ a díivən.					
	5	frénd,	„	—	—	wish	tə	nuu wal a)v díivən.					
	6	frínd,	„	tak	ood	ən	wisht	—	„ waal a díivən.				
	7	„	„	—	—	wish	tə	— „ aa)v „					
	8	frénd,	„	bí	—	*kwaat	—	— wal a „					
	9	„	„	„	—	stíl	—	— „ a)v „					
	10	„	„	„	—	kwáivt	—	— tál áiv díivən.					
	1	æk tə budz nu !											
	2	lísən !											
	3	nuu dhen, aaks tə ?											
	4												
	5	léis)tə dhen !											
	6	nuu den, aakən !											
	7	aakən nuu !											
	8	aak nu !											
	9	aa'k rə dhéi nuu !											
	10	aak, nu !											
4.	1	aa)	z	síiv	ət	a	íivd	əm	séev, sum	v	dhim	fóovk	ət
	2	„	„	saaten	—	ái	„	„	see,	„	„	dhem	fúovks
	3	„	„	síiv	ət	a	íivd	„	síiv,	„	„	„	fúovk
	4	„	„	„	—	a	íivd	„	séev,	„	„	„	fóovks
	5	„	„	siiv	ət	a	éivd	„	„	„	„	„	„
	6	„	„	síiv	„	„	íivd	„	„	„	„	„	„
	7	„	„	saaten	„	„	íivd	„	„	„	„	„	„
	8	„	„	síiv	ət	a	íivd	„	síiv,	„	„	„	fúovk
	9	a)	z	„	—	a	„	„	séev,	„	„	„	fúovks
	10	aa)	z	saaten	—	ái	„	„	„	„	„	dhoz	fóovks

1	wint	t, ruf)	t' jal	thiq fre)	t' fost	dhæsi'lz,	dhat
2	went	thruf)	„ wol	„ fre)	„ „	dhæse'nz,	„
3	„	t, ruf)	„ jal	„ fre'v)	„ „	dhæse'lvz,	„
4	wint	„ „	„ éeul	„ frev)	„ „	dhæse'lz,	„
5	went	throu)	„ iivl	„ free'v)	„ „	„ „	„
6	„	thruf)	„ jal	„ fréu) th	„ v	„ „	„
7	géewd	t, ruf)	t' „	„ free) t'	„ „	„ „	„
8	went	„ „	„ wáwul	„ fre) t'	„ „	dhæséilz,	„
9	„	thruf)	„ wol	„ fréev) d	„ „	dhæse'nz,	—
10	„	„ „	„ iivl	„ fræ	„ „	„	dhat
1	a	did,	séef	enivf.			
2	„	„	séewf	„			
3	„	„	sivf	„			
4	„	„	séewf	„			
5	„	„	sivf	enivf.			
6	„	„	„	enivf.			
7	did)	a,	„	„			
8	„	„	„	„			
9	a	did,	sivf	„			
10	a	did,	„	„			
5.	1	vt	t' juuqis	sun izse'l,	v gri'væt	lad v	naan
	2	„	„ juqist	„ izse'n,	„ „	„ „	nán
	3	„	„ juqis	„ izse'l,	„ „ gaqin	„ „	niin
	4	„	„ „	„ ise'l,	„ „	„ „	naan
	5	„	„ „	„ izse'l,	„ gæot	„ „	„
	6	„	th „	„ „	„ gri'væt	„ „	niin
	7	vt	t' „	„ „	„ „	„ „	„
	8	vt	— juuqis	„ izséil,	„ gréivæt	„ „	naan
	9	dhat	— juqis	„ izse'n,	„ big	„ „	naan
	10	vt	— juqist	„ „	„ gæot	„ „	naan
	1	iivér	óovd, kend	iz fivde	vivés vt	jans,	dhuf it
	2		níu „	fadhé	vóis „	„	dhAA „
	3		„ „	fa de	vivés „	„	dhivuf „
	4	iivér	aad, níu „	fivédhæ	vóis „	„	dhuf „
	5		„ „	fadhæ	„ „	„	dhóuf „
	6		„ „	fa de	vóois „	„	dhuf „
	7		„ „	féev de	„ „	„	dhof „
	8		„ „	fiv de	vóis „	„	dhivuf „
	9	iivér	óovd, nood	„ féevdha	„ „	„	dhof „
	10		„ „	féevdha	„ „	„	fer ool „
	1	wáaw	séikén v	kwivé	skwéevkin	Jan	laak, en
	2	was	sv	kwivér	en skwivékin	—	— „
	3	waa	saakén v	kwévé	„	Jan	— „
	4	wáaw	sáikén „	kwivé	„	„	— „
	5	waa	sáikén „	kwévé	skwéevkin	„	— „
	6	wáaw	„ „	kwivé	„	„	— „
	7	„	saakén „	„	„	„	— „
	8	„	séikén „	„	skwéevkin	„	— „
	9	waz	si —	kwivér	en skwivékin	„	— „
	10	wæz	„ v	„ „	skwiikin	—	— „

1	a)d	t _r ust	im	ts	sp _i æk		t _r éevth	ev	oni				
2	a wəd	"	"	"	"	— t'	truuth	—	"				
3	aa)d	"	"	"	"	— —	t _r iiveth	"	"				
4	" "	t _r ust	"	"	"	tiv	—	"	"				
5	" "	t _r ust	"	"	"	— t'	t _r iivth	"	"				
6	" "	"	"	"	"	tel)th	"	"	óovni				
7	" "	t _r ust	"	"	"	— —	"	"	"				
8	" "	"	"	"	"	t _i) t'	"	"	oni				
9	" "	t _r ust	"	ti	"	— —	t _r yy,th	"	"				
10	a wəd	thrust	"	"	sp _i æk	— —	thruuth	"	"				
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1	dee,	ái	marí	a	wad.								
2	déev,	éi	—	"	"								
3	díiv,	ái	marí	"	"								
4	déev,	éi	—	"	"								
5	"	ái	—	"	"								
6	"	"	marí	"	"								
7	"	éi	—	aa	wad, aa síiv.								
8	díiv,	ái	nu	a	wad, wad)í.								
9	déev,	éi	—	"	"								
10	dee,	éi	—	"	"								
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6.	1	en)t'	óovd	wumən	ɛse'l	el	tíl	oni	jan	o	ɛ	et	lafs
	2	" "	Aad	"	ɛse'n	"	tel	"	"	"	"	"	"
	3	" "	óovd	wíivən	ɛse'l	"	"	jan	"	"	"	"	—
	4	" "	aad	wumən	"	"	tíl	"	"	"	"	"	lafs
	5	" "	óovd	"	"	"	téil	"	—	"	"	"	"
	6	")th	óovd	"	"	"	tel	jan	"	"	"	"	lafs
	7	")t'	óovd	wíivən	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	8	" "	"	"	ɛse'l	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	9	" "	ood	wumən	ɛrse'n	"	"	"	—	on	"	"	"
	10	" —	"	"	ɛse'n	"	"	"	—	o	"	"	"
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	1	en	fíovts—nuu,	en	tíl	o	ɛ	st _r íivt	of	en	ind,		
	2	—	—	"	"	tel	"	st _r íivt	of,	"	Aal,		
	3	—	fíivz	—	"	"	"	st _r íivt	uut,	—	—		
	4	—	—	—	"	tíl	"	"	of,	—	—		
	5	—	—	—	"	téil	"	st _r íivt	ofadz	—	—		
	6	en	ganz	on	"	tel	"	st _r íivt	of,	—	—		
	7	"	"	"	"	"	"	st _r íivt	ɛwées	—	—		
	8	"	"	"	"	"	"	st _r íivt	of,	—	—		
	9	"	"	"	"	"	"	st _r íivt	of,	en	óovl,		
	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	st _r íivt	of,	"	ool,		
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	1	tíiv,	ɛduut	mítj	bodər,	en	ɛ)l	bi)t	aksin			
	2	—	wíivhuut	"	bodər,	if	ɛ)l	onli	aks				
	3	tíiv,	ɛduut	"	bodər,	"	ɛ)l	nésvəd	"				
	4	"	ɛdhuu't	"	bodər,	"	ɛ)l	nobət	as				
	5	tíiv,	"	"	"	"	ɛ)l	"	"				
	6	tíiv,	ɛduut	"	bodər,	"	"	nobəd	aks				
	7	"	ɛdhuu't	"	"	")d	nobət	"				
	8	"	ɛdhut	"	bodə,	gín)l	"	"				
	9	—	bíivhuut	"	bodər,	if	ɛ)l	"	"				
	10	—	wíivhuut	"	"	"	"	"	"				

1	iv	er, oo!	wi)net	shə?									
2	—	„ AA!	wi)ent	„									
3	—	„ óov!	wi)net	„									
4	—	„	„	„									
5	—	„	wi)et	„									
6	—	„ óov!	wi)ent	„									
7	—	„ oo!	wi)net	„									
8	—	„	wu)ne	„									
9	—	„	wi)ent	„									
10	—	„ oo!	„	„									
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7.	1	liéstinz	shə	d tilín	o)it	te	'méi	wín	aa	akst	er	ə	
	2	oni wéev	shə	teld	—	—	'mii	it,	wen	ái	aakst	ə	
	3	liést liz	shíe	„	it	te	„	wen	a	akst	ə		
	4	oni wíevz	shə	táld	—	—	'méi	it,	„	aa	ast	ə	
	5	„ gíevts	„	téild	—	—	'méi	it	„	a	„	„	
	6	„ réevd	„	teld	it	te	'mii	„	aa	akst	„		
	7	„ wíevz	„	„	„	„	„	„	a	ast	er	ə	
	8	„	„	„	—	—	'méi	it	„	aa	akst	er	„
	9	uu)íve	„	„	—	—	'mii	„	a	akst	er	—	
	10	liést wéevz	„	„	it	—	„	„	ái	aksth	ə	—	
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	1	téevtri	taamz	óu)er,	əd)shə	—	en	a	konséevts	et			
	2	tuu	ə	thrii	„	„	—	did	„				
	3	twíevtri	„	óu)ev,	did	„	—	„	aa	konséevts			
	4	téevtri	„	„	—	„	did	„					
	5	twíevtri	„	„	—	shéi	„	„					
	6	twíevtri	táimz	„	did	shə	—	„					
	7	„	taamz	„	—	„	did	„					
	8	„	„	„	—	„	déid	„					
	9	twíev	er	thrii	„	„	—	did	„				
	10	twíevtri	„	„	did	„	—	„					
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	1	shə	ód'nt	te	bi	raq	ə	saaken	ə	mi)et	ma)er	əz	
	2	'shii	ót	nut	„	„	„	óu)ev	sutj	„	póint	„	
	3	'shíev	ód'nt	„	„	„	„	ə	sá)ken	„	„	„	
	4	'shéi	ót	nut	„	„	„	„	sá)ken	„	„	„	
	5	'shéi	„	„	„	béi	„	„	„	„	„	„	
	6	'shə	ód)nt	„	bi	„	„	„	sá)ken	„	„	„	
	7	'shíev	ót)nt	„	„	„	„	„	saaken	„	„	„	
	8	'shéi	„	nut	„	„	„	„	séi)ken	„	póint	„	
	9	shə	éd)nt	ót	ti	„	„	upə	sá)k	„	póint	—	
	10	„	ót	nut	„	„	„	upə	sé)j	„	d)ob	əz	
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	1	dhís,	uu)s)t	ə	thí)k?	—							
	2	„	wat	dí	„	„	—						
	3	„	uu	sud	„	„	—						
	4	„	wat	də	„	thé)k	nu?						
	5	„	„	„	jéi	thí)k?	—						
	6	„	uu)d	ə	„	„	—						
	7	„	„	dí	„	„	—						
	8	„	uu)s)t	„	„	„	—						
	9	—	wat	d)	„	„	—						
	10	dhís	„	d)	juu	„	—						

8.	1	wiil	ez	aa	wə	see)in,	ˈshii)d	təl	ʒə
	2	wel	„	a	wəz	„	ˈshii wəd	tel	„
	3	wiil	„	„	wə	si)in,	ˈshii)d	„	„
	4	„	„	aa	wa	see)in,	ˈshéi)d	təl	„
	5	wéil	„	„	wə	„	„	téil	„
	6	wiil	„	„	„	séev)in,	ˈshəə)d	tel	„
	7	„	„	„	„	se)in,	ˈshii)d	„	„
	8	wéil	„	„	„	„	ˈshéi)l	„	„
	9	wiil	„	„	wəz	see)in,	ˈshii wəd	„	„
	10	„	„	„	„	„	shə wəd	„	„
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	1	béeth	uu	gəts	ən	wiier	ən	wín	it
	2	—	uu	„	„	„	wén	„	„
	3	biieth	„	„	wuur	„	„	it	waar
	4	ez)t	„	„	wáær	„	wín	„	waz
	5	ez tsv	„	„	waar	„	wen	„	waar
	6	ez)ts	„	„	wiier	„	„	„	shéi
	7	biieth	„	„	úuer	„	„	„	shə fand)t'
	8	„	„	„	wiier	„	„	—	—
	9	—	„	„	„	„	„	—	—
	10	—	„	„	„	„	„	—	—
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	1	druk'n	biiēs	ət	shə	z	tə	kóoəl	ər
	2	„	biiēst	„	shə	—	—	kaalz	„
	3	„	biiēs	„	„	„	„	kóoəlz	„
	4	„	„	„	„	„	„	kaalz	„
	5	„	„	„	„	„	„	kóoəlz	„
	6	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	7	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	druqk'n	biiēst	„	„	„	„	„	„
	10	dhruqk'n	biiēst	„	„	„	„	koolz	„
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	1	jal	padí	aal)l	bí	buund	shə	wíl.	
	2	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	3	jal	padínodí	aa	bí	buun	—	—	„
	4	„	„	aa)l	bí	buund	on)t	„	„
	5	iiəl	padínodí	„	„	buun	—	—	shéi
	6	jal	əbuut	ən)t	„	„	—	—	shə
	7	„	„	„	„	bun	fə)t	„	„
	8	wúəl	naréeshən	„	„	„	„	„	wéil.
	9	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	10	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
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9.	1	shə	tʀiiept	ət	shə	soo	im	wiv	ər
	2	„	swaar	—	„	saa	„	wədh	„
	3	„	tʀiiept	ət	„	siid	„	wiv	„
	4	„	tʀept	„	„	saa	„	„	„
	5	shéi	swaar	„	„	soo	„	wéi	„
	6	shə	thriiept	„	„	„	o	wi	„
	7	„	tʀiiept	„	„	siid	„	„	„
	8	„	tʀipt	„	„	soo	„	„	„
	9	„	swéer	—	„	„	„	wiv	„
	10	„	„	—	„	„	„	„	„

1	lgin	s'trityt	et	laq	lenth	etop	e)t'	grund		
2	"	s'tretyt	"	ful	lenth	on	)t'	"	
3	"	—	"	laq	s'trety	etop	e)t'	"		
4	"	s'trityt	"	éel	lenth	ups	)t'	"	
5	"	—	"	laq	striakt	"	"	dond		
6	"	s'trityt	"	"	leqth	etop	e)th	"		
7	"	s'tretyt	"	"	"	et	t'	"		
8	"	s'trityt	"	"	"	e	)t'	"	
9	"	"	"	ful	lenth	ups	)d	"	
10	"	sthrityt	ool	iz	"	upo	"	"		
1	iv	iz	giød	sunde	kúwet,	tléees	biv)t'	us		
2	"	"	gud	"	"	tlúees	ts "	uus		
3	in	"	giød	"	"	tlíees	bi "	us		
4	iv	"	"	"	"	tléees	baa "	uus		
5	i	"	gud	"	"	tlúes	béi "	"		
6	iv	"	"	"	"	tlíees	bi)th	"		
7	"	"	giød	"	"	"	bi)t'	"		
8	"	"	"	"	kúst,	"	" "	"		
9	"	"	gud	"	"	tlúes	bi)d	díer e)t'	uus	
10	"	"	gud	"	kóst,	kloos	biv	uus		
1	díe,	—	duun	et t'	níek	e	jon	lon.		
2	díer,	—	"	" "	KAANER	"	"	léen.		
3	díe,	—	díen	"	níek	"	júwen	lúenín.		
4	"	—	duun	e)	kaaner	"	jøn	"		
5	díur,	—	díun	et	níuk	"	jondhe	lúwen		
6	díer,	ewíez	duun	e) th	níek	"	jon	"		
7	díer,	—	"	et	"	"	"	"		
8	díe,	—	"	e) t'	"	"	"	lúenín.		
9	—	—	"	et	kóoenr	"	"	lúwen.		
10	díe,	—	"	et	KAANER	"	"	lúen.		
10.	i	wer	egíet	e	waanín	—	sez	she	fer	
2	"	wez	"	"	wáinín	ewées	"	shii	"	
3	"	waar	egíet	"	wíenín	—	"	she	fe	
4	"	wer	"	"	waanín	—	"	sez	fer	
5	"	waar	"	"	wíenín	—	sez	shéi	"	
6	"	wer	"	"	wáinín	—	"	she	fe	
7	ii	"	"	"	waanín	—	"	"	"	
8	"	"	egéet	"	"	—	"	"	fer	
9	i,	wez	—	"	pléenín	ewées	—	—	"	
10	"	"	—	"	gréenín	—	—	she	sez	
1	éel	t'	waald	laak	tav	e	síek	béen	er	e
2	aal	"	wold	lék	"	"	badlé	"	"	"
3	jal	"	waald	laak	"	"	síek	bíen	"	"
4	aal	"	"	"	"	"	"	béen	"	"
5	óoul	"	wold	lék	"	"	"	baan	"	"
6	jal	th	waald	síem	ez	"	"	béen	"	"
7	"	"	"	laak	"	"	sik	béen	"	"
8	AA'el	"	"	"	"	"	síek	béen	"	"
9	óoul	"	wold	lék	"	"	badlé	"	"	els "
10	ool	"	woold	lé'ik	"	"	"	"	"	"

1	laal	las	iv	ɛ	tiv.								
2	lɪt'l	"	"	"	friɪt.								
3	laal	"	"	"	tiv.								
4	"	"	ɛt)	s	piɪvɪsh.								
5	láił	"	i	ɛ	tjɔufɪn.								
6	laal	"	"	"	ʃiɪmɛ.								
7	láił	"	"	"	puuk.								
8	liiɪl	"	"	"	máwɛndɪ.								
9	laat'l	"	—	—	wɪmprɪn.								
10	"	gjel	—	—	fretɪn.								
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11.	1	en	ˈdhat	ap'nd	ɛz	shi	en	t'	dóuɬɛr	i	léɛz	kam	dhu
	2	"	"	"	"	shii	"	ɛ	dóuɬɛr	"	lAA	kom	
	3	"	"	"	"	shəɔ	"	t'	dóuɬɛr	"	liiɪz	kam	
	4	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	laa	"	
	5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	lóɔz	kom	
	6	"	"	"	"	shəɔ	"	th	"	"	lóɛ	"	
	7	"	"	"	"	"	"	t'	"	"	lóɔz	kam	
	8	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	léɛz	"	
	9	"	"	"	"	óɛr	"	ɛ	"	"	lóɔz	kom	
	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	dóuɬɛr	"	loo	"	
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	1	wiɪz	tɾɪf)	t'	bak	géɛth	frev	aqɪn—t'	wit	tléɛz			
	2	"	thɾɪf	"	"	jaad	"	iqɪn—	wet	tláwɛz			
	3	"	tɾɪf	"	"	géɛth	"	aqɪn—	wit	tláwɛz			
	4	"	"	"	"	gaath	"	—	wit	tléɛz			
	5	"	thróu	"	"	giɪth	fre	—	wet	tláwɛz			
	6	"	tɾɪf	"	"	géɛth	fre	—th	—	tláwɛz			
	7	"	"	"	"	gaath	frev	iqɪn—t'	wet	"			
	8	"	"	"	"	ɟed	"	aqɪn—	"	"			
	9	"	thɾɪf	—	"	jaad	free	iqɪn uut t'	"	"			
	10	"	"	—	"	"	"	frev aqɪn	—	"			
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	1	uut	tɛ	dɾaa	ɛv	ɛ	wéshɪn	diiɪ.					
	2	—	"	dɾái	on	"	weshɪn	déɛ.					
	3	"	"	dɾaa	ɛv	"	"	diiɪ.					
	4	ut	"	dɾái	—	—	—	—					
	5	uut	"	"	ɛv	ɛ	wéshɪn	déɛ.					
	6	"	"	"	jaa	"	weshɪn	"					
	7	"	"	dɾaa	ɛv	ɛ	"	diiɪ.					
	8	"	"	dɾái	"	"	wéshɪn	"					
	9	—	"	dɾái	"	"	weshɪn	déɛ.					
	10	—	tɪ	dhrái	"	"	wéshɪn	dee.					
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12.	1	waal)t'	ket'l	wɛ	bóɔlɪn	fɛ)t'	tiiɪ	ɛ	jan				
	2	"	"	ket'l	wɛz	bóɔlɪn	"	"	—	"			
	3	"	"	ket'l	wa	bóɔlɪn	"	"	—	jaa			
	4	"	"	"	"	bóɔlɪn	"	"	—	jan			
	5	wal	"	ket'l	"	"	"	téɛ	—	jaa			
	6	"	th	"	"	bóɔlɪn	"	"	dɾiɪkɪn	ɛ	jan		
	7	"	t'	"	wɛ	boɔɪlɪn	fo	"	tiiɪ	—	"		
	8	waal t'	"	"	wɛz	bóɔlɪn	fɛ	"	téɛ	—	"		
	9	"	"	"	wɛz	"	"	—	tiiɪ	—	jaa		
	10	wal	—	ket'l	"	"	"	—	tii	—	"		

1	faan	briit	if teniien	i	sume,	nabet	e	wiik				
2	fain	bréit	summer	ef teniien	—	—	nobet	„ „				
3	faan	briit	„	i	sume,	„	„	„				
4	„	briit	„	„	„	„	„	„				
5	fain	„	„	„	„	„	„	„				
6	fain	„	„	„	„	nobet	„	„				
7	faan	„	„	„	„	nobet	„	„				
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	wéik				
9	fain	„	summer	„	—	—	„	wiik				
10	fain	„	„	eftheniien	—	—	„	„				
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1	sin	kum)t'	nekst	thozde.							
2	„	„	„	„	„							
3	„	„	„	níst	„							
4	„	„)t'	nekst	„							
5	„	„	„	nékst	„							
6	„	„)th	nekst	thúwezde.							
7	„	„)t'	„	thozde.							
8	sen	„	„	niist	thúwezde.							
9	sin	„	„	nekst	thozde.							
10	sen	„	„	„	„							
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13.	1	en	—	—	noo	je,	—	béeen?	et	a	nive	liéent
	2	„	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	„	„	nive	laant
	3	„	di	je	nóoe,	—	—	bíien?	et	„	nive	liéent
	4	„	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	„	„	nive	laant
	5	„	—	—	noo	dhu,	—	mæn?	„	„	„	liéent
	6	„	—	—	noo	je	nobet,	béeen?	et	„	„	liéent
	7	„	di	je	nóoe,	—	—	„	et	„	„	liéent
	8	„	di	je	na'e?	—	—	—	—	„	„	„
	9	„	d)	je	nóe?	—	—	—	—	„	„	lééent
	10	„	díz	dhe	noo?	—	—	—	—	„	„	laant
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	1	nóut	ne	méeer	en	dhis	e	dhat	—	diid	ep	
	2	—	„	múer	„	„	„	ebuut	„	—	biznis	„
	3	nóut	„	míer	„	„	„	„	„	—	diid	„
	4	oni	—	méeer	„	„	„	„	„	—	biznis	„
	5	oni	—	maar	„	„	„	„	„	dhaa	bizenes	„
	6	nóut	ne	míer	„	„	„	„	„	—	diid	„
	7	„	„	„	dhen	„	„	„	„	—	biznis	„
	8	„	„	méeer	en	„	„	„	„	—	déid	„
	9	—	ni	„	ne	„	„	„	„	—	biznis	—
	10	—	„	„	en	„	„	ebuut	„	—	mat,ther	„
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	1	tiv	tel	tadéev,	a	síer,	ez	síer	ez	mi	níem)z	:djúen
	2	te	—	„	„	„	„	„	„	maa	néem	„ :djak
	3	—	tíl	tadíis	„	„	„	„	„	ma	níem	„ :djúen
	4	tiv	—	tadéev	„	„	„	„	„	mi	néem	„ :djón
	5	„	—	tadíis	„	síer	„	méi	níem	„	„	:djúen
	6	—	tel	tadéev	„	síer	„	mi	„	„	„	:djúen
	7	tiv	—	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	8	„	—	tadíis	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	:djúen
	9	—	waal	tadéev	„	„	„	ma	„	„	„	:djón
	10	ti	—	„	„	séef	„	mái	néem	„	„	:djak

1	:shépəd,	en	aa	dís)	'nt	want	tə	díiv,	—	—	dhíiv		
2	:shépəd	„	a	dAA)	nt	„	—	—	néevdhe	—	dhéev		
3	:shépəd	„	„	du)	net	„	tə	díiv	néevdhe	—	dhíiv		
4	:shépəd	„	„	díz)	'nt	„	„	„	néevdhe,	sév	dhaa		
5	:shépəd	„	„	du)	net	„	„	díiv	éidhe,	—	dhaa		
6	:shépəd	„	aa	dúv)	ent	„	„	díiv	néevdhe	—	dhíiv		
7	:shépəd	„	a	di)	net	„	„	„	óudher	—	—		
8	„	„	„	du)	net	„	„	„	néevdhe	—	—		
9	:shépəd	„	„	díiv)	ent	„	—	—	níevdhe	—	dhéev!		
10	„	„	ái	díiv)	ent	„	tə	noo	nóvdhe	—	dhéev		
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	1	nuu	dhenz!										
	2	nuu!											
	3	nuuz	tə	dhenz!									
	4	nu!											
	5	nuu	dhen!										
	6	nuuz!											
	7	nuu	dhen!										
	8	nuu	dhen!										
	9	—	—										
	10	nuu!											
<hr/>													
14.	1	en	see	aa)	z	ganín	jam	tə	—	mi	supv.	gívd	niit,
	2	„	síiv	a	„	of	„	„	—	„	„	gud	„
	3	„	si	„	„	gaa)	in	„	—	mi	„	gívd	„
	4	„	séev	aa	„	„	Jéevm	„	—	„	„	gívd	„
	5	„	síiv	ái	„	gee)	in	íivm	təl	—	„	gud	„
	6	„	„	a	„	gaqín	jam	tə	—	„	„	„	„
	7	„	see	aa	„	gaa)	in	íivm	„	—	„	gívd	„
	8	„	séev	„	„	gaqín	íivm	„	gít	„	„	„	„
	9	—	síiv	à	„	ganín	jam	„	ee	„	„	gud	„
	10	„	sév	„	„	„	éevm	„	—	—	„	„	„
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	1	en	—	—	—	di)	net	bi	sv	shaap	tə	kréevk	óuvv
	2	„	—	—	—	dAA)	nt	„	„	„	„	kraa	„
	3	„	—	—	—	du)	net	bi	„	„	„	kri	„
	4	„	—	—	—	„	„	béi	„	„	„	kraa	„
	5	„	—	—	—	du)	net	„	„	„	„	kroo	„
	6	„	—	—	—	díiv)	nt	bi	„	„	„	„	„
	7	„	—	—	—	du)	net	bi	„	„	„	„	„
	8	„	—	—	—	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	„	evudher	taam	di)	ent	ju	„	si	„	„	„	„
	10	„	—	—	—	di)	ent	„	si	„	ti	„	óuvv
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	1	v	bodí	—	—	egéevn,	wín	i	tóovks	v	—	téevn	en
	2	„	„	—	—	egíivn,	wén	v	taaks	v	ebuut	dhíiv	—
	3	„	„	—	—	„	„	i	tóovks	v	—	tíivn	en
	4	„	„	—	—	egéevn,	„	„	taaks	„	—	taan	„
	5	„	„	—	—	egíivn,	„	éi	tóovks	„	—	tíivn	„
	6	„	„	—	—	„	„	i	„	„	—	„	„
	7	„	„	—	—	„	„	„	„	„	—	téevn	„
	8	„	„	—	—	egéevn,	„	„	„	„	—	tíivn	„
	9	oní	„	—	—	oní	méev,	„	„	„	—	dhíiv	—
	10	„	„	—	—	egíivn,	„	i	toovks	v	ebuut	„	—

1	tɪdhɛ	—	thiq.							
2	dhat	ɛ	tudhɛr.							
3	tɪdɛ	—	thiq.							
4	tɪdhɛ	—	„							
5	tudhɛ	—	„							
6	tɪdɛ	—	„							
7	tɪdhɛ	—	„							
8	tudhɛ	—	„							
9	dhat	ɛn	tudhɛ.							
10	„	ɛ	„							
15.	1	it)s	ɛ	wéek	fiɪl	ɛt	—	pra.tɛz	ɛdhuu.t	oni
	2	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	widhuu.t	—
	3	„	„	„	„	„	—	prɪets	ɛduu.t	—
	4	„	„	„	„	„	ganz	préestɪn	ɛdhu.t	oni
	5	„	„	wíek	fiul	„	—	préets	ɛdhuu.t	—
	6	„	„	wéek	fiul	„	—	prɪets	ɛduu.t	—
	7	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	ɛdhuu.t	—
	8	„	„	wíek	„	„	—	„	„	—
	9	„	„	wéek	fiul	„	—	„	widhuu.t	—
	10	„	„	fond	„	„	—	tjat)thɛz	wivuu.t	—
	1	ríiz'n	—	sées	nuu	dhen,	dhat)s	ma	last	—
	2	„	ɛn	—	—	—	„	mí	„	—
	3	„	—	sées	nuu	dhenz,	„	ma	„	—
	4	„	ɛn	„	„	dhen	„	mí	„	—
	5	„	—	stíe	„	„	„	méi	„	—
	6	„	—	„	nuu	—	„	mí	„	—
	7	„	—	sées	nuu	dhen	„	„	„	—
	8	„	ɛn	„	—	—	„	mí	last	—
	9	„	„	—	—	—	„	óoel	dhat a	—
	10	„	„	—	—	—	„	mí	last	—
	1	—	—	wod,	fées	ɾɛ	wil,	gafɛ.		
	2	—	—	„	gud	bái.				
	3	—	—	„	fíes	tɛ	wil.			
	4	—	—	„	faa	dhu	wiil.			
	5	—	—	„	„	„	„			
	6	—	—	wóud,	fées	ɾɛ	„			
	7	—	—	wod,	„	tɛ	„			
	8	—	—	„	„	dhu	wéel.			
	9	ee	tɛ	sées,	gud	niit.				
	10	—	—	wod,	„	„				

Notes to No. 1, *Mid Yo.* cs. p. 502.

0. *what for*; the word *why* is not used in asking questions.

1. *laugh like*, so to speak laugh, this *like* is a common qualification; observe (*léik*), but (*maan*) mine. Mr. Stead says (*léik*) is universal in m.Yo., but CCR. has (*laak*) elsewhere.—*who is to care?* apparently.

2. *nought-but*, i.e. only.—*don't us*, Mr. Stead considers (*di)net ɛz*) “quite impossible anywhere in m.Yo.”—*likely*, the form in the text (*laaklɪnz*) is not common.

3. meaning: “howsoever, these—here's tellings of the truth of the case, so just goest thou, and hold thee [*i.e.* for thyself] thou thy din, friend, and

be whisht now, while [*i.e.* until] I is [*i.e.* am, *i.e.* have] done." "hark thou, but now." CCR. says the addition of *s* to *but* is "very common elsewhere, as at Leeds." I suppose it means, "hark only now."

4. Meaning "Some of them (=those) folk (=folks) that went through the whole thing from the first their(=them) selves."

5. *youngest*, CCR. says that *young* has four sounds (juq juuq, juq juuq), the last two being uncommon, but gives no law regulating their use.—"a great lad of nine year old."—*father*, the dental (t, d) are preserved before any place where (r) stood, even after the (r) has been lost, as in the present case.—*voice*, the common form.—*marry*! this asseveration is said to be still common.

6. *woman*, (diwɪm) dame, is also common.—*and tell all of you straight of an end, too, without much bother, an ye'll be-at asking of her*, here (ɔv) is *all*, (vduu't) is one of the numerous forms for *without* given by CCR. in his glossary, of which he says "the dental *d* (d) forms (vduut wi duut) are especially employed by those who speak the dialect broadly." Obs. that this (d) is a descendant of (dh), and is not superinduced by a following (r).—*much*, (mɪkɪlz) is also used over a great portion of the north, but here (mɪtɪ) would be used.

7. *leastly*, at least; this genitive form of adverb is said by CCR. to be common in -lins, -wards, compare (jalri'diz, tɛdi'v-z, si'vɛnz, u'f'nz, mɛ'vɛstlɪnz mɛ'vɛstlɪz, stɪ'vɪlz, aadlɪz ɛ'dlɪz, wɪlɪnz, bilaa'ks) etc., already, to-day, soonward, often, mostly, surely, hardly, willingly, belike, etc.—*she had* (the) *telling of it to me.—a two* (or) *three times over had she.—moot matter*, if this is the dialectal use of moot, it is hardly correct.—*how'is* it you think?

8. *how-gates*, in what manner.—*that she has to call her husband of, and the whole story*. CCR. says: "*paddy* was a name given to the almanacks, and hence note books, as (aa)l set that duun i ma padi I'll make a note of it, and hence came to mean the note made or any story. The word is very common, always on the tongue." The full word is (pa'dino'di), see cs. Nos. 3 and 5. In this form it is given in the Cleveland, Craven, Whitby, and Holderness Glossaries. Hence it is

widely distributed. Mr. Atkinson (Cl. Gl.) suggests its derivation from *pallinode*, or saying back, but this is not a common word, and I would rather suppose *pater-noster* to be the origin, alluding to long mumbling of prayers. This would agree with CCR.'s (marɪ), Nos. 1, 3, 6, par. 5, also found in the Cleveland and Whitby Glossaries.

9. *she strongly asserted*, this is, however, hardly the general use of *threap*, which is not in CCR.'s Glossary, though Mr. F. K. Robinson in his Whitby Glossary has "*threap*, to assert positively, 'he threap'd me wi' liquor,' protested that I was drunk." Halliwell has "obstinately to maintain or insist upon a thing in contradiction to another, *e.g.* 'he threaped me down it was so,' Li. 'I threpe a matter upon one, I bear one in hand that he hath doone or said a thing amysse.'—Palsgrave." The Ws. *preápián* is usually explained as 'reprobare, corripere,' and Strattmann gives 'arguere,' citing Orrmin and several old works. Coleridge translates 'convict, refute.' In Li. Mr. Peacock has: "to argue, to asseverate, to insist upon, 'he's alus threapin' about summats.' 'She threap'd me down Sam was dead, but I seed him last setterda.' 'I wen't be threp by a bairn like thoo.'"—*house door*, the short (u) is often used in this word.

10. That is, "he was agate, [going on], a whining, says she, for all the world like to [or use (si'vɛm vɪz)] same as] a sick bairn, or a lile [little] lass of [in] a tiff."

11. *daughter-in-law, came their ways through the back garth, from hanging the wet clothes out*.

13. meaning "and know you, bairn? that I ne'er learned nought no more than this of that deed up till to-day, I swear, as sure as my name's John Shepherd, and I doesn't want to do, there, now thens."

15. *gaffer*, properly grandfather, a common word of familiar address, like 'old fellow,' or 'governor'; gaffer is used for the master also.

Notes to No. 2, *South Ainsty* cs. p. 502.

In these notes to No. 2, for brevity S. means Mr. Stead, R. Mr. C. C. Robinson, and G. the latter's *Mid Yorkshire Glossary*. Unsigned pas-

sages in inverted commas refer to S.'s statements.

1. *neighbour*, S. (néi-), R. (néeu-), G. (níiv-). 'The sound varies considerably, but (néi-) is correct for the villages named in p. 499, No. 2; (níiv-) is very uncommon even in R.'s district.'—*both*, '(búueth) is universal in this district.'—*news*, 'R.'s (níez) almost unknown.' R. has certainly frequently used uncommon forms and phrases, "to register their existence," which rather defeats my object, but I believe he gave no pronunciation, however rare, which he did not remember to have heard, but of course his memory may have been occasionally at fault.

2. *few*, 'R.'s (féeu) almost unknown.'—*don't we*, 'R.'s (dínét) unknown in s. Ainsty, but right for Boroughbridge (9 ne. Harrogate); R.'s (éz) 'unknown in m. Yo.'—*likely*, R. (laaklins), S. 'thinks R. must have been thinking of villages more to the w. as Wetherby; and that (léik) is universal in m. Yo.' G. (laaks, láhik, léik), the last refined. See notes to p. 513, pars. 1, 2.

3. *just*, 'R.'s (djíst) never heard in the district.'—*friend*, 'R.'s (frind) heard more to the n. and e.'—*till* or (waal) S.

4. *folks*, 'We always say (fúuvs), and (fúuvs) without the (s) is decidedly refined.' R. had written (fúuvs) first, and corrected it to (fóovk).—*whole*, R.'s (jal) 'is known, but is extremely rare in the district.'—*themselves*, '(-sen) is the only form known to us, (-sel) or (-sil) would create roars of laughter.' G. p. xxv gives both (-sel, -sen) but not (-sil).

5. *knew*, '(naad) is used occ.'—*voice*, 'R.'s (víus) astonished me, I never heard it in my life.' R. says it's common.—*trust*, 'occ. (t,rust).'
truth, 'R.'s (tréeth) I never heard in my life; (t,ruth) is said and occ. (t,ruth), which is used over a very large area in m., e., and se. Yo. In some of R.'s villages (Nun Monkton (7 nw. York) and Easingwold), as I can attest having stayed there, (t,ruth) is all but universal.'

6. *straight*. G. (s,t,réit, s,t,riit), and occ. (s,t,réivét). 'I never heard the last even in R.'s district.'—*bother*, in such words as *bother father*, (d) would be very uncommon indeed.'

7. *me*, 'with us (méi) is never used, our emphatic forms are invariably (mii dhii shii).'
—*two or three*, 'our numerals are (jan, tuu, thrii, fóu,er, fáiv, síks,

sev'n, éit, nain, ten, elev'n, twelv), etc.'

8. *found* or (fun).—*beast*, 'with us (bi'íst) is singular and (bíius) plural.'

9. *swore*. 'Of course we have *threaped* here also, but it means more like *maintained persistently, said again and again*, than *said emphatically and solemnly*.' See note on cs. No. 1, par. 9, p. 514.—*eyes*, 'we have no other form but (iiz), but (éeen ívèn) are right for R.'s district.'—*good*, 'R.'s (gíiéd) unknown, (guud) general,' but S. wrote (gud).—*lane* 'or (lúuen),' which is more regular.

10. *whining*, 'R.'s (waanin) is right for R.'s district, and similarly in s. Ainsty and e. or s. Holderness we have (fá'n, náin, wáin, láin, káind), but in n. Ainsty and n. and w. Holderness (faan, naan, waan, laan, kaand).'
—*world*, R.'s (waald), 'we use (waak) subs., and (work) vb.'—*little*, 's. Ainsty hardly ever uses (laat'l), I never heard it till I went to Easingwold when young.'

11. *through*, or (thruu), S.—*hanging*, 'R.'s (aqin) is quite York city.'—*clothes*, G. (tlíivz, tléevz, tlúuvz, tlóovz), second most used, 'with us (tlúuvz) is the only form.'—*day*, 'R.'s (diiv) for the e. and s. Ainsty (déee) is the proper form for his district.'

12. *one*, or (jaa), S.—*only*, G. (nobét, nubét), nought but. The second was unknown to S., who, however, uses (nut) for *not*.

13. *more*, 'we in s. Ainsty have almost dropped R.'s (méeev).'
—*sure*, or (shúuvv), S.—*name* '(néeev) is more common than R.'s (níiim) s. of York.'

14. *I'm going*, (aa'z gu'vín) also used, S.—*home* or (úuvm), S.

Notes to No. 3, *North Mid Yo.* cs., p. 502.

2. *that*, CCR. at first wrote (wat) at full, considering (ét) to represent *what*, which he says is commonly employed for *that* in Yo., but usually contracted to (ét).—*us*, 'never (uz) in the pause, it here means we,' R.—*is not* (bíivnt, bíev, bíiz) is not, is, 'common, also at Whitby.'

3. *these* (dhóv, dh'v'v) occ. used.—*hold thee thou thy din*, 'not frequently employed, but curious enough to record, I thought,' R.

5. *walking lad*, 'one that can stride

his way anywhere,' R.—*knew*, casually pronounced (ni).

6. *quean*, woman, without disrespect by old people, with the initial (k) omitted, like Yo. (wik) quick. See also *weean* in Whitby Glossary.—*fleers*.—without, the vowel is often taken short.

7. *how should you think?* 'This is the manner the emphatic clause would be rendered, with the weight on *think*.

8. *where*, this (wáuer) is a singular form for (wíær), but both it and (úær) are given in CCR.'s Glossary.—*was* (waar) or (war) either might be used.—*husband* with short (u) not (ú), also used in Mid Yo. and Malton way.—*paddy noddy*, long and tedious narration, see notes on cs. No. 1, par. 8, p. 514.

9. *house door*, (us) with a short vowel.—*lane* or (lúnnin).

10. *little*, 'both forms (laal, laatl) are common all over Yo.,' CCR.

13. *nows thou thens* or (nuuz tɔ nobet) *nows thou only*. CCR. says 'not *knows* thou thenz, for (nóu) for *know* is not heard in peasant speech anywhere; it is a purely idiomatic phrase,' but his translation conveys no meaning. The (tɔ) might stand for *to*, and perhaps *nows to thens*, *nows to only* might be strained to have a meaning. He says the second phrase is common.

Notes to No. 4, *New Malton* cs., p. 502.

5. *youngist*, CCR. says: 'there are four pronunciations of *young* in the rural varieties, and I distinguish each readily, with (u uu, u uu) where the last two forms are not much heard. Thus (u) is looked upon as an old-fashioned pron., and when a youthful dialect speaker imitates the speech of any person accustomed to speak the vernacular at its broadest, you fail not to hear this (uu) drawled and lengthened in an exaggerated manner. In *house* the vowel is either (u) or (uu). I have the greatest hesitation in deciding on the quantity,—the long and short are so common in interchange.'

Notes to No. 5, *Lower Nidderdale* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is* or *I am* (:aa)m).—*whole thing*, both *whole* and *all* appear as (iæl) in par. 8, but *all* is given as (6osl) in par. 10.

6. *off-wards*.—*will not*, the *n* of *not* omitted, CCR. says 'singularly at all times.'

10. *chafing*, a heat, passion.

13. *to-day*, here (déiə), but (déə) in par. 5.

Notes to No. 6, *Washburn River* cs., p. 502.

1. *together*, CCR. marks (d) not (d), but in *neither* he has marked (d).—*like*, *mine*, are heard with both (ái) and (6v), see (láiklínz), par. 2.

2. *because* (koz), not (koz). CCR. says: "I use (o) in this district, but both in this and the m.Yo. cs. No. 1, (o) finds place in as sharply short a character as possible, as (ma wɔd, a)l)ev ɔd o dhɔ!) my word, I'll have hold of thee! In post, word, hold, first, burst, hurt, host, stir, her, (pɔst, wɔd, ɔd, fɔst, bɔst, ɔt, ɔst, stɔr, ɔr) [the last two I suppose before vowels], and in other words there is an undoubted and a most frequent interchange of (ɔ, o).—*grinned*, laughed, jeered.—*don't*, it seems as if (dívnt, dúvnt du)nt) were used rather promiscuously, see par. 13.

3. *of the case*, throughout this district (th, t) interchange for the def. art.—*And take hold and whisht now until I [have] done*, "a colloquial phrase, but not of any account."—CCR.

8. *and all about on it*, the *on* seems superfluous.

10. *in [a] humour*, "fret is only used as a verb; as a noun, it is here and elsewhere unknown," CCR.

11. *dry*, or (d,rɔft) drought, 'a term I might also have used in cs. Nos. 1 and 3, and, using (dr) for (d,r), in the Leeds cs.' D 24, var. v. p. 374.

13. *don't* or (du)nt).

Notes to No. 7, *South Cleveland* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is*, or *I am* (aa)m).—*from*, CCR. says '(frɛ) is correct. There is a wide difference between (ee, ɛɛ) which are nearest allied. The (ɛɛ) seems to be associated with few words—from, to, no, etc.—and but casually.'

5. *I swear* (aa siær); if it were *I'm sure*, it would be (a)ziəv).

8. *beast*, CCR. says: "I see that Mr. Atkinson in his 'Cleveland Glossary' has a note on this word, saying that (bíes) is the form the plural takes. This must be merely a local usage. In South Cleveland (bíes) is exceedingly common as the emphatic form. It has seemed to me sometimes that

people everywhere had a habit of saying (bîus) on occasions, when the singular number was intended, and (bîūs) when more than one was meant. Anyhow (bîūs) is the commoner pronunciation, both as a singular and plural form." Out of Yo., except in sw.England, (bîūs), or some form without the (t), is commonly used for the plural, the (t) being added for the singular. See p. 515, par. 8.

9. *by the* or (ba)t'.
10. 'pook and (pa'k) in town dialect, but they can't be rendered by one spelling. I should write (1) *pouk*, and (2) *pawk*. They are both used as verbs—to *fret*, CCR.

15. *my* or (ma).

Notes to No. 8, North-East Coast cs.

10. *maunge* is explained in CCR.'s Glossary as 'untoward, confused, accident,' perhaps 'mishap' would be best here.

Notes to No. 9, Market Weighton cs.

For abbreviation I use D. Dove, K. Kirkpatrick, R. Robinson, W. Wray.

0. *for*. W. insisted on trilling the (r), but this is contrary to the general habit of e.Yo., and although the final (r) was always clearly pronounced by Mr. Wray, I retain the vocal forms usually heard.—*has no doubts*, or (diz'nt dut). W. used (u₁) rather than (u), but he also used (i₁) rather than (i). Hence I consider these to be individualities. The (e) may be (æ) throughout, but I retain R.'s vowel, and he distinguished (e, æ).

1. *well* or (wái).—*you*, R. signals this as a refinement for (dhuu).—*care*, K. wrote (kái), which W. asserted could never have been heard.—*there*, old people say (dhiiv), younger (dhéev).

2. *know*, K. wrote (nié), which both R. and W. corrected to (nóov).—*likely*, R. considers it should be (laakli), saying that if one long *i* becomes (aa), all must, and we have (taam). Nevertheless, W. says he has not heard (laakli) half a dozen times, and K. writes *leikly*, D. *likely*.

3. *however*, W. seemed to say (á'ui'vër), almost but not quite (áui), but in the wl. he said (uu), hence I retain (uu), which is most natural.—*tongue*, is what K. substituted for noise, but W. said (nóiz) is right.—*friend*, W. never heard the (d) omitted, both (frind) and (frend) are used.—

while for *till*, but (tíl) is also used.—*hark*, K. wrote *hack*, shewing the shortness of the vowel.

4. *I'm sure*, K. wrote *a sear*, which should be *I swore*, but probably the (z) was omitted by accident, the correction is W.'s.—*through*, W. says (thruu) is also used by the broadest speakers.—*through the whole from the first*, the first *the* is (t'), the second (d), but also, I think, suspended (d'). W. endeavoured to find a reason for the difference, and thought (t') was initial and (d') final. But in looking through Mr. Wray's tale of *Nestleton Magna*, I find plenty of (t'), but no (d'). R. says, however, that the (d) is "nicely correct," but that it is "far more of an habitual than a customary sound."

5. *nine*, (naan) has been heard from older people. K. wrote *nane*, which R. interpreted (néen), and D. wrote *nine*; W. read náin.—*knew*, so K. wrote, and R. interpreted (nú); I owe (nood) to W.—*father*, or (fadh'er) says K., but W. did not allow it; the 's of the possessive is never omitted according to W., but Mrs. Wray said it was never inserted, thus (:djon wéif) has been often heard.—*though*, W. said (dhof) was not much used, and (dhoo) more common.—*was* (waz) expresses emphatic certainty.—*so queer*, K. gives also (sié).—*trust*, K. writes *thrust*, W. gave (t,r-); K. gave the variant (a)l up)od' im I'll uphold him.—*truth*, K. wrote *t'trewth*, W. pron. what seemed to me as some variation of (t,ryyth), but the mouth was open for the vowel, and there was no projection of the lips.—*aye*, the pron. (æ'i) is due to W.—*enough*, W. observed that the verb to plough was (plú), the subs. (plú) or (pléif), and observed that *enow* is not known.

7. *however*. See note, par. 3.

8. *how and where and when*, K. says the expression would not be used in this neighbourhood.—*drunken*, K. wrote (dhr-), R. corrected and W. confirmed (d,r-).—*beast*, W. stated that (bîūs) was pl.—*husband*, W. says (ma ma'n) is common for 'my husband.'

9. *eyes*, both (iin iiz), equally common, and (it iin, it iiz) would be used for (its iin, iiz), W.—*length*, similarly (st,renth) W.—*ground*, K. omitted (d), W. restored it; K. says that in Marshland, Var. iv, they would say (ups dh ground).—*by the*, K.

omitted *the*, W. restored it as (d).—*lane*, K. also gives (léen), W. says (lién) is used, R. prefers (láun). This word is never treated as having A', but as having O-, A-.

10. *plaining*, i.e. complaining, suffering, suggested by W., K. said (waanin) would not be used, and suggested (grívenin).—*whimpering*, suggested by W. as *fretting*, was not dialectal.

11. *her*, the pron. (óur) was given by W., who constantly uses *hor* in *Nestleton Magna*.—*through back yard*, R. says "there is no real omission of (t) here. The tongue moves for it, however it may be lost to the ear. In nearly every variety of Yo. dialect it is lost when in this position followed by (b)." It would probably be the same before any mute or sonant. But the tongue being first put in the (t) position and dwelt on, the effect on the ear is different from that of an entire absence of any (t).—*clothes*, W. had (kláus) in par. 9. R. says that the present is the refined and general form.

12. *one*, K. (wun), D. and W. (jaa).—*fine*, W. has heard (faan), but gave (féin).—*since*, D. and K. (sen), W. (sin).

13. *do you know*, K. says this phrase would not be used, R. thinks he would not have objected to (en noo r, béen).—*learned*, K. had (laand), D. (leent), W. says (léent) is the common form.—*until*, D. and K. had *auchahl*, (waal) is W.'s correction.

15. *weak fool*, K. *wake fool*, which R. says is very refined. I adopt R.'s (wéek) and W.'s (fiul).—*grates*, W. said 'not (príets)'.—*without*, K. wrote *wid-doot* or *bid-doot* (wi,duut bi,duut), observing that they seem old, but are still heard; W. said (*widhuut* *bidhuut*) were more common among the peasantry.—*good-night*, R. says good bye (bái) is seldom heard, W. gives (*gu-nit*, *tataa*) as common forms, the last being used even among men.

Notes to No. 10, Holderness cs., p. 502.

1. Variants by Mr. Stead for e.Holderness. These are placed first for facility of reference, the others follow.

1. *well*, wél, *argumentative*.—*neighbour*, neebur.—*both*, bíuth.—*neither*, niidher.

2. *folks*, fáwks.—*of being*, út biin.—*not*, nut.—*likely*, l'íklí.

3. *these*, dhiiz.—*of the case*, v kézz

no article.—*quiet*, kwé'íut.—*I have done*, a) v dín.

4. *folks*, fáwks.—*through the whole*, thruí wol.

5. *great*, grut, n.H. grívet.—*nine*, náin.—*squeaking*, skwíwkin n.H.—*trust* and *truth*. Mr. Ward insists on (thr-), but here and in other cases I seemed to hear (t,r-).

6. *straight*, sthreet.—*without*, widhuut, wíwut *not heard*.

7. *I* (ái) is e.H., (a) would be n.H.—*times*, táimz.—*you*, rø.

8. *well*, wel.—*found*, fand n.H., fun e.H.

9. *sware*, swóow.—*with her own eyes*, wídh w r aad iiz, iin *also used but not so frequently*.—*upon the ground*, upr grund.—*coat*, káwt.—*close*, tlíwz. *corner*, kaand.—*lane*, lién.

10. *groaning*, grívenin.—*world*, wold.—*like*, léik.—*girl*, las.—*fretting*, ríwvrin.

11. *clothes*, tlíwz.—*washing day*, weshin déew.

12. *while*, wíwal *peculiar to e.H.*—*tea*, tíw n.H., tíi e.H.—*fine*, faan n.H.—*afternoon* eftnáiun *was written*.—*since*, sin.

13. *matter*, mather.—*my*, mai e.H., maa n.H.—*name*, níwim.—*neither*, niidher, *both e. and n.H.*

14. *so*, sív.—*going home to supper*, gáí;in, buun wom tí ee mí supp.

15. *fond fool*, wéek bréewnd fiul.—*chatters*, t;athuz.—*without*, widhuut. *reason*, ríwz'n n.H., riiz'n e.H.

2. Notes other than variants.

1. *you*, refined, vulgar form (jii), CCR.—*that's neither here nor there*, a common phrase, but (nóudher) belongs rather to Mid Yo., Var. i, also (dhéew) is refined form of (dhíw), CCR.

2. *likely*, CCR. again thinks it ought to be (laaklí). This is not the case in the East Riding, see p. 517, par. 2.

3. *of the case*, the insertion of the article here was probably a slip. *I've done*, (aa) always in n.H., (ái) before a vowel in e.H.

4. *those* very refined, (dhem) is the characteristic word, CCR.

8. *found* has (d) in n. but not in e.H.—*beast*, S. made (báws) pl. only, which surprises CCR.

9. *upon the ground*, CCR. says that this (-d) for the definite article is heard as a casual form in all the other varieties, and in D 24.—*coat*, CCR. says (kówt) is thoroughly refined, and

(*káuvt*) the peasant form.—*close* (kloos), CCR. says is also refined, but very much used; and “the refined phase is really the dominant one over that section of the East Riding nearest the coast, with its important market towns.”

10. *was*, CCR. finds the constant use of *was* a sure mark of the refined form; and that the characteristic rural types are (*war wa wər wo*) long or short according to circumstances.—*fretting*, CCR. considers to be quite non-dialectal.

11. *yard*, CCR. says this is refined: “when a rural liver uses *yard* alone of an enclosure, his thoughts run on the flagged and walled courts he sees in town. There are no *yards* in the country according to his idea, and even

in such compounds as stable-yard, church-yard, his tongue is far more ready to say (*stáb'l-gééeth, kork-gééeth*).”

13. *Jack*, CCR. says that he did not use this in his cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, because even among the humblest classes it savours of vulgarity, except when used for children only.

14. *to supper*, CCR. objects to the omission of the personal pronoun *my* as being refined. In his own versions cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, he has always inserted *my*; in cs. No. 2, York Ainsty, Mr. Stead has also omitted it.

15. *fond*, CCR. thinks this common word would convey a wrong notion, and prefers *weak*, which he would write (*wé'æk*).

(2) FOUR INTERLINEAR dt. FOR NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

As the cs. for Var. ii were both written by CCR., and I have been fortunate enough to get four dt. from other writers, although in io., which I have been obliged to pal. from indications, or conjecturally, or by the aid of CCR.'s cs., and in one instance by the reading of another native, it seems advisable to give them also in an interlinear arrangement, as a contrast.

1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (12 wsw. Whitby), written by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, with many notes and indications.

2. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (10 e-by-s. Middlesborough), by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of Lingdale, Marske-by-the-Sea, with very full notes. Much of the neighbourhood is like it for ten miles. This specimen was subsequently read to me in Feb. 1887, by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (:staq'v) (3 sse. Skelton, and 12 ese. Middlesborough), a friend of Mr. Wilkinson, and at that time a student in the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster, and that is the pronunciation which I have used. I subsequently referred the chief points to Mr. T. D. Ridley, who resides at Coatham, Redcar, and he agreed with Mr. Langstaff. Mr. Wilkinson was, however, not quite satisfied with the result, but as I have not had an opportunity of hearing him pronounce, I have let my transcript of Mr. Langstaff's stand, and only regret that I am not able to do justice to Mr. W.'s views, which he was at great pains to particularise.

3. *Whitby*, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, the second edition of which was published by the English Dialect Society.

4. *Whitby, Malton, Pickering, and the Moors*, by Rev. John Thornton, Vicar of Aston Abbott, Aylesbury; this is also in io. and with no indications, but by the help of the others there is very little difficulty in interpreting it.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|-----------------------|---|------|----|-----------------|------|-----------------------|-----|------|------|-------------|------|
| 1. | 1 | <i>Danby.</i> | <i>siiv</i> | a | sez, | mə | ladz, | siiz | tə | nuu | at | a)z | riit | |
| 2. | | <i>Skelton.</i> | <i>si_i</i> | a | SEE, | | lädz, | ʒə | <i>si_i</i> | nuu | dhət | aa)z | <i>riit</i> | |
| 3. | | <i>Whitby.</i> | <i>siiv</i> | a | sez, | | <i>miivets,</i> | ʒə | <i>sii</i> | nuu | dhət | a | bi | riit |
| 4. | | <i>Moors.</i> | | | | | ladz, | ʒə | <i>sii</i> | nuu | | a)m | riit | |

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|------------------|
| 1 | əbuut | ʒon | laət'l | las | kəmɪn | fre)t' | skɪ'vəl? |
| 2 | əbət | dhat | liət'l | las | kəmɪn | fre)t' | skɪ'vəl ʒəndhə. |
| 3 | əbuut | dhat | laət'l | béəən | kəmɪn | fre)t' | skɪ'vəl ʒon.dər. |
| 4 | əbuut | t' | laət'l | las | kəmɪn | fre)t' | skɪ'vəl. |

2. 1 shii)z ganen duun t' rúwəd dhíe thruf t' rid jat o)t' left
 2 shí)ez gáin duun)t' róovəd dhéev thruu t' rí)əd jat o)t' left
 3 shii)z gáin duun t' rúwəd dhéev thruf t' rí)əd jat o)t' left
 4 shii)z gáin duun t' rúwəd dhíe thruf t' jat o)t'

1 ond saad o)t' wíiv.
 2 and saad o)t' wee.
 3 and sáid o)t' rúwəd.
 4 o)t'

3. 1 síiv eníef t' béevn ev gand riit up ti)t' díiv o)t'
 2 síiv ení)ef t' béevn)z gí)en st)rdít up ti)t' díiv)er e)t'
 3 síiv ení)ef t' béevn ez gí)en st)reet up tu)t' díiv)er o)t'
 4 síiv ení)ef t' béevn)z gí)en st)reet up ti)t' díiv)er o)t'

1 raq uus,
 2 raq us,
 3 raq uus,
 4 raq uus,

4. 1 wíiv shé)l hap'n find dhat d)ruk'n díiv wíiv)nd t)ap
 2 wéev shé)l mebi fin'd dhat d)ruk'n dí)ef wíiv)nd fele
 3 wúuv shé)l t)ans ti find dhat d)ruken díiv dwíiv)nd kaal
 4 wíiv shii)l mebi find dhat d)ruqk'n díiv wíiv)nd t)ap

1 et dhe kAA :təməs.
 2 bi t' nívəm e :tomí.
 3 dhe kAAl :təməs.
 4 o t' nívəm o :təməs.

5. 1 wi AA1 ken)z'm vari wiil.
 2 wí) AA'l ken im vari) wiil.
 3 wi AA1 ken im vari wiil.
 4 ken [nAA] vari wiil.

6. 1 wíiv)nt t' AA) t)ap síiv)en laan e nat te dii)t n)éev,
 2 wíiv)nt t' AA) t)ap síiv)en lí)en e nat ti díiv)t egíiv)en,
 3 wíiv)nt t' AA) t)ap síiv)en tíiv)t) e nat ti díiv)t egíiv)en,
 4 wíiv)nt t' AA) t)ap síiv)en laan e nat ti díiv)t egíiv)en,

1 púuv thiq!
 2 púuv thiq!
 3 púuv thiq.
 4 púuv kreeter!

7. 1 luk)ts! iz'nt it tríu?
 2 lí)ek! iz'nt it trí)u?
 3 líuk! iz'nt it tríu?
 4 lí)ek! tríu?

Notes to Danby dt. No. 1.

1. *I*, (ái) emphatic, (a) unemphatic.
 2. *there*. Mr. A. having given no sound, I follow CCR.—*gate* (jat) or (jæt).—*left side*, no sound given, I have used (saad) therefore, as given for other words.
 3. *enough*. Mr. A. having written *enough* without explanation, I follow CCR.—*gone* (gand) or (geed).
 4. *where*, no sound assigned.—*that they call more usual than, of the name of* (o t' níum v), as a rule of is (v) before vowels, and (o, v) before consonants.
 6. *old* (ood) is also heard.
- There was a schoolmaster at Castle-ton, a hamlet of Danby parish, named Bull, who was constantly called (:bəl), and the same sound occurs in other words, as bushel (bəshəl) or (bishəl).

Notes to Skelton dt. No. 2.

1. *so*, also (səv, sí,v), the (v) was lost before the following (a).—*lads*, or (tjaps), commoner than (mæets), which however is used, (butiz) is not used.—*little*, (laat'1) not usual.—*lass*, also (gél) very short, but (las) most common.—*from the*, (fre)d' was also used.—*yonder*, or (jondher), *r* not before a vowel very faint, but perceptible.
2. *going*, a distinct diphthong, not (gəjin).—*road*, or (lonen), Mr. JWL used (o) distinctly, not (ə), and in ordinary speech he used (oo) in place of (oo).—*there*, the (r) was not heard except as (v).—*through* is (t'ru:f) on the sea-coast between Lofthouse (:loftas) (12 nw. Whitby) and Whitby.—*gate*, (jat) usual, (gəst) also heard, (-git) unaccented as the name of a street.—*way*, rather (róoud, lonen) road, lane.
3. *gone*, (gon) also used.
4. *may be*, or (ap'n) happen; (tjans tɛ) chance to, scarcely used.—*wizzened* used, 'shrivelled' not used; (shr-) initial, used as (shr'í,vb) shrub.—*by the name of*, a common expression, but oftener (w'í) vɛz ní,ɛmd, who is named, the (w'í) is suspicious, perhaps I did not hear right, (az)iz seems more probable.—*Tommy*, certainly not Tom nor Thomas.
5. *ken* and *know* (nóvɛ) are distinguished as *connaitre* and *savoir*.—*very*, (vare) sounded Scotch to Mr. L.

6. *soon learn*, these two words really rhymed by the omission of the (r). (t'í,ɛtɛ), teacher, is used at school. The (r) was scarcely audible when not before a vowel. The regular sound of O' was (í,v) with the deep (í). This Mr. L. pron. in 'moon, soon, book, look, blood, stood, plough sb. (pl'í,vf), tough (t'í,vf), cool, tool, stool [he stole a stool (í st'í,ál v st'í,vl) the fracture differing, stolen (stóun)], broom [the plant], do, done, noon, spoon, floor, boot, foot, root, soot,' but 'mother, bloom, nose, brother, good, plough vb., sought, moor,' were (mudhər, bluum, nóvz, brudhər, gud, plu, sóut, múvər), 'sought' was evidently assimilated to 'bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter,' all of which had (óu), 'coal, hole' were (kúvl, úvl).
7. *look*, the forms (lí,vks)tɛ, lu)dhv, lu)ɛv) lookest thou, look thou, look you, all occur. All the (u) were very deep, as well as all the (í), and perhaps (u) like (í) should be used generally.

Notes to Whitby dt. No. 3.

1. *I be right* for I is right, is strange, and doubtful. Unfortunately there is no grammar given with the Whitby Glossary, which only contains *be* in the imperative mood.
2. *going*. In his Glossary Mr. FKR. gives 'gangin, gannin, gying.' The pron. here assigned to the last word is quite conjectural, but reminds one of the S. (gwə'in).—*side*. Mr. FKR. writes (sáid) here and in his glossary, but (saad) is more regular.
3. *straight*. Mr. FKR. uses the ordinary spelling both here and in his glossary, hence I write (s,t'reet), the dental (t, d) is not marked, but must be assumed.
4. *where*, the pron. (wúuvər) is not given in the Glossary.
5. *carl*, explained in the Glossary as "a coarse old man." *Carlén* is the fem., and is used for a witch.

Notes to the Moors dt. No. 4.

2. *going*, spelled *gaining*, pron. assimilated to No. 3; blanks are left in many places where the sound was not given.
6. *not*, "u as in *smut*," but perhaps after all the Yo. pron. (smut) may be meant.

(3) THREE INTERLINEAR dt. FOR SOUTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

In order to shew the close connection between the Var. iii and iv, I here give 3 dt.

1. Var. iii, *East Holderness*, pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. Stead, see pp. 499, No. 2, 501, No. 10, and Holderness cwl. *infra*.

2. Var. iii, *Sutton* (3 ne.Hull), on the borders of E. and W. Holderness, written in glossic by Mr. Edward French, of the Lead Works, Hull, long resident, native of Farndon (see D 23, p. 452, last line), and pal. by AJE.

3. Var. iv, *Goole and Marshland*, written by the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, formerly curate in that neighbourhood, and corrected in pal. from his dictation by AJE.

1. 1 *East Holderness*. *siv* a séev, miets, ju sii nuu et aa)z
 2 *Sutton*. su aa SEE, MEETS, jε sii nuu dhat aa)z
 3 *Goole*. SAA a SEE, méets, ji sii nuu et aa)z

1 réit'ebuu't dhat laat'l las kum'in fre skii'el jondher.
 2 riit'ebuu't dhat laat'l las kum'in fre skii'el jondher.
 3 riit'ebuu't dhat laat'l gol kum'in free t' skuul jondε.

2. 1 shε)z bun duun rúvəd dhéev thruuf red jat a left
 2 shε)z gan'in duun t' rAAəd dhéiv'εr thruuf red jat on tε left
 3 shi)z go'in duun t' rAA'əd dhiv, thruuf t' red jat o)t' left

1 and sáid ε wee.
 2 ond sáid ε)t' WEE.
 3 and sáid ε)t' wee.

3. 1 siiv'εr vniiv'εf béev)z giiv'εn sthreet up ti diiv'εr ε
 2 siiv'εr vniiv'ε t' tjaald ez gan sthréit up tε diiv'εr ε t'
 3 siiv'εr vniiv'ε t' béev)z gon street up tε(t' duiiv'εr ε)t'

1 raq uus.
 2 raq uus.
 3 raq uus.

4. 1 wiv'ε shε)l me)bi fínd dhat dhruqk'n diif shriv'ld felε
 2 wéiv'εr shε)l tjons fáind dhat druqk'n diiv'εf shriv'ld felε
 3 wiv'ε shi)l me)bi fínd dhat druqk'n diiv'εf wí'z'nd felε

1 ε níiv'εm ε :tomεs.
 2 ε t' níiv'εm ε :tumεs.
 3 ε)t' néev'εm ε :tomεs.

5. 1 wi AAl NAA im vari wiil.
 2 wi AAl NAA im vari wiil.
 3 wi AAl NAA im vari wiil.

6. 1 wíiv'εnt AAd tjap síiv'εn tiitj ε nut ti dii it vgiiv'εn,
 2 wíiv'εnt t' AAd tjap síiv'εn tíiv'εtj ε nat ti dii it vgiiv'εn,
 3 wo)nt' óvəd tjap síiv'εn tíiv'εtj ε not tε duu)t vgeev'εn,

- 1 páwær thiq!
 2 páwær thiq!
 3 páwær thiq!

7. 1 lívæk ez)'nt ít thruu?
 2 lívæk iz)'nt ít thriú?
 3 lívæk iz)'nt ít triú?

Notes to East Holderness dt. No. 1.

1. *mates*, (mééwts) is refined.—*right*, also (riit).—*lass*, (gjel) often used.
 2. *going*, (bun) boun, and (gájin) are used.—*gate*, or (giwt).—*side*, (saad) in n. Holderness.
 4. *may be*, more usual than *chance to* (tjans ti).

Notes to Sutton dt. No. 2.

4. *drunken*, probably a slip for (dhruqk'n), compare (thriú) true.

Notes to Goole dt. No. 3.

1. *right* or (ráit), which should probably be (réit).—*girl*, this (gol) has not been given me elsewhere.—*school* (skuul) is probably an erroneous reminiscence; Dr. Thompson had not been at the place for many years.
 2. *gate* or (giit).
 3. *straight*, here (street), sometimes (stráit), as well as (druqk'n, triú), are probably errors, the dentality of (tr, dr) not having been noticed.

(4) VAR. i, MID YO. cwl.

Complete wl. for D 30, Var. i a, or Mid Yorkshire, written in Glossic by CCR., pal. and arranged as a cwl. by A. J. Ellis. "The rule is very general that when a word has (*i*u) for vowel, the refined form is (éev), and the latter is at least in equal and very often in most use." At the end of a word the letters (-d, -r) are heard only before a following vowel. CCR. says the intonation is "a drawl in individual instances, but by rule easy and deliberate, full of body, slow going, firm and clear in enunciation; sentences run short, and the way in which words are mouthed is pregnant with meaning to an accustomed ear. There is hesitancy at times, but it is associated with purpose, and cannot be regarded as a defect. The frequent use of the dental (*t*, *d*), as it were, thickens the speech in a very striking way."

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 béevk bîek. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 méevd mîd. 7 síek séevk. 8 ev. 9 biévuv biévuv. 10 ôv. 11 môv. 12 sóov. 13 nôv. 14 dróov. 15 óov. 16 dôv. 17 lôv lûv. 18 kíek kéevk. 19 tíiv. 20 lívuv [often (lívuv)]. 21 nívuv. 22 téevuv. 23 sívuv. 24 sham. 25 mévuv. 26 wéevuv. 27 níev. 28 éev+r. 31 lívuv. 32 béevd -iv-. 33 réevuv-r -iv-. 34 last. 35 óov. 36 thóov thóov. 37 tlóov.
 A: 39 kam. 40 kéevm kívuv. 41 theqk. 43 an-d. 44 land. 46 kanel. 47 wandv-r. 48 saq. 50 taqz. 51 man. 52 wan. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wvsh wéish. 57 as.
 A: or O: 58 frév [(fr) before a vowel]. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 vmaq. 63 traq. 64 raq. 65 saq. 66 thaq.
 A- 67 gaq gan géev. 69 néev nív núv. 70 tév. 71 wéev. 72 wév. 73 séev. 74 twéev twív. 75 st.réevk st.ríek st.ríuvk. 76 téevd. 77 læd. 78 óov. 79 óovuv óovuv. 80 alíev. 81 lúvuv lúvuv. 83 mívuv. 84 méev-r. 85 séev-r. 86 èvts wots. 87 tléevz tívz. 88 tléevth. 89 béevth bívth. 90 blóov. 91 móov. 92 nóov. 93 snóov. 94 króov. 95 thróov. 96 sóov. 97 sóov. 98 nóov. 99 thróov. 100 sóov.

- A': 101 jak. 102 as aks. 104 réeud. 105 réeud. 106 bréeud. 107 léuf léef *lúuf*. 108 *díuf*. 109 lóow. 110 nat nit. 111 óut. 112 éeul. 113 jal wol. 114 mául. 115 éeum jam íum jíum. 116 wéeum. 118 béeeum. 121 géeeum. 122 néeeum. 123 nóut [used]. 124 stéeeum. 125 *uunli*. 126 *íuv-r*. 127 éeus éeust. 128 [use] dhem dhím em. 129 géest. 130 *báuvt*. 131 *gáuvt*. 132 jat. 133 réeet. 134 éuth. 135 tléeeuth, tlut [rag].
- Æ- 138 *fíiv-de-r* -aa-. 139 *driiv*. 140 éeul agelstéun [hailstone]. 141 néeeul. 142 sníul snéeeul sníil. 143 t'el téeeul. 144 *egiv'n*. 145 sl'en. 146 méeeum. 147 bréeum. 148 féeu-r. 149 blíez. 150 líest. 151 let [not much used]. 152 wa~~u~~-r. 153 se~~u~~de.
- Æ: 155 thak. 157 réeev'n ríiv'n. 158 ef~~u~~-r. 160 ig. 161 dív. 163 líed. 164 *miv*. 165 s'ud sed. 166 m'ud méeeud. 167 díul déeeul. 168 ta'le. 169 wen wéin. 170 aavist. 171 baalí. 172 ges ges gas gras. 173 waa. 174 esh esh. 175 fast. 178 nit nat. 179 wat. 180 bath. 181 path.
- Æ'- 182 *síiv*. 183 *tíivtj*. 184 líed. 185 ríivd. 186 bríidh bríivdth bríid. 187 líivv. 188 níiv néei. 189 wéi. 190 kíiv. 191 jíivl. 192 míivm. 193 tíivm. 194 *uni* ont. 195 *muni* moni. 196 waa-r. 197 *tíivz*. 199 blíivt bléevt. 200 wíivt. 201 *jíivdhun*. 202 *íivt jíivt*.
- Æ': 203 spíivtj spíivtj. 204 díivd díid. 205 thríivd. 206 rid. 207 níivdel níivdel. 210 tléeev. 211 gréeev. 212 wéi. 213 *éev-de-r*. 215 tóut. 216 díivl. 217 *íivtj*. 218 shíivp shéivp. 219 slíivp sléivp. 221 *fíiv-r*. 222 *éev-r*. 223 dhíiv-r. 224 wíivv-r wíiv-r. 225 fish flesh. 226 méeeust. 227 wíit wíit. 228 swíivt. 229 bríth bríivth. 230 fat.
- E- 232 brek. 233 spíivk. 234 níivd. 235 wíivv. 236 fíivver. 237 *tjivlén*. 238 íiv. 239 séeeul síivl. 240 léeeun líivn. 241 réeeun ríivn. 242 twéeeun twíivn. 243 pléeev plíiv [only in ref. sp., colloquially (*líivk*) laik]. 246 kwíivn [queen], kwíivn [queen]. 247 wíivn. 248 míiv-r. 249 wíiv-r. 250 swíiv-r. 251 míivt. 252 kíivl. 253 níivl. 254 le~~u~~-r. 255 íthe-r.
- E: 257 íiv. 258 sig seg. 259 wíiv. 260 léeev líiv líiv [last much used in pres. t.]. 262 wíiv. 264 séeeul síivl. 265 st.réivt. 267 *jíivd*. 268 íivdist. 270 bíivl belev, bíiv belí. 272 elm. 273 mín. 274 bíivk. 275 [(stíivk) only used]. 276 thíivk. 277 *drintj*. 278 wentj wíivtj. 280 *íivv-vn* -iv-. 281 lenth [often (leqth)]. 282 st.renth [often (st.reqth)]. 283 *mari mari*. 284 thresh. 285 kris. 286 arv. 287 *bíivzom*. 288 líiv.
- E'- 289 *íiv*. 290 *íiv*. 291 dhéiv dhíiv. 292 méiv míiv. 293 wíiv. 294 fíiv. 295 bríivd bríiv. 296 bíivv bíivv. 298 fíiv. 299 gríivn. 300 kíivp kíivp. 301 *íiv-r*. 302 míivt míivt. 303 swíivt.
- E': 305 *íiv*. 306 *íiv*. 307 níiv néiv naa. 308 níiv. 309 spíivd. 310 íivl íivl. 311 tív. 312 *íiv-r*. 313 aakén. 314 *íivd*. 315 *íivt* [with long initial sound to the fracture, see 595]. 316 níivt níivst níivst.
- EA- 317 fléeev. 319 *gíivp*. 320 kéev-r.
- EA: 321 sóov síivd. 322 laf. 323 fíivt fíivt. 324 íivt. 325 wíivk wóovk. 326 óovd *íivd*. 327 bóivld bóivld. 328 kóovd. 329 fóovld fóovd. 330 óovd od. 331 [form used] seld síivd [sometimes with final t.]. 332 [form used] teld teld. 333 kíivf kíivf. 334 *íivf* óivf. 335 jal íivl. 336 fíivl. 337 wíivl. 340 réeeud. 342 éeeum. 343 waam. 345 daa-r. 346 *gíivt*.
- EA'- 347 *íivd*. 348 *íiv* [(íiv) gen. pl., but often sg.]. 349 *fíiv*.
- EA': 350 *íivd* [ref. (íiv)]. 351 *íivd* [ref. (íiv)]. 352 rid. 353 bríivd [ref. (bríiv)]. 354 shíivf shaav shaft. 355 *díivf*. 356 líivf. 357 dhíivf. 359 níivv-r, neevv-r. 360 *tíivm*. 361 bíivm béeeum. 362 slíiv. 363 *tíivp tíivp*. 365 *íiv-r*. 366 *gríivt*. 367 thríivt [ref. (thríiv)]. 368 *díivth*. 369 sléeev slíiv slóov. 370 róov. 371 st.réev st.ríiv st.ríivv.
- EI- 372 *íiv* *íiv* *íiv* *íiv* [very much used]. 373 dhéev. 374 níiv néev. 375 réeev réev. 376 béevt.
- EI: 377 stéevk. 378 wéevk. 379 éeeul. 381 swéeeun swíivn. 382 dhéev-r.
- EO- 383 síivn síivvén. 384 íivn íivvén. 385 bíivvth óivvth. 386 *íiv*. 387 *íiv*.
- EO: 388 míivk míivk *míivk* [all very short]. 389 jook. 390 sud síivd. 393 bíivnd *íivnd*. 396 waak work [? (r)]. 397 sword sword s'rd [? (r)]. 398 stéev staa. 399 brit. 400 *íivnest*. 401 *íivn*. 402 laan. 403 faa-r. 404 staa-r. 405 éevth. 406 *íivth*. 407 faadin [the (d) never dental].

EO'- 411 thrúe t.rúe. 412 shúe shéi. 413 dil dívél. 414 fii. 415 lii.
416 dív-r. 417 t.rúe t.rúe. 418 brúe. 420 fów-r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 ríief. 425 lit. 426 féit. 427 béi. 428 séi síe.
430 frind. 431 bíe-r. 432 fówt. 433 brist bríust. 434 bet bit. 435 jóu.
436 t.rúe. 437 t.rúeth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 t.rust.

I- 440 wík. 441 síev. 442 aavin. 443 fraa.de. 444 staal. 445 aa
aan [latter commoner]. 446 nin naan. 448 dhíev. 449 git. 450 tíezde.
451 sóu.

I: 452 aa. 454 wítj. 455 lig. 457 mit. 458 nit n'et. 459 rit. 460
wét. 461 lit. 462 sit síet. 464 wítj. 465 síty [but (saak saik) are more
used]. 466 tjaald [when read, (béen) used in speaking]. 467 waald. 468
tjil.drin [when read, (béen) used in speaking]. 471 tíme-r. 472 shriqk
sríqk. 473 blínd [ref. (blaand)]. 474 raand [spoken of as *peel* (piel)]. 475
wínd. 476 bínd [ref. (baand)]. 477 fín. 478 grínd [ref. (graand)]. 479
wínd [ref. (waand)]. 481 fiqge. 484 dhís. 485 thísel. 486 jíst. 487
jíst.de júst.de. 488 jít.

I'- 490 baa. 491 saa see. 493 draav. 494 taam. 496 aaren. 497
raaz. 498 raat. 499 bíetel [when read, otherwise (tlok, blak-tlok) clock,
black clock].

I': 500 laak. 501 waad. 502 faav. 503 laaf. 504 naaf. 505 waaf.
506 wumén. 507 wímín. 508 maal. 509 waal. 511 waan. 512 spaa-r
[ref. (spéev-r)]. 513 waa-r. 514 aas. 515 waaz. 516 wízdem. 517 jíiv.

O- 520 buu. 521 fíuvel. 522 open up'en. 523 êep. 524 wóld.

O: 526 kaf kíief. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531
dóu.te-r déev.te-r. 532 káuel. 533 dal. 534 úvel. 536 góud góoud. 537
muuld muud. 538 wad. 539 bád. 540 olín. 542 bolt. 545 op up. 547 búued.
548 ford [ref. (fæod)]. 549 úuud. 550 wod. 551 storm [ref. (stæm)]. 552
kóon káon. 553 óon úuon. 554 kros krus.

O'- 555 shíev shuun [the last both sg. and pl.]. 556 tuv. 557 tíiv. 558
líek líek. 559 mú.de-r. 561 blíem. 562 míen. 563 mun.de. 564 síen.
565 neez. 566 u.de-r.

O': 569 bíek. 570 tíek. 571 gíínd [Mr. Stead says he has never heard
(gíínd) in Mid Yo. CCR. gives it in 30 i c, 30 ii a, b, in 30 iii a, see p. 496.
Mr. Jackson Wray knew it, but as very rare]. 572 blíud. 573 flíud. 574
bríud. 575 stíud. 576 wídenzde. 577 bíief bíiv. 578 plíuf pluf plif
plíuf pléuf. 579 eníief. 580 taf tíiv. 581 sóut. 582 kível. 583 tível.
584 stível. 585 bríiem [when read, otherwise 287, meaning a sweeping broom].
586 dív. 587 díen. 588 níen. 589 spíen. 590 fíiv-r [casually (flíev-r)].
591 múev-r. 592 sweev-r. 593 [(mín) used]. 594 bíief. 595 fíet [with
short initial vowel to the fracture, see 315]. 596 ríiv. 597 síiv. 598 síevdh.

U- 599 évíen évúen. 600 líev luv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 kum.
605 sún sún. 606 dív-r [casually dív-r]. 607 bute-r.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 wul. 611 bulék. 612 sum. 613 d.ruqk.
614 uund. 615 pund. 616 grínd. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 fín.
620 grínd. 621 wun. 622 unde-r. 625 túq. 626 uqe-r. 628 nun. 629
sún. 630 wun. 631 thorzdé. 632 úp. 633 kúp. 634 thruf thríief. 635
woth. 636 fo.de-r. 637 túsik. 638 busk. 639 dust.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 díev duv. 646 buu.
647 óul [occ. (uul)]. 648 uu-r. 649 thuuén. 653 but bud.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 réem ríem. 657 brunn. 658 duun.
659 tuun. 660 báuv-r. 661 shúuv-r. 662 úz. 663 uus. 664 luus. 665
muus. 666 úzben. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 669 unkuuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 míty mékel. 674 díid [initial (d) slightly dental]. 676 líi laa.
677 draa. 678 díin. 679 kork [P(r), ref. (tjotj)]. 680 bízi [when read,
(t'raq) throng in speech]. 682 laatel laal.

Y: 683 mdj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 baa. 687 flaat flit. 688 bíld.
690 kaand. 691 maand. 693 sín. 696 both. 697 bori. 698 morth [P(r)].
699 ríit. 700 waas [ref. (wos)]. 701 fost. 703 píit. 704 víksun.

Y'- 705 skaa. 706 waa [but never as an interrogative, for which (wat fêr)
what for is used; (wáiv) whya, is a form of assent mostly, but is also used

interrogatively]. 707 *thotiiën*, *thrit-*, *thrut-*. 708 *aar* [meaning perhaps (*áav-r*)].

Y': 709 *faar* [see 708]. 711 *laas*. 712 *maas*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bad*. 714 *lad*. 715 *pad*. 716 *adl*. 717 *djéevd*. 718 *tréevd* *tríevd*. 719 *tadpóul*. 721 *fag*. 722 *driën*. 723 *driëri*. 724 *bóovld*. 725 *séevl s'el*. 727 *djam*. 728 *sham*. 729 *fréevm fríem*. 730 *kan,te-r*. 731 *wantèn*. 733 *skaa-r*. 734 *daan*. 735 *smash*. 736 *las*. 737 *mèet*. 738 *préevt priëet*. 740 *wéevv wíevv*. 741 *míevz*. 742 *líevzi*.

E. 743 *skriëm*. 744 *míevzvlz*. 745 *tjriët*. 746 *bríevdh*. 747 *indiv'v-r*. 748 *unfligd*. 750 *beg*. 751 *port* [*p* (*póovt*)].

I. and Y. 753 *tikël*. 754 *pig*. 755 *filbet*. 756 *shrimp* [casually (*srimp*)]. 757 *taaní*. 758 *gal* [rarely used, replaced by 736]. 759 *fit*.

O. 761 *lévd*. 762 *éevkvm*. 763 *réevm*. 764 *kodel*. 766 *môid'vvd* [more used in the n. and sw. of Yo.]. 767 *nôis núis*. 768 *kóvk*. 769 *móvdiwaap* *móvdiwéevp* *móvdiwéep*. 771 *fond*. 772 *bun'faa-r* *bon'faa-r*. 773 *doqki* [(*d*) slightly dental]. 774 *páveni*. 775 *buubi*. 777 *shop*. 778 *vfa'd v'fóvd*. 779 *óvts*. 780 *dv'sel*. 781 *budhv-r*, *bo-*. 782 *puhv-r*. 783 *puul'tri*. 784 *buuns*. 785 *loondj*. 786 *duus*. 787 *suus*. 788 *flunt*. 789 *róu*. 790 *guun*.

U. 792 *skwabel*. 793 *úg*. 794 *dv'ug*. 795 *shrug*. 799 *skúl*. 800 [not used, but the part. *skulling* is (*skil-in*)]. 802 *ram*. 803 *dv'ump*. 805 *krúdz*. 807 *pus*. 808 *put*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *jabel t'vèbel*. 810 *fiús*. 811 *plús*. 812 *léevs líevs*. 813 *bíevkvm*. 814 *míevsn*. 815 *faks*. 816 *fiívd*. 817 *radish*. 818 *iédj*. 819 *riédj*. 821 *diléev*. 822 *méev*. 823 *béev*. 824 *tjéev-r*. 825 *wéevf*. 826 *iévgvl*. 827 *iévgv-r*. 828 *éev'gíev*. 829 *géevn*. 830 *tríevn* *tréevn*. 831 *distriëvn*. 832 *méev-r*. 833 *péev-r*. 834 *shéev shéevz*. 835 *riéevzn*. 836 *síevzn*. 837 *líevsh líevs*. 838 *t'riët*. 839 *béevl bíevl*. 840 *tjéevmvr*. 841 *tjans*. 842 *plaqk*. 843 *bransh*. 844 *trínsh*. 845 *éevnshunt*. 846 *tjanlv-r*. 847 *déevndjv-r* *díevndjv-r*. 848 *tjéevndj*. 849 *stréevndjv-r* *-íev-* [vowel occ. inordinately long]. 850 *dans*. 851 *aan't* [(*t*) distinct]. 852 *japren*. 853 *baagen*. 854 *baril*. 855 *karit*. 856 *péevt*. 857 *kíevs*. 858 *bríevs*. 859 *tjéevs*. 860 *píevst*. 861 *téevst*. 862 *síevf séevf*. 863 *tjéevf tjíevf*. 864 *bikos* *ékos*. 865 *foovt*. 866 *páevv-r*.

E.. 867 *téev tíev*. 868 *djéev*. 869 *víevl*. 870 *bíevti*. 871 *egrii vgríev*. 872 *tjéevf tjíevf*. 873 *fríev*. 874 *ríevn*. 875 *féevnt*. 876 *díevnti*. 877 *eev-r*. 878 *salvri*. 879 *fíevmeevl*. 880 *igzam'pul*. 881 *síevs*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *daa'ndíevlaa'n*. 884 *printis*. 886 *fríev-r*. 887 *tlaadví*. 888 *saatèn*. 889 *síevs*. 890 *bíevs* [said of cattle]. 891 *fiíevst* [(*t*) often omitted, especially in the first part of a compound]. 892 *níevi*. 893 *fláev-r*. 894 *disíevv*. 895 *risíevv*. 896 [not used].

I.. and Y.. 897 *díevl*. 898 *naas*. 899 *níevs*. 900 *préev*. 901 *faan*. 902 *maan*. 903 *daan* [not used in common talk]. 904 *vaavlet*. 905 *raav'v*. 906 *vaavv-r*. 907 *t'raas*. 908 *advaa's*. 909 *bríevz*. 910 *djâ s*, *djâisín* [last both sg. and pl.]. 911 *síev'trén*. 912 *raas*.

O.. 913 *kúevty*. 914 *bríevty*. 915 *stíev stuf*. 916 *unvsn*. 917 *rúevvg*. 918 *fréevl*. 919 *áintmíevnt*. 920 *póevnt píevnt*. 921 *ékvíevnt*. 922 *bushíl*. 923 *móis-t*. 924 *tjéevs*. 925 *vóis vúis*. 926 *spóil spúil*. 927 *truvqk*. 928 *uuns*. 929 *kuv'kuvv-r*. 930 *lóevn líevn*. 931 *djv'glv-r*. 932 *emuu'nt*. 933 *frunt*. 934 *buuntí*. 935 *kuv'trí*. 936 *fuunt* [same as *fouunt*]. 937 *kok*. 938 *kóevns*. 939 *tíevvvs*. 940 *kúevt*. 941 *fúevl*. 942 *búevv-r*. 943 *tutj*. 944 *eluu*. 945 *vuu*. 946 *móil*. 947 *bóil búil*. 948 *buul*. 950 *supv-r*. 951 *kúevl*. 952 *kúevs*. 953 *kuzen*. 954 *kúshín*. 955 *duut*. 956 *kúev-r*. 957 *implóov*. 959 *konvéev*.

U.. 960 *kíev*. 961 *gríevjíl gríevjíl*. 962 *míevz*. 963 *kvaa'v'v*. 964 *síevjít*. 965 *óil úil*. 966 *fríevt fríevt*. 967 *síevt síevt*. 968 *óovs,te-r*. 969 *síev-r*. 970 *dv'ust dv'ust*. 971 *flíevt flíevt*.

(5) VAR. ii, NORTH-EAST Yo. cwl.

D Danby, Var. iia, from a wl. in io. written by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby Parsonage, Yarm, author of the Cleveland Glossary, pal. conjecturally by A.J.E.
W Whitby, Var. iib, from a wl. in io. written by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, pal. conjecturally by A.J.E.

It will be evident from this wl. that the two forms of D 30, Var. iia and b, are practically identical, and that the two lists really supplement each other. And again comparing this double list with the cwl. for Var. ia, Mid Yo., pp. 523-6, and remembering that in that dialect (éev) had a corresponding form (iiv), we see that the only real difference of that from this, is that this has (iiv) without in general any alternative form as (éev, ee-).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W biøk. 4 DW tak. 5 DW mak. 6 DW miød. 7 W siøk. 8 DW ev, W ee. 9 D biéiv. 10 D oo. 18 W kiøk. 19 DW tiül. 20 DW liem. 21 W niüm. 22 W tiüm. 23 DW siüm. 24 W sham. 25 W miün. 27 W niüv. 28 D iiv. 31 W liüt. 32 D bath. 33 DW reedher, W réedhe. 36 D [(gi vgen) used], W thoo. A: 39 W kam. 40 DW kiüm. 41 W thøk. 46 W kan'l. 50 DW teqz. 54 D want. 55 DW as. 56 DW wesh. 57 D as. A: or O: 58 D fre frev. 59 D lam. 60 DW laq. 61 W vmaq. 62 W s,t,raq. 63 W thraq. 64 W raq. 65 DW saq. 66 D waq.
A'- 67 W gan. 69 DW niiv. 70 W tiiv. 71 W wiiv. 72 DW wiiv. 73 DW siiv. 74 DW twiiv. 76 W tævd. 78 DW AA. 79 W AAN. 80 W alide. 81 D lönin loonin, W lüvvin. 84 DW méev. 85 DW séev. 86 D wots, W wots. 87 DW klüz. 88 W klüvdh. 89 DW biüth, D beeth. 90 DW blAA. 91 W mAA. 92 W nAA. 93 DW snAA. 94 W kAA. 96 W sAA. 98 W nAAN. 99 W thAAN. 100 W sAAN.
A': 101 DW jak. 102 DW aks. 104 W rüvvd. 105 DW reed [written ræde]. 106 D breed, W brüvd. 107 W liüf. 108 DW daf. 110 W nut. 111 D öut. 113 D whiül ['(wh) whistled'], W iül. 115 DW iüm jam, D eem. 118 DW biien. 121 W giüv. 122 D neen, W niün. 124 DW stüv. 125 D onli. 126 W iuv+r. 127 W iüv. 128 D dhüvz, W dhöv. 129 W giüvst. 130 W biüvst. 131 W giüvst. 132 D et, W iüv. 133 DW reet. 135 W klüvth. 136 DW öudhe+r.
Æ- 138 W faadhv+r. 140 D ag'l. 142 D snái [spelled snäihl], W snaal. 144 W vgiüv. 145 D slüv. 147 [harn used]. 149 DW bliiz. 150 W léevst. 152 D wota, W wa,tv+r [written wat-ther, and said to be 'as near the pron. as one can come']. Æ: 155 DW thak. 157 W riiv'm. 158 D ef,tv+r, W efthv+r. 163 W [ligg'd used]. 167 DW diül. 172 W gres. 174 DW esh. Æ'- 186 W t')briid. 187 W liüv. 188 W néi. 191 W [whole used]. 194 DW oni. 195 moni. 200 W wiüv. 203 W spivtj. 205 W thriid. 206 D reed, W red. 215 W tóut. 218 D shíp. 224 W iüv+r wöv. 226 D meest, W miüvst. 228 W swiüv. 229 W brüvth.
E- 232 D briik, W brüvk. 233 W spüvk. 234 W niüv. 235 W wiüv. 236 W iüvvv+r. 240 W [ligg'd used]. 242 W twiiv. 246 W kvüv [also without (k), (wüv) a quean or female, inoffensive]. 248 DW miüv+r. 249 W wiiv+r. 250 DW swiiv+r. 251 W miüv. E: 258 D seg. 268 W [audest=oldest used]. 270 W belsiz [bellows]. 272 W AAM. 280 W ilie-v'n. 284 DW thresh. 286 D ar. 287 D biüzv. E': 313 W aaken. 314 DW iüv. 316 D neksen, W [neist uncertain, possibly (nist)].
EA- 319 DW giüv. EA: 322 D laf. 323 DW füt. 326 DW Aad. 328 DW kAAD. 329 D fod. 330 DW öd. 331 DW [selled used], 332 W [tell'd used]. 333 DW kAAF. 334 DW AAF. 335 D AA. 337 D WAA. 340 D [garth used]. 342 D eem, W éeüm. 343 D waam. 345 W daa. 346 DW giüv, D jat jet. EA'- 347 DW iüv. 348 W [eyen? (ain)]. EA': 350 W diüv. 351 W liüv. 352 W riüv. 353 DW brüv. 354 D shaf.

355 DW *diuf*. 356 W *liuf*. 357 W *dhof*. 360 W *tiim*. 363 W *tjiup*.
 365 W *naa*. 366 D *gríut*. 367 D *thriit*, W *thriut*. 368 W *dieth*. 370
 DW *riie* [D written *rear*]. 371 W *st,riie*.
 EI- 372 D *ái*. 374 D *níe*. EI: 377 D *stiik*, W *stíek*. 378 W
wíek. EO- 383 W *siiv'n*. 384 W *éiv'n*. 385 W *biníedh*. 386 W
jóu. EO: 393 W *bíont*. 397 W *siúed*. 399 W *briit*. 400 W *jenest*.
 401 W *jen*. 402 W *laan*. 406 W *jeth*. EO'- 412 W *shíe*. 413 D
diiv'l, W *diiev'l*. 414 DW *fii*. 415 DW *lii*. 417 [D *chig* used, W *chow*
 (*tjów*)]. 420 D *fóuv+r*. EO': 423 DW *thii*. 425 DW *liit*. 430 DW
frind. 433 D *bríest*, W *briist*. 434 DW *bet*. 435 D *jóu*. 436 D *t,rii*.
 EY- 438 DW *dii*. EY: 439 W *trist*.
 I- 442 W *áivín*. 448 W *dhíevz*. 449 W *git*. I: 455 W *lig*. 458
 DW *niit*. 459 DW *riit*, W *réit*. 464 W *wilk*. 465 DW *sáik*, D *siken*.
 468 DW *tjilde+r*. 471 W *tiim+r*. 475 D *wáind*. 476 DW *bind*. 477
 D *find*. 478 W *grund*. 479 D *wind*. 481 W *fiqe+r*. 486 W *jest*. 487
 W *jesthude*. 488 *jit*. I'- 494 W *taam*. 496 D *áiren*. I': 505 D
waaf. 508 D *maal*.
 O- 521 W *fáuel*. 522 DW *op'n*. O: 527 W *bóut*. 528 DW *thóut*.
 529 DW *bróut*. 530 DW *róut*. 531 D *dafte+r* [so also (*slafte+r*) slaughter],
 W *dothe+r*. 532 W *káuel*. 533 D *dul*. 534 W *úuel*. 540 D *olen*. 547
 W *báued*. 548 W *fáued*. 549 W *úued*. 550 D *wod*. 552 DW *káuen*.
 553 W *úuen*. O'- 555 W *shíien* [shoes]. 558 D *liiek*, W *liuk*. 559 D
mudhe+r. 562 W *míven*. 564 W *síven*. O': 569 DW *bíuk*. 570 W
tiuk. 572 D *blud*, W *blíud*. 575 DW *stíud*. 577 D *bíuf*. 578 D *plíuf*,
 DW *plíuf*. 579 DW *eníuf eníu*. 580 D *tíuf*. 582 W *kíiel*. 584 W *stéel*
 [? *stíel*]. 585 W *briem*. 586 DW *diie*. 587 W *diíen*. 588 W *níen*.
 589 DW *spíen*. 590 D *flíiv+r*. 592 DW [(*swéev*) used]. 593 D *mast*.
 594 W *bíut*. 595 W *fiut*. 596 DW *riut*. 597 W *siut*.
 U- 600 D *lav*. 602 W *siu*. 606 DW *díiv+r*. 607 DW *búte+r* [W.
 writes 'butther pron. like *th* in *thus*,' all an error]. U: 608 D *ugli*. 615
 DW *púnd*. 616 DW *grúnd*. 618 D *wóund*. 619 W *fúnd*. 620 W *grúnded*.
 622 W *onde+r*. 626 DW *uqr*. 631 D *thozde* [see 679]. 632 D *up*. 633
 D *káp*. 634 DW *thruf*. Ú'- 640 W *kúu*. 643 W *nuu*. 648 W *úuv+r*.
 Ú': 657 W *bruun*. 658 D *duun*. 659 DW *tuun*. 660 W *báuv+r*. 661
 W *sháuv+r*. 662 D *us*, W *uz*. 663 DW *uus*. 664 W *luus*. 666 D *uzbund*.
 667 DW *uut*. 668 DW *pruud*. 669 D *wnkuu:th*, DW *uqked*.
 Y- 673 DW *mitj*. 676 DW *lii*. 679 D *tjotj* [*o* as in *botch* with a suspicion
 of *r* after it, here and in 631, 696, 698, 701, 707]. 682 DW *laat'l*. Y: 684
 DW *brig*. 685 W *rig*. 690 D *kaand*, W *kín*. 691 D *mínd*. 695 W *aak'n*.
 696 D *both* [see 679]. 697 D *berí*. 698 W *moth* [see 679]. 699 DW *riit*.
 700 DW *wars*. 701 DW *fast* [see 679]. Y'- 707 D *thottiin* [see 679].
 Y': 711 D *liis*. 712 D *míis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W *míut*. E. 744 W *mez'lz*. 746 W *bríiedh*. 747 W *índíiv+r*.
 748 DW *fiqđ*. O. 761 W *líved*. 769 D *móudiwaap*. 790 W *guun*.
 U. 805 W *kruudz*. 808 D *put*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 DW *jab'l*. 810 DW *fiies*. 811 DW *plíies*. 812 W *líies*. 813
 D *bak'n*. 838 W *tríiet*. 840 D *tjáame+r*, W *tjeeme+r*. 845 D *aanshvent*.
 847 D *dandje+r*. 849 D *st,randje+r*. 851 W *naant*. 852 W *apren*. 854
 W *baril*. 855 W *karit*. 856 W *paat*. 857 W *kíies*. 859 DW *tjas*. 860
 W *pírest*. 861 W *tírest*. E.. 876 W *denti*. 884 W *prentis*. 890 W
bees ['pl. beasts of the ox kind']. 891 W *fiírest*. 892 W *nevi*. O.. 913
 W *kúvetj*. 914 W *brávetj*. 919 D *áintment*, W *nóintment*. 921 W *ekwent*.
 922 D *bíshel*. 928 W *uuns*. 929 W *kúukume+r*. 938 W *kúuene+r*. 941
 W *fiíel*. 942 D *batje+r*. 954 D *kashen*.

(6) VAR. *iii*a, MARKET WEIGHTON (:wiit'n) (10 w.Beverley) cwl.

W Rev. Jackson Wray, see 10 cs., No. 9, Introduction, p. 501, pal. by A.JE. from dict. 17 Dec. 1877. The (a) was very fine, rather (a¹). Mr. Wray made all the (u, uu) into (u₁, uu₁). He also really trilled (r) in all cases, but deeming that an individuality, I have treated the r as elsewhere.

F Rev. J. Foxley, in 1877, of Market Weighton, and 20 years acquainted with the dialect, i.o., conjecturally pal. by A.JE. F makes his final -er = -uor, meant for (-ur) apparently, but this is so clearly a misapprehension, that I have substituted (-ur) throughout. Thus -*thuor* was probably really (-t_ur).

In both W and F the (e) may possibly have been (æ).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 WF *biek*. 4 WF *tak*. 5 WF *mak*. 6 WF *míed*. 7 F *siek*. 8 F *ev*. 11 W *maa*. 12 W *saa*. 13 W *naa*. 14 W *draa*. 15 W *oo*. 16 W *daan*. 17 W *laa*. 18 W *kiek*. 19 F *tíel*. 20 WF *lém*. 21 WF *níem*. 23 WF *síem*. 24 WF *sham*. 25 F *míen*. 27 W *níev*. 31 F *líet*. 32 F *baath*. 33 F *réedhs*. 34 F *last*. 36 W *thóu*, F *thóu*.

A: 39 F *kom*. 41 F *theqk*. 46 F *kanel*. 48 F *suq*. 50 F *teqz*. 51 F *man*. 53 W *kan*. 54 W *want*. 55 F *as*. 56 F *wesh*. 57 WF *as*.

A: or O: 58 WF *free*. 60 WF *laq*. 61 WF *émaq*. 62 W *s_traq*, F *sthraq*. 63 WF *thraq*. 64 F *raq*. 65 WF *saq*.

A'- 67 WF *gan*. 69 W *nís* [adj.] *noo* [adj.], F *nóov*. 70 W *tís*. 71 W *woo*. 72 W *wív*, F *waa*. 73 W *sív*, F *sóov*. 74 W *twív*. 75 W *s_trook*, F *sthrúvok*. 76 W *tíed tíed*. 77 W *lóed*. 78 F *aa* [p.t. (*jiud*)]. 79 WF *oon* [(*wi oonz dhe*) who owns thee, whose child art thou?]. 80 W *aléde*, F *alíde*. 81 F *lúven*. 83 W *móen*, WF *múen*. 84 WF *méev*. 85 W *séev*. 86 WF *wots*. 87 F *klíuz*. 89 WF *bíeth*. 91 W *moo*. 92 W *noo*. 93 W *snoo*, F *snaa'v*. 94 W *kroo*. 95 W *throo*. 96 F *sóov*. 97 W *sóul*. 98 W *noon*. 99 W *thron*. 100 W *soon*.

A': 101 WF *jak*. 102 F *aks*. 104 WF *ríed*. 105 W *reed*. 106 W *bréed*. 107 W *láf*, F *lúf*. 108 W *díef* [also called (*píest*) *paste*]. 110 W *nút*. 111 W *óut*, F *ó'ut*. 122 W *éel*. 113 WF *wol*, F *jal*. 115 WF *jam*, F *wom*. 116 W [not used], F *wís*. 118 F *bíen*. 121 WF *gíen*. 122 WF *níen*. 123 [W (*nóut*), F *nó'ut* used]. 124 WF *stíen*. 125 WF [(*nobst*) used]. 126 W *óov*. 127 W *oost os*, F *úuv*. 128 [F (*dhem*) used]. 129 W *gíest* [(*goost*) common]. 130 W *báut*. 131 WF *gáut*. 132 F *jat*. 133 WF *reet*. 134 W *ooth*. 135 F *kló'ut*.

Æ- 138 F *feedher fadher*. 139 F *dréev*. 140 W *éel*, F *agalz*. 141 WF *néel*. 142 W *smíel*, F *snííel*. 143 W *téel*. 144 WF *vgíen*. 147 W *bréen*. 149 W *blíez*. 150 F *líest*. 152 W *wa_te+r*, F *wathur*. 153 F *sethúde*.

Æ: 155 F *thíek*. 158 F *efthur*. 160 W *eg*. 161 WF *dév*. 163 F [(*léed*) used]. 164 F [(*mud*) used]. 165 F *sed*. 166 W [rare, (*las*) used, also (*went*) in a good sense], F *méevd*. 169 F *wen*. 171 W *baalí*. 172 WF *ges*. 173 F *waz*. 174 WF *esh*.

Æ'- 182 W *síi* [always], F *séev*. 183 W *téetj*. 184 W *líid*. 185 W *riid*, F *ríed*. 186 W *brídh*, F *briid*. 187 W *líev*. 188 W *néi*. 189 W *wéi*. 190 W *kéi*, F *kéev*. 191 W *ííel*. 192 W *míen*. 193 WF *klíen*. 194 F *oní*. 195 F *moni*. 196 W *wér* [(*wóov+r*) emphatic]. 197 W *tpíiz*. 199 W *blíet* [never with final (k)]. 200 W *wíet*. 201 W *í'dh'n*. 202 W *iit*.

Æ': 203 W *spíetj*. 204 W *diid*. 205 W *thréed*, F *thriid*. 206 W *red*. 207 W *níid'l*. 210 W *tlee*. 211 W *gree*. 212 W *wéi*. 213 F *éedher*. 215 W *tóut*, F *ts'ut*. 216 WF *dííel*. 217 W *íetj*, *íedhs*. 218 W *shíip*, F *shíúp*. 219 W *sliip*. 221 W *fíiv+r* [(*fleed*), frightened]. 224 W *wíiv+r*. 225 W *flesh*. 226 F *míest*. 227 W *wet*. 228 W *swíet*. 229 W *bríeth*.

E- 232 W *brék* [common]. 233 W *spíek*. 234 W *níed*. 235 W *wéev*. 236 W *ííev+r*. 237 W *bléevn*, F *blííen*. 238 W *edj*. 239 W *séevl*. 241 W *réevn*. 242 W *tweevn*. 243 W *pléev*. 246 W *kwíin* [queen], *kwéevn*.

- [quean]. 247 W wíen [F (spíen) spoon, used, ? from spoon meat]. 248 WF máe+r. 249 WF wíie+r. 250 WF swíie+r. 251 W méat, F míst. 252 W ket'l. 254 W ledhæ+r. 255 W wedhæ+r.
- E: 257 W edj. 258 W sedj. 259 W wedj. 260 W [(lig) used for both lie and lay], F léev. 261 F séev. 262 W wéev. 264 W eel, F éeel. 265 W s,triit. 267 W riild. 268 W [(oodest) oldest used]. 270 WF belas, W beli. 272 W oom, F el'm. 273 W men. 274 WF b'qk. 275 WF [(stíqk) used]. 278 W wentj. 280 W elév'n, F lev'n. 281 WF lenth. 282 W st,renth, F strenth. 283 W meri. 284 WF thresh. 285 F kriis. 286 WF ara. 287 WF biizem. 288 W let.
- E'- 289 W jii, F juu. 290 W ii. 291 W dhii, F dhuu. 292 W mii. 293 W wii. 294 W fiid. 296 WF bílév. 298 W fiil. 299 W griin. 300 W kiip [p.t. (kæp)]. 301 W íie+r. 302 W miit. 303 W swiit, F swíiut, 304 W [not in use for a hammer].
- E': 305 W ái. 306 W áit. 307 W ná'ist [used]. 308 W niid. 309 W spiid. 310 W iil. 312 W íie+r. 314 WF íiud. 316 W nekst. EA- 317 W fléev. 319 WF griep.
- EA: 321 W [(siid) used]. 323 W f'out, F fa'ut. 324 W éeit, F áit. — W sal [shall]. 325 W wóo'ek. 326 W ood, F AA'ud. 327 W boold. 328 W kod, F kAAD. 329 W [(lap) used], F food. 330 WF od. 331 WF [(seld) used]. 332 WF [(teld) used]. 333 WF koof. 334 WF oof. 335 W AAl. 340 W jaad. 342 WF éem. 343 WF waam. 345 WF daar. 346 WF jat.
- EA'- 347 WF íiud. 348 WF ii. 349 W fu.
- EA': 350 WF díiud [(diid) means died]. 351 W li'd, F led. 352 W rid. 353 WF bríud. 354 W shíuf, F shaaf [pl. (shaavz)]. 355 W díiuf. 356 W líuf. 357 W dhoo. 359 W néibær. 360 W tíem. 361 W bíen. 362 W sléev, [F (slafthær) slaughter]. 363 WF tjíiép. 365 W ná+r. 366 WF gríet. 367 W thriet. 368 W díeth. 369 W sloo. 370 W roo. 371 W s,triæ, F sthriæ.
- EI- 374 WF néev. EI: 377 WF stíek. 378 W wék, F week.
- EO- 383 W sv'n. 384 W sv'n. 385 W binæth. 386 W jóu, F jóu. 387 W niu.
- EO: 389 W jook, F jóok. 390 W shud. 392 W jon. 394 W jondæ+r. 396 WF waak. 397 W síud. 398 W staav. 399 WF briit. 400 W anist, WF janist. 402 WF léev [most common]. 405 W aath. 406 WF aath, W jaath. 407 WF faadin. 408 W [(AAAd) used].
- EO'- 409 W bii. 411 F trii. 413 W dív'l. 414 WF flii [a flea is called (e lop)]. 415 WF lii. 416 W díie+r. 417 W tjóu, F tjóu. 418 W bryi. 420 F fa'æ+r. 421 WF foti.
- EO': 423 WF thii. 424 W ruf. 425 WF liit. 426 W féit. 429 W fiend. 430 W frend, frind. 431 W bíie+r. 432 W f'ouet. 433 WF briist. 434 W bíat. 436 W tryi, F tríu. 437 W tryi,th. EY- 438 WF dii. EY: 439 F thrust.
- I- 440 W wik. 441 W siv. 442 W áivi. 443 W fraadv. 444 WF stiil. 446 W náin. 448 F dhíevz. 449 W get [(ger uut) get out]. 451 W sóu.
- I: 452 WF aa. 454 W wítj. 455 WF lig. 457 W méit (mud) v.]. 458 WF niit. 459 WF riit. 460 W wéit. 461 W liit. 462 WF siit. 464 W wítj. 465 W síty, F s'ók. 466 W [(béev) used]. 467 W waald. 468 W tjíldæ+r, F tjíldær [(dh) slight]. 471 WF tíme+r. 472 W shriqk. 473 WF blind. 474 W [(péevrin) paring, used]. 475 WF wind. 476 WF bind. 477 W find. 478 WF grund. 479 WF wind. 481 WF figæ+r. 485 W thís'l. 486 W rest, F jüst. 487 W jis,tæde, F jistherde [(th) faint]. 488 W jít.
- I'- 490 W báí. 491 W sái. 493 W draav. 494 W taam. 496 W áiren. 497 W raaz. 498 W réit.
- I': 500 W léik. 501 W waad. 502 W faav. 503 W léif. 504 W néif. 505 W wéif. 506 WF wu,men. 507 WF wimen. 508 W maal máil. 509 W waal wáil. 511 W wáin. 512 W speiæ+r. 513 W wéiv+r. 514 W éis. 515 W wáiz.

O- 520 W bóu. 521 WF fáuel. 522 WF op'n. 523 W wop, F wóosp.
524 WF wóuld.

O: 526 W kof. 527 W bóut, F bə'ut. 528 W thóut, F thə'ut. 529 W bróut, F brə'ut. 530 W róut. 531 W dóu tɛr, F də'uthe+r. 532 W kíuel.
533 W dul. 534 WF úuel. 536 W góud, F gə'ud. 537 W móuld. 538 WF wad. 539 W bóul. 540 W olen [known]. 542 W bóut. 545 W op.
547 W búued. 548 W fóoud. 549 W óoud. 550 WF wod. 551 W storm
[(r) trilled, but I think only as an individuality]. 552 W kóoun. 553 W óoun.
554 W kros.

O'- 555 W shum [pl. shoes]. 556 W tiv, F tí [before a consonant, (tiv) before a vowel]. 557 W [(vɛn ʌʌ) used]. 558 WF líek. 559 WF mudhe+r.
562 WF míen. 563 W munde. 564 WF síen. 565 W níez. 566 WF udhe+r.

O': 569 WF bíek. 570 WF tíek. 571 W gud [(gíud) known, but very rare].
572 W blud, F blíed. 573 W flud. 574 W bruud. 575 WF stíed. 577 W bou [generally, not (bief)], F biu. 578 WF plíuf, F plíu [also]. 579 WF eníuf. 580 WF tíuf. 581 W sóut, F sə'ut. 582 WF kíel. 583 WF tíel.
584 WF stíel. 586 WF díe. 587 WF dten. 588 WF níen. 589 WF spíen. 590 WF flíier. 591 W múus+r. 592 W swéee, F swíied. 593 [WF (mun) used]. 594 WF bíet. 595 W fit, F fíet. 596 WF ríut. 597 W sut, F síet.

U- 599 W vbun. 600 WF luv. 601 W fól, F fool. 602 W sóu, F síu.
603 WF kum. 605 W sun. 606 WF díe+r. 607 W bu tɛ+r, F buthe+r.

U: 608 WF ugli. 609 W íul. 610 W wul. 611 W bulék. 612 W sum.
613 W drwqk, F dhrwqk. 614 WF uund. 615 WF púnd. 616 WF grund.
617 WF suund. 618 W wuund, F wə'und. 619 WF fun. 621 F wun.
622 W un dɛ+r. 625 W tuq. 626 WF uqe+r. 628 W nun. 629 W sun.
630 W wun, F wan. 631 W thozde, F thezde. 632 W up. 633 W kup.
634 WF thruuf, W thruu. 635 WF woth. 636 W fodhe+r, F fadhɛ+r.
637 W tusk. 638 W busk. 639 W dust.

U'- 640 WF kun. 641 WF uu. 642 WF dhun. 643 WF nuu. 645 W duv.
646 W bóu. 647 W óul íulet, F djini ílet. 648 WF úue+r, W wə+r
[quite unemphatic]. 649 thuzzend. 652 W kud. 653 WF bud.

U': 654 W shruud. 655 W fól. 656 W rum, F rəm [ʔ]. 657 WF bruun.
658 W duun. 659 WF tuun. 661 WF shúue+r. 662 W uz. 663 W uus.
664 W luus. 665 W muus. 666 W uzbin. 667 W uut. 668 W pruud.
670 W buudh. 671 W munth. 672 W suuth.

Y- 673 WF míj. 676 WF líi. 679 W tjoť, F [between] tjoť tjoť.
680 F [(thraq) used]. 682 WF laat'l.

Y: 683 W míj. 684 W bridj, F brig. 685 W rig. 686 W [not used].
687 W fléit. 688 F bíild. 690 W kaand, F káind [short]. 691 W maand, F máind [short].
694 W wúek. 695 W ʌak'n. 696 W both, F both. 698 WF moth. 699 WF riit.
700 W wos, F waas. 701 F fóst. Y'- 705 W skéi. 706 W wéi. 707 W thottiin, F thuttiin. Y': 709 W féie+r.
711 W léis. 712 W méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 W bad. 714 W lad. 715 W pad. 716 W ad'l. 718 W tréeed.
719 [W (bulred) used]. 721 W fag. 722 W dríen. 723 W déerí. 725 W séel.
728 W sham. 729 W fréem. 730 W kantɛ+r. 731 W wanten. 733 W skíe+r.
734 W daan. 735 W smesh. 736 W las. 737 W méet. 738 W príet [but in No. 9 cs. par. 15 note, p. 518, W said especially not (príet)].
740 W wéeev. 741 míez. 742 W leezi.

E. 743 W skríem. 744 W míez'lz. 745 W tjíet. 746 W breth. 747 W indí-və+r.
748 WF flígd. 750 W beg. 751 W píet.

I. and Y. 753 W [(kit'l) used]. 754 W píg. 756 W shremp. 757 W táin.
758 W gél [not much used, where 'fine talk' is not used]. 759 W fit.

O. 761 W lú'ed [v.], WF lí'ed [sb.]. 763 W room. 764 W kod'l. 766 W mói dɛ d [very common]. 767 W nóiz. 769 W móuthed. 771 W fond.
772 W búenífíe+r. 773 W doqki [used]. 774 W pooní. 775 W buubi.

777 W shop. 778 W sfo·d. 780 W djos'l. 781 W bodhæ+r. 784 W buuns. 785 W luundj. 786 W duus. 787 W sóus. 789 W róu. 790 W guun.

U. 792 W skwab'l. 793 W ug. 794 W djug. 795 W shrug. 799 W skul. 801 W rum. 802 W rum. 803 W djump. 805 WF krudz. 806 W fus. 807 W pus.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 W jab'l. 810 W fies. 811 W plæs. 813 W béek'n. 815 W faks. 816 W féed. 817 W radish. 818 W éedj. 819 W réedj. 821 W dilee. 822 W mee. 823 W bee. 824 W tjéev+r. 825 W wéevf. 826 W eeg'l. 827 W eegv+r. 828 W eegi. 829 W géevn. 830 W t'reevn. 831 W dist'reevn. 832 W méev+r. 833 W péev+r. 834 W shee. 835 W ríezen. 836 W síezen. 837 W líes. 838 W tr'it [very short (i)]. 840 W tjeemv+r. 841 W tjaans. 842 W plaqk. 843 W braantj. 844 W trentj. 845 W éevnshent. 846 W tjanlv+r. 847 W déevndjv+r. 848 W tjéevndj. 849 W st'reevndjv+r. 850 W daans. 851 W ant [the insect *ant* is called (pisméiv+r)]. 852 W apren. 854 W barrel. 855 W karit. 856 W péevt. 857 W kíes. 858 W bréus. 860 W píest. 861 W tíest. 862 W staf. 863 W tjíef. 864 W koos. 865 W faat. 866 W páuv+r.

E.. 867 W tíev. 868 W djee. 869 W víal. 870 W bíuti. 871 W egrii. 872 W tpiif. 873 W free. 874 F ríen. 875 féevnt. 876 W déevnti. 877 éev+r. 878 W saleri. 879 W fiméel. 880 W egzamp'l. 881 W sens. 882 W panzi. 887 W tlaadji. 888 W saatin. 889 W síes. 890 W bíest. 891 W tíest. 892 WF nevi. 893 W flúuv+r. 894 W disíev. 895 W risíev.

I.. and Y.. 897 W diléit. 898 W néis. 899 W niis. 900 W pree. 901 W féin faan. 902 W maan. 904 W véilet. 905 W réívt. 906 W véípv+r. 908 W advéis. 909 W briiz. 910 W djéist. 911 W sistren. 912 W réis.

O.. 913 W kúvvtj. 914 W bróovtj. 915 W staf. 916 W vnen. 917 W rog. 918 W fíab'l. 919 W óintment. 920 W póint. 921 W vkuéevnt. 922 W bushel, bishel. 923 W móist. 924 W tjóis. 926 W spóil. 927 W t,ruqk. 928 W uns. 929 W kuukumv+r. 930 W lóin. 931 W djuglv+r. 932 W emant. 933 W frant. 934 W buunti. 935 W kuunt,ri. 936 W fíant. 937 W kok. 938 W kóevn+r. 939 W tlíes. 940 W kúvt. 941 W fíal. 942 W butjv+r. 943 W tutj. 944 W aluu. 945 W vuu. 946 W móil. 947 W bóil. 948 W buul. 950 W supv+r. 951 W kup'l. 952 W kúvvs. 953 W kuvv. 954 W kushin. 955 W duut. 956 W kavv+r. 957 W implóit.

U.. 960 W kii. 961 W gryy,el. 963 W kwéíjvt. 964 W síujit. 965 W óil. 968 W óstev+r. 969 W síiv+r. 970 W djúst.

(7) VAR. *iii*b, HOLDERNESS, AND VAR. *iv*, SNAITH, joint cwl.

N n.Holderness (:óudhernes), by T. Holderness, editor of the "Driffeld Observer," 50 years acquainted with the dialect.

W w.Holderness, by F. Ross, lived there to 21 years old, but not since.

E e.Holderness, by R. Stead, Head Master of Folkestone Grammar School, visited every village of the region.

These are the three authors of the Holderness Glossary of the EDS. N and W were sent me in MS. in io., with long explanations, and palaeotyped by me; E was sent me as a numbered wl., but Mr. Stead subsequently visited me, and the whole was revised by him with me vv. Probably all short accented (e) should be (é).

Words to which no initial is prefixed are common to all three forms of Holderness speech; when, in addition, some other initialled sound is annexed, it means that it is *also* that sound in the district named. When only some initials are given, the word was unknown for the others.

The pains taken by these three gentlemen to make me correct is most heartily acknowledged.

S Snaith (18 s-by-e. York), from a full wl. in io. by Rev. T. W. Norwood, now vicar of Wrenbury (5 sw. Nantwich, Ch.), but 40 years acquainted with the dialect. As the Snaith forms generally agree with one of those given from Holderness, I have not added them, except where they differed. Differences of (t,r, d,r) for (thr, dhr) are not noted, but Mr. N. always writes simply *tr*, *dr*, and hence probably used (t,r, d,r).

i. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 EN *bivk*, W *bak*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 6 *mivd*, S *méevd*. 7 EN *sivk*, W *sak*. 8 S *av*, NW *ev*, N *e*, *ez*. 9 *be,éevv* [N with (h) if emphatic]. 10 *aa* [N (kat) used]. 11 EW *maa*, N [not used]. 12 *sa*. 13 EW *naa*, N [quite unknown]. 14 *dhaa*. 15 S *aa*. 16 E *daan*. 17 *laa*. 18 *kivk*, S *kéek*. 19 *tiivl*, S *téevl*. 20 *liivm*, S *léevm*. 21 *niivm*. 22 *tiivm*. 23 *siivm*, S *séevm*. 24 *sham*. 25 *mivm*, S *méevm*. 26 N *wiivm*, S *wéevm*. 27 *néevv*, W [not used], N [hardly used]. 28 *éevr*, N [(h) emphatic]. 31 *liivt*. 32 E *béevdh*, WN *beevdh*. 33 E *réevdhr*, W *riivdhr*, N *reedhr*. 34 last [N often omits final (t)]. 35 *aal*. 36 NE *thóv*, W *thaa*. 37 *tlaa*.

A: 39 *kom*, S *kéevm*. 40 NE *kivm*, W *kivvm*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *and*, H *hand* [emphatic]. 44 *land*. 46 *kan'l*. 47 *wandhr*. 48 *saq*, N *suq*. 50 *teqz*. 51 *man*. 52 EW *wan*. 53 *kan*. 54 *want*. 55 *ash*, WN *as*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *as*.

A: or O: 58 *frv* [N final before a vowel (frev), before a consonant (fre)]. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *maq*. 62 *sthraq*. 63 *thrang*. 64 *raq*. 66 EN [not used], W *thoq*.

A'- 67 E *givv*, NW *gan*, S *gaa*. 69 EW *niiv*, W *naa*, N *noo*, S *naa*. 70 NE *tiiv*, W *taa*. 71 E *waa*, W *woo*, S *wee*. 72 *wiiv*, S *waa*. 73 *siiv*, N *se*, S *siivv*. 74 *twiiv*, S *tuu*. 75 EW *sthrivvk*, N *sthrOOK*. 76 *tivvd*. 77 EW *lóovd*, N *liivd*. 78 *aa*. 79 NW *aan*, E *óovm*. 80 *a'lids*. 81 *liivm*, W *liivm*. 83 *mivvm*. 84 E *mivv*, NW *méevr*, S *maar*. 85 E *siivv*, NW *séevr*, S *saar*. 86 *wots*. 87 *tlivz*, S *klivvs*. 88 NE *tlivdh*. 89 *biivth*. 90 *blaa*. 91 *maa*. 92 *naa*. 93 *naa*. 94 *krAA*. 95 *thraa*. 96 *saan*, E *sóovm*. 97 *sóvl*. 98 *naan*, E *nóovm*. 99 *thraan*, E *thróovm*. 100 *saan*, E *sóovm*.

A': 101 NE *jak*, W *ivvk*. 102 EW *ask*, N *aks*. 104 *riivd*. 105 *reed*. 106 E *bróovd* *braad*, W *bráovd*, N *breed*. 107 EW *liivf*, N *liivf*, S *laaf*. 108 N *daf* [if used at all, (pirst) used]. 109 *laa*. 110 NE *nut*, W *not*. 111 *óut*. 112 [unknown], S *éevl*. 113 E *wool*, W *wol*, N *úvvl*. 115 E *wom*, N *ivm*, W *jam*. 116 [not used]. 118 *biivm*, EW *báovm*, S *baan*. 119 E *goon*, NW *giivm*. 121 S *gand* *giivm*. 122 *niivm*, S *naan* *náovm*. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 *stivm*, S *staan*. 125 NE *oonli*, W [(nóvut) used]. 126 NW *óovr*, S *aar*. 127 NE *úvvs*, W *úvvt*. 128 *dhaz*, NW *dhoz* [usual term (dhem)], S *dhaas*. 129 *gúvvt*, S *gaast*. 130 *búvvt*. 131 NE *gúvvt*, W *goot*. 132 E *jat*, NW *ot*. 133 E *réevt*, NW *reet*. 134 E *óovth*, NW *úvvt*. 135 W *tlóut*, E *tlóoth*, N *tlivth*.

Æ- 138 *fadhv*, W *feevh*. 139 E *dhréev*, WN *dhrée*. 140 E *éevl*, W *eel*, N *ag'l*. 141 E *néevl*, N *neel*, W *niil*. 142 *snii*. 143 E *téevl*, N *tiivl*, W *tiil*. 144 *egivm*. 145 E *sléevm*, NW *slivm* [rarely used]. 146 E *méevm*, N *méevm*. 147 E *bréevm*, NW *breem*. 148 *féev*. 149 E *bléevz*, NW *blivz*. 150 E *liivt*, NW *liivt*. 152 *wathv*. 153 *sethude*.

Æ: 155 *thak* [sb.] *thivk* [v.]. 157 E *réev'n*, N *riiv'n*, W *reev'n*. 158 E *athv*, WN *ethv*. 160 *eg*. 161 E *déev*, WN *dee*. 163 [forms used], W *liivd*, N *lead*. 164 E *méev*, WN *mee*. 165 WN *sed*, N [occ.] *seed*. 166 E *méevd*. 167 NE *diivl*, S *déevl*. 168 *talv*. 169 *wen*. 170 *aavist*. 171 *baali*. 172 *gas*, NW *ges*, N *gres*. 173 *waz*. 174 E *ash*, NW *esh*. 175 *fast*. 178 EW *nat*. 179 *wat*. 180 NE *bath*. 181 NE *path*.

Æ'- 182 E *sii*, NW *siiv*. 184 E *liid*, NW *liivd*. 185 E *riid*, NW *riivd*. 186 E *breedth*, NW *briid*, *brivd*. 187 E *liiv*, NW *liivv*. 188 E *néi*, W *nee*, N [(win) used]. 189 *wéi*. 190 *kéi*. 191 E *iil*, NW *tiivl*. 192 E *miin*, NW *miivm*. 193 E *tliin*, NW *tlivm*. 194 *oni*. 195 *moni* S *meni*. 196 E

war, W was, N wer wə, S wīur. 197 tpiiz. 199 W blīret, E [not used], N blee, S bleect. 200 NW wīret. 201 E iidh'n, NW iīedh'n. 202 E iit, NW iīit.

EO: 203 S spīvet. 204 diid. 205 EN thriid, W thriīed. 206 red. 207 EW niid'l, N nīūd'l. 210 E tlee tlée, NW tlee. 211 NW gree, E grée. 212 E wéi, NW wee. 213 E iidher, NW iīadher. 215 tōut. 216 E diil, NW diīel. 217 E iit, NW iīit. 218 shiip. 219 shiip. 221 fīur. 222 éeur. 223 dhéeur, S dhéeur dhīur. 224 NE wīur, W wéur. 225 flesh. 226 mīvet, W meest, S maaast. 227 wet, N [occ.] wīit. 228 E [pr. t. and sb.], NW swīvet, E [past t.] swet. 229 EW breth, N briīth. 230 fat.

E- 232 E bréek, W briīek, N breek. 233 E spiik, NW spīiek. 234 E niid, NW nīūd. 235 E wiiv, NW wīuv. 236 E fiiver, NW fīeuer. 237 W bleen, E bléen, N bliīen. 238 edj. 239 E séeul, NW seel. 240 [loid used, WE liūd, N leed]. 241 E réeun, NW reēn. 242 NE twīen, S téen. 243 E pléeu, NW plee. 246 NE kwīen, W kwīin [in sense of queen; quean not used]. 247 wiin, S wīen. 248 mīur. 249 wīur. 250 swīur. 251 E miit, NW mīret. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 EW ledher, N liēdher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edj. 258 EW sedj, S seg. 259 wedj. 261 E séeun, NW see. 262 E wéu, NW wee. 264 S éeul. 265 sthréit. 267 jiid. 268 [oldest used]. 270 EW belez, N belsiz bellows, belli belly. 272 E alom, W elom, N óum oom. 273 men. 274 E beqk, WN biqk. 275 [stink used]. 276 thiik. 278 EW wentj, N wensh. 280 EW lev'n eliv'n, N liīev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 meri. 284 E thrash, NW thresh. 285 EW kres, N wathurkrashez, S krīes. 286 are. 287 biiz'm.

E'- 290 ii i, S v. 291 E dhii, N dhui [emphatic]. 292 S mi me. 293 wii wi, N wə. 296 E bliiv, NW bliīev. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 EW kiip, N kīip. 301 iier. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E: 305 EW ai, N aa. 306 éit. 307 EW ná. 308 niid. 309 spiid, N spīred [vb.]. 310 iil. 311 ten. 312 iur. 313 aak'n. 314 ired. 315 fiit fiets.

EA- 317 [unknown]. 319 giīep, S géep. 320 kéeur. EA: 321 E sAA [NW (siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fōut. 324 éit. 325 E wóowk, NW wAAk. 326 E óowd, NW AAd. 327 bówd. 328 E kóowd, NW kAAAd. 329 E fōowld, [N (dub'l up)]. 330 EN od, W AAd. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 334 Aaf [E oldest (óowf)]. 335 AAl. 336 fAAl. 337 wAAl. 342 N eem, E éeem, W eem. 343 waam. 345 daar, S déeur. 346 E giīet, NW jat, S géet.

EA'- 347 E iid, NW iīed. 348 EW ai, N ii. 349 fiu, S féu. EA': 350 diīed, E diid. 351 W led, NE liīed. 352 EW red, N riīed. 353 briīed. 354 shaf shav, S shīef. 355 E diif, NW diīef. 356 E liif, NW liīef. 357 E dhAA, W dhoo, N dhof. 359 néebur, S néebur. 360 E tiim, NW tīem. 361 E biin, NW, bliīen. 362 E sléee, NW [not used]. 363 E tpiip, NW tpiīep. 365 E niīe [N and W (naa) nigh, used]. 366 E grūt, NW grīūt. 367 W thret, N thriīet, E [not used]. 368 E diith, N dāeth, W deth. 369 slAA, E slóov. 370 rAA, róov. 371 sthAA, E sthróov.

EI- 372 EW éi, N ee, S aa. 373 E dhéee, NW dhee. 374 E néee, NW nee. 376 E béect, NW beet. EI: 377 S stéek. 378 E wéek, W wīek, N week. 382 S dhéee.

EO- 383 W sev'n, E siv'n, N siīev'n. 384 EW ev'n, N iīev'n. 385 binīeth. 386 E ju, NW jóu. 387 níu.

EO: 388 malk. 389 NE jook, EW jAAk, S jūek. 390 EW shūd, N sud. 393 bijont. 396 waak. 397 E sóowd, NW siīūd. 398 staav. 399 briit, S bréit. 400 E iīev'ist, NW aanist. 401 N jaan. 402 EW laan, E liīen, N leen. 403 faa, N far. 404 staa. 405 E aath, NW aath. 406 E ath, W jath, N ath [after consonants], S iīeth, jath [after vowels]. 407 faadīn. 408 EW niu, N [(naad) used].

EO'- 411 EW thrii, N thriīe. 412 [weak], shē [strong] shīe. 413 diīel. 414 fiī [N flea is (lop)]. 415 lii. 416 diīer. 417 tjóu. 418 EW bruu, N briu. 420 fóver. 421 fotti.

EO: 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 liit. 426 féit. 427 bii bi. 428 EW sii.

N sív. 429 [not used]. 430 frind. 431 biier. 432 fóueth. 433 briist. 434 EW biit, N bet. 435 juu ja. 436 EW thruu, N thriiu. 437 EW thruuth, N thriuth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 E thrist, NW thrust.

I- 440 wiik, S wík. 441 siv. 442 EW áiví, N aavi. 443 EW fráidø, N fraade. 444 EW stáil, N staa, S stii. 445 [not used]. 446 EW náin, N naan. 448 NW dhívez, E dhiiz. 449 get, N ger [before vowels]. 450 tíuzde. 451 sóu.

I: 452 a [W (ái) is used only before is, isn't]. 454 wity. 455 EN lig [WN (lee) used]. 457 méit. 458 niit, S niit néit. 459 riit, E réit. 460 wéit. 461 liit, S eléit. 462 S séit siit. 464 wity. 465 E sitj, W sáik, N sík. 466 W tjáld, [N (been) used]. 467 WE wáld, N waald. 468 EW tjáldher, [N (been) used]. 471 tímer [N gave (wud)]. 472 shriqk, S shreqk. 473 blínd. 474 W rínd, E ránd, [N (sk'n) used]. 475 wínd. 476 bínd. 477 fínd. 478 NE gránd, W gránd, S grínd. 479 wínd. 481 fíqer. 484 dhís. 485 thís'l. 486 S jest. 487 jisthæde. 488 jít.

I- 490 báí, EN bí, N ba. 491 EW sái, N saa. 493 EW dhraiv, N dhraav, S draav. 494 EW táim, N taam. 496 éváren. 497 E vráiz, N vraz. 498 réit, S raat. 499 EW biit'l, N biit'l [but generally called *clocks*].

I: 500 léik, S láik. 501 EW wáid, N waad. 502 WE fáiv, N faav. 503 léif, S laaf. 504 néif, S naaf. 505 wéif, S waaf. 506 wúmen. 507 wímín. 508 EW máil, EN maal. 509 EW wáil, EN waal. 511 EW wáin, N waan. 512 spéiv. 513 wéiv. 514 éis, S aas. 515 EW wáiz, N waaz. 516 wízdem. 517 jú.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fáuel. 522 op'n. 523 EW wop, N wáwup, S úwup. 524 wold. O: 526 E koof, NW kaí. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóuthæ. 532 S kíuvel. 533 dul, N dóuli. 534 úvel. 536 góud, N guuld. 537 móul, S móud. 539 E bóul, W bool. 540 olen, N prík olen. 542 bóult, S bóut. 545 op. 547 EN búued. 548 EN fáued, W food. 549 NE úued. 550 wód. 551 E stóorm, WN stóorm. 552 E kaad, W koon, N káuen. 553 E aad, W oon, N úuen. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shuu. 556 tí [before cons.], tiv [before vowels]. 557 tíiv. 558 líek, N líuk. 559 mudher. 561 EW bluum, N [not used]. 562 míien. 563 munde. 564 síven. 565 náuez. 566 udher.

O': 569 bíik, N bíuk, S buuuk. 570 tíivk, N tíuk. 571 gud. 572 blud. 573 flud. 574 bruud. 575 stíed, N stud. 576 wed'enzde. 577 buu bíu, NW bíiv. 578 plíiv plíu [subs.], plíu pluu [verb]. 579 S enuf. 580 EW tuf, N tíiv. 581 sóut. 582 kíiv. 583 tíiv. 584 stíiv. 585 EW bruum. 586 díiv, N div [before vowels], díz [dost], dí [pl.], S duu. 587 E dún, NW díen. 588 níven. 589 spíiv, S spíiv. 590 flíiv, S flíiv. 591 múiv. 592 E swóov, NW swéev. 593 EW mus, [N (mun) used]. 594 bíiv, S búit. 595 NE fíiv [see 315], W íut. 596 ríiv. 597 síiv, NE sut. 598 [not used].

U- 599 EW vbuu, N vbuun. 600 luv. 601 fóul [N little used]. 602 síu. 603 kum. 605 sun. 606 díiv, S díiv. 607 b'ither.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 E wul, NW wuul. 611 bulek [N seldom used]. 612 sam. 613 dhruqk. 614 uund. 615 S púnd. 616 NE gránd, W grán. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 fun. 621 wun, W won, N wan [did wind]. 622 andher. 625 tuq. 626 uqer. 628 S nun. 630 wan, N wan [did win]. 631 thozde. 632 up. 633 kup. 634 E thruuf, NW thruuf, S thruu. 635 woth. 636 fódher. 637 NE tusk. 638 N busk [means a *bush* only]. 639 NE dust.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu, dhæ [weak]. 643 nuu. 645 EW duv, N duu. 646 W buu, NE bóu. 647 EW óul, N uul. 648 úiv. 649 thruuzend. 652 kud. 653 S bit.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 rum. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 660 búiv. 661 shúiv. 662 us. 663 uus. 664 S luus. 665 muus. 666 uzben. 667 uut. 668 praud. 670 E buudh, W bíivdh. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mitj. 674 did. 676 líi. 677 dhraí. 678 dín. 679 tjetj, W tjetj. 680 WE bízi [N uses (thraq)]. 682 laat'l.

Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bii, N [occ.] baa. 687 EW fiét, N fiit. 688 E bild, NW biid. 690 EW káind, N kaand. 691 EW máind, N maand. 693 sin. 696 both, S baath. 697 beri. 698 N moth, S maath. 699 riit. 700 E was, NW wos, S waas. 701 fost. 703 pit. 704 E viks'n.

Y'- 705 skái, N [also] skaa. 706 [not used]. 707 thottin. 708 éur.
Y': 709 féur. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 E djéed, NW djeed. 718 thriéd. 719 E tadpól, W tadpól, [N (búliéd) used]. 720 fag. 722 E dhriin, NW dhriin. 723 EW déeri, N déri. 724 EW baald, N boold. 725 sí-el, S séel. 727 E djam, N [(puzaa-v) used]. 728 sham. 729 N freem, EW friim, S fréem. 730 N kantur. 733 skáav. 734 daan. 735 smash. 737 NE míet, W meet, S méet. 738 E préet, NW preet. 740 E wéev, NW weev. 741 E méevz. 742 E léevzi.

E. 743 skriim. 744 EW míez'lz, N mez'lz. 745 tjíet. 746 S bríedh. 747 E endev'ur, N indiv'ur. 748 fl'gd. 750 beg. 751 pí'et.

I. and Y. 753 [(kt'l) used]. 754 pig. 755 E filbat, NW [not used]. 756 NW shremp, E semp. 757 Wtámi, N taani. 758 gel [N usually (las)]. 759 f.t.

O. 761 líved, S líved. 762 EW úuakem, E aakem, N okem. 763 NE ráuvm, E raam. 764 kod'l. 766 NE móidhvd, W [not used]. 767 nóiz. 768 EN kúvk, E kaak, W kook. 769 E móul, NW móudhvd, S maal. 771 fnd. 772 búuvféer. 773 NW doqki. 774 E puuni, W pooni, N púvni. 775 buubi. 777 shop. 778 v'od. 779 [not used]. 780 N d'os'l. 781 NW bodhvr, E [not used]. 782 SW pother, E [not used]. 783 pulthri. 784 buuns. 785 N luundj. 786 duus. 787 S suus. 788 NW fluut, E [not used]. 789 róu. 790 E gun, NW guun.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 djug. 799 skul. 800 skul. 801 rum. 802 rum. 803 djump. 805 krudz. 806 fus. 807 pus. 808 put, S pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E íab'l éeb'l, N jab'l, W eeb'l. 810 fíus, S féus. 811 plíus, S pléus. 812 E léus, NW líus. 813 NE bíukun, W beek'n, S béek'n. 814 NE míus'n, W mees'n. 815 E faks. 816 E féevd, NE fívd, W feed. 817 radish. 818 E éevd, Eedj, W eedj, N ívdj. 819 E réevd, W reedj, N rívdj. 821 E diléev. 822 E méev, NW mee. 823 E béev, NW bee. 824 tjéevr. 826 ívg'l. 827 ívger. 828 E éevgi [N shaking]. 829 E géevn, N gí'v'n, W geen. 830 thri'v'n, S tréevn. 831 W disthri'v'n. 832 méevr. 833 péevr. 834 E tjéevz, N sheevz shee. 835 E riiz'n, N ríevz'n. 836 E siiz'n, N síevz'n. 838 thri'vt. 839 E béevl, NW beel. 840 NW tjeemvr, E tjaamvr, S tjamvr. 841 tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 threntj. 845 eenshent. 846 tjanlvr. 847 deendjvr. 848 tjeendj. 849 sthrendjvr. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 aprén. 853 baagin. 854 baril. 855 karit. 856 E péevt, NW peet. 857 kíevs, S kéevs. 858 E bréevs, N bríevs, W brees. 859 W tjees, NE tjíevs. 860 píevst, S péevst. 861 tíevst. 862 NE sviuf, S séevf. 864 E bík'z, NW bíkúvz, -s. 865 NE faat, E foout. 866 páuv.

E.. 867 S tíev. 868 E djéev, W djee. 869 NE víevl. 871 E vgríi, N vgrí'v. 872 tjíevf. 873 E írev, S fréev. 875 E féevnt, N fí'vnt, W íevnt. 876 S déevnti. 878 NE saluri. 879 E fiméevl, W fí'vmeel. 880 W zamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 WE dandelá'v'n. 884 prentis. 886 E frá'vr, NE frí'vr. 887 NE tlaadj. 888 NE saatv'n. 889 S séevs. 890 E bíevt, N bíevst. 891 E fíevt, N fí'evst. 892 nevi. 893 flúevvr. 894 E d'siiv, N d'síevv. 895 E rísiiv, N rí'vív.

I.. and Y.. 997 W díliit, NE díléi't. 898 néis. 899 NE niis. 900 E preev, W pree. 901 E fáin, W féin, faan. 902 EW máin, N maan. 903 EW dáin, N daan. 904 EW váilet, N vaalet. 905 ráivt. 906 véiper. 907 [not used]. 908 advéi's. 909 EW briiz, N bríevz. 910 EW djéis, N djóist, S djáist. 911 EW siisthrevn, N síevstherin. 912 réis.

O.. 913 *kúvetj*. 914 *brávetj*. 915 *stuf*. 916 *un'ien*. 917 *rúvug*. 918 E *fiib'l*, NW *fiib'l*. 919 *óntmunt*. 920 *póint*. 921 E *ákwéent*. 922 *bushel*. 923* NE *móist*, W *móis*. 924 *tjóis*. 925 *vóis*. 926 *spóil*. 928 *uuns*. 929 *kuukumar*. 930 *lón*. 932 *emuunt*. 933 *frzent*. 935 *kunthri*. 936 EW *font*, N *fant*. 937 *kók*. 938 E *kaaner*, NE *káwener*, W *kooner*. 939 *tláwus*. 940 *kúwt*. 941 *fiivl*, S *fiivil*. 942 S *bátrr*. 943 *tútj*. 944 *vluu*. 945 *vuu*. 946 [not used]. 947 *bóil*. 948 NW *buul*. 950 *super*. 951 *kup'l*. 952 *kúwus*. 953 *kuzen*. 954 *kushen*. 955 *duut*. 956 *kuv'ur*. 957 E *emplóí*, N *implóí*. 959 E *konvéer*, N *kénvee*.

U.. 960 E *kii*, W *kíiv*, N *kéi*. 961 *gríujl*. 962 [N (*míu*) is a pile of corn in a barn]. 963 *kwaist*. 964 *síu'it*. 965 *óil*. 966 *fríut*. 967 *siut*. 969 *stíer*, S *shíuer*. 970 *díust*. 971 *fiíut*.

D 31 = WN. = West Northern.

Boundaries. Begin on the Solway Frith at the coast near Newton Arlosh, Cu. (13 w. Carlisle), and follow the tortuous n. *lee* line 7 already described, p. 20, through Cu. and Du. to Sunderland, then follow the coast of Du. to the Tees mouth, and go up the Tees to Croft, Yo. Here turn along w. b. of D 30, going sw. to Middleham, and s. to Burley (7 n. Bradford). After which turn w. and pass upon the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18) to the b. of La. near Colne, about 16 wnw. Bradford, and go nw. along the b. of La. to 13 ese. Lancaster, where enter La. and sweep round n. of Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) to Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood, La.). Then go n. and follow the w. and s. coast of La. and Cu., passing n. to the point of starting in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith.

Area. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La., and the hilly part of w. Yo. It is traversed by the s. *hoose* line 6 (p. 19) dividing it into two distinct parts. Of these the n. portion treats the U' words as having simple (uu), or rather a peculiar modification of it, beginning deeper but ending with (u), either (*ú*,u) or (*úú*), where (*ú*) is very brief and uncertain, but both fractures are conceived by the natives as simple (uu). The s. part transforms these inchoant diphthongal forms into the complete diphthongs (*óu*, *óu*, *áú*). This however does not affect the other dialectal relations. In fact the s. *hoose* line 6 only shews where the old traditional pron. (uu) has completely changed. The preparation for the change has been made in the n. portion, while probably in the EN, D 30, and certainly still further n. in the L. div., the pure old (uu) form is retained. See (*æ*'u) p. 292, and (*a*'u) p. 293.

Varieties. This area I find it best to divide into several Varieties, which will be considered presently as to their nature, and will here be merely localised.

Var. i. Extreme w. of Yo., embraces Upper Swaledale, Upper Wensleydale, the nw. horn of Yo., and n. and m. Craven.

Var. ii. Lonsdale, or n. La., including extreme s. Cu., embraces Lancaster, Cartmel, Furness, and the region about Bootle, Cu.

Var. iii. We. s. of the watershed, with a part of extreme w. Yo., embraces Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale, and Orton, in We.

Var. iv. Edenside, or the basin of the River Eden, includes We., n. of the watershed, and m. Cu., and contains Kirkby Stephen, Temple Sowerby, Milburn, Langwathby, Ellonby, etc.

Var. v. or w. Cu. contains Keswick, Clifton, and Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram.

Var. vi., s. Du., contains Weardale and Teesdale.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ per J.G.G., || so., and ° io.

Cu. * Abbey Holme, ° Borrowdale, * Clifton, † Ellonby, ° Hale, † Keswick, ‡ Langwathby, * Penrith, ° Ravensglass, ° Workington.

Du. ° Aycliffe, ° Bishop Auckland, ° Bishopton, ° Easington, ° Greatham, ° Hart, ° Hartlepool, ° Heathery Cleugh, * Lower Teesdale, ° Middleton-in-Teesdale, ° Monk Hesledon, ° Ryhope, † St. John's Weardale, ° Seaham, ° Sedgefield, ° Stanhope, ° Witton-le-Wear, ° Wolsingham.

La. † Broughton-in-Furness, † Cark-in-Cartmel, † Caton, °† Coniston, ° Dalton-in-Furness, ° Heysham, † High Nibthwaite, † Hornby, † Lancaster, † Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, ° Newton-in-Cartmel, † Skerton, °† Ulverston.

We. ° Appleby, † Casterton, † Crosby Ravensworth, † Kendal, † Kirkby Stephen, † Long Sleddale, † Milburn, °† Orton, † Shap, † Temple Sowerby.

Yo. † Black Burton, or Burton-in-Lonsdale, † Cautley by Sedberg, † Chapel-le-Dale, † Dent, † Horton-in-Ribblesdale, † Howgill, † Ilkley, † Laithkirk, || Middlesmoor, || North of Richmond, * Richmond, || Skipton, † Upper Swaledale or Muker, † Upper Wensleydale or Hawes.

The extreme care and conscientious anxiety to phonograph the pronunciation of his informants, shewn by repeated revisions, which mark J.G.G.'s contributions to the phonology of this district, require particular notice, and I cannot but repeat my warmest thanks for the labour which he has bestowed during many prolonged personal interviews in making me fully acquainted with his results, and preparing them for publication here. He has also revised the proofs of D 31.

Character. Although D 31 is so large, and mostly very hilly, there is a remarkable uniformity in its mode of speech. The e. b. towards D 30 is not particularly well defined, and probably a very accurate survey, such as T.H. has accomplished in the M. div., would shew a gradual melting of D 31 into D 30. But the real boundary is geographical, the subsidence of the hilly districts of the nw. and w. of Yo. into the plain which occupies its centre.

Referring to the list of Edenside speech-sounds (p. 539) for phonetic details, the general character is shewn most distinctly in Var. i, and may be roughly stated as follows:—

A-, A' = (i, á), as (ní, á, m, klí, á, z, hí, á, m) name, clothes, home, as distinguished from the adjoining D 30, Var. i. (nívm, lířez, ívm); that is, the fracture consists of two nearly equally strong elements, each distinct, the first being a low form of (i) approaching to (e), and the second a low form of (a) approaching in J.G.G.'s opinion to (æ), and lying between (a, æ); whereas in D 30 the first element is generally not quite so low, though it varies among (i, i, e), and the second element is weak and indistinct. The younger generation, however, even in D 31, inclines to (iv). J.G.G.'s researches were among old people, many of whom have since died.

E' = (éi), this is another peculiar fracture, with both elements distinct and accented, the first short, and the second more prolonged, as (méi, gréin, méit) me, green, meet. These are appreciated by natives, as (ii). In D 30 they vary as (éi) accented fully on the first element, or (iv, ii), as (méi, grün, mířt miit) me, green, meet.

I' = (ái), as (táim) time, occasionally, but rarely, and never characteristically, varying as (éi) in Var. vi, but always quite distinct from D 30 (taam).

O' = probably normally (iu) derived from (æ'u). This (iu) is perhaps the foundation of the prevailing D 30 form (iv), but for some reason, which I cannot assign, it varies, as (ú, u), thus D 31 (kú, ul kúul), D 30 (kíul) cool.

U' = (ú, u) n. of line 6, but s. of it approaching (óu) and varying, as (óu, áu), whereas in D 30 it is regularly (uu), thus D 31 (dú, un, dóun, dáun), D 30 (duun) down. In the nw. horn of Yo this U' further varies as a sound which J.G.G. writes (éuu), which is parallel to (éii) for E'. Rev. W. R. Bell wrote the sound as *ew*, with a ~ over, and compared it to the *mew* of a cat, apparently

meaning (mɛ-jɛ'u). JGG. said Mr. Bell recognised London (a¹u). In both (ɛii éuu) the final element predominates. CCR. heard from the n. of Richmond, Yo., a sound he wrote *erw* in his Leeds Glossary, p. xiii, in *derwn, therw, nerw*, down, thou, now, the *r* only serving to alter the sound of the preceding vowel. This notation may have been meant to indicate this (éuu) sound, but more closely resembles (æ'u). Here I can merely note that the subject requires investigation, but the region is so difficult of access that I have not been able to get proper information.

These are the great vowel differences, and possibly only indicate a preservation of old forms in the hills, which have been softened down in the plains. In construction *I is* (a)z, and *t'*=(t) for the, prevail over both hill and plain.

THE EDENSIDE SPEECH-SOUNDS.

Edenside is the name of Var. iv of this district, occupying n.We. and that part of Cu. about the River Eden. The sounds there found prevail more or less over the whole district, and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the list of sounds as drawn up by JGG. in his paper on the "Traditional Names of Places in Edenside," read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society at Penrith, Jan. 1881. The traditional names themselves will be given subsequently. The words in square brackets [] are AJE.'s, the others JGG.'s.

Simple Vowels.

- (a, aa) Nearly as the English vowels in "Papa asked Grant to pass half the staff to aunt," but the tongue is somewhat more advanced as it is in the true Italian (a). Edenside examples: Short—*lass, glass, pass, castle, what, water, father.* Long—*Farm, cart, harvest, garden, dark.*
- (a₁) [In the paper cited JGG. used (æ) in place of the present (a₁).] °General continental so-called short (aa). Quite distinct from the short sound of the last, but often confounded with it. Frequently heard as (ə)—the sound in "one such ugly cut's enough to dull one's courage"—by people from the south. [I could not hear any similarity between the two sounds.] Edenside examples: *Man, cat, bag, pan, Annie, Maggie, etc.* Compare lassie-lad (lasi-la,d), brass pan (bras pa,n), laugh at (laf a,t), he sang a song (i sa,q v saq). [When I heard JGG. pronounce these words, they sounded to me rather like (la'si lad, bra's pan, la'f at); but as he repudiated (a¹) and was very anxious that (a₁) should be kept distinct from (a), and considered (aa) to be the true sound of (a) in *father*, and (a₁) to be deeper, lying in the series, (a a₁ ə), I have followed his wishes. To my ear however he pronounced (aa) long, but (a¹, a) short, and I should have so written the sounds. He sometimes indicates 'advanced' (a, aa), which I cannot at all distinguish from (a¹, aa¹). See notes to No. 19 in the 22 interlinear cs. for this district, given below.
- (AA) English vowel in "All Paul's daughters ought to talk small," but shorter in quantity, and more like the Italian *o aperto*. Edenside examples: *Calf, halfpenny, fall, wall, talk, hall, etc.* [This may be same sound as TH.'s (A¹) in D 23, Var. i, p. 353, but I could not distinguish it from (oo) Italian *o aperto*, open (o)].
- (EE) Italian *e aperto* [open (ɛ)], and Scotch and general continental short *e*. Edenside examples: *Hare, pair, Mary, day, hay, gay.* [As JGG. pron. the words the sound was considerably deeper than in the Southern (heer, peer, meeri, dee, hee, gee) which also occurs.]
- (e) Received Southern English short *e* in "seven times eleven are seventy seven, eleven times seven are seventy seven, seven into seventy seven eleven, eleven into

- seventy-seven seven." Edenside examples: bed, set, men, step, egg, etc. [Kept quite separate from (bed, set, men, step, eg) etc., JGG. adds] It is as well to realize the difference between this and the last, because in the only scientific description of Edenside speech yet given [Dr. Murray's], this vowel is said to be represented by the one last described (æ). [Probably because (æ) was native and (e) foreign to Dr. Murray, who confuses (e) with Scotch *i* in fall, pit, DSS. p. 107.]
- (e) True Italian *e chiuso* [shut or close (e)] and "general" Scotch and continental sound of "long *a*." Edenside examples occur only in the pairs of confluent [or fractured] vowels described below. [The true (e) does not occur in the fractures (*i*₁, *i*₁*a*₁) to which he refers, but only its forms (e¹) or (*i*₁).]
- (i) Received English in "in this little village lived Kitty's sister Minnie." The Edenside vowel is formed with the tongue nearer the palate than is usual in the South of England; with us [in this paper "we" always means people of Cu. and We.] the sound is nearer the short sound of (ii) as in the n. of Germany, etc. Edenside examples: bit, lig, in, kittle, big, get, etc. [It should therefore be written (i¹) as (bi¹t, li¹g), etc., but I cannot differentiate this from pure short (i); following JGG., however, I generally write (bit, lig), etc., simply.]
- (ii) English vowel in "see me lead these three sweetly bleating sheep." Edenside examples are rare, the sound being generally represented by the pairs (i¹, *i*₁).
- (y) By this symbol I [that is, JGG.] propose to denote a peculiar vowel common to nw.England. It sounds between the Scotch vowel in "him, pit, still, milk," etc., and the unaccented vowel (ø) used in "idea, canary, America, motion, conscience," etc. Dr. Murray considers that it is allied to the Scotch vowel in *guid, buik, schuin, gwis*, etc. [which again he identifies with (ø)], and it does sometimes remind me [JGG.] of that too. Edenside examples heard from old people: rest, dress, rent, prince, friend, rich, rut, brick, yes, yesterday, etc. [Observe that it is due in all these cases to a preceding (r) or following (s). I have found it necessary to mark a variety of it as (y₁) occ. See *Introd. to No. 10 of the 22 cs. given below, p. 559, and Ab. (i₁₁) in D 39.*]
- (o, oo) Short, and long, of the general continental short *ö*. Identical with the Italian *o aperto* [open (o)]. It lies between English short *ö* in *not* and true long *o* in *note* [between (o) and (oo)]. Edenside examples: short—off, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, George: long—no, show, grow, low [of, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, :dʒor^odʒ:—noo, shoo, groo, loo]. [As far as I could hear (ø) does not occur; educated informants usually give (o), and in the same way I think true (AA) though given above does not occur, and that (o) or Italian *o aperto* supersedes both.]
- (o) Italian *o chiuso* [shut (o)]. General Scotch and continental long *ö*. Differs from the corresponding vowel in received English in being uttered with the tongue in one position, instead of beginning with the tongue lower and ending with it higher than this position, as is usual in ordinary English utterance. [The true sound does not occur in D 31. The Italian *o chiuso* is perhaps more like (u) than simple (oo), and I used to think it properly (uh). The form under which it occurs in D 31 is (u₁) as in the next article.]
- (u₁) [or as JGG. originally wrote (o¹), considering it a higher form of (o)]. This is the vowel that, in the n. of England, usually replaces the peculiar (o) in received English in "some one's husband, son or brother comes up once a month to hunt," which vowel is too frequently confounded with the (ø) in *canary, idea*, etc., referred to lower down. Our Edenside vowel is nearly the same as the received English vowel in *foot, good, bull*, etc., but it is formed with the tongue more obliquely retracted from the palate. [The effect is that of a very 'thick' (u) approaching (o); see p. 291.] Edenside examples: *tæb, come, love, son, sun*, etc., *parse, murder*, etc. [as appears by the next article both (u, u₁) occur].
- (u) Received English short *ö* in *foot, good, book, bull, stood*, etc. Edenside examples: *good, bull, food, shoot, butcher*, etc.
- (uu) Italian and general Continental sound; but it is never used pure in Edenside, except in the confluents [diphthongs] as in *new, few, fruit*, etc. [niúu, fiúu, friúut]. See under (o¹u, *ú*,u) on the next page.
- (ø) Received English unaccented vowel in the words *America, idea, canary*,

motion, conscious; long it is the received English in the "early, bird deserves the curly worm" [this vowel is variously represented as (əə, əɑ, əɔ, ɛr, ɛr, ɛr, ɛr), but JGG. considers it as (və)]. In Edenside it remains pure under strong accent. Edenside examples: ('vɛt du,d)i) *that* did I, *biscuit*, *pocket*, *window*, *barrow*, *pillow*, etc., and in a host of other words. It is one of the most important elements in Edenside speech.

- (æ) In pal. the short form of this vowel represents the first three or four vowels, and the sixth in the deliberate utterance of "que je me repente!" [Volney's example]; and it occurs in many other combinations in French. Our Edenside equivalent of the English vowel in "the early bird deserves the curly worm," is sufficiently different from the received form to constitute one of the chief difficulties encountered by strangers attempting to speak our dialects. Our vowel lies between (u) and (ə) or (və), the English vowels referred to. The French vowel is nearer to it than any that I am practically acquainted with. [As, however, it did not strike my ear as identical with the French sound, I have generally used (ə₁) by way of indicating a difference.]
- (œ) The last simple vowel is identical or nearly so with the German *ö*, and I believe also with the French *eu*. In Edenside it occurs in the words *swore*, *form*, *moor*, *poor*, and a few similar forms. In place names it used to be common in compounds with the word *moor*. [In the 22 cs. which follow par. 9, the word *swore* occurs, but in the Edenside examples we never find (swœer^c) but (swyy,r^c). The sound is very uncertain, and seems mainly due to (r^c). *Swore* is often rendered by *sware*, and is then treated differently.]

Confluent Vowels [Fractures, Diphthongs].

In our Northern English compounds there is a clearer utterance of each component, and a partial cessation of voice between the two vowels. Our practice agrees almost exactly with that of the Italians. [JGG. says that I call these "confluent vowels." I do not recollect ever having used this term in print. The Italian diphthongs have a "slurred glide," the two vowels being pronounced with scarcely any glide, or rather with such a diminution of force during the glide as would make it almost inaudible, but would not occasion any real silence or total separation. The glide is always marked by an acute accent on the element having the stress, and sometimes with a double accent where both elements are very distinctly pronounced.]

- (āai, âi, âi) Identical with German *ey*, *ai*, *ei*, Italian *ai*, Welsh *ai*, French *aï*, etc. Upper Edenside examples: *wide*, *bide*, *bite*, *mile*, *pie*, *fine*, *tidy*.
- (êⁱî, îⁱî, îⁱî) [The last form is usually adopted.] These pairs represent archaic forms of long *ēē* as pronounced all over the nw. of England, and in the adjoining parts of Scotland. The voice begins with the tongue retracted obliquely more or less below the normal position of the vowel in *pen*, *fit*, *with*, and goes on to a position somewhat higher, so as almost to reach the position where true (ii) is formed. Great diversity of utterance exists; many people using a sound identical with the Scotch vowel in *wife*, *time*, etc., (êi), while others constantly use the pair represented in the second symbol (îⁱî), which is so much like true (ii) that the difference passes unnoticed. True (ii) is quite unknown here as a dialect utterance. Edenside examples: *feet*, *read*, *red*, *leaf*, *beef*, *seed*, *green*.
- (o¹u, ú¹u) [The second symbol here adopted after much discussion with JGG.] North-western English representative of received English, general Scotch and continental "long *ōō*." It commences with the vocal organs nearly in the position for the Italian *o chiuso* and ends with pure (uu). [Its effect is quite different from that of Midland (úu)]. Great variety exists in the pron. of this and the last pairs of vowels. In the wilds and amongst people remote from the influence of town-life the forms here given are the common ones; but there is every gradation from these into the pure (ii) and (uu) of received English among younger folk and town dwellers. Edenside examples: *cow*, *house*, *mouse*, *brow*, etc.
- (6u) Italian *o aperto* [open (o)] followed by pure (u). Edenside examples: *pony*, *hoe*, *daughter*, *thought*, *wrought*, *cowlrake*.

- (*o*_{a₁}, *u*_{a₁}) Italian *o chiuso* followed by Italian short *a* [but this would be (*a*), whereas JGG. uses the sign for (*a*₁), which often passes into the obscure vowels (*æ*, *ə*)]. Edenside examples: *coal*, *foal*, *notice*, *George*, *John*, *Joseph*, *hole*, *coat*, *road*, etc.
- (*e*_{a₁}, *i*_{a₁}) [the second form adopted] Italian *e chiuso* [shut (*e*)] followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced Italian short *a* [but JGG. uses the symbol for (*a*₁)]. The (*e*) graduates into (*i*) in some mouths, and the (*a*₁) into obscure vowels more or less allied to (*æ*, *ə*). Edenside examples: *stable*, *cake*, *toad*, *gate*, *soap*, *name*, *grave*.
- (*i*¹*y*) used in a few names, and also in such words as *nea*, *sea*, *tea*, *wea* = *nay* in dialectal assent to a negative, so, toe, woe. [This is given by JGG. on the authority of Mr. William Atkinson.]
- (*i*_u). Short *i* in *fit*, *pin*, *lip*, *jig*, &c., followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced short *ö* in *foot*, *good*, *bull*, etc. Many speakers seem unable to pronounce this quite distinctly; but most of the older people agree in doing so. [The result must be distinguished from (*iu*, *iú*).] Edenside examples: *foot*, *school*, *look*, *book*, *spoon*, *smoke*, *crook*.

Consonants.

- [*b* *p*, *d* *t*, *dh* *th*, *v* *f*, *g* *k*, *m* *n* *ŋ*, *s* *z*, *sh* *zh*] call for no remark.]
- (*d* *t*) dental [or rather alveolar] *d* *t* uttered with the tongue [on the gums], near the back of the upper incisor teeth. [This is only in conjunction with a following (*r*^o).]
- (*dj* *tj*) rec. English *edge*, *judge*, *Jew*, *James*, *jam*, and *etch*, *clutch*, *chew*, *chain*, *watch*. Where (*dj* *tj*) occur before a vowel, the (*d*) or the (*t*) is doubled thus: (*ed'djiz*, *ma,t'tjiz*) *edges*, *matches*, and the first of the doubled consonants is held just as it is in Italian pron.
- (*nh*) [which, except in this list, is written with simple (*h*)], jerked aspirate, *Henry*, *his*, *home*, *her*, *behoved*. Though the aspirate has almost entirely vanished in the dialects of the townsfolk, it is yet employed with much uniformity by the people in the country part.
- (*kjh*) palatal guttural, as in the German *siech*; Scotch *nicht*, *richt*, *sicht*. Now nearly obsolete. [Used only by very old people.]
- (*kwh*) labial guttural; Germ. *auch*; Scotch *loch*, *wheat*, *what*. Now nearly obsolete.
- (*j*) Rec. English in *yon*, *you*, *ye*, *yes*. Palatal aperture contracted more with the middle of the tongue than during the formation of (*ii*). [Nevertheless JGG. considers that there is more (*ii*) than (*j*) in the sound, the buzz being absent, and hence it is generally represented by (*i*) or very short (*ii*) gliding on at once to the following vowel. See under (*w*) at end.]
- (*jh*) voiceless and jerked form of the last as in *Hughes*, *huge*, *hew*, *humility*. [I find no jerk, (*jh*) is related to (*j*) as (*zh*) to (*sh*), that is, French *j* to Fr. *ch*.]
- (*l*) The same in all positions as the (*l*) used before a vowel in rec. English, general continental *l*, [but this is rather (*l*)]. This *l* is often held briefly (*l*¹), but it is quite distinct from the London and general Southern *l* in *mill*, *milk*, *fill*, *ell*, *law*, *lift*, *lip*. [I am not sure to what *l* JGG. is alluding, perhaps (*l*).]
- (*lh*) The voiceless [or rather hissed] form of the last frequently used before a voiceless palatal consonant as (*milhk*, *liht*, *bilht*) for *milk*, *liht*, *built*. [The hiss of the (*lh*) was very marked in JGG.'s pron. of these words.]
- (*nh*) The voiceless [or flated] form of (*n*), employed where an original initial *k* was once used, see the next symbol. This identical sound is in constant use in Icelandic [see Part II. p. 546]. Edenside examples: *knit*, *knock*, *know*, *knife*, etc.
- (*tnh*) The same sound preceded by (*t*) which represents the original *k*. [See Lediard's pron. in Part IV. p. 1046, under *K*, see also Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Part II. p. 544, n. 2.] Miss Powley, of Langwathby, and [her sister] Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, state that this was a common sound here many years ago. [See below cs. No. 16, in the 22 cs., introd. and notes.]
- (*r*^o) This is a buzzed *r*, [by which is meant an unflapped *r*, see p. 294 on *r* generally, although flapped *r*'s are necessarily buzzed, but the flapping renders

the buzz intermittent, whereas here it meant a continuous buzz as in (z)], that is to say, *r* produced by driving the voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid, instead of vibrating [flapping], as it does in the Scotch and Italian *r*. This consonant is a retracted form of (dh), and should be distinguished from ordinary *r* in some way. [I use (r_o) for Mr. Melville Bell's untrilled *r*, which is in fact an imperfect alveolar (d), "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). And I use (r_o) where the contraction of the passage between tongue and hard palate is more in the place of (d), for the London sound, which is an imperfect (r_o), to which JGG. objects that my (r_o) is "little else than a vowel." Hence, with his consent, I have introduced the new sign (r^o), shewing the absence of trill by putting the (°) above instead of below (o). That there is much essential difference in the sounds (r_o r_o r^o) I do not suppose, and generally I shall use (r) for each of them with a previous explanation. But in the following 22 cs., as some of JGG.'s informants used the trilled (r), and others the untrilled continuous buzz (r^o), I have been obliged to make the distinction.] Old people rarely ever drop this consonant, but it is going out of use, when not before a vowel, among the younger folk. Examples: *ray*, *hurry*, *rare*. After *d*, *t*, the *r* is invariably dental [alveolar], and is then denoted by (r^o). [But then *d*, *t* are also alveolar, so we have (d^or^o, t^or^o).]

(rh) The voiceless form is rarely used and may be passed over here.

(w) is (uu) with the labial orifice contracted so as to impart somewhat of a buzzing effect to the sound; but the buzz is not as marked as it is in the South, and it seems here to be often replaced by simple (u) or (u). [Hence I write (ü), which represents this form of (w) just as (i) represents a similar form of (j).]

(wh) This is the voiceless and jerked form of the last, and it often seems to be uttered as if the back of the tongue were raised as it is in the Scotch (*kwh*).

We use the sound quite consistently yet, and rarely or never is it replaced by simple (w) except by townfolk [as is also too much the custom with even the best educated people in London]. Examples: *which*, *whether*, *wheat*, *what*.

(wr^o) This pair of consonants yet survives in the pron. of very old people, and it is said to enter into the pron. of some of the place names, but I have not yet detected it for certain. Examples: *wrong*, *wren*, *write*, *written*. [JGG. interposed no vowel, however faint, between (w) and (r^o) as (w^or^o). I sometimes think this sound should be labialised *r* as (r^ow), but so few people use it, and those so difficult of access, that it is impossible to study it at first hand; at second hand we have only imitations—counterfeits, not the genuine article.]

Varieties.

It is very difficult to draw the boundaries of the six varieties which I have been induced to make in D 31. To a native no doubt the differences are very prominent, and he is generally able after hearing a few sentences to localise the speaker. This happens in all extensive dialect regions. But often, on examination, here and elsewhere, these distinctions, on which so much stress is laid, resolve themselves into slight varieties of intonation, a little change of construction, a few words and phrases habitual in one locality and scarcely heard in another, and perhaps slight changes of vowels, raising or depressing them, especially (i, a), which scarcely strike a stranger at all, and which he finds it difficult to formulate. Possibly many natives may object to the localisation and characterisation of varieties here given, but it is the best which the information at my command enables me to furnish. My many attempts to draw boundaries have failed so completely that I have altogether abandoned them.

VAR. i. CRAVEN, etc.

This consists of at least two distinct parts, n. and s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. The n. part has U'=(*ú*,u) as (*hú*,us, *dú*,un) house, down, and the s. part has U'=(*á*u) as (*há*us, *dá*wn). But considering that the s. part had merely developed the (*ú*,u) of the n. part into (*á*u), I have not hesitated to consider these two parts as forming one variety. The best marked form of this dialect is in Upper Swaledale, which, from the information given me by Mr. G. Bell, the publisher, of 4, York Street, Covent Garden, native of Richmond, I consider to extend a little to the e. of Richmond, about Catterick. It is found to the s. without any change in Upper Wensleydale, probably as far down as Middleham. It is also certain that, with the changes of (*ú*,u) into (*á*u) and various insignificant changes, it appears among the hills and dales of n.Craven, in Chapel-le-Dale (between Whernside and Ingleborough hills), in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (between Ingleborough and Penyghent hills), and at Burton-in-Lonsdale (at the foot of Ingleborough hill, on the b. of We.), and hence most probably prevails all over m.Craven down to the n. *theeth* line 5. For the last three places named, compared with Upper Swaledale, I give a full cwl., which shews the remarkable uniformity, except as regards U'-words, between the two parts of Var. i. And for Burton-in-Lonsdale separately, I give below quite a unique specimen.

In addition to JGG.'s papers, CCR. gave me specimens of the nw. Mining Districts, including Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, but they were reminiscences of many years standing, and differed so materially, in the direction of D 30, from JGG.'s recent and most careful work from actual dictation many times revised with the informants themselves, that I have been obliged to omit them from the 22 interlinear cs. below. Similarly CCR. gave me a specimen for "Upper Craven, Upper Ribblesdale with Ingleton, Clapham, etc., Upper Wharfedale with Kettlewell, etc., Upper Nidderdale with Middlesmoor, Langstrothdale, etc.," which very materially differs from the cwl. and the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, both belonging to this region, furnished by JGG. As before, I consider the latter work, made direct from dictation, preferable to reminiscences of long standing. Finally, CCR. gave me a specimen for Mid Craven with Skipton, which I am unable to contrast with any work by JGG., but which bears a close resemblance to the former versions. All of these seem to have been modified by memory in the course of years in the direction of the much more familiar m.Yo. forms. But I think it due to such an excellent worker as CCR., who, in his youth, had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the speech of old people in these regions (people who were old more than 50 years ago), to shew the impressions which he retains. I therefore give paragraphs and extracts of paragraphs from the cs. in all three of these versions by CCR., and prefix to them JGG.'s version from Upper Swaledale (given in full as No. 2 in the 22 interlinear cs. below), for the sake of easy comparison. And, as will be seen by the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, this holds good for n.Craven as respects the U'- words.

COMPARISON OF CCR.'S AND JGG.'S VERSIONS.

0. 1	JGG.'s <i>Upper Swaledale or Muker.</i>	what for ^o
2	CCR.'s <i>Upper Mining Dales.</i>	wat fer _o
3	CCR.'s <i>Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale.</i>	wat fer _o
4	CCR.'s <i>Skipton and Mid Craven.</i>	wat for

[1976]

- 1 :dʒwá,ən hɛz nɪ́,á,₁ dʒá,uts.
 2 :dʒwəni ez nɪv duuts.
 3 :dʒwən ez nɛv duuts.
 4 :dʒwən ez nɛv dáuts.
6. 1 d' ǎl'd bodé hə,₁r,se:l 'l tel a,ni o ʒə ət lǎ,fs
 2 t' aat wumən ɛsel· 'l tɪl onɪ jan o ʒə ət lafs
 3 t' óud wumən ɛsel· 'l tel onɪ o ʒə ət lafs
 4 th óud wumən ɛsel· 'l tel onɪ o ʒoo ət lafs
- 1 nʊ, u, ái wa,d'nt shə,?
 2 nuu, óos wunet shə?
 3 nuu, uu! wɪnet sho?
 4 náu, oo! wɪnet shə?
7. 1 a,ni wee shə, tel'd méi si,á,₁ twɪ,₁ á,₁ thrɛl táimz óu)ə,r°,
 2 onɪwɪvɛz shéi tɪlt 'mɛeɪ it twɪvɛ tɾi táaimz óur,
 3 onɪwɪvɛz sho teld 'mɛeɪ it tʊvɛ thɾi táimz óvɛ,
 4 onɪgɛvɛts shu toud 'mii it v tʊvɛthɾi táimz óvɛ,
- 1 dha,t ɛd dɪd shə,
 2 'shéi)dɛd.
 3 sho)dɪd
 4 dɪd shə.
8. 1 shu wad 'tel' dhɛ hʊ, u whaar° ɛn
 2 shéi)d tɪl ʒə oo ɛbfut ɛz)t 'uu ɛn 'waar, ɛn
 3 shuu)d tel ʒə óv ɛbáut it, bɛvɛth uu ɛn waar, ɛn
 4 'shuu)d tel ʒə bɛvɛth áu ɛn wɪvɛr ɛn
- 1 when shə, fa,n'd)d' dɾu,qken bívɛst ɛd shə, kʌlɪz
 2 'wen t)waar, shéi fan)t' dɾukən bɛvɛs ɛt shéi kóvɛz
 3 wen it war ɛt sho fan)t' dɾukən bívɛs ɛt sho kóvɛz
 4 wen it wor ɛt shu fan)t' dɾukən bívɛs ɛt shu kóvɛz
- 1 ə,r° ma,n.
 2 ɛr uzben.
 3 ɛr uzben.
 4 ɛr uzben.
9. 1 shi swaar° ɛd shə, saa ím wɪv ə,r° aan éiin, lígɪn
 2 shéi swaar, she saa ím wéi ɛr óovɛn in, lígɪn
 3 sho swaar, ɛt shuu saa ím wɪv ɛr óovɛn iin, lígɪn
 4 shu thrɪvɛpt ɛt shu saa ím wɪ)t' óvɛn iin, lígɪn
- 1 la,q' str°i,á,kt ɛtop ɛ)d grʊnd, ív íz gud su,ndi
 2 laq stɾekt ɛtop ɛ)t' grʊnt, ív íz gɪud sʊndɛ
 3 stɾɛtɪt ɛt laq leqth ʊpɛ)t' grʊnd, ív íz gɪud sʊndɛ
 4 laq strɪvɛkt ɛtop ɛ)t' grʊnd, dɔnd í íz gud sʊndɛ

- 1 *kwá,et*, *klwá,es* bi)d' dy₁r^o ev iz aan h₁us, d₁un i)d'
 2 *kwáwet*, *tlwáes* béi)t' us díur_o duun e)t'
 3 *kwáwet*, *tléees* bi)t' us díur_o stíved duun et t'
 4 *kóoit*, *tléees* bi)t' áus dúe stíved dáwn e)t'

- 1 *níuk* e jon *lwá,enin*.
 2 *níuk* e jondh_e *lwáwen*.
 3 *kaan_er* e jon *lúwen*.
 4 *kóo_en_er* e jon *lúwen*.

11. 1 en dha_t ha₁p'mpt ez h_or^o en t' su₁n wáif ku₁
 2 en dhat ap'nt ez shéee' en)t dóu_tr i lóoe kóm
 3 en dhat ap'nt ez)t' dóu_tr i loo en er_o kóm
 4 en dhat apend ez shuu en)t' dóuter i lóoe kóm

- 1 *t₁r^oú,u*)d' bak sáaid fre hiqín)d' wet klíá₁z ú₁ut t_e
 2 *t₁r_ou*)t' bak gísth frev aqín t' wíst tlíez ut t_e
 3 *thru*)t' bak gásth frev iqín t' wet tléeez uut f_e t_e
 4 *thru*)t' bak jəd fre iqín t' wet tléeez t_e

- 1 *d₁r^oáai* e)d' weshín dée.
 2 *d₁r_oái* ev e wéishín dée.
 3 *d₁r_oái* ev e weshín dée.
 4 *d₁r_oái* on e weshín dée.

12. 1 whâ₁)t' ket'l w_ez bó:ln f_or^o téfi, jaa fáain
 2 waal)t' ket'l wa bó:ln f_or_o)t' d₁r₁qkín jaa féin
 3 wâl)t' ket'l w_e géent e bó:ln f_ot' d₁r₁qkín jan fáin
 4 wáil th ket'l wor bó:ln f_o)th d₁r₁qkín j_ev fáin

- 1 *bréit* su₁m_or_o eft_or^oníun.
 2 *briit* eft_oníun i sum_or_o.
 3 *briit* eft_oníun i sum_e.
 4 *briit* eft_or_onéun i sum_or_o.

13. 1 en ái nyv_or^o hé_or^od nóut ni maar^o e dhís whel
 2 en a níver_o laant oni maar en dhís up tev
 3 en ái níve laant oni méee dhen dhís up tivt_e
 4 en ái níver_o laant oni méee_r en dhís up tel

- 1 *tádee*, ez síu_or^o ez mái níá₁m)z :d₁ja₁k.
 2 *tádeee*, ez síu_er ez mí níem)z :d₁já₁ní.
 3 *tádeee*, ez síu_er ez mí néee_m)z :d₁já₁w_on.
 4 *tádeee*, ez síur ez mí néee_m)z :d₁já₁w_on.

14. 1 en síá₁ ái men bi gáaen híá₁m t_e mí su₁p_or^o. gud néit.
 2 en síú aa)z gaqen íem t_e gít mí super_o. gwúed níit.
 3 en séee ái)z gaain éeem t_e gít mí sup_e. gíud níit.
 4 en síú ái)z gaqín éeem t_e mí súper. gud níit.

The complete comparison of JGG.'s Upper Swaledale with CCR.'s Mid Yo. is given in the 22 interlinear cs. below. The characters that I gave for this district were taken from JGG.'s versions, and it will be seen that they agree with No. 1 above, which is considerably different from No. 2. In No. 3, which are reminiscences of a much older pronunciation than that heard by JGG., CCR. is inconsistent about the U' and French OU... Thus taking the complete cs., of which only parts are given above, I find (nuu, wivvut, duun, us, au, duuts) now, without, down, house, how, doubts, but (*báut*, *áusumi-ver*) about, however. If these were rightly remembered, it would imply that early in the XIXth century only a few U' words in n.Craven had (*áu*), whereas in 1876, when JGG. tried the region, all of them had it. On the other hand, CCR. in his Skipton or m.Craven cs. has (*náu*, *dáwn*, *áus*, *áu*, *áusumi-ver*, *áut*, *dháu*) now, down, house, how, however, out, thou, and no (uu), as was to be expected. Mr. Carr, in the introduction to his 'Craven Glossary,' says (1828): "At the distance of 5 or 6 miles from the e. b. of the parish of Skipton, the pronunciation is entirely changed; thus *house* is pron. *hoose*, and *mouse moose*, *cow coo*, as in the n. and e. Riding of Yo." As the distance is reckoned from the e. b. of the parish, it is presumably to be measured towards the e., and in that case it confirms the position here assigned to the s. *hoose* line 6. In the examples cited in his glossary which relates to Mid Craven, Mr. Carr adopts rec. spelling for 'how, cow, sour, out, mouth, hour, thou, down, gown,' etc., evidently indicating the sound (*áu*).

CCR. occasionally uses (th) for the definite art. for Skipton (and Mr. Carr uses *th'*), as well as by Washburn River (pp. 500, 502, 516, No. 6), which is adjacent. If this were adopted, it would be necessary to change the position of the n. *the teeth* line 5, and carry it from Colne, La., n. of Skipton, and Blubberhouses, and even Harrogate, but as the information is not complete, as the position of the line past Harrogate is quite unknown, and as the usage, if it occurs, must be rare, and is not generally acknowledged, I leave the line unaltered, with this remark. TH., see next page, heard only (*t'*) at Skipton.

As Mr. Carr points out, Chaucer, in the Reeve's Tale, makes his two frolicksome students come from "Strothir, fer in the north, I cannot telle where." Mr. Carr identifies this with Langstrothdale (28 ne.Lancaster, 4 n.Penyghent Hill) in n.Craven, and just s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. Chaucer would of course be no authority whatever for the pron. of such a place, the very locality of which he could not assign. In the speeches of these students the only marked northernism is the use of *I is* for *I am*, which still exists.

The whole of this extreme w. of Yo. is a rather wild and not very populous region, but exactly on that account the more interesting for our purpose, because there must have been fewer instrumentalities at work for effecting great changes. From the upper mining dales down s. to Sedberg, Dent, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale, it is well represented. I am less sure of the n.w. horn of Yo. by Laithkirk, Mickleton, Romalldkirk, etc., on the borders of the Tees. The vicar of Laithkirk, Rev. W. R. Bell, supplied me with a wl. and a cs., but I did not feel any confidence in my interpretation of his orthography. JGG. however had an opportunity of hearing him read the wl., and I give the result in the cwl. for Var. i, form *b*, below. The only point of interest is the treatment of the U'- words, which become (*éuu*), as already observed (p. 538, line 3 from bottom).

TH. in 1887 had accidentally an opportunity of hearing speech from a native of Hurst in Upper Swaledale and Clapham (6 nw.Settle and 4 sw.Horton-in-

Ribblesdale), both of them in JGG.'s territory. The Clapham ex. consisting of extracts from the cs. was quite like JGG.'s, and hence need not be cited. TH. got a dt. from Hurst, another from Giggleswick by Settle, and a third from Skipton. These three I annex interlinearly. Their variations from JGG.'s are very slight, the principal being at Hurst, where TH. heard JGG.'s (*ú,u*) as (*óu, óu*), which is not surprising, for the ear requires long usage to distinguish (*ú,u*) from (*óu*), to which it certainly leads.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

H Hurst (8 w. Richmond, Yo.), within the limits of the Muker cs., No. 2 of the 22 interlinear cs. below, pal. in 1887 by TH., from the dictation of a native then living near Keighley.

G Giggleswick ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle), pal. in 1887 by TH., from a farm servant b. 1811. This represents w. Craven.

S Skipton (39 w. York), pal. 1887, by TH., from a native shoemaker, b. 1817, who had lived there all his life.

The (r) is left unmarked, and is uncertain, TH. having probably identified it with his own (e).

1. H *Hurst.* A sêv, ladz, jə sîi náu vt di)m rîit v̄b̄out
 G *Giggleswick.* di see, tʃaps, jɪ sîi náu vt A)m re'it v̄b̄aut
 S *Skipton.* A sêv, tʃaps, jə sîi náu vt A)m re'it v̄b̄aut

H dhat l̄áil las kum̄in fr̄e)t' skíul j̄on d̄e.r.
 G dhat l̄áil las kum̄in fr̄e)t' skúul j̄on d̄e.r.
 S dhat l̄áil las kum̄in thr̄e)t' skôil j̄on d̄e.r.

2. H sh̄e)z ḡà)in d̄áun)t' r̄óed dh̄ar, thr̄úu)t' r̄ed geet.
 G sh̄i)z ḡà)in d̄áun)t' r̄úed dh̄ter, thr̄óu)t' r̄ed gj̄eet ɔn)t' left
 S sh̄e)z ḡu)in d̄áun)t' r̄úed dh̄ter thr̄á'u)t' r̄ed gj̄eet ɔn)t' left

H
 G and s̄áid v̄)t' r̄úed.
 S and s̄áid v̄)t' r̄úed.

3. H s̄i j̄e, sh̄i)z gj̄éun t̄e)t' raq d̄úer [óus].
 G l̄úuk j̄e! t' b̄árn)z ḡán st̄re'it up t̄e)t' raq d̄úer [áus].
 S l̄úuk j̄e! t' t̄j̄áild)z ḡán st̄re'it up t̄e)t' raq d̄úer.

4. H w̄ar sh̄i)l me)bi f̄ind dhat dr̄uqk d̄tef th̄in
 G w̄ier sh̄e mee f̄ind dhat dr̄uk'n d̄tef r̄iqk'ld
 S w̄ier sh̄e)l ap'n f̄ind dhat dr̄uk'n [d̄r̄uf'n] d̄tef w̄idh̄erd

H speeri m̄an vt dh̄e k̄aal :t̄om.
 G ôud fel̄e, ez dh̄e k̄aa :t̄om.
 S th̄in fel̄e, ez dh̄e k̄aal :t̄om.

5. H w̄i aal naa' im vare w̄il.
 G w̄i aal naa im vare w̄il.
 S w̄i aal naa im vare w̄il.

6. H w̄ient t')aa'd man s̄iun l̄ien er n̄ut t̄e d̄iu it v̄gj̄een,
 G w̄e|ent t')ôud t̄jap sóun l̄arn er net t̄e d̄iu it v̄geen,
 S w̄ient t')ôud t̄jap sóin l̄arn er net t̄e du it v̄gj̄een,

H p^uer thi^q!
 G p^uer thi^q!
 S p^uer b^urn!

7. H l^uuk! iz'nt *it* réit?
 G l^uuk! iz'nt *it* t^ræ'u?
 S l^uuk! iz'nt *it* t^ræ'u?

VAR. ii. LONSDALE.

It is with some hesitation that I write the two Lonsdales, n. and s. of the Sands, as one variety, with two forms, Var. iia, and Var. iib. The two together, as TH. points out, form an area of transition for the A-, A' words from (*iæ*) through (*ia*) to the Craven form (*i₁a₁*). Thus in Var. iia, s. of the Sands, TH. heard 77 forms ending in (*æ*) as against 20 ending in (*a*). But in Var. iib, n. of the Sands, he heard only 45 ending in (*æ*) as against 25 ending in (*a*). For the U' words in Var. iia, s. of the Sands, we find (*áu*) as in Craven, but in Var. iib, n. of the Sands, we have (*óu*), a descendant of (*ú₁u*). These are considerable differences. A greater one is that V iia uses *to* and V iib generally *at* before the infinitive. Still as *to* and *at* are both heard, notwithstanding the prevalence of *at*, through V iii, and as *to* is not unfrequently heard in V iib, although *at* prevails, or at least used to prevail, it is difficult to insist upon this as a mark of distinction.

Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston, procured me in 1873 a cs. from Ulverston by Mr. R. Pearson, accountant, then 40 years acquainted with the dialect, and another from Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster and native of Coniston, generally considered a great authority on the dialect, b. about 1803. Owing to the sparing manner in which pron. was indicated in these cs., I have not felt justified in attempting to pal. them. But the last has been read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, and is given on p. 563, as No. 5 in the 22 interlinear cs. Four cases of *to* or *at* before the infinitive occur in these two cs. Mr. Pearson writes, 1) I wod trest em *ét* speek trewth, par. 5; 2) hingin out t' wet claeas *ta* dry, par. 11; 3) I doant want *tä* kna, par. 13; 4) sa sharp *tä* kra, par. 14. Mr. Bowness has *ta* in all four cases. In "Three Furness Dialect Stories by a Native" (Coward, Carlisle, 1867), given me by Mr. Ellwood, *tä* or *to* occurs before the infinitive 22 times, and *at* never. In Roger Piketah's *Forness Folk* (Coward, Carlisle, 1870), an examination of the first tale, 'Amang t' Rowndheeads,' gives 18 *to* and 9 *at* before the infinitive, the latter being 1) a bit furdur *ét* gang; 2) them at knaas how *ét* dew it; 3) I cuddent bide *ét* see 'em; 4) I ext 'em what was *ét* dew wi' him; 5) we were fooarst *ét* part company; 6) he'd hed nowt *ét* itt o' t' day; 7) meadd me summat *ét* itt; 8) I'se fain *ét* see ye; 9) I heddent mich time *ét* spar.

Noticing these discrepancies, I wrote to Mr. Ellwood, and he replied as follows on 2 Jan. 1874, the passages in [] being my interpolations.

“*Ut* (*ut*) as the sign of the infinitive is used in Furness, as Mrs. Ellwood [native] and I can abundantly confirm. *To* and *ta* (*te*) for the infinitive is found, however, quite as commonly, and the tendency in the case of *ut* is rather to become obsolete. [Miss M. A. Bell, who belongs to the younger generation, could not remember having heard it.] Not that it is obsolete, or anything like it as yet, for you may hear *ut do*, *ut go*, etc., every day here in the mouths of the dalesmen as commonly as possible. It is also to be found, I believe, in s.Cu. as far as that term is used as comprehending Millom [13 ssw.Coniston] and Whitbeck [15 sw.Coniston, both on the sw. promontory of Cu.]. I took the printed specimen [of my cs.] you inclosed to the Coniston postmaster [Mr. R. Bowness], and he said, after carefully thinking the matter over, that *ut* might be used for *to* in the case of two of the infinitives you had marked in it, viz. ‘*to* speak the truth’ [par. 5], which might be put ‘*ut* speak t’ truth,’ and ‘*to* dry’ [par. 11], which might be ‘*ut* dry.’ In the other two cases [*to* know, par. 13, and *to* crow, p. 14] he thought, on account of euphonic reasons, which he could not very well explain, *to* or *ta* (*te*) ought to be retained. When he first gave the written specimen to me which I sent you before, I mentioned this very thing to him, and suggested that in the case of the infinitive he should put *ut*, but he said that one form was just as commonly used as the others, and it was therefore indifferent. So I let it remain *to* as he had put it. There is one thing which I think deserves to be noticed in regard to the testimony in favour of *ta* and *ut* in their Furness usage, and that is, that those who have given *ta* or *to*, viz. Mr. Morris [author of the ‘Three Furness Stories’], the Coniston Postmaster, and I believe Mr. R. Pearson, are all natives of the district, and have never been much out of it; while those who give *ut* and *et* invariably are, I think, comparatively strangers,—Mr. Gibson [referring to four High Furness tales in his ‘Folk-speech of Cumberland,’ etc.] having only been about eight or nine years in practice as a surgeon at Coniston, which was, I believe, the whole length of his sojourn in Furness [he was a Scotchman; his Furness tales occupy about twelve small pages, and contain *ut* thirty-seven times, and *to* three times, these three cases being possibly oversights], while Roger Picketah, who is in truth Dr. Barber, formerly of Ulverston, lived in Furness just about the same length of time as Mr. Gibson, and is really a Nottinghamshire man, knowing very little indeed about this dialect. . . . It is easy enough, however, to assign a reason why the natives should not dwell so much upon *ut* as those who are comparative strangers. A stranger is more struck by peculiarities, as *ut* certainly is, and, therefore, he, when writing in the dialect, gives them in every case, while the native accustomed to them in their proper order gives them only as they occur.”

The fact about *to* and *at* seems to be that the people were Saxon naturally using *to*, that the *at* was a Scandinavian invasion which only partially ousted *to*, and that hence both are used with equal correctness. It is to be observed also that though the two parts of Lonsdale are separated by the estuary of the Gilpin running into Morecamb Bay, from We., yet s.Lonsdale adjoins We., in the s. of which both (*áu*) and (*ut*) are used. But I have found it best to separate We., which I place under Var. iii; and to distinguish two forms *a* and *b* of Var. ii. Except as regards the U’ and A-words and the use of *to*, *at*, these *a* and *b* forms of Var. ii are almost identical, as the following comparison will shew.

SONG OF SOLOMON, Chap. ii.

The late Mr. R. B. Peacock wrote Chap. ii. of Solomon’s *Song of Songs* for the dialect of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and Mr. J. Stockdale for the form of Lonsdale n. of the Sands, both in a partially systematic orthography, as printed on p. 31 of Mr. Peacock’s pamphlet on the ‘Six Northern Counties of England,’ Berlin, 1863, subjoined to his Glossary of Lonsdale, *Trans. Philological Soc.*

Supplement to part ii. 1867. I have here pal. these two versions by means of his Key (*ibid.* p. 11), assisted by the two owl. for these regions given below from T.H.'s observations, but the (u) is uncertain (see p. 554), and (t,r, d,r) was not recognised, and the aspirate was retained.

1. S *Lonsdale South of the Sands.* dí)z)t' rúez v :sheerən, ɛn)t'
N *Lonsdale North of the Sands.* dí)z)t' rúez v :sheerən, ɛn)t'

S líli v)t' valiz.
N líli v)t' valiz.
2. S ɛmaq)t' lasəz mi luv)z láik v líli ɛmaq)t' wíkwudz.
N ɛs)t líli ɛmaq)t' tharnz, súv iz mi luv ɛmaq)t' dóu,tə,rz.
3. S ɛmaq)t' ladz, mi bíluvd)z láik ɛn ap'l ɛmaq)t' kom'ɛn
N ɛs)t ap'l trii ɛmaq)t' triiz v)t' wud, súv iz mi bíluvd

S triiz; dí sat mə dáun ɛndər híz shadə wí gart
N ɛmaq)t' sunz; dí sat mə dóun ɛndər híz shadə wí gart

S pləzər, ɛn híz friut wəz swiit tə mí tíast.
N dʒóí, ɛn híz friut wəz swiit tə mí téast.
4. S hí bróut mə tɛ)t' fíestín háus, ɛn híz kúlər óvər mə
N hí bróut mə tɛ)t' fíestén hóus, ɛn híz kúlər óvər mə

S wəz luv.
N wəz luv.
5. S gí)mə v súvəp v sʉmət tə sʉp, tə kʉmfərt mə, ɛn dí sʉd
N frəsh'n mə ʉp wí v sʉp v sʉmət ɛt dʒíqk, gí)mə

S láik sʉm ap'lz tə ɛt; fər dí)z dʒəd siik v luv.
N sʉm ap'lz ɛt ɛt; fər dí)z feer siik v luv.
6. S híz left hand)z ɛndər mí híəd, ɛn híz réit hand
N híz left hand)z ɛndər mí híəd, ɛn híz riit hand dʉz

S kʉd'lz mə.
N kʉd'l mə.
7. S ɛn máínd ʒə dhís, ʒə :dʒəriuzləm lasəz, bí)t' valí v ɔ)t'
N dí wərn ʒə, ɔɔ ʒə dóutə,rz v :dʒəriuzləm, bí)t'

S kái ɛn ship í)t' fíldz, ɛz ʒə doont star ʉp, nər wək'n
N bíəs ɛn bí)t' ʒóuz í)t' fíild, ɛt ʒə star nət ʉp, nər wək'n

S mí luv, təl)v láíks.
N mí luv təl hí plíezəz.
8. S t' vóís v mí bíluvd! lʉk ʒə hí kʉmz lóupín óvər)t' fɛlz,
N t' vóís v mí bíluvd! lʉk ʒə hí kʉmz lóupən ɔn)t' fɛlz,

S skelpin etop)ət' hóuz.
N skipen on)t' hóuz.

9. S mi biluvd)z láik e roo er e juq buk; luk rə, hi)z standin
N mi biluvd)z láik e roo er e juq buk; luk, hi standz

S bihint áur woo, hi)z gluurín áut e)t' wínde, en shoo'in
N bihint óur woo, hi) líeks áut e)t' wínde, shoo'in

S híssel thru)t' lat)wark.
N híssel thru)t' lat'is.

10. S mi biluvd spak en sed tu)mə, náu, hani, gət up, dhat)s
N mi biluvd spéak en sed te mə, ráiz up, mi luv, mi

S e boni las, en kuu dhi weez.
N feer)en, en kum her weez.

11. S fer dus)te sii, t' wíntər)z past, t' reen)z óuer en gian.
N fer)t' wíntər)z past, fer se'uer, t'reen)z óuer en gon.

12. S t' fláwerz iz bigin'in te blaa; t' parin tdim e)t' bardz iz kum,
N t' flówerz kumz up e)t' arth, t' bardz iz bigin'en et siq,

S en jan mə híier)t' stok duv kuu'in i)t' wudz.
N en)t' kushet kuu iz hard i óur land.

13. S t' beri triiz iz i blos'em, en)t' swiit briier)z bigin'in te
N t' feg trii puts óut it grin fegs, en)t' váinz wi)t' tender

S send áut e réit náis smel. duu gət up wi dhe, djói, ku
N gréap gívz e gud smel. gít up, mi luv, mi

S dhi weez di see, en let mə luk et dhi koni [=pretty] fias.
N feer)en, en kum her weez, di see.

14. S oo mi djói, ez iz i)t' níks e)t' krag, i)t' larkin húvlz
N oo mi duv, et)s i)t' klíqks e)t' kragz, i)t' háiden pléasəz

S e)t' steerz, kum áut wi dhat swiit fias e dhi aan, let me
N e)t' steerz, let mə sii dhi féas, let mə

S híier dhi líil klaper gaq, fer dhi vóis iz míuzik ítsel,
N híier dhi vóis, fer swiit iz dhi vóis,

S en dháu)z riit gud lukin.
N en dhi féas iz riit boni.

15. S tak uz)t' foksez, t' líil foksez, ez spóilz t' váinz; fer wer
N tak uz)t' foksez, t' líil foksez, et spóilz t' váinz; fer óur

S *váinz* hez vast tender gríaps.
N *váinz* hev tender gréaps.

16. S *mí biluvd*)z *máin*, en *ái*)z *híz*; *hí* fidz *eməq*)t' *lílíz*.
N *mí biluvd*)z *máin*, en *ái*)z *híz*; *hí* fidz *eməq*)t' *lílíz*.

17. S *təl*)t' *dee brək*, en)t' shadəz fiiz *ewee* torn dhə, *mí*
N *təl deebrek*, en *təl*)t' shadəz fiiz *ewee* torn dhə, *mí*

S *huni*, en bi *lái*k ə *roo* ər ə *juq* hart ə :bədher felz.
N *biluvd*, en bi *lái*k ə *roo* ər ə *juq* bək on :bədher felz.

To these may be added the following for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, which has the advantage of having been taken direct from dictation.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS dt.

(:brá'ut'n i fə'rnəs) pal. 1881 by TH. from dictation of Mr. R. N. Woodend, b. about 1846, native, then residing at Barrow-in-Furness, who stated that no change had taken place in dialectal speech during the previous twenty years.

1. *ái see*, ladz, ju si *nóu* dhət *ái*)m rit *əbót* dhat *lái*l las *komín* frə t' skuul *ɔndər*.
2. *shí*)z *gæn* *dóun* t' *rúed* dhier, thruu t' *rəd* *ɔt* [gjeet] on t' left and *sáid* et t' *rúed*.
3. *lu*ok *rə*! t' *tjád*ld)z [las əz] *gaan* *stɹe*'it *u*o

tə t' *raq* *óus* *díu*ər.
4. *wər* *shí*)l ap'n *fínd* dhat *dru*ok'n *díef* *wídh*əd aad *fəle* [fuul *tjap*], *i*)t' *neem* ə :təm.
5. *wí* oo *naa*)im *vare* *wíil*.
6. *wént* t' aad *tjap* *sɹen* *təl* ər tə *nət* *díu*)t *əgjeen*, *púr* *thíq*!
7. *lu*ok *rə*! *it*)s *kwáit* *tɹíu*.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS PHRASES noted by TH.

1. (*wént* dhə *begər* *katj* *ít* *wen* *iz* *fə*d'ər *naaz* *i*)z *pleed* *tɹóu*wənt), won't the [emphatic] beggar catch it when his father knows he's played truant.
2. (*wái*, *wət*)s)tə *gjet*'n *fɹesh* *tədəe*?), well, what)hast)thou gotten fresh to-day?
3. (*shí*)l *vare* *lái*klí *díi* *təma*'rn), she'll very likely die to-morrow. [not this morning, for to-morrow was given to translate.]
4. (*war*)s)tə *gaan* *dhís* *af*tə *míen*? *ái*)z *gaan* *jaam*), where is (art) thou going this afternoon? I is (am) going home. The conjugation is with *is* throughout (*ái*)z, *dhíi*)z, *ii*)z, *wíi*)z, *jú*)z, *dhè*)z).

For Lonsdale n. of the Sands see also the Lower-Holker-in Cartmel cs., the fourth of the 22 interlinear cs. pp. 558, 563; and the cwl. for Var. ii, both form *a* and form *b*.

THE TRANSITION FROM (u_o) TO (u).

On p. 292 it was stated that TH. considered that a mixed region existed where both (u , u_o) were heard to the south of a line drawn from Gainsborough in Li. to Ulverston (which he would now correct to Coniston) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La. This was promised to be considered in D 24 and D 31. For D 24, see p. 365. We have now to look at D 31. According to the information sent to me by TH., who in 1888 revisited the country on purpose, the whole of both Lonsdales is a mixed region, where not only (u_o) is in most places, at least occasionally, and even frequently, used in the cases he heard, but (u) is likewise to be heard, and with this also frequently a pure (u). It is almost needless to say that this depends entirely on TH.'s appreciation, which I have been entirely unable to check by the appreciation of other observers, who were capable of distinguishing (u , u , u_o). Certainly beyond Lonsdale in Cu., We. and Yo. this (u_o) was not heard by my authority, JGG., to whom TH.'s vowel was a novelty, p. 291, l. 8 from bottom. On the other hand, the tapering of (i) into (i^1 , i) was well known to him.

The places which TH. has visited for this purpose, and the number of words containing an (u) sound which he has examined in each, are as follows:

Over Wyersdale 14, Lancaster 45, Caton (4 ne.Lancaster) 42, Hornby (8 ne.Lancaster) 40, Carnforth 45, Cark-in-Cartmel (5 e-by-s.Ulverston) 55, Lower Holker (5 e.Ulverston) 56, Ulverston 32, Broughton-in-Furness 9, Coniston 17, Higher Nibthwaite 9, total 364 cases.

The sounds heard in these examples, without specifying the particular cases, are marked by him thus: (u) 83, (u_1) 39, (u^1) 8, between (u) and (u) 1, (u) 131, between (u) and (u_o) 3, between (u_1) and (o) 1, (u_1) 24, (u_o) 61, variants between the last and (u , u , o), or (u) and (u) 10, (u) 1, (o) 2. The running lies therefore with (u , u_1 , u , u_o). With regard to (u_o), which is the main point to be considered, the numbers of cases recorded were, Over Wyersdale 10, Lancaster 11, Caton 11, Hornby 5, Carnforth 0, total 37 cases (all s. of the Sands, and hence under Midland influence), Cark 1, Lower Holker 13, Broughton-in-Furness 6, Coniston 2, Higher Nibthwaite 2, total 24, of which the greater number is found at Lower Holker, and the others are so very sparse that they can hardly be regarded.

Hence we may say that Lonsdale s. of the Sands is a decidedly mixed region, more than half the cases of (u_o) observed by TH. having there occurred, but that Lonsdale n. of the Sands (with the exception of Lower Holker, which against 13 (u_o) had 12 (u), 22 (u_1) and 4 (u^1), is almost entirely free of (u_o). It would require a very long and extended observation, which we cannot expect any one to undertake, to get more precise and definite results, and we are greatly indebted to TH. for the great labour and pains he has taken in obtaining, recording, and analysing his observations.

TH. has also analysed the transition from (i) through (i_1 , i^1) to (i) in this same region, and in 174 cases finds (i) 8, (i_1) 5, (i^1) 4, (i) 157, which last must therefore be considered as the normal pron.

VAR. iii. WESTMORLAND S. OF THE WATERSHED.

This watershed, starting from Helvellyn, runs nearly e. over Rydal Head, High Street, Harter or Carter Fell, n. of Crow Brow, over Shap Fell to Orton Scar, and then runs nearly s. to Langdale Fells, where it turns e. and enters Yo. by Howgill Fells. The very names indicate a barrier, but in point of fact Var. iv, just n. of this watershed, differs very slightly from Var. iii. The most prominent difference is, that in Var. iii the use of *at* for *to* before the infinitive is very general, but in Var. iv *to* prevails. This Variety also includes that w. horn of Yo., w. of Bow Fell and Whernside, containing Dent and Sedberg, as distinct from Craven, Var. i, which borders on it.

This Var. iii, like Var. i, is traversed by the s. *loose* line 6, which passes from the mouth of the Winster, on the b. of La. and We., in an ene. direction, to pass between Dent on the s., and Sedberg on the n., then running se. through Garsdale. Hence the small s. portion of this variety uses (áu), and the large n. portion uses (ú,u) for U'. This (ú,u) as I hear it is quite distinct from (æ'u), but is so like (óu) that I have often found a difficulty in distinguishing it. Both the (áu, ú,u) agree with the sounds in the corresponding parts of Var. i, which, except from the use of *to* for *at*, is barely separable from it. This dialect is well illustrated by Nos. 6 to 11 of the 22 interlinear cs., and a close examination will shew how very slight the differences are of one from the other, and all from Var. i, Nos. 2 and 3, Var. ii, Nos. 4 and 5, Var. iv, Nos. 12 to 17, with the exception of the *at* and *to*. In No. 11, from Orton, We., there are some peculiar insertions of (i,) in a number of words marked †, which JGG. had not observed in the neighbourhood. The words are: he, this, who, certain, did, themselves, kent, herself, lying, length, said, bairn, happened, son, yard, day, kettle, tea, since, week, next, does, never, more, till, shepherd, night, be, t'other. The same informant dictated No. 13, which has no trace of such an insertion. This variety is further illustrated by the cwl. from Dent and Howgill, the last of which I was able to verify by a personal interview.

VAR. iv. EDENSIDE.

The basin of the River Eden includes We. n. of the Watershed and central Cu. This scarcely differs from the n. part of the last except in the universal use of *to* (tə) before the infinitive. It is carefully illustrated by Nos. 12 to 17 of the 22 interlinear cs., and belongs entirely to the (ú,u) region. Two of these cs., Nos. 14 and 16, are valuable from the care taken by the informants, two old ladies, Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Powley, since deceased, who had had a life's knowledge of the dialect, and the diligence with which they were revised by JGG. from their dictation. This variety extends northward to the n. *tee* line 7. It is to be observed that this line makes almost a cusp about Kirk Oswald (15 nnw.Appleby), where, according to JGG., the change from WN. to NN. is strongly marked. He observed that s. of Kirk Oswald they called a 'stone dyke' a (stí,á,n dáik) genuine WN., and a few miles to the n. a (steen déik) genuine NN. The w. b. of this variety is not well defined, but may be regarded as running to the n. from Helvellyn, and e. of Skiddaw. The e.b. may be taken as the b. of Du. The change of pron. in passing into Du.

is very slight, and is said to occur about Harwood, Du. (11 nne.Appleby, We., and close to the b.).

Some interest attaches to the slight differences between Var. iii and iv. The words *Æ day*, *E say way* have (ee) and (eē) in iii, and (æ) in iv. EA' in iii is (iæ) but (éi) in iv. Generally the close sounds (*noo dee*) *no day*, belong together in iii, and the open (*noo dex*) in iv. O' words have (iu) in iii and (iu) in iv. The aspirate in iii is a mild jerk (_h), and in iv a strong jerk (_h), the voiceless jerk (_h) does not occur. These are only rough indications. Generally, iii represents the s. parts of the district, and iv the n. portions. Most of the other points are the same. See the Edenside speech-sounds, p. 539.

VAR. v, WEST CUMBERLAND.

So far as pron. is concerned, Var. v is very slightly different from Var. iv, but comprises what is usually known as Cu. on account of Mr. Dickinson's Glossary. This author, whom I never saw, kindly gave me a version of my cs., but it was superseded by a vv. cs. by Mr. Hetherington for Clifton, close by Workington, where Mr. Dickinson lived. This forms No. 19 of the 22 inter-linear cs. The s. parts are illustrated by a cs. dictated to JGG. from Keswick, No. 18. The n. part, which is important as forming a transition to NN., shewn by the frequent use of the diphthong (éi), for the (ái) of the other parts, was dict. to me by Rev. T. Ellwood, No. 20. The slight differences which exist are best appreciated by inspecting Nos. 18, 19, 20, in the 22 inter-linear cs. already referred to, p. 563.

VAR. vi, SOUTH DURHAM.

This comprises that part of Du. which is s. of the n. *tee* line 7, and differs but slightly from Var. iv. The main difference seems to be in the treatment of the U' words, and here I am unable to give anything very satisfactory. They are generally assumed to have (uu), but there is so much confusion between this and some form roughly like (ə'uu, vuu) that JGG. felt unable to decide what the sound really was, but generally assumed (vuu) as an approximation, using (ə'uu), however, in some cases. Compare the Laithkirk (éuu) in Var. i, p. 538. See the dt. and cwl. for Var. vi, Weardale and Teesdale, given below. The Cu. (i,ái) forms have been worn down to (i,æ, iæ). This form is well illustrated by a full word list for St. John's, Weardale, and Middleton-in-Teesdale, and by a dt. for Stanhope, with full notes comparing three others which I had received.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR CS.

In order to shew the relations, similarity, and differences of these Varieties, and to compare them with the neighbouring D 30 and D 32, the following 22 inter-linear versions have been inserted, chiefly from the remarkable phonetic transcripts made by JGG., for the following places:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| D 30, Var. i. | D 31, Var. ii. |
| 1. Mid Yorkshire. | 4. Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, La. |
| D 31, Var. i. | 5. Coniston, La. |
| 2. Muker or Upper Swaledale. | D 31, Var. iii. |
| 3. Hawes or Upper Wensleydale. | 6. Casterton for KirkbyLonsdale, We. |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 7. Dent, Yo. | 16. Langwathby, Cu. |
| 8. Sedberg, Yo. | 17. Ellonby, Cu. |
| 9. Kendal, We. | |
| 10. Long Sleddale, We. | D 31, Var. v. |
| 11. Orton, We. | 18. Keswick, Cu. |
| | 19. Clifton, Workington, Cu. |
| D 31, Var. iv. | 20. Abbey Holme, or Holme Cultram, Cu. |
| 12. Kirkby Stephen, We. | |
| 13. Crosby Ravensworth, We. | D 32, Var. i. |
| 14. Temple Sowerby, We. | 21. Carlisle, Cu. |
| 15. Milburn, We. | 22. Knaresdale, Nb. |

Introductions.

No. 1. *Mid Yorkshire*, D 30, Var. i, form *a*. This is repeated from D 30, p. 502, where it heads the 10 cs. there given, and is placed at the head of these also, as a standard of comparison to shew the difference between the eastern and western forms of the N. div.

No. 2. *Muker or Upper Swaledale* (:swAAd'l), on the (:swi,á,l), (16 w-by-s. Richmond), D 31, Var. i, form *a*. This was written in 1876 by JGG. from his own observations when employed in the Government Geological Survey of the neighbourhood for some years. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Alderson (b. 1831), of Keld (16 w. Richmond); George Calvert, of Muker (16 w-by-s. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Clarkson, of Reeth (8 w. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Broderick, of Summer Lodge (13 wsw. Richmond); Mrs. Clarkson (then aged and now dead) and her family, of Satron (2 e. Muker); Mr. James Kearton (b. 1808, and since dead) and family, of Muker; Mr. Enoch Atkinson and family, of Arkendale Head (16 wnw. Richmond); Mr. Willey and family, of Arkendale; Mr. Liddle, and many other natives. The cs. has been compared with the living speech, as used by old people in Swaledale generally, and by those above mentioned in particular, at least 20 times, and in Oct. 1877, JGG. considered it to be a fair representative of the dialectal pron. current among the older inhabitants. That of the younger people differs so little from that of the old that it did not seem to require a separate version. The chief difference lies in the use of (*iv*, *iiv*) for (*iu*, *iuu*) as (*siuger*^c) for (*siinger*^c), but this avowed modernism is found only among the younger inhabitants of the lower parts of the dale, when the speech merges into that of D 30. The wording here given has been generally accepted as the best rendering of the sense that it is possible to make without departing considerably from the original text. Some variants are given in the subsequent notes. In the autumn of 1882 JGG., in many visits to me of several hours each, went over all his versions given among these 22, especially Nos. 2, 3, 6 to 17, and we then settled the best palaeotypic forms to be used. These versions therefore, and especially the present No. 2, are, probably, the most exact representations of genuine old peasant pron. in secluded spots that have as yet been obtained. The only versions comparable to them are those due to TH. in the Midland div., but, through circumstances, these had not been so frequently revised and compared with native speakers as JGG.'s. In the notes which follow the 22 interlinear cs. will be found many remarks upon the sounds represented and their notation. See also the cwl. written from the dictation of Mr. E. Alderson, of Keld, mentioned above, given below, Var. i, letter M. JGG. also wrote a translation into this form of speech of the scene between *Lance and Speed* from Shakspeare in the notice prefixed to Part III., but it will not be given here because the example was ill selected.

No. 3. *Hawes* (19 sw. Richmond), for Upper Wensleydale, D 31, Var. i, form *b*. This was pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. Shaw (b. about 1820), Registrar of Births for the district, educated, and many years a schoolmaster there. His (*r*^c, *h*) did not fairly represent the well-marked forms of the outlying parts, but in other respects his pronunciation was identical with that of an old dalesman, who, on the same day that this cs. was dictated, drove JGG.

a long distance, and conversed with him all the time. All the (*ú*,*u*) of this cs. were reported by Mr. Shaw to have been (*á*,*u*) some thirty years previously, or about 1846, as they now are in Dent, No. 6, below. Revised with JGG. in Nov. 1882, by AJE.

The resemblance between the Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale cs. amounts to a practical identity. In order to shew it strongly whenever the word in the second is the same as in the first, I put (,) in No. 3 instead of rewriting the word, but I insert the word if even the difference is minute, as with a long instead of a medial vowel, and write (—) when there is no equivalent in No. 3 to the word in No. 2.

No. 3 is connected with No. 4 by Upper Craven, and n.La. of which I have no cs., and hence I must refer to the cwl. for Var. i, North Craven, given below. Without this explanation the skip of 31 miles, from Hawes to Cartmel, appears tremendous, but practically, as we shall see, pron. remains the same as at Muker and Hawes throughout.

No. 4. *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La., D 31, Var. ii \bar{b} , 12 nw.Lancaster, pal. in May, 1877, by TH., from the dictation of Thomas Thornhill, of Lower Holker, assistant gardener at Holker Hall, b. 1819, native.

This was an early attempt at writing this dialect, and TH. did not properly observe the curious (*á*) forms, which struck him as (*ú*). In later notes (1881), from the same informant, he writes the equivalents of (*má*'k, *bá*'th, *bría*'d, *mía*'st, *spía*'k, *skía*'s, *slía*'t) make, both, broad, most, speak, scarce, slate, which approach to JGG.'s forms. Also at Coniston in (1881) he records (*néa*, *stéan*) no, stone. So that (*á*) must be taken as the normal form, though often mixed up with (*ú*) (see p. 549). Allowing this I find practically the same pron. all over Furness and Cartmel. TH. had examined Cark (where he was fortunate enough to find an old woman b. in 1797), Ulverston, Coniston, and Broughton. The great feature of this variety is the conversion of (*uu*) through (*ú*,*u*) into (*ó*,*u*), a remarkably slight change in reality, and it was through this, I think, that the form (*á*,*u*) was subsequently obtained, see the following cs.

No. 5. *Coniston*. This cs. written in io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster of Coniston, b. ca. 1807, was obtained for me by Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, p. 549, but it was not possible for me to interpret the spelling satisfactorily. After nearly ten years Miss M. A. Bell, a native, at Mr. Ellwood's request, read me the cs. from the original orthography for me to pal. Miss Bell also read to me Mr. Ellwood's wl. See the Furness cwl. Var. ii \bar{b} , below. She belonged to the younger generation of dialect speakers, as Mr. Bowness did to the older. I did not recognise (*i*,*i*) in her pron., but only (*ii*). I did not hear (*a*,*i*), but only (*a*). Miss B. could not recollect having heard *at* before the infin., on this usage see intro. to D 31, Var. iii, p. 550. Her *r* was nearly vocalised when before a consonant or final, but I write (*r*). I assume her *e*, *u* to be (*e*, *u*), but the difference from (*e*, *u*) was not certain. In the fractures I heard (*íá*) or (*íá*), not (*íá*,*i*). I assume also that her *ou* was (*ó*,*u*), but the difference from (*á*,*u*) was not well marked. This represents the same Var. ii \bar{b} as No. 4.

No. 6. *Casterton* (2 ne.Kirkby Lonsdale, 10 se.Kendal, We.), representing Kirkby Lonsdale, D 31, Var. iii, form *a*. Pal. in 1875 by JGG. from the dictation of Mrs. Wilson, b. about 1825, native, who had lived most of her life at Casterton, but had a few years previously removed to Penrith, Cu., where she was keeper of the Castle Bar Tollgate. She spoke most of her home words in this form. She then used (*tə*) *to*, before the infinitive, but in her younger days she had used (*ət*). The participial termination *-ing*, here written (*ən*), is in JGG.'s opinion more nearly (*-ən*), but not at all (*-ən*). The *U* is completely (*á*,*u*). The (*e*,*i*) differs scarcely at all from (*e*).

No. 7. *Dent*, Yo. (12 ese.Kendal, We.), D 31, Var. iii, form *b*. Dent, or Dentdale, is the district, Dent's Town is the town. This cs. was pal. May, 1876, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Parrington, a native of Dent's Town, close to the late Prof. Adam Sedgwick's birthplace (see Part I. p. 289, note 4, and p. 311, note 1), a shoemaker by trade, and then living at Keld in Upper Swaledale (see No. 2, p. 557), where he had kept a small inn for 10 years, and he had with him at the time a young man fresh from Dent. He is not an educated man, and continued to speak much of the Dent dialect at Keld. He still used (*ət*) *at*,

for *to*, before the infinitive in ordinary conversation at times; his (ɛ) is lower than the normal, his (r) distinctly trilled, and not buzzed, he employed (nh) initial for *kn*- in ordinary conversation, and he remembers (w'r-), but not the gutturals, as Prof. Sedgwick did. The participial ending *-ing* is perhaps most intelligibly represented by (ɛn), but there is a sound of (a) running through it as if from the old form in *-ande*, so that it might be written (ɛ¹), thus (-ɛ¹n).

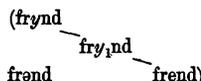
No. 8. *Sedberg* (:sɛbɛr), Yo. (9 e-by-n. Kendal, We.), and *Cautley* (3 n. Sedberg). D 31, Var. iii, form *c*. Sedberg and Dent lie on a peninsula of Yo., which runs into We., and the speech is strictly the same as We., but the *s. hoose* line 6 runs between Sedberg and Dent, so that while Dent says (ha'us), Sedberg says (hɔ'us), which is received as (huus). Sedberg parish contains the curacies of Cowgill, called (:koogil), (the late Prof. Sedgwick's birthplace, see his Memorial cited in Part I. p. 289, note 4), Dent (where his father was minister), Garsdale, Howgill (from which JGG. procured a word list, given below, Var. iii), Cautley (from which JGG. obtained a cs., see note to this No. 8), and Dowbiggin. Although so close to one another, there is not much communication between Cautley and Sedberg. One member of a family in Cautley goes to Sedberg on market days, seldom oftener. Yet the dialects are as nearly as possible identical. Hence only the Sedberg version is here given, which JGG. prefers, and the Cautley variants are subjoined in the notes. The Sedberg version was pal. by JGG. in Sept. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Foster, b. about 1811, an uneducated native of Sedberg, where he lived 35 to 40 years, afterwards passing a few years in Keighley (Lower Craven, Yo., see D 24), and then at Askrigg, Upper Wensleydale, Yo. (5 e. Hawes), and finally had charge of the tollgate *s.* of Penrith, Cu. His (r) is trilled, and (nh) distinct. He uses *at dry*, *at crow*, pars. 11 and 14. The Cautley version was pal. by JGG. in Dec. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Gibson, a farmer, who had picked up learning enough to qualify himself as a National Schoolmaster in Cautley, but who was certainly not an educated man. He was b. near Sedberg, and had lived 18 years at Cautley. JGG. was four to six weeks at Cautley at different times, and can vouch for the general accuracy of the version, but thinks that in cases of difference preference should be given to the Sedberg version as dictated by an older man.

As the Sedberg and Dent versions are so much alike, almost the only real difference being the treatment of the U' words, all words in the Sedberg identical with those in the Dent version will be merely represented by (,), and words omitted by (—).

No. 9. *Kendal*, We., Var. iii, form *d*. Mr. Joseph Brown, of the Grammar School, Kendal, in 1874, sent me a version of this cs. in systematic orthography, which I then transliterated to the best of my ability, aided by long explanations given me by Mr. Brown in answers to questions. In 1876 JGG. was fortunately enabled to pal. Mr. Brown's version from his own dictation, and I can thus present it in the same orthography as the other We. versions. Mr. Brown also gave me a complete wl. in Glossic, but not to confuse the two methods of appreciation I do not give it. Mr. B., as most speakers there, considered his (uu, ii) to be quite pure, and JGG. considered them to be nearly so. Mr. B. writes the glossic equivalent to (li)jam, hii)al, fader, dee, teel, riit, fâiv, spii)æk, gree, kéi, dii)əd, thréi, gréin, huus, spâun, nii)ən) for lame, whole, father, day, tail, right, five, speak, grey, key, dead, three, green, house, spoon, noon. The aspirate is very light (i.n). Mr. Brown used (o) in speech, but he meant (o) as here written. The (r) is always trilled, though very lightly when final. The use of (wr-) as (w'r-) is remembered, but is no longer heard. JGG. was generally content with writing (ee), but sometimes used (ee₁), intermediate between (ee, ɛɛ). Many of these little differences may be mere individualities.

No. 10. *Long Sleddale*, We., Var. iii, form *e*. Long Sleddale is hardly a village, it is a straggling parish, about 6 m. long and 1½ m. wide, on the River Sprint, pop. 173, the southernmost point being about 6 n. Kendal. It must not be confounded with Wet Sleddale (3 ne. Shap Fells) on a branch of the River Lowther, so that the watershed lies between them. Long Sleddale was the native place of Rev. Thomas Clarke, from 1856 Rector of Ormside (2 se. Appleby), who wrote me a version in it, which was subsequently pal. from his dictation by JGG., and revised in October, 1875. All the (r) are trilled. The (ɛi) is nearer

(ii) than in Eden Valley, Var. iv. Mr. Clarke insisted on pure (ii, uu), but I have used (*i*₁, *u*₁) as agreeing better with the actual peasant pron. of the neighbourhood. Of Mr. Clarke's pron. of *friend*, Dr. Murray says: "Mr. Clarke's vowel, instead of seeming to me something between my (*æ*) and southern (*ə*), was something on the *other* side of (*ə*), more *forward* and *higher*—between



There was to me a decided suggestion of (y) in it, but no visible rounding." I have used (fry,nd), and readers will not be far wrong in saying (frynd) or (fri,nd). Mr. C. used (tə) to before the infinitive, but (ət) at is the ordinary preposition used in the district, and (tə) to is refined. Though (sivə) is not as usual as (siv), this pron. is not unfrequent, but they differ in meaning in adjoining districts. Initial (w'r-) seems to exist, Mr. C. gave (w'ra₁q, wra₁q), and even (ūra₁q).

No. 11. *Orton*, We. D 31, Var. iii, form *f*. Orton is 11 ne.Kendal, and 8 sw.Appleby on the s. side of the watershed, a large parish of 24,430 acres and with only 1449 inhabitants, the town having 558. This version was pal. about 1876 by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. James Dover, of Woodfoot, Crosby Ravensworth (6 sw.Appleby), a corndealer, or 'badger,' who has known the dialect from his youth, and has places of business in each of the principal towns around; he is a very observant and intelligent man. This version is believed to be in many respects very accurate, but JGG. heard it only once, revising his writing the next day. The words marked † have the pronunciation indicated by Mr. Dover, with an inserted (*i*₁), see p. 555, but these pronunciations have not been confirmed by other observations made by JGG.

No. 12. *Kirkby Stephen*, We. (9 sse.Appleby), D 31, Var. iv, form *a*. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Joseph Steel, better known as "Joe" Steel, b. 1811, a mason, a native of Kirkby Stephen, where he had lived nearly all his life, a self-educated man, fairly well read in all matters relating to the antiquities and folklore of his district, and well known as a verse writer. From nearly a three years' acquaintance with the Kirkby Stephen dialect, JGG. considers this cs. to be a fair representation of the speech of the older people of that neighbourhood. Mr. Steel does not recognize (nh, kh, kjh, kwh) as occurring in the speech of any old person he can remember.

No. 13. *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. (6 sw.Appleby), representing the country districts s. of Appleby. D 31, Var. iv, form *b*, pal. 1876-8 by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. James Dover (see No. 11, above, corndealer, of Woodfoot (1 s. Crosby Ravensworth), where he has lived all his life. He uses much the same speech as in this version when dealing with the country people. He received a good local education, and was said at that time to write verses. JGG. says he has heard more antiquated forms from old folk that come from the same part, such as initial (wh), and even (mh) after suspended (t'), as (t' mhmium) the moon. In the preface to the Westmoreland version of the *Song of Solomon*, by the Rev. John Richardson (:ritsen), Head Master of Appleby School, written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says, "*ebm-clipt* = *evenly-clipped*. The *bm* sound is very peculiar; confined, perhaps, to our dialect. To give *b* its due power we must close the lips. Well, keep them closed; then carry *m* half-way through the nose, [meaning?] and you will get the exact value of *bm* in *ebm* . . . ; *bm* and *mb* seem to be both simple sounds. We have the *bm* sound in *sedm*, *elebm*, *priest-ebm* (a young student on the *eve* of holy orders), and in many other words, of which *ibm-in'* for *evening* is one of the most noteworthy. *Itt'n-it*, past participle and imperative of the verb *eat*; *tn* is a simple sound partaking of *t* and *n* in the same manner that *bm* is a simple sound partaking of *b* and *m*." On this Prince LLB. remarks in pencil in my copy: "Je suis certain que le *bm* de Westm. est un son simple, mais je ne crois pas avec le traducteur, au *tn* simple." Although Mr. Richardson's explanations are not very lucid, his story of a hackney coachman with a cold in his head, saying *mbove*, leads one to suppose that he meant (b, d₁) or (b, d) with an imperfect nasal resonance. But JGG.

could not hear any difference between this *b* and his own (*b*). Mr. Dover did not remember (*w'r-*), but an old lady with whom JGG. lodged at Hilton (3 e. Appleby), and who could not read, b. about 1816, remembered it well enough; she, however, had never heard (*kh kjh kwh*). Old people of good memories have denied the use of (*kh*) in their time, in Var. iv, and JGG. does not believe in its present existence.

No. 14. *Temple Sowerby*, We. (6 nw-by-w.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *e*, pal. 1876-8, by JGG., from the dictation of the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (the name of her house, standing 1 nw.Temple Sowerby) on the Eden. This was taken down and revised, indeed, rewritten six times, after consultation with Mrs. A. She had lived in this neighbourhood 50 years, and had had abundant opportunity of acquiring a complete knowledge of the dialect. She was the wife of a former High Sheriff of Westmorland. She herself used pure (*ii, uu*), and insisted on JGG. so writing the sounds. But this was a purism on her part, the neighbouring peasantry using only (*í, i, ú, u*), which have therefore been here substituted. She also used the finals (*-th₁r^o, -dh₁r^o*), for which the peasantry say (*-t₁r^o, -d₁r^o*), which are here restored. In other respects her pronunciation has been scrupulously followed.

No. 15. *Milburn*, We. (6 nw.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *d*. JGG. resided a considerable time in Milburn from 1876 onwards, making it his headquarters. The present is the result of two years' observations, and he has been assisted by Mrs. Howe and family, Mrs. Robinson and family, and Mr. Lewis, all life-long residents at Milburn. He believes that this version fairly represents the speech of the folk about Milburn. He considers that pure (*uu, ii*) are quite unknown in the Eden Valley speech, their places being taken by (*ú, u, í, i*), and quite as often by (*ó, u, é, i*). Mrs. Robinson volunteered the remark that JGG. said (*kuu*) in place of (*kó'u*) or (*kú,u*) at a dialect reading there. He has occasionally heard (*nh-, w'r^o-*), as in (*nhok, w'r^oí, it*) knock, wright. The distinction between the verbal noun and present participle is frequently lost, but JGG. thinks they would say (*wi*)v *f₁r₁v₁r^o e weshin te díu ti weshun dex*), we have forever washing—an endless quantity of washing (verbal noun) to do this washing day (treated as present participle, though also a verbal noun). The present participle invariably ends in (*en*), the (*v*) approaching (*a₁*); the adj. form ends in (*in*) and sometimes in (*en*); the verbal noun almost always ends in (*in*). The (*e₁r^o, e₁*) are frequently used theoretically in this and preceding versions, that is, when their presence has once been clearly perceived in one or two words more distinctly pronounced for the unaccented syllables, they are assumed to exist in other unaccented syllables where they had not been uttered with sufficient clearness to be identified. When (*d₁r^o*) ends a word and is preceded by a short vowel, it is usually preceded by a non-dental (*d*), as (*fad₁r^o*), and the tongue may be felt to glide along the hard palate from the (*d*) to the (*d*) position.

No. 16. *Langwathby* (:la,qnbi), e.Cu. (4 ne.Penrith), D 31, Var. iv, form *e*. The late Miss Mary Powley (:pú,uli, :pæ'uli, :puuli), the Cumberland poetess, sister of Mrs. Atkinson (see No. 14, above), when very old sent me this version in her own orthography. She died 23 Dec. 1882, but in 1876-7 JGG. had opportunities kindly given him by her of palaeotyping it from her dictation, and he compared his transcription four times with her. She considered that she gave the pron. of 40 or 50 years previously, or about 1820-30, and says that some old people still speak so, in se.Cu. and n.We., her father's locality, not n.Cu., which belongs to D 32, and is more like Lowland Scotch. Miss Powley, like Mrs. Anderson, dictated pure (*uu, ii*), but these have been altered to (*ú, u, í, i*), as generally heard. She also did not nasalise (*aat*) into (*aa, í*), as usual in the neighbourhood, but this has been left. She remembered (*w'r-, kh-*), also (*nh-*) or (*tn-, tnh-*) for initial *kn*. Some of the words, as door, too, ground, few, washing, etc., have been carefully examined with Miss P. not less than 7 or 8 times. The representative of English *ur, er* is decidedly (*e₁r^o, e₁r^o*), but Thursday, hurt, worm, word, and a few others may be normally (*uu₁r^o, oo₁r^o*). Custom, however, varies, and (*e₁r^o*) is certainly the common old form. Miss P. abridged some passages of the *cs.*, saying in her letter to me 23 Oct. 1873, sending the *cs.*, that there were "many more words in the example than an old Cumberland would have thought of to express his meaning. People who speak

such language are mostly too positive to ask what others *think*. *Why* is not a Cumb. rustic word, nor *notwithstanding*, nor *though*, but 'what for, for aw' *that*. *Fact*, *case*, *point*, *straight off*, and *want* are unheard of by old rural people. *Prate*, and *to sup*, and *quick* in this sense would require a dictionary or be reckoned proper to that alone." Hence the interlinear comparison is often deficient, though it is fuller than Miss P. at first wrote.

No. 17. *Ellonby* (6 nw. Penrith, Cu.), a hamlet in the parish of Skelton, D 31, Var. iv, form *f*. Pal. in 1875-6, and twice re-audited, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Bainbridge, occasionally called (:bænbriɡ), b. about 1845, a linen-draper at Penrith, but a native of Ellonby. He had himself used most of the following expressions, and distinctly remembers hearing the remainder from the old people there. JGG., from his knowledge of the Skelton district, considers this to be a fair representation of the older forms of the home speech of those parts at that time.

No. 18. *Keswick*, Cu., D 31, Var. v, form *a*. Written in systematic orthography, with great care, in 1873, by Mr. William Postlethwaite, then master of the Church of England schools at Wreay (:rɪʃ), (5 se. Carlisle), but knowing the Keswick speech from childhood. He could not send me the speech of Scotch Cumberland, on the borders of which he lived. Fortunately JGG. was able to pal. his cs. from his dict. in Nov. 1875, and from this the present copy is taken. JGG. says he is afraid that it does not adequately represent the old folk speech of 30 years previously, that is, 1845, but it was the oldest that Mr. P. could remember with any approach to certainty. Mr. P. said that pure (uu, ii) were used, but he himself in speaking to the children employed (ú₁u, í₁i), which forms are therefore here written.

No. 19. *Clifton*, Cu. (2 e. Workington). D 31, Var. v, form *b*. Originally written Oct. 1873, in Glossic, by Mr. J. N. Hetherington, son of the late Vicar of Clifton. He had known the dialect for 25 years. This was pal. by AJE., and corrected from dictation in Nov. 1875.

No. 20. *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. (14 sw. Carlisle), on the Waver, which runs into the Solway Frith. This version was originally written in Dec. 1873, in his own orthography, by Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver (2 sw. Coniston-in-Furness), n. La., author of 'Welcome into Cumberland,' and other Cumberland poems, native, and acquainted with the dialect all his life. The same month it was read to me by Mr. Harkness, of Aspatria (:spɪá-trɪ) (12 ne. Workington, and 6 s-by-w. Holme Cultram), who, however, had not been in the district itself. But in July, 1884, I had the advantage of correcting my transcript, although somewhat hastily, from the dictation of Mr. Ellwood himself. Hence this version cannot compare for minute accuracy with those of JGG. The dialect was first recommended to my notice by Mr. Hetherington (see No. 19, above) as a transitional form between central and north Cu. The use of (t) for *the*, and (a)z for *I am*, however, keeps this quite distinct from D 32, Carlisle. This is said by Mr. Ellwood to be the language of Dandie Dinmont in *Guy Mannering*. This gives D 31, Var. v, form *c*.

No. 21. *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, Var. i, form *a*. Although Carlisle lies n. of the n. *tee* line 7, and hence belongs to the North Northern or D 32, yet on account of its close connection with the other Cu. varieties (all of which have (t) *the*), and the general resemblance of the vowel system, which approximates to the Abbey Holme form, No. 20, it seems best to place it here. It is sharply distinguished from the L. form by the use of (u, u₁) for U in place of the L. (æ), without any transitional form. Of this region I had an example written from the dictation of a maidservant fresh from Dalston (4 sw. Carlisle), whose father was from Wreay (:rɪʃ) (5 se. Carlisle), and mother from Southwaite (7 se. Carlisle). But it was one of my earliest attempts to write down dialect from dictation, and I was from the first not satisfied with the result. I had also had no opportunity of revising it. I was therefore glad to have a version from the practised hand and ear of JGG., to whom it was first written, and then dictated by the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (see No. 14, p. 561). Her family was of Scotch extraction, and her parents had always servants from Scotland or the neighbourhood of Carlisle. From these Mrs. A. learned her Carlisle speech, which JGG., from his knowledge of Carlisle, considers to be very fairly repre-

sented in this version. Mrs. A. left (ii, uu) pure as in Scotland, but as JGG. always heard (í,i, ú,u) from old people, I have introduced these forms as in Nos. 14 and 16. It is most probable that they should also be used in No. 20, but I had no authority to make the change. Mrs. Atkinson wrote out this version twice in her own orthography, and frequently revised it with JGG. The final form resulted from a conference between him and me in 1882.

No. 22. *Knaredale*, Nb. (17 e. Carlisle, Cu.), just beyond the n. *tee* line 7. D. 32, Var. i, form *b*. This is the connecting link between Cu. and Nb., but is still decidedly Cu. in character. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, b. about 1826 at Knaredale, where he lived till he was 18; since then he has lived as a miller in the valley of the Eden, Cu., and mainly at Blencarn, a hamlet of the parish of Kirkland, Cu. (8 n-by-e. Penrith), at the foot of Cross Fell. He was not an educated man, but spoke a mixture of the Knaredale and Eden Valley forms of speech, though at home he generally used his native speech. His (í,i) is hardly distinguishable from JGG.'s own (ii), his (ú,u) resembles that in the Eden Valley, No. 12 to 17. His (r) is gently trilled, and is not (r^o). He says (fíúu, biz'nus, rí,iz'n) few, business, reason. He does not remember (nh-, wr-, kjh, kw).h).

. In arranging these 22 cs. interlinearly, care has been taken by leads and rules to indicate the grouping. The complete sets of 22 cs., of which two occur on a page, are separated by rules. The No. 1, which does not belong to this district, and is only placed here for comparison, is separated by a thick lead, from Nos. 2 and 3, which forms Var. i. Then another lead separates these two from Nos. 4 and 5, constituting Var. ii. The other groups are Nos. 6 to 11 or Var. iii, Nos. 12 to 17 or Var. iv, Nos. 18 to 20 or Var. v, and Nos. 21, 22, which belong to the next district. These groups are shewn especially well in the first set immediately below.

TEXT.

0.	1 D 30, V. i.	<i>Mid Yorkshire</i> , pp. 502 and 557.	wat fe
	2 D 31, V. i.	<i>Muker</i> , Yo. p. 557.	wha,t for ^o
	3 D 31, V. i.	<i>Hawes</i> , Yo. p. 557.	hú,u t)íz vt
	4 D 31, V. ii ^b .	<i>Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel</i> , La. p. 558.	wái
	5 D 31, V. ii ^b .	<i>Coniston</i> , La. p. 558.	wat for
	6 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kirkby Lonsdale</i> , We. p. 558.	wha,t for ^o
	7 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Dent</i> , Yo. p. 558.	what faar
	8 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Sedberg</i> , Yo. p. 559.	” ”
	9 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kendal</i> , We. p. 559.	wha,t
	10 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Long Sleddale</i> , We. p. 559.	whái
	11 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Orton</i> , We. p. 560.	what for ^o
	12 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Kirkby Stephen</i> , We. p. 560.	what for ^o
	13 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Crosby Ravensworth</i> , We., p. 560.	what for ^o
	14 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Temple Sowerby</i> , We. p. 561.	what for ^o
	15 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Milburn</i> , We. p. 561.	what for ^o
	16 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Langwathby</i> , Cu. p. 561.	wha,t for ^o
	17 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Ellonby</i> , Cu. p. 562.	wha,t for ^o
	18 D 31, V. v.	<i>Keswick</i> , Cu. p. 562.	hú,u
	19 D 31, V. v.	<i>Clifton</i> , Cu. p. 562.	what for
	20 D 31, V. v.	<i>Holme Cultram</i> , Cu. p. 562.	what fer ^o
	21 D 32, V. i.	<i>Carlisle</i> , Cu. p. 562.	weer ^o for ^o
	22 D 32, V. i.	<i>Knaredale</i> , Nb. p. 563.	what for

1	:djúwen	ez	néeø	duuts.
2	:djwú ₁ en	hez	níá ₁	dú ₁ uts.
3	"	"	"	"
4	:djúen)z		níø	dóuts.
5	:djon	ez	níá	dóuts.
6	:dju ₁ n	he ₁ z	níá ₁	dáuts.
7	:djon _i	hez	níá ₁	dáuts.
8	:djú ₁ en	"	"	dú ₁ uts.
9	:djon _i	hez	níá ₁	dú ₁ uts fo ₁ r.
10	:djon _i	hez	níø	dú ₁ uts.
11	:djwum	hez	níø	dú ₁ uts.
12	:djwú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ ie	dú ₁ uts.
13	:djon	hez	ní	dú ₁ uts.
14	:djon	hez	ní ₁ e ₁	dú ₁ uts.
15	:djú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ ø	dú ₁ uts.
16	:djon	hez	ní ₁ ø	dú ₁ uts.
17	:djú ₁ á ₁ n	hez	ní	dú ₁ uts.
18	:djwú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ a	dú ₁ uts.
19	:djwon	hez	níø	duuts.
20	:djon		:shíø ^o d	hez ní ₁ ø dùts.
21	:djon	hez	nee	dú ₁ uts.
22	:dja ₁ en	hez	nii	dú ₁ uts.

1.	1	wiil,	néeøøø,	jii	en	ím	mø	béeøth	o)øø	laf
	2	wááøø,	nee _i bø ₁ r ^o	jeii	en	hím	mø	bíá ₁ th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	3	"	"	dhéii	"	"	"	"	— —	"
	4	wáí,	:djim,	béøth	ím	en	dhii	mø		laf
	5	wiil	neber,	jii	en	hím	mø	bíáth		laf
	6	wáíøø,	ne ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	dhí ₁ i	en	hím	mee ₁	bíá ₁ th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	7	wááøø,	nebø ₁ r,	jí ₁ i	en	hím	mø	bíá ₁ th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	8	wáíøø,	"	dhí ₁ i	"	"	"	"	"	"
	9	wel, wel,	nebø ₁ r,	dhú ₁ u	en	hím	mø	bí ₁ a,th		lä ₁ f
	10	wááøø,	nebø ₁ r,	dhii	en	hím	me	bí ₁ øth	o)øø	la ₁ f
	11	wáá ₁ øø,	nebø ₁ r ^o ,	dhú ₁ u	en	†hí ₁ ie	mø	bíá ₁ th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	12	wáá ₁ øø,	nee ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hím	mø	bíá ₁ th		lä ₁ f
	13	wáá ₁ øø,	nebø ₁ r ^o ,	dhí ₁ i	en	hím	mø	bí ₁ é,th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	14	wááøø,	nee ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	jí	en	hím	mø	bí ₁ é,th		lä ₁ f
	15	wááøø,	nee ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	jí	en	hím	mø	bí ₁ a,th	øøøø	lä ₁ f
	16	wááøø,	nee ₁ ø ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hím	mø	bíá ₁ th		laf
	17	wáá ₁ øø	nee ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hím	me	bíá ₁ th	o)øø	lä ₁ f
	18	wel	nebø ₁ r ^o ,	dhú ₁ u	en	hím	mø	bíá ₁ th		lä ₁ f
	19	wíiil	neeber ^o	dhú ₁ u	en	hí ₁ i	mø	bíáth		la ₁ f
	20	wéí,	neber ^o ,	juu	en	hím	mø	bíøth		laf
	21	wé'í,	nee ₁ bø ₁ r ^o ,	dhii	en	hím	mø	bíøth		lä ₁ f
	22	wé'ii	nee ₁ ber,	dhú ₁ u	en	hím	me	bí ₁ ø,th	o)øø	laf

1	leik,	et	dhís	níez	e	maan,	wé(s)t	kéer?
2		et	dhís	níúuz	e	máain,	whíá ₁	kaar ^o z?
3		"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4		et	dhís	tíel	e	máin,	bet waa	kíerz?
5		et	dhís	níuz	e	máin,	if í láik, waa	kíáarz?
6		et	dhís	níúuz	e	máin,	wíá ₁	kjee[r ^o z?
7		et	dhís	níúuz	e	máain,	whíe	KEERZ?
8		"	"	"	"	máin,	whíá ₁	kéerz?
9		et	mí	níúuz			whaa	kíe,rz
10		et	dhís	níuz	e	máain,	whoo	kíerz?
11		et	†dhítez	níuz	e	máa,in,	whíi	kí,er ^o z?
12		et	dhís	níúuz	e	máa,in,	whíá ₁	kéer ^o z?
13		et	dhís	níúuz	e	má,in,	whí ₁	keer ^o z?
14		et	dhís	tíé ₁ l	e	máain,	whíé ₁	KEER ^o z
15		et	t'	níúuz	et	ev gáten	ts tel je, whi	KEER ^o z
16		et	tís	stwá ₁ r ^o i	e	máain,	whíe	KEER ^o z
17		et	dhís	stá ₁ r ^o i	e	máa,in,	whí	KEER ^o z?
18		et	dhís	níúuz	e	máain,	whoo	keer ^o z?
19		et	dhís	níúuz	e	má,in,	whoo	keerz?
20		et	dhís	tíel	o	méin,	whíe	kéer ^o z?
21		et	dhís	níúuz	e	mé'in,	whé	keer ^o z?
22		et	dhís	níúuz	e	mé'in,	whí ⁱ	keerz?

1		·dhat)s	néedher	íis	ne	dhís.	
2	fs	·dha,t?	·dha,t)s	needh ₁ r ^o	héíe ₁ r ^o	ne	dhaa,r ^o .
3	—	—	"	"	"	"	"
4			dhat)s	needher	íer	ner	dhía'r.
5			dhat)s	niáder	íier	ne	dhíer.
6			dha,t)s	nee ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	ne	dhíá ₁ r ^o .
7			dhat)s	nee ₁ d ₁ r	hííe ₁ r	n ₁ r	dhíá ₁ r.
8			"	"	hííe ₁ r	"	"
9			dha,t)s	nee ₁ d ₁ r	hííe ₁ r	n ₁ r	dhíá ₁ r.
10			dha,t)s	nee ₁ d ₁ r	hííe ₁ r	n ₁ r	dhííe ₁ r.
11			dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁ r ^o	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
12			dha,t)s	nee ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
13			dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
14	f ₁	·dha,t?	·dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
15	f ₁	·dha,t?	·dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
16			dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
17			·dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	n ₁ r ^o	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
18			dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	nu ₁ r ^o	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
19			dha,t)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r	hííe ₁ r	ner	dhííe ₁ r.
20			dhat)s	nóu ₁ d ₁ r	hííe ₁ r	er	dhííe ₁ r.
21			·dha,t)s	nóudh ₁ r ^o	hííe ₁ r ^o	ne	dhííe ₁ r ^o .
22			dha,t)s	nóudher	hííe ₁ r	er	dhííe ₁ r.

2.	1	jan	kenz	it)s	nubəd	v	féeu	v	mín	et	gaqz	en
	2			it)s			fiúu	v	fwú,ek	əd		
	3				níá,bodí		—	—	—	—		
	4					varə	fa'uu		fôak			
	5				nə,t	meni						
	6				net	sə	me,ni	[fiúu]	fook			
	7				net	sə	meni	[fiúu]	fAAk			
	8				"	"	"		fu,ek			
	9							fiúu	fook			
	10							fiúu				
	11			it	iz'nt	sə	meni		fwú,ek			
	12							fi,úu	fwú,ek			
	13				[nə,t	sə	meni]	fiúu	fwú,ek			
	14							fiúu	fwú,ek			
	15			it)s	nə,t	si	meni		fwú,ek	et		
	16				nə,t	sə	moni	[fiúu]	fwóek			
	17			it)s	nə,t	si	meni		fú,ek	et		
	18							fi,úu	fwú,ek			
	19							fiúu	fwook			
	20				nə,t	mani						
	21							fi'úu	fwooks			
	22								fwook			

1	diiz	əko's	dhə)r	flóutəd	at,							
2	déiiz	b'ko's	dhe)r ^o	lä,ft	a,t,	wí	nhaa		dha,t,			
3	"	b'koz	dhee)r ^o	"	"	"	"		"			
4	dii	b'kooz	dhə)r	laft	ət.							
5	dii	kos	dhə)r	laft	at,	wíi	naa					
6	dí,iz	fə,r ^o	bí,ʝən	läft	at,	'wí,i	naa		dha,t,			
7	déiiz	b'kos	dhə,r	läft	at,	wí	nhaa		dha,t,			
8	dí,iz	fə,r	bí,i,ʝən	"	"	wí,i	"		"			
9	dí,iiz	koz	dhə,'r	läft	ət,	'wí,i	naa					
10	dí,i	fə,r	bin	la,ft	a,t,	wí,i	nhaa		dha,t,			
11	dí,ez	fə,r ^o	bí,i,ʝən	läft	ət,	dhú,u	naa,z		dha,t,			
12	dí,iz	b'kAZ	dhə,r ^o	läft	a,t,	wí	'noo					
13	dí,iz	b'koz	dhə,r ^o	läft	a,t,	'wí,ii	nò		'dha,t			
14	dí,i	əko'z	dhə,r ^o	läft	a,t,	wí	nhaa		dha,t,			
15	dí,iz	fə,r ^o	bí,i,ʝən	läft	ət,	wí	nhoo		dha,t,			
16	dí,iz	əko'z	dhə,r ^o	laft	a,t,	wí	tnhoo,		'et			
17	dí,iz	əko'o'z	dher ^o	läft	a,t,	'wí,i	noo		dha,t,			
18	dí,iz	b'ko'z	dher ^o	läft	a,t,	'wí,i	no,					
19	dí,i	əko'o'z ₁ s	dher	laft	at,	'wí,i	noo,					
20	dii	bikoo'z	dher ^o	laft	at,	wii	noo		dhat,			
21	dí,i	biko'z	dher ^o	läft	a,t,	'wí,i	ken					
22	lí,iv	laq	əftə,r	dher	laft	a,t,	wí	'noo	dha,t,			

1		dí)net	ez ?	préi	wat	sud	mak
2		du)net	wé ?	wha ₁ t	sud		ma ₁ k
3	wéil eníúf.			"	"		"
4							
5		dúent	wé ?	wat	su ₁ d		míák
6		dóoent	wé ?	wha ₁ t	su ₁ d		ma ₁ k)
7		du ₁)net	wé ?	whæt	sud		mek)
8		du ₁)nt	"	"	su ₁ d		"
9		doont	wé ?	wka ₁ t	sud		me ₁ k)
10		dúust	wi ?	wha ₁ t	sud		mí ₁ ék
11		dhú ₁ u	díez.	†whíe	shud		mí ₁ ék
12		du ₁)net	wé ?	what	sud		ma ₁ k
13		du	wi nu ₁ t ?	what	shud	[sud]	ma ₁ k
14	gēeli wíil.			what	sud		mek)
15	gēeli wíil,	·et	du wé ?	wha ₁ t	sud		ma ₁ k
16			du)wé !	wha ₁ t	sud		mak
17	wíil eníúf,	du)wé)nu ₁ t ?		what	sud		ma ₁ k
18		dí ₁ ent	wi ?	wha ₁ t	sud		ma ₁ k
19		dúuent	wé ?	what	sud		mak
20		dív'nt	wi ?	what	sud		mak
21		dív'nt	wi ?	what	sud		mek
22	wíil eníí'ef,	doont	wi ?	what	sud		míí'ek

1	em ?	it)s	nut	varé	laaklinz,	íz	it	nuu ?
2	dhem	défi ?	it)s	ny ₁ n	si va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íizs)t	ná ₁ u ?
3	em ?	—	"	ny ₁ t	—	"	láakli,	íiz)t ?
4			it	iz'nt	varé	láakli	ez	dhe wòd.
5	em ?		it)	s na ₁ t	varé	láakli,	is)t ?	
6	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íiz)t ?	
7	em ?		it)s	net	varé	láakli,	iizs)t	ná ₁ u ?
8	"		"	iz'nt	"	"	"	ná ₁ u ?
9	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ re	láakli,	iz)it ?	
10	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ re	láakli,	is)t ?	
11	em ?		it)s	†n ₁ en		láakli)t	íish)t ?	
12	dhem ?		it)s	ny ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íizs)t ?	
13	em ?		it)s	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íizst ?	
14	em	díi ?	it)s	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	·et is)t	nu ₁ t.
15	em	díi ?	it)s	nín	si va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íiz)t	nu ₁ u ?
16	dhem ?		its	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	·et is)t	nu ₁ t.
17	dhem ?	díi ?	it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íizs)t	ná ₁ u ?
18	dhem ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	láakli,	íiizs)t ?	
19	dhem ?		it)s	nu ₁ t	var ^o e	láakli,	is)t	ná ₁ u ?
20	dhem ?		it	iz'nt	varé	léakli,	is)t ?	
21	tem	díi ?	it)s	nyt	va ₁ re	léakli,	íis)t ?	
22	dhem	díi ?	it	iz'nt	va ₁ re	léakli,	íizs)t ?	

3.	1	usemí·vø	dhíez)æ)z tálínz ø)t' t'réæth	
	2	øwu·vø ₁ r°	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	3	"	dhu ₁ r° " "	fa ₁ ks
	4	bøt úu ₁ ·vø	ít)s ø	fakt wat ái)s
	5	hóu)e·vø	dhúuez ør t'	faks o)t' mater
	6	áu)í ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	7	háu)í ₁ ·vø ₁ r	dhíiz íst)t'	faks
	8	hú ₁ u)í ₁ ·vø ₁ r	" íz) "	"
	9	hú ₁ u)í ₁ ·vø ₁ r	á)z gaan tø tel dhø)t' t'ríúuth	
	10	høwí ₁ ·vø ₁ r	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	11	bú ₁ t	dhú ₁ u naa ₁ z, ·dhøø ₁ r°)z	fa ₁ ks
	12	ú ₁ u ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	dhooz ø ₁ r°)t'	fa ₁ ks
	13	hú ₁ ueb·ø ₁ r°	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	14	øwí ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	dhu ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	15	øwí ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	16	øwí ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	aa)l tel dhø t' r°íits on)t,	
	17	ú ₁ u)í ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	a)l tel dhø t' r°íits on)t,	
	18	øwí ₁ ·vø ₁ r°	dhu ₁ r°)z)t' r°íits on)t,	
	19	høwuu ₁ r	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t'	fakts
	20	eniwee	dhís ís)t' wee ít waz,	
	21	hú ₁ í·vø ₁ r°	dhís íz dhø t'ríúúuth ø dhø	
	22	øwu·vø	dhøø ₁ r°)z)t' dhø	fa ₁ ks ø dhø

1	ø)t' kíúes,	séev	dʒíst ganz tø øn óoed dhø dhuu
2	ø)d' kíá ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod
3	ø)t' "	síá ₁	" "
4	télín ø dhí,	súø	od
5		súø	dʒu ₁ st od.
6	ø)t' kíá ₁ s,	síá ₁	pre)dhø hod
7	ø)t' ma ₁ tø ₁ r,	síø	dʒu ₁ st hod
8	" " kíá ₁ s,	síø ₁	pre)dhø "
9	ø)t' kíá ₁ s,	síá ₁	dʒust hod
10	ø)t' kíúes,	sóov	pre)dhø dʒust
11	ø)t' kíes,	sø	hod)tí
12	ø)t' kíá ₁ s,	síie	dʒu ₁ st hod dhí
13	ø)t' dʒob [bízny ₁ s]	síø	dhu mæd øz wí ₁ l hod dhí
14	ø)t' kíé ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod)tí
15	ø)t' kíá ₁ s	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod)dhí
16		íí	dhú ₁ u)l hod)tí
17		íí	dh)l hod dhí
18		síá ₁ °	dʒu ₁ st hod dhí
19	ø)t' kíá ₁ s,	súøø	dʒu ₁ st hod tí
20		síø	hod øø
21	ma ₁ tø ₁ r°	síø	dʒy ₁ st hod øø
22	kíí ₁ es,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod dhí

1	dhi	dín, frind,	en	bí	wisht	nu	waal	aa)z
2	dhi	nóiz, fr ^o y ₁ n'd,	en	bí	wháai)et,	whel	áai)v	
3	"	" "	"	"	"	t'l	ái)v	
4	dhi	nóiz,				tíl	ái)v	
5	rer	náiz, mon,	en	bi	wáiet,	tél	aa)v	
6	dhi	nóiz, fryy ₁ nd,	en	bí	wháiet,	wháil	ái)v	
7	dhi	nóiz, mi la ₁ d,	en	bí	wháaiet,	wháail	ái)í)v	
8	"	" "	"	"	"	whal	aa)v	
9	dhi	nóiz, fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bí	wháí)et,	t'l	aa)v	
10	whisht,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bí	wháai)et,	wháail	a)v	
11	nóiz	ɸ dhɸ,	en		whisht,	tíl	ái)í	
12	nóiz,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bí	wháaiet,	t'l	aa)v	
13	nóiz,		en	bí	wháaiet,	whel	a)v	
14	nóiz,	min,	en	bí	wháaiet,	whel	a)v	
15	nóiz,	mi la ₁ d,	en	bí	wháaiet,	whel	a)v	
16	nóiz,	mi la ₁ d,	en	bí	wháaiet,	whel	a ₁)v	
17	nóiz,	mi la ₁ d,	en	bí	wháaiet,	whel	aa)v	
18	nóiz,	mi fr ^o e ^o nd,	en	bí	wháiet,	t'l	a)v	
19	nóiz,		en	bí	wháiet,	tél	a)z	
20	nóiz,	mæn,	en		whisht	tíl	a)z	
21	nóiz,	mi ma ₁ n,	en	bí	wháí)et	tíl	ái)v	
22	nóiz,	fr ₁ nd,	en	bí	kwáiet	tíl	ái) bí	

1	díen.	əək	tɸ	budz	nu!
2	gít'n díun.	híiɸ ₁ r ^o s)tɸ!			
3	díun.	"	"		
4	tɸlt dhɸ.	lís'n!			
5	du ₁ n.	lís'n!			
6	duun.	haar ^o ks)tɸ!			
7	du ₁ n.	lís'n náu!			
8	duun.	haarks)tɸ!			
9	du ₁ n.	ha,)thɸ			
10	díu ₁ n.	lís'n nú ₁ u!			
11	díen.	láa ₁)dhɸ.			
12	díun.	las)tɸ nú ₁ u.			
13	díun.	lís)tɸ nú ₁ u.			
14	díun.	láais)tɸ [láai)ɸɸ].			
15	gít'n díun.	láí)ɸɸ.			
16	díun.	láai)ɸɸ.			
17	díun.	lís'n [haar ^o ks)tɸ, láa ₁)ɸɸ].			
18	du ₁ n.	láis)tɸ.			
19	du ₁ n [díen].	híers)tɸ.			
20	dí ₁ an.	lís'n.			
21	díí ₁ un.	láais)tɸ.			
22	díí ₁ en.	lís'n nú ₁ u.			

4.	1	aa)z	síæ̃r	et a	ívd	am	séæ̃,
	2	áái)z	sàr ^o t'n	et)í	híæ̃,r ^o d)təm	se	sí,á, —
	3	,,)z	síúuæ̃ ^o	áái	,,)əm		see, —
	4	wel áí)s	sàrt'n	ái	æ̃rd		
	5	a)z varæ̃	saart'n	a	íæ̃rd	dhəm	see
	6	ai)z	síúuæ̃ ^o	et)a	haar ^o d)am		see, —
	7	áái)z	saart'n	aa	híæ̃,rd)əm		SEE sí,á
	8	,,)z	síúuæ̃	ái	haard	,,)	,, —
	9	aa)z	saart'n	aa	haard)əm		see, —
	10	áái)z	saart'n	et	æ̃	haard təm	see —
	11	aa)m emí,æ̃st	†sír't'n	dhæ̃	telt	mæ̃ sí,æ̃,	†dí,æ̃d
	12	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et	í	haar ^o d dhəm	see, —
	13	áái iz	saar ^o t'n	et	æ̃	haar ^o d təm	see, —
	14	à)z	saar ^o t'n	et	æ̃	haar ^o d təm	se)sí,é, —
	15	a)z	saar ^o t'n	et	æ̃	hí,íæ̃,r ^o d)t' fæ̃wú,æ̃k	SEE, —
	16	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	a)v	haar ^o d)təm		SEE —
	17	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et	aa)v	haar ^o d)təm tel	æ̃bú,ut ít —
	18	aa)z	sar ^o t'n,	et	æ̃	hàr ^o d dhəm	SEE —
	19	aa ₁)z	saart'n	a	haard	dhəm	SEE —
	20	à)z	saart'n	æ̃	haard	dhəm	see —
	21	ái)z	saar ^o t'n	ái	hí,íæ̃,r ^o d təm		see —
	22	ái)z	saart'n	aa)v	hí,íæ̃,rd	dhəm	SEE —

1	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhím	fóok	et	wínt	t,ruf)t'	jal	thíq
2	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	æ̃d	went	t,r ^o ú,u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
3	,,	,,	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	,,	et	,,	thr ^o ú,u)t'	,,	,,
4			t' séum	fôak	see	æ̃z	næ̃'u ít	AA ¹ .	
5	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhør,	fóok	et	went	thruu	o)t'	thíq
6	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhør ^o	fóok	et	went	thrú,u)t'	hí,á,l	djòb
7	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhem		et	went	thrú,u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
8	,,	,,	dhæ̃ ₁ r	fæ̃wú,k	,,	,,	,,	,,	djòb
9			dhem		et	went	thrú,u ít		
10	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhør	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thrú,u)t'	hí,á,l	
11	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et		níúu)t'	híæ̃l	thíq
12	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhooz	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
13	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u)t'	hí,é,l	djòb
14	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u)t'	hí,é,l	thíq
15	su ₁ m	æ̃	them	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
16	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
17	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fú,æ̃k	et	kent)t'	r ^o í,its	æ̃)t'	híæ̃l
18	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thr ^o æ̃'u)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
19	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r	fæ̃wú,æ̃k	et	went	thrú,ut)t'	hí,á,l	thíq
20	su ₁ m	æ̃	t'	fóok	et	ní,u	AA	æ̃bút	ít
21	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r ^o	fæ̃wú,k	et	went	thr ^o ú,u dhæ̃	hí,æ̃l	thíq
22	su ₁ m	æ̃	dhæ̃ ₁ r	fæ̃wú,k	et	kent	dhæ̃	hí,æ̃l	djòb

1		frɛ)t'fost		dhɛsɪ'lz,
2	dhø,r ^o sel'z	s fr ^o e)d'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st,	
3		fr ^o e)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
4				
5		frɛ)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
6	dhø,r ^o sel'z	fr ^o e)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st.	
7	dhø,r ^o sel'z	frɛ)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st.	
8				
9	dhø ^o sel'z	frɛ)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st,	
10	kønsaarn dhø ^o sel'z	frɛ)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st,	
11		fr ^o e)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st	†dhø ^o sɪl'z,
12		fr ^o e)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
13	dhø ^o sel'z	fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st,	
14		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
15		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
16		fr ^o e)t'	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
17		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
18		fr ^o e)t'	fu ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
19		frɛ)t'	va ₁ r ^o ø fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
20		frɛ)t'	fúvø ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z—
21		fr ^o e) dhø	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,
22		frɛ dhø	fø ₁ r ^o st	dhø ^o sel'z,

1	·dhat a díd	séuf	vníúf.
2	dha ₁ t díd)i.		
3	áai díd dha ₁ t	síá ₁ f	vníúuf.
4			
5	es a du ₁ d	síáf	vnú ₁ f.
6	dha ₁ t díd)i	síá ₁ f	vnú ₁ f.
7	·dhat díd)i	síúuø ₁ r	vnú ₁ f.
8	” ” ”	síá ₁ f	”
9	éoi,	síá ₁ f	vnú ₁ f, aa ·díd.
10	dha ₁ t a du ₁ d,	síúuø ₁ r	vnú ₁ f.
11	dha ₁ t du ₁ d)i	síu ₁ r ^o	vníúf.
12	dha ₁ t díd)i	síúuø ₁ r ^o	vníúf.
13	·dha ₁ t du ₁ d)i	síúuø ₁ r ^o	vníúf.
14	·et du ₁ d)i,	síe ₁ f	vníúf.
15	a du ₁ d ·dha ₁ t nú ₁ u,	síá ₁ f	vníúf.
16	·et du ₁ d)i,	síá ₁ f	aníúf.
17	·et du ₁ d)i,	síá ₁ f	vníúf.
18	dha ₁ t du ₁ d)i,	síá ₁ f	vníúf.
19	·et du ₁ d)a ₁	síáf	vnú ₁ f.
20	·et ·díd)i!		
21	·dha ₁ t díd)i	sy ₁ uø ^o	vníúf.
22	áai díd ·dha ₁ t	síí ₁ ef	vníí ₁ ef.

5.	1	et t'	juuqis	sun	izse'l	v	gríist
	2	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gə ₁ r ^o t
	3	,, ,,	ju ₁ qst	baar _o n	,, ,,	,, ,,	gr ^o fiit
	4	et	juqest	lād	ítsel,	v	gart
	5	at t'	ju ₁ qkst	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ rt
	6	et t'	ju ₁ qst	la ₁ d	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	7	et t'	ju ₁ qst	baarn	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ rt
	8	,, ,,	,,	la ₁ d	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
	9	et t'	ju ₁ qst	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ rt
	10	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baarn	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ rt
	11	et t'	juqest	baar ^o n	hízzsel'	v	gr ^o i ₁ it [gr ^o i ₁ t, gəə ₁ r ^o t]
	12	et t'	ju ₁ qist	baar ^o n	hízzsel'	v	gr ^o i ₁ it
	13	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hízzsel'	v	gr ^o i ₁ it
	14	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	15	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	et)s v	g ₁ jəə ₁ r ^o t
	16	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	g ₁ jəə ₁ r ^o t
	17	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	18	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hízzsel'	v	gr ^o i ₁ it
	19	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gə ₁ rt
	20	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	griit
	21	et dhə	ju ₁ qizst	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	gr ^o i ₁ it
	22	et dhə	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hízzsel'	v	grí ₁ it

1	lad v	naan	iivər	óoəd,	kend	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
2	la ₁ d v	néiin	jiia ₁ r ^o	aad,	kent)iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis	
3	,, —	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	,, ,,	
4	lād v	náin,	—	—	nə'u	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
5	lad v	naín	jiivər	aald,	níuu	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	tuq
6	la ₁ d	náin	jiia ₁ r ^o	aald,	né,u)t'	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis	
7	la ₁ d	náaín	jiia ₁ r	aad,	kent	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r	vóis
8	,, v	,, ,,	,, ,,	aald,	,, ,,	,, ,,	tu ₁ q	
9	lād v	náin	,, ,,	,, ,,	kent	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r	vóis
10	la ₁ d	náaín	jiia ₁ r	aald,	nhéuu)t'	fä ₁ də ₁ r	vóis	
11	la ₁ d v	náa,ín,	,, ,,	,, ,,	híi tkí,ent)t'	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ q	
12	la ₁ d v	náa,ín,	,, ,,	,, ,,	kent	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
13	la ₁ d	náa,ín	jaə ₁ r ^o	ool'd	kent	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
14	la ₁ d	ná,ín	jaə ₁ r ^o	aal'd,	kent	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
15	la ₁ d v	náa,ín	jiia ₁ r ^o	aal'd,	kent	iz	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
16	la ₁ d v	náa,ín	,, ,,	,, ,,	kent	t'	fä ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
17	la ₁ d v	náa,ín	jiia ₁ r ^o	oold,	kent	t'	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
18	la ₁ d v	náaín	,, ,,	,, ,,	níú,u	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
19	lā ₁ d v	náin	,, ,,	,, ,,	kent	t'	fa ₁ də ₁ r	vóis
20	lad	néin	iivər ^o	ool,	níu	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ q
21	la ₁ d v	ne'in	jaə ₁ r ^o	aal,	kent	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r ^o	vóis
22	la ₁ d v	ne'in	jiia ₁ r	aal'd,	kent	iz	fa ₁ də ₁ r	vóis

1	et	jans,	dhuf		it	'waas	séikén	e	kwiié	
2	ed	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AAI	it	'waz	si		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	láik
3	et	„	„	AA	„	wəz	„		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	—
4	es	síen	ez	i	àrd	it,	ev	it	wòs	sé
5	et	jans,	fər	o)t'		'wos	súá		kwiiér	
6	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
7	et	jans,	fər	AA	it	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r	
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„		„	
9	et	ja ₁ ns,	i	spát	en	it	bíi)	en	sé	kwiiə ₁ r
10	et	jans,	fə ₁ r	oo	t)	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r	
11	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r	aa						
12	et	jans,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
13	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
14	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	si		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
15	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	si		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	láik
16	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
17	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	waz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
18	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	'oo	t)	wəz	sé		kwiiə ₁ r ^o	
19	et	jans,	fər ^o	oo	it	'wa ₁ z	síé		kwii ₁ er	
20		fər ^o		AA	it	waz	síé		kwii ₁ er ^o	
21	et	jens,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	wəz	sé		u,qkət	l'ik
22	et	jens,	fər	AA	t)	wəz	sé		kwii ₁ er	

1	skwéekín	jan	laak,	en	'a)d	t ₁ rust	'im	
2	en	skwíiki,		en	e	wəd	t ₁ r ^o y ₁ st	im
3	en	skwíiek'n,		„	áa)	d	„	„
4	en	skwiikín,		en	á)	d	t ₁ rust	ím
5	en	skwíákín	láik,	en	a	wod	bak	'əm
6	en	skwí ₁ ikín,		en	áa)	d	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím
7	en	skwí ₁ iekén,		en	aa	wad	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím
8	„	skwí ₁ ikín,		„	'áa)	l	epo'd)im,	hí ₁ i)z
9	en	skwí ₁ iekén	láik,	en	a)	d	epo'd	it
10	en	skwí ₁ eki,		en	a)	l	epo'd	im,
11	hí ₁ i	skwí ₁ ekt	sí ₁ E.	aa	wəd	tí ₁ ek	em	hí ₁ i)l
12	en	skwí ₁ iki,		en	aa)	l	epo'd	em,
13	en	skwí ₁ iki,		en	aa)	l	epo'd	im
14	en	skwí ₁ iki,		en	a)	wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	'hím
15	en	skwí ₁ iki,		en	e	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
16	en	skwí ₁ iekén,		en	e	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
17	en	skwí ₁ iki ₁ n,		en	aa	wa ₁ d	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
18	en	skwí ₁ ikín,		en	a	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	'hím
19	en	skwí ₁ iekén,		en	a)	d	t ₁ ru ₁ st	'hím
20	en	skwiikén,		en	aa	wad	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím
21	en	skwiikén,		en	á)	l	epo'd	im
22	—	skwí ₁ ikín,		en	á ₁ i	'wad	t ₁ ry ₁ st)em	

1	tə	spí:ək	tʁéevθ	v	oni	dee,	ái,	maɾi
2	tə	spéik t'	tʁ ^o iúuth		a ₁ ni	dee,		dha ₁ t
3	„	spí:ək „	„	„	„	„		„
4	tə	spí:ək t'	tʁúuth	v	eni	reet.		
5	tə	spí:ək t'	tʁiúuth		eni	dee,—		dhat
6	v	spí:ik t'	tʁiúuth	e ₁ ni	dee ₁ ,	ee ₁ i,		·dha ₁ t
7	v	spí:ək t'	tʁiúuth	eni	dee ₁ ,	ái ₁ i,		·dhat
8	a	lad v|spí:ik)t'	„	„	„	ái ₁ i,		—
9	wəd	spí:ik t'	tʁiúuth	·eni	dee,	aa,		
10		spí:ək)t'	tʁiúuth	eni	dee ₁ ,	éei,		dha ₁ t
11	v	spí:ək)t'	tʁiúuth	v	eni	taa ₁ m,		·v
12		spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o ú,uth	ani	dee ₁ ,			v
13		spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o iúuth	oni	dee,			·v
14	tə	spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o iúuth	eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,		·ma ₁ r ^o i
15	tə	tel)t'	tʁ ^o iúuth	eni	dee,	ee ₁ i,		
16	tə	spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o iúuth	oni	dee,			·v
17	tə	spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o iúuth	eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,		
18	tə	spí:ik)t'	tʁ ^o iúth	eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,		
19	tə	spí:ik)t'	tʁiúuth	eni	dee,	ái,		
20	tə	təl)t'	tʁu,th	vni	dee,			v
21	tə	tel dʰe	tʁ ^o iúuth	oni	dee ₁ ,			·dha ₁ t
22	tə	spí:ik dʰe	tʁiúuth	oni	dee ₁ 'e,	ái		

- 1 v ·wad.
 2 vəd wa₁d)i.
 3 — „ „
 4
 5 a wəd.
 6 á₁i wəd.
 7 a wəd.
 8 „ „
 9 ·wa₁d.
 10 a wəd.
 11 — wəd)i!
 12 wəd)i!
 13 wəd i.
 14 wəd i.
 15 a wəd ·dha₁t nu₁u.
 16 wəd)i!
 17 aa wa₁d!
 18 a ·wad!
 19 a₁ ·wa₁d!
 20 wəd)i!
 21 wəd)i!
 22 wəd ·dha₁t nu₁u.

6.	1	en)t'	óovd	wumən	ɜse:l	ɛl	təl	onɪ	jan
	2	en)d'	àld	bodi	hə,r _o se:l	'l	tel	a ₁ ni	
	3	,,)t'	aad	wumən	,,	,,	,,	,,	
	4	en)t'	aad	wumən	ɜrsel	wud	tel	enɪ	
	5	en)t'	aald	wu,mən	ɜrsel	wɪl	tel	enɪ	
	6	en)t'	aald	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	e ₁ ni	
	7	en)t'	aald	wumən	hə,rsel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	8	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	ɛl	,,	,,	,,
	9	en)t'	aald	wumən	hə,rsel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	10	en)t'	aald	wumən	hə,rsel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	11	en)t'	aald	wumən	†hə,r ^o sɪ,ɛl	ɛd	tel	enɪ	ja ₁ n
	12	en)t'	AAld	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	anɪ	
	13	en)t'	òld	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	onɪ	
	14	en)t'	AAld	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	15	en a)z	síuu ^o r ^o et)	ool'd bodɪ	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	16	bət t'	AAld	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	onɪ	
	17	en)t'	oold	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	enɪ	ja ₁ n
	18	en)t'	oold	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	19	a ₁ n)t'	áud	wumən	hərsel'	'l	tel	enɪ	
	20	en)t'	ool	wu,mən	ɜrse:l	'l	tel	anɪ	
	21	en dhe	AAld	wumən	hə,r ^o sel'	'l	tel	onɪ	
	22	en dhi	AAld	wumən	hərsel'	'l	tel	enɪ	

1	o)ɜ	ɛt	lafɜ	en	fíóuts	nuu,	en	təl	o ɜ
2	o)ɜ	ɛd	lǎfs	nú,u			en	shə)l	tel) ɜ
3	,,	ɛt	,,	,,			,,	—	,, ,,
4	ə)ɜ	ɛt	lafɜ	nóu					
5	o ɜ	ɛt	laf	nóu			en	tel	ɪt
6	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	ná,u,			en	te,l	ɜ
7	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	ná,u,			en	tel	ɜ
8	,,	,,	,,	nú ₁ u			,,	,,	,,
9	o)ɜ	ɛt)s	lǎfɛn	nú ₁ uu,			en	tel	ɜ
10	o)ɜ	ɛt	la ₁ fs	nú ₁ uu,			en	tel	ɜ
11	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	wəd	tel)ɜ
12	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	tel)ɜ	
13	o ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	tel)ɜ	
14	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	shə)l	tel)ɜ
15	o)ɜ	ɛt)s	gaan to lǎf	nú ₁ u,			en	shə)l	tel)ɜ
16	o)ɜ	ɛt	lafɜ	nú ₁ u,			en	tel)ɜ	
17	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	tel)ɜ	
18	o)ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u			en	tel	ɜ
19	on ɜ	ɛt	lafɜ	nú ₁ u			en	tel	ɜ
20	o)ɪ	ɛt)s	lafɛn	nuu —áɪ,	en			tel	ɪ
21	o ɜ	ɛt	lǎfs	nú ₁ u,			en	tel	ɜ
22	o ɜ	ɛt	lafɜ	nú ₁ u,			en	tel	ɜ

1	st ^r iist	of ɛn ɪnd, tiiɐ,	ɛduu't	mɪtʃ	bo,dɛr	
2	st ^r o ^o eeit	of	tíuu	wi)ú,ut	mɪk'l	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o
3	r ^o iit	„	„	widhú,ut	mɪtʃ	„
4	ɛt jans			wi)óut	ɛni	bodhɛr
5	riit	ɔf hand,	tíu,	wi)óut	mɪtʃ	bodɛr
6	st ^r o ^o eeit	ɛwee ₁		wi)áut	mɪtʃ	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o ,
7	st ^r ek	ɔɔf		widhúut	ɛni	bo,dɛ ₁ r
8	st ^r eeit	ɛwee ₁		widhú,ut	„	„
9	st ^r ek	ɛWEE	ɛn ɔɔ	wi)ú,ut	ɛni	bo,dɛ ₁ r
10	st ^r ek	ɛwee		wi)ú,ut	mɪk'l	bo,dɛ ₁ r
11	at jans,			wi)ú,ut	mɪ,ɛkɛn ɛni	bwúu,ɛ,dɛ ₁ r
12	st ^r ak	ɛwee ₁	tíu,	widú,ut	mɪk'l	bo,dɛ ₁ r
13	st ^r ok	ɛWEE	tíu,	wi)ú,ut	mɪk'l	bod,dɛ ₁ r ^o ,
14	ɛt jans		tíu	wɛdhú,ut	mɪk'l	bod,dɛ ₁ r ^o
15	st ^r o ^o eeit	of	tíu	wɛdhú,ut	mɪk'l	bod,dɛ ₁ r ^o
16			tíu	widú,ut	mɪk'l	bod,dɛ ₁ r
17	st ^r ok	ɛWEE		widú,ut	mɪk'l	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o
18	st ^r o ^o eeit	of,	tíu	widú,ut	mɛ,tʃ	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o ,
19	st ^r iist	of	ɛn oo,	ɛdú,ut	mɛ,tʃ	bo,dɛ ₁ r,
20	riit	ɛwee	ɛn oo	ɛdu,ut	mɛ,tʃ	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o
21	ɛt jens		ty ₁ ú,u	widhút	mɪk'l	bo,dɛ ₁ r ^o
22				widhú,ut	mɪk'l	bodhɛr

1	ɛn jɪ)l	bɪ)t	aksɪn	iv ɛr, oo !	wi)net
2	if jɪ)l	nobet	ǎ,s)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	âi,	wa ₁ d'nt
3	„	„	„	oo !	wid'nt
4	iv jə)d		ɛks)ɛr.		
5	if jɪ)l	nobet	ɛks)ɛr,	weetʃɛ ?	
6	if jɪ)l	nobet	e ₁ ks)ɛ ₁ r ^o	éé,i	wee ₁ nt
7	if jɪ)l	nobet	ɛks)ɛ ₁ r,	áá)jɪ	wad'nt
8	„	„	„	áá)z	síúuɛr
9	if jɛ)l	nobet	e ₁ ks)ɛ ₁ r,	máí	wəɛ ₁ rd, 'weent
10	if jɛ)l	nobet	ɛks)ɛ ₁ r,	áá,	wee ₁ nt
11	ɛbú,ut it,	if juu)d	nobet	ɛɛsh)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	dha,t
12	if jɪ)l	nobet	ǎs)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	áá)jɪ	
13	if jɪ)l	nobet	ǎs)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	áá,i)jɪ	wad'nt
14	if jɛ)l	nobet	ǎs)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	áá,i)jɪ	
15	óuu ₁ r ^o t' djob,	if jɛ)l	nobet	ǎs)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	'ɛt
16	if jɪ)l	nobet	a ₁ ks)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	'ɛt	
17	if jɪ)l	nobet	a ₁ ks)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	dha,t	
18	if jii)l	nobet	ǎs)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	oo wo)nt	
19	if jɛ)l	nobet	aks)ɛr,	á,i) dhat	
20	if jɛ)l	nobet	as)ɛr	—	at
21	if jɪ)l	nobet	a ₁ ks)ɛ ₁ r ^o ,	'dha,t	
22	if jɪ)l	nobet	a ₁ ks)ɛr,	ɛ'i	woont

- 1 shə ?
 2 shə₁ ?
 3 „
 4
 5
 6 shə₁ ?
 7 shə₁ ?
 8 shi wɪl.
 9 shə₁ ?
 10 shə₁ ?
 11 shi wəd !
 12 shə wad dha,t !
 13 shə₁ ?
 14 shə wɪl dha,t nʌ,u.
 15 wɪl shə.
 16 wɪl shə.
 17 wu,l shə₁, máa,i saq ! bət woont shə₁ !
 18 shi ?
 19 wɪl)shə !
 20 wu,l shi !
 21 shi wɪl !
 22 shə.

7.	1	líastɪnz		shə)d	tɪlɪn	o	ɪt	tə	ˈméi	wɪn	aa
	2	a ₁ ni	wee	shə ₁	tɛld	méii	sí,á ₁ ,		when)i		
	3	„	„	shə	„	„	„	„	„	á ₁ i	
	4	líast		shí	tɛlt	mii					
	5	eni	weez	shí	tɛlt	ɪt	mii		wɛn	a	
	6	e ₁ ni	wee ₁	shí	tɛ,lt	ˈmí,i	dha,t		whe ₁ n	á ₁ i	
	7	eni	wee	shə ₁	tɛld	mí,i	sí,á		whɛn	a	
	8	„	wee ¹	shí	„	„	„	„	„	áa ₁ e	
	9	ɛt lí,iist		shí	tɛlt	ˈmí,ii	ɪt		whɛn	aa	
	10	síúuə,r enu,f		shí	tɛlt	ˈmii	twóo	ɜ	thrí,i		
	11			shí ₁ i	tɛlt	mí,i			whɛn	áa ₁ i	
	12	úu ₁ ˈvə ₁ r ^o ,		shə	tɛlt	mí,i	sí,i _ɜ		whɛn)	i	
	13	eni	wee,	shə	tɛlt	ˈmí,ii	sí,i _ɜ		whɛn)a		
	14	eni	wee,	shə	tɛlt	ˈmí,i			whɛn)a		
	15	eni	wee,	shə	tɛlt	ˈmí,i	sí,i _ɜ		whɛn)a		
	16	oni	wee	shí	tɛlt	ˈmí,i	ɪt		whɛn)a		
	17	eni	wee	shə ₁	tɛlt	ˈmí,ii)t			whɛn)e		
	18	eni	wee	shí	tɛlt	ˈmí,i	sí,a ^o		whɛn)a		
	19	eni	wee	shí	tɛlt	ˈmí,ii	ɪt		whɛn)a		
	20	eni	wee	shí	tɛlt	ˈmii			whɛn)a		
	21	ɛt oni	r ^o e't	shə	tɛlt	ˈmí,ii			whɛn)á ₁ i		
	22	oni	wee'e	shə	tɛlt	mí,i	sí,i		whɛn)á ₁ i		

1	akst ɛr ɛ	téɛtɾi	taamz	óu)ɛr ɛd)shɛ
2	ä ₁ st)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twí,á ₁ thr ^o éi	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o , dha,t ɛd
3	" "	twí,á ₁ thr ^o i,ii	" "	" — —
4		tuu ɛr thrii	táimz	óuɛr,
5	ɛkst ɛr	túu ɛr thrii	táimz	úɛr, dhat shi du,d
6	e ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o	túu ɛ thrí,i	táimz	áu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
7	ɛkst)ɔ ₁ r,	túu ɛ thrí,i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r, dha,t
8	" "	" " "	táa'imz	" —
9	ɛkst)ɔ ₁ r			
10	táa'imz óu)ɔ ₁ r	when ɛ ɛkst)ɔ ₁ r,		
11	ɛsh,t)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twí,ɛ thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óur ^o ɛbú,ut it,
12	ás,t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,ie thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
13	ás,t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,ie thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
14	ás,t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,ɛ thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
15	ás,t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,ɛ thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
16	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,ie thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
17	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí,a ₁ thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óuɔ ₁ r ^o
18	ast)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	tɛ'ù ɛ thr ^o i,i	táa'imz	óur ^o
19	akst)ɛr,	twí,ie ɛr thrí,i	táimz	duɛr
20	ast)ɛr ^o ,	tuu ɛr ^o thr ^o ii	téimz	óuɛr ^o
21	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twéɛ thr ^o ii	té'imz	óuɛr ^o ,
22	a ₁ kst)ɛr	twí,ie thrí,i	té'imz	óuɛr

1	ɛn a konséevts ɛt shɛ óud)'nt tɛ bi raq ɛ saaken ɛ				
2	díd shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn shí	'su,d)'nt bi fâr ^o	'r ^o a,q	
3	" "	" shɔ ₁	" "	" "	" "
4	ɛn wí wad)'nt tak ɛr tɛ		bi	raq	
5	ɛn shii sw ₁ d)'nt bi			raq	
6		ɛn shí,i	su,d)'nt bi	raq	
7	díd shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn shí,i	sa,d)'nt bi	w'raq	
8	" "	" "	su,d)'nt "	'raq	
9		ɛn 'shí,i	su,d)'nt bi	raq	
10	du,d shí,	ɛn 'shii	sud)'nt bi	w'ra,q	
11	'ɛt i díd,	ɛn shí,i	kud)'nt bi	'ra,q	
12	díd shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn shí,i	óut)'nt tɛ bi	'ra,q	
13	dha,t du,d shɔ ₁ ,	['shí,i] ɛn shɔ ₁	'shud)'nt bi si fâr ^o	r ^o á,q	
14	'ɛt du,d shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn 'shí,i	óut)'nt tɛ bi faar ^o	r ^o aq	
15	du,d shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn a)z	síúu, r ^o ɛt shɛ	óut)'nt tɛ	
16	'ɛt du,d shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn shí,i	'sud)'nt bi	w'r ^o a,q	
17	du,d shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn shɔ ₁	'sud)'nt bi	'r ^o a,q	
18	du,d shí,	ɛn shí,i	sud)'nt bi	r ^o a,q	
19	ɛt du,d shɛ,	ɛn shí,i	su,d)'nt bi	raq	
20	ɛt díd shí,	ɛn 'shí,i	su,d)'nt bi	r ^o aq	
21	'ɛt díd shɔ ₁ ,	ɛn 'shí,i	sud)'nt bi fa'r ^o	'r ^o aq	
22	díd shí,	ɛn shí	sud)'nt bi si far	'raq	

1	míi'et	ma,te,r	ez	dhís,	uu)s)t	ʒe	thíqk?
2	ebú,ut	sáik)ʒ	thíq	ez	·dhís,	wha,t	thíqk ʒíi?
3	on	„ „	póint	„ „		what	dəz dhú,u
4		in	ʒ	thíq	ʒ	dhís	súert.
5		in	sík	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís, dʒi naa?
6	áuu,r°	sík	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dəz dháu
7	ebáut	sík	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhat,	whət dəz dháu
8	óu,ʒ,r	„ „	„ „	„ „	dhís,	„ „	·dhú,u
9	ebú,ut	sík	ʒ	thíq	ez	·dhís,	su,d shí thíqk ʒe?
10	óu,ʒ,r	sík	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	sud shí? wha,t
11	ebú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dəz dhú,u
12	ebú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dəz dhú,u
13	ebú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís'n,	what dəst dhə
14	on	sek	ʒ	póint	ez	dhís'n,	what thíqk ʒíi?
15	bi si	va,r°e	faar°	r°aq	ebú,ut	suk	ʒ ma,t,t,ʒ,r° ez dhís'n,
16	ebú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	tis,	wha,t dəz)te thíqk?
17	ebú,ut	sik	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhísen,	wha,t də ʒEE thíqk?
18	ebú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	what də ʒee thíqk?
19	on	sek	ʒ	póint	ez	dhís,	what thíqk)te?
20	ebút	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhat,	su,d shí, thíqk)ʒe?
21	en	sek	ʒ	póint	ez	·dhís,	what thíqk ʒíi?
22	abú,ut	sek	ʒ	thíq	ez	dhís,	what də ʒEE thíqk?

-
- 1
 - 2
 - 3 thíqk?
 - 4
 - 5
 - 6 thíqk?
 - 7 thíqk?
 - 8 „ ebú,ut it?
 - 9
 - 10 də ʒíi thíqk?
 - 11 thíqk ebú,ut it?
 - 12 thíqk?
 - 13 [də ʒee] thíqk?
 - 14
 - 15 what də ʒEE thíqk ebú,ut it?
 - 16
 - 17
 - 18
 - 19
 - 20
 - 21
 - 22

8.	1	wiil,		ez aa wɛ	seejɛn	·shii)əd
	2	wáí)ɛ,	dha ₁ n,	ez)i	wɛz seejɛn	shu)wəd
	3			„ áai	„ „	„ wəd
	4	wáí		ez áí	wɛz seejɛn,	·shii)d
	5	wíil		ez áí	wɛz seejɛn	·shii
	6	wel		ez áí	wɛz te ₁ lɛn	dhe shí ₁ i
	7	wáai)ɛ,	dhan,	ez aa	wɛz seeʔɛn,	shí ₁ i
	8	vare wiil,	„	„ áa ₁ i	„ te ₁ lɛn	„ „
	9	va ₁ re wiil,		ez aa	wɛz seejɛn,	shí ₁ i)d
	10	va ₁ re wíil,		ez)ɛ	wɛz seejɛn,	shə)d
	11	wháa ₁ i		ez áa ₁ i	wɛz te ₁ lɛn	dhe, ·shí ₁ i
	12	wáai)ɛ	dha ₁ n,	ez a	wɛz seejɛn,	shu)wəd
	13	wáa ₁ i)ɛ	dha ₁ n,	ez a	wɛz ʔelɛn	ɾe shu [shí ₁ i]
	14	wáai)ɛ,		ez a	wɛz seeɛn	shə ₁
	15	wáa ₁ i)ɛ,	dha ₁ n,	ez a	wɛz seeɛn,	·shu
	16	wáai)ɛ,		ez aa	wɛz ʔeeɛn	shu
	17	wel,	dhen,	ez a	wɛz seeɛn,	shu
	18	wel		ez aa	wɛz see ^o n,	·shí ₁ i
	19	wíil		ez a	wɛz seeɛn,	shí ₁ i)d
	20	wéi		ez aa	waz seejɛn,	·shii)l
	21	wel		ez áí	wɛz seejɛn,	shí ₁ i
	22	wé'i	dʒy ₁ 'əst	ez áí	wɛz seejɛn,	shu

1	tɪl	ɾe	béuth,	uugets	ɛn	wíɪr	ɛn	wɪn	it
2	·tel	dhe		hú ₁ u		whaar ^o	ɛn	when	
3	„	„		„	ɛn	„	„	„	
4	tɪl	ɾe		óu		wàr	ɛn	wɛn	
5	wod	tɪl	ɾe	óu		waar	ɛn	wɛn	
6	wad	te ₁ l	dhe	háu	ɛn	whe ₁ n	ɛn	whaar ^o	
7	wəd	tɪl	dhe	háu		whaar	ɛn	when	
8	wad	„	„)t' s ₁ á ₁ m,	hú ₁ u		„	„	„	
9		tɪl	ɾe	hú ₁ uu,		whaar	ɛn	when	
10		tel)ɾe		hú ₁ u,		when	ɛn	whaar	
11	wud	tel	dhe	hú ₁ u	ɛn	whí ₁ ɾ ₁ r ^o	ɛn	when	
12		tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	ɛn	when	
13	wəd	·tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	wheer ^o	
14	wəd	·tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u	ɛn	whaar ^o	ɛn	when	
15	wəd	tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u,	ɛn	whoor ^o	ɛn	·when	
16	wəd	tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	whaar ^o	
17	wəd	tel	dhe	hú ₁ u		wheer ^o	ɛn	when	
18	wəd	tel	dhe	hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	ɛn	when	
19		tel	dhe	hú ₁ u		wɛn	ɛn	whoor	
20		tɪl	ɾi	húu		whóer ^o	ɛn	when	
21	wəd	tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u	ɛn	when	ɛn	whaar ^o	
22	wud	·tel	ɾe	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	wheer	

1	wáaer et she fan)t'		druk'n	bíes	et she)z
2	shə ₁ fa ₁ n'd)d'		d ^o ru ₁ qken	bíest	əd shə ₁
3	" "	dha ₁ t	"	bíest	ət "
4	shí fand)t'		dru ₁ k'n	bí'ist	ət shí
5	shí fu ₁ nd)t'		dru ₁ k'n	bíast	shí
6	shə ₁ fa ₁ n't)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bíest	ət)shə ₁
7	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		d ^o ru ₁ qk'n	bíest	ət shí
8	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
9	shí fa ₁ n'd	dha ₁ t	dru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ üst	shí
10	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		dru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ est	ət she
11	shí fá ₁ nd)d'		druk'en	bíest	ət shí
12	shə ₁ fa ₁ nd)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət she
13	shí fa ₁ n't)		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	fel)lə	ət shí
14	shə ₁ fa ₁ n'd)t'	▲▲ld	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət she
15	shə ₁ fa ₁ nt)t'	▲▲ld	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət she
16	shí fa ₁ n'd)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət shí
17	shə ₁ fa ₁ nd)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət shí
18	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət shí
19	shí fu ₁ nd	dhat	dru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	shí
20	shí fan)t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	r ^o u,bish	ət shí
21	shí fa ₁ n	dhe	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət shí
22	shí fá ₁ und	dhet	dru ₁ k'n	bí ₁ ist	ət shí

1	tə kóoel	er	uzben on.
2	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n.
3	kAAZ	"	hu ₁ zb'nd.
4	kooz	er	u _o zben.
5	kooz	er	u ₁ zben.
6	kAAZ	ə ₁	ma ₁ n.
7	kAAZ	ə ₁ r	man.
8	"	"	hu ₁ zbənd.
9	kAAZ	"	hu ₁ zbənd.
10	kooz	ə ₁ r	hu ₁ zben.
11	kaaz)t'	"	huzbent.
12	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
13	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n [hu ₁ zbənd].
14	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
15	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
16	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
17	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n.
18	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
19	kooz	er	hu ₁ zbənd.
20	kooz	er ^o	man.
21	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o	gudma ₁ n.
22	kAAZ	er	hu ₁ zb'nd.

9.	1	shə	trɪɪɛpt	ət	shə	soo	im	wiv	ɛr	éevn
	2	shɪ	swaar ^o	əd	shə ₁	saa	im	wiv	ə ₁ r ^o	aan
	3	shə ₁	„	ət	shə	„	„	wi	„	„
	4	shɪ	swɪər		shɪ	saa	im	wi	ɛr	aan
	5	shɪ	swɪár		shɪ	saa	em	wi	ɛr	aan
	6	shə ₁	swyy ₁ 'a ₁ r	ət	shə ₁	saa	im	wi	ə ₁ r	aan
	7	shɪ	swɪár	ət	shɪ	saa	im	wi	d)ə ₁ r	aan
	8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	shɪ	swyy ₁ 'a ₁ r		shɪ	saa	im	wi	ə ₁ r	aan
	10	shɪ ₁ i	swɪ ₁ 'á ₁ r	ət	shɪ	saa	im	wi	ə ₁ r	aan
	11	wháa ₁ i ₁ i	shɪ swɪ ₁ 'i ₁ r ^o	ət	shɪ	saa	em	wi	t	aan
	12	shə	swɪ ₁ 'á ₁ r ^o	ət	shə	soo	im	wi	ə ₁ r ^o	oon
	13	shɪ	swée ₁ r ^o	ət	shɪ	soo	im	wi	d)ə ₁ r ^o	òn
	14	shɪ	swyy ₁ r ^o t	ət	shə	sɪ	id im			
	15	shɪ	swɪ ₁ 'a ₁ r ^o	ət	shə	saa	em	wi	ə ₁ r ^o	oon
	16	shɪ	swyy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		shə	soo	em	wi	d)ə ₁ r ^o	oon
	17	shə ₁	s ₁ wyy ₁ ɛr ^o		shə ₁	soo	im	wi	d)ə ₁ r ^o	oon
	18	shɪ	swyy ₁ a ^o r ^o t	ət	shɪ	soo	im	wi	d)ə ₁ r ^o	oon
	19	shɪ	swoor		shɪ	soo	em	wi	d)ɛr	oon
	20	shɪ	swɪ ₁ 'i ₁ ɛr ^o	ət	shɪ	soo	im	wu	d ɛr ^o	oon
	21	shɪ	swyy ₂ 'ə ₁ r ^o		shɪ	sɪ	id im	wi	ə ₁ r ^o	een
	22	shɪ	swy ₁ a ₁ r	ət	shɪ	sɪ	id im	wi	d)ɛr	AA n

1	ɛən,	lɛɪn		strɪtɪt	ət	laq	lenth	ɛtop
2	éiin,	lɛɪn	la ₁ q	str ^o i ₁ 'á ₁ kt				ɛtop
3	„	„	„	str ^o i ₁ 'i ₁ ekt				„
4	diz,	lɛɪn	ɛ)t' fu ₁ l	ratɪ				
5	áiz,	lɛɪn	laq	strɪi ₁ ekt	ət	fu ₁ l	lenth	
6	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn		stree ₁ k	áut			ɛtop
7	éiin,	lɛɪn		strek	áut			ɛtop
8	ɪ ₁ in,	„		—	—			„
9	ɪ ₁ iin,	lɛɪn	ful	stru ₁ k				
10	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn	oo)iz			lenth	ɛtop	
11	ɪ ₁ in ɛn ə ₁ r ^o ,	tlɛɪɛɛn	aa iz		aan	tlɛɪn	ɛtop	
12	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn		stry ₁ kt	ú ₁ ut	ət	ful lenth	ɛtop
13	ɪ ₁ n,	lɛɪn	oo iz			lenth	ɛtop	
14				str ^o i ₁ ikt	AA iz	la ₁ q	lenth	
15	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn	laq	str ^o i ₁ ikt				ɛtop
16	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn	la ₁ q	str ₁ i ₁ ikt				—
17	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn		str ^o etɪt	ú ₁ ut	oo)iz	lenth	
18	ɪ ₁ iin,	lɛɪn		str ^o éet	u ₁ ut	ət	ful lenth	
19	ɪ ₁ iin,	lɛɪn	laq	str ₁ i ₁ it				
20	áiz,	láɪɛn	laq	str ^o iit				
21	ɪ ₁ in,	lɛɪn		str ^o ikt	út	hɪz	hɪ ₁ ɛl lenth	
22	ɪ ₁ in,	láaiɛn		str ₁ i ₁ ikt	ú ₁ ut	AA iz	la ₁ q lenth	

1	e)t'	grund,	iv	iz	g'ivəd	sunde	kúvət,
2	e)d'	gr ^o u ₁ nd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ ndi	kwú ₁ ət,
3	„t'	„	„	„	„	„	„
4	on t'	gru _o nd,	in	iz	bəst		kúət,
5	on t'	grə ₁ nd,	in	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ ndə	kúvət,
6	e)t'	grú ₁ und,	in)iz		ha ₁ lidə		klí ₁ áz,
7	e t'	grú ₁ und,	ev)iz			su ₁ ndə	klí ₁ áz,
8	—	„	in	„	bəst	„	kú ₁ ət,
9	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kwú ₁ at,
10	e)t'	gry ₁ nd,	in	iz	be ₁ tə ₁ rmə ₁ r		kló ₁ áz,
11	e)t'	grú ₁ uund,	in	iz	be ₁ tə ₁ rmə ₁ r ^o		klí ₁ az,
12	e)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	bəst		klí ₁ áz,
13	e)t'	grú ₁ un'd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kwú ₁ at,
14	on)t'	gru ₁ n'd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kwoot,
15	e)t'	gr ^o ú ₁ un'd,	in	iz	bəst	sun ₁ də	kwú ₁ ət,
16	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n'd,	iv	iz	gud	sun ₁ də	kwú ₁ át,
17	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	i ₁ v	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kú ₁ át,
18	on)t'	gry ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kwú ₁ ət
19	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ ndə	kwot,
20	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	iv	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ ndə	kúóóət,
21	on) dhə	gr ^o u ₁ n,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kú ₁ ət
22	on dhə	grú ₁ und,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ ndə	kwú ₁ ət

1	tléəvs	biv)t'	us	díiv,		duun
2	klwú ₁ əs	bi)d'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o ev iz aan	hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
3	„	„ t'		díúuər e)t'	—	„
4	tlúvs	vsdíid		ev iz aan	dúər,	dóun
5	klúvəs	bi)t'		dúər	stíán	dóun
6	klúvəs	bi)t'	háus	díúur		dáun
7	klú ₁ əs			təv)iz aan	díúuə ₁ r,	dáun
8	„	bisáa ₁ id)t'		hú ₁ us	díúuə ₁ r	dú ₁ un
9	klwú ₁ əs	bi)t'	hú ₁ ùs	dú ₁ uə ₁ r		dú ₁ un
10	klwú ₁ əs	vsáa ₁ id)t'		hú ₁ us	díúur	dú ₁ un
11	haar ^o d	bi)t'		dú ₁ r ^o e)t'	hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
12	klwú ₁ əs	bi)t'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o ev iz oon	hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
13	klwú ₁ əs	bi)t'	hu ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
14	klwoos	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
15	klwú ₁ əs	bi)t'		díúuə ₁ r ^o ev iz oon	hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
16	klwú ₁ ás	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
17	klú ₁ əz	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
18	klwú ₁ əs	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	déú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
19	na ₁ r)t'			dú ₁ uər e)t'	hu ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
20	klúóos	bi)t'	huuz	dí ₁ er ^o		dún)t'
21	klú ₁ əs	bi dhə	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
22	klú ₁ əs	bi dhə	hú ₁ us	dí ₁ er		dú ₁ un

1	et t'	níiek	ɛ	jon	lon.
2	i)d'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lwá,énín.
3	et)t'	kwá,er ^o ner ^o	,,	,,	lwá,én.
4	et t'	ka'rner	ɛ	jon	rúed.
5	i t'	kaarnur	o)t'	lonín	jonder.
6	bi)t'	ní,uk	ɛ)jon		lúwen.
7	i)t'	níuk	ɛ)jon		lú,én.
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
9	i)t'	karnə,r	ɛ	jon	lwá,én.
10	i)t'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lwá,én.
11	et)t'	kwá,er ^o ner ^o	ɛ)t'		lwá,én.
12	et)t'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lwá,énín.
13	et t'	nhn'uk	ɛ	jon	lwá,én.
14	et			jon	lonín níuk.
15	bi)t'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lwá,nín.
16	et			jon	lwá,énín níuk.
17	ɛ)t'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lú,a,nín.
18	i)t'	níuk	ɛ	jon	lwá,énín.
19	bi)t'	koornər	ɛ	jon	lonín.
20		kor ^o ner ^o	ɛ	jon	leen.
21	et dhs	ka'rner ^o	ɛ	jon	lonín.
22	et dhi	ní,ek	ɛ	jon	lonín.

10.	1	i	wər	əgiwet	ɛ	waanín	sez	shə,	fer
	2	hi	wəz	r ^o wá,er ^o en	ɛwee,	shə,	sed,		fə,r ^o
	3	,,	,,	whándjən	ɛwee,	,,	sez,		fə
	4	i	wəz	gríenín	ɛwee,				fer
	5	en	i	wəz	wíndjən	en	wáinín	ɛwee, sez shíi,	dju,st fer
	6	hí,i	wəz	rú,eren	ɛwee, ₁	sə)shí,			fə,r ^o
	7	hi	wəz	rú,eren	ɛwee, ¹	sed	shí,i,		fer
	8	hí,i	,,	,,	,,	sə	,,	,,	,,
	9	hi	wəz	rú,eren	ɛwee,	sez	shí,i,		fer
	10	hí,i	wəz	ró,eren	ɛwee,	sez	shí,i,		fə,r
	11	hí,i	wəz	bí,elen	ɛwee, ₁	ʃsí,əd	ʃshí,ə,		fə,r ^o .
	12	hi	wəz	whándjən	ɛwee, ₁	sez	shí,i,		fə,r ^o
	13	hi	wəz	whándjən	ɛwee,	sez	shí,i,		fə,r ^o
	14	hi	wəz	whándjən	ɛwee,	shə	shí,i,		fə,r ^o
	15	shə	sed	et t'	aal'd fel)ɛ	wəz	whándjən		fə,r ^o
	16	hí,i	wəz	whándjən	ɛwee,	shə	shí,i,		fə,r ^o
	17	hi	wəz	whándjən	ɛwee,	sez	shí,i,		fer ^o
	18	hí,i	wəz	whándja ⁿ	ɛwee,	sez	shí,i,		fə,r ^o
	19	hi	wəz	wíndjən	ɛwee,				fer
	20	hi	wəz	kr ^o ,énín	ɛwee,	shí	sez,—		fer ^o
	21	hi	wəz	wháinən	ɛwee,	sez	shí,	dju,st	fə,r ^o
	22	hi	wəz	grí,iten	ɛwee,	shí	sez,		fer

1	éœl t'	waald	laak	tev	e síek	béœn,
2	AA)d'	wœ ₁ r ^o el'd)	sí ₁ ám	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
3	AA)t'	wu ₁ r ^o el'd)t'	"	"	"	"
4	AA ¹)t'	wærd	láik	.	e stíkt	p'g.
5	o)t'	wœ ₁ rld	láik		e badli	baarn,
6	AA)t'	wœ ₁ rœld)t'	sí ₁ ám	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
7	AA)t'	wœ ₁ rœld)t'	sí ₁ ám	ez	e badli	baarn
8	"	"	"	"	"	"
9	AA)t'	wœ ₁ rld "	láik	"	e ba ₁ dli	baarn,
10	oo)t'	waardt [waar'ldt]	sí ₁ œm	ez	e badli	baarn,
11	aa)t'	wœ ₁ r ^o eld	lá ₁ ik		e ba ₁ dli	†b ₁ er ^o n,
12	AA)t'	wœ ₁ r ^o eld	lá ₁ ik		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
13	A)t'	wœ ₁ r ^o el'd	t' sí ₁ œm	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
14	AA)t'	waar ^o d'l	lá ₁ ik		e sí ₁ iik	baar ^o n,
15	AA)t'	wœ ₁ r ^o el'd	lá ₁ ik		e ba ₁ dli	baa ₁ r ^o n,
16	AA)t'	waar ^o eld	lá ₁ ik		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
17	oo)t'	wu ₁ r ^o ld	lá ₁ ik		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
18	oo)t'	waar ^o eld	t' sí ₁ ám	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
19	oo)t'	ward	láik		e sí ₁ iik	baarn,
20	oo)t'	waar ^o ld	léik		e badli	béœr ^o n,
21	AA ¹ '	dhe waar ^o el	lé'ik		e sik	beer ^o n,
22	AA	dhe wœ ₁ r ^o ld	lé'ik		e sí ₁ ik	tj ₁ r ^o ld,

1	er	e laal	las	ev	e tív ₁ .
2	er ^o	e láa ₁ l	lá ₁ s	et	ed gít'n sa ₁ dli fr ^o éit'n'd.
3	"	"	"	"	" — fr ^o éit'ndt.
4					
5	er	e lá ₁ l	las	frít'nd.	
6	e ₁ r ^o)e	láa ₁ l	lās	gr ₁ iten.	
7	er)e	láa ₁ l	las	et wez sadli fréit'nt.	
8	"	lá ₁ l petít	lās.		
9	e ₁ r)e	lá ₁ l	la ₁ s	ín)e fr ₁ iivt.	
10	e ₁ r ^o)e	lá ₁ l	la ₁ s	gr ₁ iten.	
11	e ₁ r ^o)e	lá ₁ l	la ₁ s	ín(t' su ₁ lks.	
12	e ₁ r ^o	e lá ₁ l petít	lās	et ed gít'n fr ₁ it'nt.	
13	e ₁ r ^o	e lá ₁ l petít	lās	gr ₁ iten.	
14	e ₁ r ^o	e lál	lās	iv)e fr ^o íit.	
15	e ₁ r ^o	e lal	lās	ev)e pet.	
16	e ₁ r ^o	e lal petít	lās.		
17	e ₁ r ^o)e	laa ₁ l petít	lās.		
18	e ₁ r ^o)e	laa ₁ l	lās	iv) e pet.	
19	er	e laa ₁ l	las	ev) e pet.	
20	er ^o	e lé ₁ l	las	í)t' pet.	
21	e ₁ r ^o	su ₁ m w ₁ i bít	lasi	iv) e fr ^o it.	
22	er	e lit ₁ l	las	ín) e fr ₁ it.	

11. 1	en	·dhat	ap'nd	ez	shi	en t'	dóu,tər i	lées	
2	en	·dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	hə,r ^o	en t'	su,n wáif		
3	,,	,,	ha,p'ndt	ez	ə,r ^o	,, ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	laa	
4	en	dhat	ap'nt,	ez	ər	en ər	dóu,t'ər i	loo	wes
5	en	dhat	ap'nd	ez	shii	en ər	dóu,tər in	laa	
6	náu	dha,t	ha,p'nt	ez	həə,r ^o	en ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	laa	
7	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	həə,r	en ɛ	dóu,tə,r i	laa	
8	,,	,,	ha,p'nd	ez	hə,r	,, ə,r	,, ,,	laa	
9	en	dha,t	ha,p'nt whal	hə,r	en ə,r	dóu,tə,r i	laa		
10	nú,u	dha,t	ha,p'mt	ez	shii	en ə,r	dóu,tə,r i	laa	
11	en it		†hí,ɛp'nt	ez	hə,r ^o	en)t'	†siú,n wáa,if		wes
12	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	hə,r ^o	en)ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	laa	
13	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	hə,r ^o	en)ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	laa	
14	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	həə,r ^o	en)t'	su,n wáaif		
15	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	həə,r ^o	en)t'	su,n wáa,if		
16	en	dha,t	ha,p'mt	ez	həə,r ^o	en)ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	loo	
17	en	dha,t	ha,p'mpt	ez	hə,r ^o	en)ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o i	loo	wə,r ^o
18	en	dha,t	ha,p'nt	ez	hə,r ^o	en)ə,r ^o	dóu,tə,r ^o)in)laa		
19	en	dhat	tok plias	ez	shí,i	en t'	dóu,tər)n)loo		
20	en	dhat	waz	ez	hər ^o	en ər ^o	su,n wéif		
21	en	dhis	ha,p'nd	ez	hə,r ^o	en ə,r ^o	su,n wé'if		
22	en	dha,t	ha,p'nd	ez	hər	en ər	dóu,tər in	laa	wes

1	kam	dhə wíəz	t,ruf)t'	bak	géesth	frév	aqín t'		
2	ku ₁		t,r ^o ú,u)d'	ba ₁ k	sáa'id	fr ^o e	hiqen)d'		
3	,,		thr ^o ú,u)t'	,,	jaar ^o d	fr ^o e	hiqén — ú,ut)t'		
4	kumín		thruu)t'	bak	ja'rd	fré	iqín t'		
5	kom		thruu)t'	bak	jaard	fré	iqín óut t'		
6	ku ₁ m		thrú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	faald	fré ₁	hiqen t'		
7	ku ₁ m		thrú,u)t'	bak	faald	fré	hiqén t'		
8	,,		,, ,,	,,	sáa'id	,,	,, ,,		
9	ko		thrú,uu)t'	ba ₁ k	jaa'rd	fré	hiqén t'		
10	ko	thrú,u)t'	ba ₁ k faald	[sáid]		fré	hiqén t'		
11	ku ₁ mən		thr ^o ə'u)t'	ba ₁ k	†j ₁ ɛr ^o d	fr ^o aa ₁	hiqén t'		
12	ku		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	jaar ^o d	fr ^o e	hiqén ú,ut t'		
13	kom		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	fól'd	fr ^o e	hiqén t'		
14	kü		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	faal'd	fr ^o e	hiqén ú,ut t'		
15	ku ₁ m [kü]		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	sáa'id	fr ^o ə	hiqén t'		
16	ku ₁		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	fool'd	fr ^o ə	hiqén ú,ut t'		
17	ku ₁ mən		thr ^o ú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	fool'd	fr ^o ə	hiqén ú,ut)t'		
18	ku ₁ m		thr ^o əú,u)t'	ba ₁ k	sáa'id	fr ^o e	hiqə ^o n)t'		
19	koom		thrú,ut)t'		foold	fré	hiqén u ₁ p)t'		
20	koom		thr ^o uu)t'	bak	jaar ^o d	fr ^o ee	hiqén uut)t'		
21	kam		thr ^o ú,u dhə	ba ₁ k	sá'id	fr ^o e	hiqén út dhə		
22	ku ₁ ma ^o n		thrú,u dhə	ba ₁ k	foold	fré	hiqén dhə		

1	wít	tlééʒ	uut	tə	d,raa	ɛv	ɛ	wéishín	díʒ,
2	wet	klí,á,z	ú,ut	tə	d,r ^o áai	ɛ)d'		weshín	dee,
3	wet	klí,á,z		„	„	ɛv)a	„	„	dee,
4		tléʒ	óut			on)t'		wesh'in	dee,
5	wet	klíáz		tə	dráí	on	ɛ	weshín	dee,
6	wé,t	klí,á,z	áut	ɛt	d,ráai	Jaa		wé,shín	dee, ₁
7	wet	klí,áz	áut	ɛt	d,ráai	Jaa		weshín	dee',
8	„	„	ú,ut	ɛt	d,ráa,i	„	„	„	„
9	wet	klí,á,z	ú,ut	ɛt	d,ráí	ɛ)t'		weshén	dee,
10	wet	klí,éʒ	ú,ut	tə	d,ráai	Jaa		wéeshín	dee,
11	wet	klí,éʒ	ú,ut	ɛt	d,rá,i	Jaa		weshí,n	†dí,ɛ,
12	wet	klí,a,z		tə	d,raa,i	ɛn	ɛ	wé,shín	dee, ₁
13	wet	klí,é,z	ú,ut	tə	d,ráa,i	Ja		wé,shén	dee,
14	wet	tlí,é,z		tə	d,ráai	ɛt	t'	weshén	dee,
15	wet	klí,á,z	ú,ut	tə	d,ráa,i	ɛv	ɛ	weshín	dee,
16	wet	klí,á,z		tə	d,ráai	Jaa		weshén	dee,
17	wet	klí,a,z		tə	d,ráa,i	Ja		weshín	dee,
18	wet	klí,a,z	ú,ut	tə	d,r ^o áai	Jaa		weshín	dee,
19	wí,it	klíáz		tə	d,ráí	ɛv	ɛ	weshén	dee.
20	wet	klíéʒ		tə	d,r ^o éi	o)t'		weshén	dee,
21	wet	klí,éʒ		ta	d,ráí	on	ɛ	weshín	dee,
22	wet	klí,éʒ	ú,ut	tə	d,ráai	ɛv	ɛ	weshín	dee'ɛ,

12. 1	waal)t'	kit'l	wə	bóolín	fə)t'	tíʒ,	ɛ	Jan
2	wháil)d'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o	tíi,		Jaa
3	wháaíl)t'	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
4	wáil t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilín	fəʒ)t'	tii,		Ján
5	wáil t'	ket'l	wə	bóilén	fəʒ)t'	tíi,		Jaa
6	[wháa,íl)t'	ke,t'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
7	wháaíl)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fáar)t'	tíi,		Jaa
8	whal	„	„	„	fə)t'	tíi,		„
9	whal)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fəʒ)t'	tíi,		Jaa
10	wháaíl t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r)t'	tii,		Jaa
11	tíl t'	†kí,ɛt'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o)t'	†tí,ɛ,		Jaa
12	wháa,íl t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
13	wháa,íl t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o	tíi,		Jaa
14	wháaíl)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,	tíi,		Jaa
15	wháa,íl)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə	tíi,		Jaa
16	wháaíl)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
17	ɛt t' táa,ím ɛt t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
18	wháaíl)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóila ^o n	fə,r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
19	ɛt t' táám ɛt t'	ketel	wəʒ	bóilén	fəʒ	tíi,		Ja
20	whén)t'	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fəʒ)t'	tii,		Je
21	whé'íl dhe	ket'l	wəʒ	bóilén	fə,r ^o	tíi,		Jé'
22	whé'íl dhe	ket'l	wəʒ	bóila ^o n	fəʒ	tíi,		Jen

1	faan	briit		ifteniien i sume, nobet
2	fáain	br ^o éiit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún, nobet
3	"	"	"	" "
4	ríel	fáin		aftarnuun i su _o m _ə r,
5	fáin	briit	su ₁ m _ə r	eftarnuun nobet
6		br _i it	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
7		bréiit	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə rniún nobet
8		br _i it	"	eft _ə rniúun "
9	fáin	br _i iit	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə rniúen nobet
10	boni	br _i it	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə rniúen nobet
11	fáa'in		su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə rniúin noobet
12		br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
13	fáa'in		su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
14		br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
15	[wu ₁ n]fáain	br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
16	fáain	br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún nobet
17	fáa'in	br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún, nobet
18	fáain	br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niún, nobet
19	fáin	br _i iit	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə rniúen nobet
20	féin	br ^o iit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	eft _ə r ^o niúen nobet
21	fe'in			eft _ə r ^o niúun nobet
22	fe'in	br _i it	su ₁ m _ə r	eft _ə rniú'en nobet

1	ɐ	wiik	sín	kum)t'	nekst	thozdɐ.
2	ɐ	wéiik	sen	ku ₁		thu ₁ r ^o zdi.
3	„	wéiik	„	ku ₁ m	nesht	„
4	en	it'l	nobet	bɪ ɐ	wik ɐ	tharzdɐ.
5	ɐ	wik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	tharzdɐ.
6	ɐ	wíik	se ₁ n	ku ₁ m	ne ₁ kst	th _ə r ^o zde.
7	ɐ	wéiik	sí ₁ n	ku ₁ m		th _ə r ^o zde.
8	„	wíik	sen	„	nest	th _ə r ^o zde.
9	ɐ	wíiik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thu ₁ r ^o zde.
10	ɐ	wíik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	th _ə r ^o zde.
11	ɐ	†wíək	†sí ₁ en	†n _i ekst		th _ə r ^o zde.
12	ɐ	wíik	sen	ku	nekst	thu ₁ r ^o zde.
13	ɐ	wíik	sen	ku		th _ə r ^o zde.
14	)ɐ	wíik	sen	kü	n _i ist	th _ə r ^o zde.
15	ɐ	wíik	sen		ɐ	thu ₁ r ^o zde.
16	ɐ	wíik	sen	ku ₁ m	n _i ist	th _ə r ^o zde.
17	ɐ	wíik			nekst	th _ə r ^o zde sen.
18	ɐ	wíik	sen		nekst	thu ₁ r ^o zde.
19	ɐ	wíik		kom		th _ə r ^o zde sen.
20	ɐ	wiik	sen		niist	thar ^o zde.
21	ɐ	wik	se'in	ku ₁ m	neist	thor ^o zde.
22	ɐ	wíik	gon	ku ₁ m		thu ₁ r ^o zde.

13.	1	en	noo ʒə,	béeen ?	ət	a	níiə	líiənt	nóut
	2	en	du,s)te	nhaa ?	ái	nyvə,r ^o	héiiə,r ^o d	nóut	
	3	„	„ „	„	áái	ní,və,r ^o	líiə,r ^o nd	„	
	4	en	sii ʒə!		a	ní,vər	àrd	ə thiq	
	5	en	d)ʒə	naa ?	a	ní,v'ər	laarnd	eni	
	6	en	dəs)te	naa ?	aa	ní,və,r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut	
	7	en	du,s)te	nhaa ?	a	ní,və,r	híiə,r ^o d	nóut	
	8	„	„ „	„	aa	„	laar ^o nd	„	
	9	en	dii)ʒə	naa ?	aa	ní,və,r ^o	laar ^o nt	eni	
	10	en	də)ʒə	nhaa ?	aa	ní,və,r	laarnd	nóut	
	11	en	†di,es)te	naa ?	aa	†ní,və,r ^o	hí,iə,r ^o d	eni	
	12	en	du,s)te	noo ?	a	ní,və,r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut	
	13	en	dəs)te	noo ?	ə	ní,bə,r ^o	har ^o d	nóut	
	14	en	dəs)te	nhaa ?	ə	ní,və,r ^o	haar ^o d	nóut	
	15	en	dəs)te	nhoo ?	a ₁	ní,və,r ^o	ga,t te hí,iə,r ^o	nóut	
	16	en	dəs)te	tnhoo ?	aa	ní,və,r ^o	nóu,də,r ^o	haar ^o d	
	17	en	du,s)te	noo ?	ə	ní,və,r ^o	laar ^o nd		
	18	en	du,s)te	noo ?	aa	ní,və,r ^o	laar ^o nt	nóut	
	19	en	du,s)te	noo ?	a ₁	ní,vər	larnd	níiə	
	20	en	di)ʒə	noo ?	ə	ní,vər ^o	fan út	óut	
	21	en	di)ʒə	ken ?	ái	ní,və,r ^o	hí,iə,r ^o d		
	22	en	di)ʒə	'noo ?	áa ₁ i	nyvər	líi'ərnd		

1	nə	méeər	en	dhís	ə	dhat	diid	up
2	ní	maar ^o	ə	dhís			biznis	
3	„	„	„	dha,t			bíz'ní,s	
4				əbóut	it			
5		míár	an	dhís	əv	dhat	biznis	
6	ní	mee ₁ ər	nə ₁ r ^o	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	dhís	dʒob	
7	ní	mí ₁ ár	nə ₁ r	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	dhís	dʒob	
8		„	nə	„	əbá ₁ ut	„	„	
9		mí ₁ ár			əbá ₁ ut	dha,t	bíznes	
10	níə	míár	nə ₁ r	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	t'	kensaarn	
11		†mí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	dha ₁ n	dhís	ə	dha,t	dʒob	
12	ní	méeə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	dhís	dʒob	
13	ní	mee ₁ r ^o	nə	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	dhís	dʒob	
14	ní	maar ^o			əbá ₁ ut	dhís	ma ₁ t,tə ₁ r ^o	
15	ní	mEEr ^o			ə	dhís	dʒob	
16	nə	soo nóut ní	mEEr ^o	nə	dha,t	əbá ₁ ut	tis	dʒob
17	eni		mEEr ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhís	ə	dha,t	dʒob
18	ni	mEEr ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhís	ə	dha,t	dʒob	
19		meer	nər	dhís	əbá ₁ ut	dha,t	biznes	
20		méeər ^o			əbàt)'t			
21		mEEr ^o	ə			dhís	dʒob	
22	eni	mEEr	ə			dhís	dʒob	

1	tiv təl	tədəeʷ,	ɛz	sʰiɐr	ɛz	mi	n̄iɐm)z
2	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	síúuə₁r°	ɛz	máí	n̄í,á₁m)z
3	„	tədəe,	„	„	„	máái	„ „
4	tíl	tədəe,	ɛs	t̄r̄íuu	ɛz	ái)s	standín
5	ʷp tɛ	dhís dee,	ɛs	síúɐr)z		máí	n̄íám)z
6	lwháaɪl	tədəe₁,	ɛz	síúuə₁r°	ɛz	mi	n̄í,á₁m)z
7	wháaɪl	tədəe¹,	ɛz	síúuə₁r	ɛz	máái	n̄í,á₁m)z
8	whal	„	„	sʰ;úuə₁r	„	máa,í	„ „
9	ʷp t'ł	n̄ú,ʷ,	ɛz	síúuɐr	ɛz	mi	n̄í,á₁m)z
10	wháaɪl	tədəe,	ɛz	síúuɐr	ɛz	máái	n̄í,ɐm)z
11	t̄t̄í,ɐl	tədəe,	ɛz	t̄s̄í,ə₁r°t'n	ɛz	máa,í	n̄í,ɐm)z
12	wháa,ɪl	tədəe₁,	ɛz	s̄í,úuə₁r°	ɛz	mɛ	n̄í,á₁m)z
13	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	sh̄ú,ʷə₁r°	ɛz	máa,í	n̄í,é₁m)z
14	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	síúuə₁r°	ɛz	mi	n̄í,é₁m)z
15	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	síúuə₁r°	ɛz	mi	n̄í,á₁m)z
16	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	síúuə₁r°	ɛz	mi [máái]	n̄í,á₁m)z
17	whel	tədəe,	ɛz	sy,ə₁r°	ɛz	mi	n̄í,á₁m)z
18	t'ł	tədəe,	ɛz	sh̄eúr°	ɛz	mâí	n̄í,á₁m)z
19	ʷp təl	tədəe,	ɛz	sh̄u,ʷr	ɛz	má,í	n̄íám)z
20	tíl	tədəe,	ɛz	s̄í,ʷɐr°	ɛz	méí	n̄í,ɐm)z
21	ʷp tíl	tədəe,	ɛz	sy,ʷə₁r°	ɛz	mɛ'í	n̄í,ɐm)z
22	ʷp tɛ	tədəe'ɛ,	ɛz	sh̄ú,ʷɐr	ɛz	mɛ'í	n̄í,ɐm)z

1	:d̄p̄úwɛn	:sh̄ipɛd,	ɛn	aa	d̄is)'nt	want	tɛ	d̄iɛ
2	:d̄p̄a,k	:sh̄yp̄ə₁r°t,	ɛn	i	d̄u,ʷt	wa,nt	tɛ	nhaa
3	:d̄p̄w̄,ɛn	:sh̄ip̄ə₁r°t,	„	áái	d̄u,ʷnɛt	want	„	„
4	íɐr,		ɛn	ái	d̄ɔnt	want	tɛ	íɐr
5	:d̄p̄úɛn	:sh̄ip̄ɛrd,	ɛn	ái	d̄úɛnt	want	tɛ	naa
6	:d̄p̄ɔni	:sh̄ip̄ə₁r°t	ɛn	áa,í	doont	wa,nt		
7	:d̄p̄ú,ɛn	sh̄ip̄ə₁rt,	ɛn	áái	d̄u,ʷnɛt	want		
8	„	„	„	aa	„	„	tɛ	nhaa
9	:d̄p̄ɔn	:sh̄ip̄ə₁lrd,	ɛn	aa	doont	want	t'ł	
10	:d̄p̄ɔni	:sh̄ep̄ə₁rd,	ɛn	áái	d̄úɛt	want		
11	:d̄p̄a,k	t̄:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°d,	ɛn	áa,í	d̄iɛnt	want		
12	:d̄p̄a,k	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°d,	ɛn	a	d̄u,ʷnɛt	want		
13	:d̄p̄a,k	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°d,	ɛn	a	d̄u,ʷnɛt	keer°	tɛ	h̄í,ə₁r°
14	:d̄p̄a,k	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°t,	ɛn	a	d̄u,ʷnɛt	want	tɛ	nhaa
15	:d̄p̄w̄,ɛn	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°t,	ɛn	a	d̄u,ʷvɛnt	want	tɛ	nhoo
16	:d̄p̄ɔn	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°t,	ɛt	d̄u,ʷd	i ny,t [nu,t].			
17	:d̄p̄ú,a,n	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°d	ɛn	aa	doo)nt	want		
18	:d̄p̄w̄,ɛn	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ə₁r°t,	ɛn	aa	d̄úɛnt	want		
19	:d̄p̄w̄ɔn	:sh̄ip̄ɛrd,	ɛn	a	d̄úɛnt	want		
20	:d̄p̄ɔn	:sh̄ip̄ɛr°d,	ɛn	ɛ	d̄iɛv'nt	want		
21	:d̄p̄ɔni	:sh̄ip̄ə₁r°d,	ɛn	ái	d̄iɛv'n	keer°	tɛ	ken
22	:d̄p̄ɔn	:sh̄í,ɐp̄ɛrd,	ɛn	áái	d̄iɛnt	want		

- 1 dhiv nuu dhenz !
 2 needhə₁r^o, máaínds)tə ˈdha,t nú₁u !
 3 needhə₁r^o.
 4 nə míər abóut ít, ɛn sə dhen !
 5 eedər, dhíər nóu !
 6 nee₁dhə₁r^o.
 7 nee₁də₁r, sii)dhə ˈdhí,ár náu !
 8 nə mí,ár ɛbú₁ut ít.
 9 nee₁də₁r, nɣ₁t ái.
 10 nee₁də₁r. súv nú₁u dha₁n !
 11 níe₁də₁r^o.
 12 óu₁də₁r^o, máa,índ ji ˈdha,t nú₁u.
 13 ɛbú₁ut ít éi₁də₁r^o.
 14 nóu₁də₁r^o, ˈdhí,íə₁r^o nú₁u.
 15 nóu₁də₁r^o, sí₁ ˈdhí,íə₁r^o nú₁u !
 16
 17 óu₁də₁r^o, sə ˈdhí,íə₁r^o !
 18 óu₁də₁r^o, sí₁a^o ˈdheer^o nú₁u !
 19 ndu₁dər !
 20 nóu₁də₁r^o, ˈdhí,íər^o nu !
 21 meər óudhə₁r^o, ˈdhí,é₁r^o nú₁u !
 22 óudher, ˈdhí,íər nú₁u !

14. 1 ɛn see	aa)z	ganín	jam	tə mí	supə.
2 ɛn sí,á ₁	ái mən bí	gáaən	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
3 ,, ,,	aa)z —	gaan	[hí,á ₁ m	,, —	,,
4 ɛn sə nóu	ái)z	ga)ín	jám	tə mí	super.
5 an súv	ái)z	gaan	jam	tə)t'	super nóu.
6 ɛn náu	aa)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
7 ɛn síá	a)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
8 ,, ,,	áa,í)l	ɛwEE	,,	,, t'	,,
9 ɛn sí,á ₁	aa)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
10 ɛn nú ₁ u	aa)z	gáaən	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
11 ɛn síe nú ₁ u	aa)z	gaan	hí,é ₁ m	tə)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
12 ɛn sí,íə	a)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
13 ɛn sí,íə	a)z	gaan	hí,é ₁ m	tə)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
14 ɛn sí,é ₁	aa)z bí	makən of	hí,á ₁ m	tə get mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
15 ɛn nú ₁ u a mən bí	aa)z	gaaən	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
16 ɛn sí,íə	aa)z	gaaən	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
17 ɛn sí,á ₁	aa)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
18 ɛn sí,á ^o	aa)z	gaan	hí,á ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
19 ɛn súuv	a)z	gaan	jam	təl mí	su ₁ per.
20 ɛn	â)z	gàn	jəm	tə mí	su ₁ per ^o .
21 ɛn sí,íə	ái)z	gàn	hí,é ₁ m	fə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
22 ɛn nú ₁ u	áa)z	ga ₁ nən	hí,í,é ₁ m	tə mí	su ₁ per.

1	g'əd	niit,	en	dinet	bi	sə
2	gud	néiit	tə	dhə, en	thiqk on n'ú,u	ət dhu iz'nt si
3	"	"	"	"	"	du)net bi sə
4	g'ud	nit,	en	dont	mak	sə
5	súə	g'ud	n'it,	en	doont	bi kwáit s'úə
6	gud	n'it	en	du)net	bi	sə
7	s'ia	gud	néiit,	en	du)net	bi sə
8	—	"	"	"	"	"
9	gud	n'iiit,	en	doont	bi	sə
10	gud	n'it,	en	d'et	bi	sə
11	gud	†n'it,	en	d'net	†b'te	si
12	gud	n'iiit,	en	du)net	bi	sə
13	gud	n'it,	en	du)net	[du)net]	bi si
14	gud	n'it,	en	d'net	bi	sə
15	gud	n'it	tə	dhə, an	máa,ind	ət dhu iz'nt
16	gud	n'it,	en	d'net	bi	sə
17	gud	n'it	en	du)net	bi	sə
18	gud	n'iiit	en	d'ent	bi	si,a ^o
19	g'ud	n'iiit	en	d'uent	bi	s'ie
20	g'ud	n'it,	en	d'v'nt	bii	s'ie
21	gud	nit	en	d'v'n	bi	se
22	gud	n'it,	en	dinet	bi	si

1	shaap	tə	kréek	óu)er	ə	bodi	ag'een,	wen i
2	shaar ^o p	tə	kr ^o aa	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ee'n,	whən ə
3	r ^o y,di	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4	mitj gam			ev	ə	bodi,		wen i)s
5	sharp	t'	kraa'in	úer	ə	bodi	eg'ian,	wen i
6	shaa ^l rp	tə	kraa	óu)er	ə	bodi	eg'ee'n,	whən i
7	shaarp	ət	kraaen	óu)er	ə	bodi	eg'ee'n,	whən ə
8	"	"	kraa	"	"	"	"	"
9	shaarp	ət	kraa'in	óur	ə	bodi	eg'een,	whən
10	shaarp	tə	kraa	óur	ə	bodi	egen,	whən i
11	shaar ^o p	tə	kr ^o aa	óur ^o	ja)n		eg'ien,	whən
12	fást ez	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ia'n,	whən)ə
13	shaar ^o p	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ie'n,	whən)ə
14	wh'k	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ie'n,	whən)ə
15	r ^o y,di	enu,d'ar ^o	táa,im	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi,
16	kit'l	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ia'n,	whən)i
17	ru,di	tə	kr ^o oo	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ia'n,	whən)i
18	shaar ^o p	tə	kr ^o oo	óur ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ea'n,	whən)i
19	ru,di	tə	kroo	áur	ə	bodi	eg'ian,	wen)i
20	r ^o y,di	tə	kr ^o oo	óur ^o	jen		eg'ien,	whən
21	wh'k	tə	kr ^o aa	óu)er ^o	ə	bodi	eg'ien,	whən
22	shaarp	ət	kroo'in	óur	ə	bodi	eg'ie'n,	whən)i

1	tóoks	ɐ	téevn	en	tídhɐ	thíq.	
2	tAAks	ɐbú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
3	"	ɐ	"	"	ɐ	tu ₁ dher ^o .	
4	tɛlín		is	tíel	enudhɐr	táim.	
5	tooks		dhís	dhat	en	tu ₁ dɐr.	
6	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dhə ₁ r ^o .	
7	tAAks	ɐbáut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
8	"	ɐ	"	"	ə ₁ r	"	
9	ja ₁ n	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	en t'	tu ₁ də ₁ l ₁ r.
10		tooks	ɐ	tís	ta ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r.
11	dhú ₁ u	taaks	ɐbú ₁ ut	†dhíus	dha ₁ t	en	†tíu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .
12	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
13	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ɐ	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
14	tAAks	ɐ	dhís'n	dha ₁ t'n	ɐ	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
15	telz dhɐ	ɐbú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	ɐ	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
16	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
17	tooks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
18	tAAks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o)t'	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .	
19	tooks	ɐ	dhís	dha ₁ t	ɐr	tu ₁ dɐr.	
20	JEN)z	tooken	ɐbút	óut.			
21	JEN	tA'ks	ɐ	dhís	ə ₁ r ^o dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	dh)u ₁ dhə ₁ r ^o .
22		tAAks	ɐbú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	dh)u ₁ dher.

15. 1	ít)s	ɐ	wéek	fíi'el	ɛt	pra'tɛz	
2	héi)z	nobɛt	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛd	pr ^o a ₁ t'lz	
3	hí)z	—	wee ^k	fí'uul	at	pr ^o aats	
4	i íz	ɐ		fí'ul	ɛt	tòks	
5	ít)s	ɐ	páwɛr	fuul	ɛt	praats	
6	hí ₁ i)z	nobɛt	wee ^k	fí ₁ uul	ɛt	tAAks	
7	héí)z	nobɛt	wEE ¹ k	fí ₁ ul	ɛt	tAAks	
8	ít)s	"	"	fí'uul	"	prEE ¹ ts	
9	hí ₁ i)z	nobɛt	wee ^k	fí'uul	ɛt	prí ₁ á ₁ ts	
10	hí)z	nobɛt	ɐ	ma ₁ fí'n	ɛt	tooks	
11	hí ₁ i)z	ɐ	wí ₁ uk	swá ₁ ɛt	ɛv	ɐ	bodí ɛt taaks
12	hí)z	ɐ	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	pra ₁ t'lz	ɐwee ₁
13	hí ₁ i)z	nobɛt	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	tAAks	
14	ít)s	nobɛt	ɐ va ₁ r ^o ɐ	síli [wEE ^k]	fí'ul	ɛt	ra ₁ m'lz en tAAks
15	ít)s	nobɛt	ɐ	wEE ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	pra ₁ t'lz í sek ɐ wEE
16	ít)s	ɐ	wEE ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	tja ₁ t ₁ tə ₁ r ^o z	
17	ít)s	nobɛt	ɐ	síli	fí'ul	ɛt	tAAks
18	ít)s	nobɛt	ɐ	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	tA'ks
19	hí)z	ɐ	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	tja ₁ tə ₁ r ^o z	
20	hí)z	ɐ	wee ^k	fí'ul	ɛt	br ^o agz	
21	ít)s	bɛt	ɐ	py ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	síli	fí'ú ₁ el'	ɛt tja ₁ t ₁ tə ₁ r ^o z
22	ít)s	ɐ	wEE ^k	fí'í'el	ɛt	tAAks	

1	edhuut	oni ríez'n.	séew nuu, dhen, dhat)s ma last
2	withú,ut	r ^o íezzen.	en dha,t)s AA1 ái)v git'n
3	widhú,ut	sens,	„ „ máai lást wu,r ^o d.
4	wi,óut	sens.	en súv jə kən mak jər bəst
5	wi,óut	ríez'n	end dhat)s mí last wə,rd.
6	wi)á,ut	se,ns,	en dha,t)s mí lást wə,r ^o d.
7	wi n,á	sens.	en dhat)s AA áai giten
8	widhú,ut	„ „	„ „ mí lást wu,rd.
9	wi n,á	ríez'n,	en dha,t)s AA aa)v giten
10	goomly,is	maapment.	en dha,t)s oo ebú,ut it.
11	widú,ut	r ^o íezzen,	en sív dha,t)s aa et áai giten
12	wi,ú,ut	r ^o íezen	en dha,t)s AA a)v giten
13	widú,ut	sens.	en dha,t)s t' en'd on)t.
14	widú,ut	óu,də,r ^o ráaim	ə rí,iz'n. en dha,t)s AA v)v
15	wi,ú,ut	óu,də,r ^o r ^o aa,im	ər ^o r ^o í,iz'n. en dha,t)s)t'
16	widú,ut	nhoovn	wha,t for ^o . en dhá,t)s mí last
17	widú,ut	sens,	en dha,t)s oo ebú,ut it [mí lást wu,rd].
18	widú,ut	sens,	en dhə,t)s mí last wu,r ^o d.
19	ədu,ut	rí,iz'n.	en dhat)s mái last wə,rd.
20	widuut	sens.	en dhat)s oo a)z gán tə see.
21	widhú,ut	óudhə,r ^o wít ə,r ^o wízdəm.	en dha,t)s mí
22	widhú,ut	sens.	en dha,t)s mí last wu,rd.

1	wod.	fées jə wil, gafə.
2	tə see.	sí,á, gud néiit tə dhə.
3	— —	— „ „ — —
4	on)t.	gu,d nit.
5		gu,d niit.
6		gud ní,iiit.
7	ət SEE ¹ .	sí,á gud néiit.
8	— —	„ „ „
9	ət see.	sí,á, gud ní,iiit.
10		gud ní,iiit.
11	ət SEE ebú,ut it.	sí,ə gud †niit.
12	tə see ₁ .	sí,iv gud ní,iiit.
13		sí,ə gud ní,iiit tə dhə.
14	git'n tə SEE.	gud ní,iiit.
15	en'd on)t.	gud ní,iiit tə dhə.
16	wəə,r ^o d.	gud DEE.
17		gud DEE.
18		gud ní,iiit.
19		gu,d bó,.
20		gu,d niit.
21	va,rv lást wu,rd.	sí,iv gud deə.
22		gud ní,iiit.

Notes to No. 2, *Muker*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (a₁) represents a sound between (a, a); see p. 539. The (wh) is fully sounded.—*for*, the (r^c) is a "stiff-tongued" and hence "untrilled" (r); see p. 542.—*John*, the (d₁) is labialised in anticipation of the following (u₁), for which see p. 291 and p. 540.—*has*, the aspirate distinct, fully (h), the vowel certainly (æ), not (e).—*no*, the great peculiarity of the fractured vowels is the distinctness with which each element of the fracture is pronounced, and the evenness of the stress upon each, though both seem to be short, as the (i₁) is one of the series (i, i₁, e¹, e), its sound is so intermediate in character, that JGG. often wrote (e, e¹) for it, and it was only after many trials that I decided to use (i₁) to shew that the sound gave me more the feeling of (i) than of (e); the last vowel (a₁) is another intermediate for which see p. 539, and for a long time I wrote it as (æ). This fracture (i, a₁) therefore seems comparable to the Ags. E.A.—*doubts*, the (ú₁u) is a fracture quite like some of the fractures of (i); it begins with (u₁) which has the stress, and glides quickly on to fine (u), the latter being often lengthened; hence it tends to sound as (ó¹u) as JGG. often wrote it, and this rapidly passes into (óu), and is therefore the precursor of the (óu, áu, áu) forms of U. The speakers of (ú₁u) believe that they say (uu), a sound which in fact is extremely difficult for their organs. To my ears (ú₁u) is totally different from (æ¹u), which begins with a higher and not a deeper sound, though, as we have seen, that also leads to (á¹u), but it has likewise a tendency to (iu, y₁), which is not the case at all with (ú₁u). The distinction between (ú₁v, ú₁u) must be noted. It will be hopeless for any one who does not hear (ú₁u) constantly from native organs to acquire its accurate use from mere indications like this; even JGG. did not always quite satisfy native ears.

1. *well*, argumentative, in two distinct syllables indicated by the long first vowel to the diphthong. JGG. got the variant (nú₁u dhan) now then.—*neighbour*, the (éi) has a distinct (i), not like London (e¹j), where (i) is not distinctly reached, the vowel (e₁) is very difficult, see p. 541. JGG. appreciated

it differently at different times, but finally as (e) or French *eu* in *peu*, which is of constant use in the Icelandic final *-ur* (see Part II. p. 548b). But as I heard a decided leaning from (e) to (u), I use (e₁) to shew a difference from the true French sound. This sign (e₁) is used on p. 146 for one of the peculiar w.Sm. forms of O'. There is probably a difference which I cannot formulate. JGG. says he regards the sound as being intermediate between (e) and (u). Those who find a difficulty in conceiving (-e₁r^c) final may content themselves with (-er_o) or (-e). Thus few Londoners, even after many hearings, would distinguish this word *neighbour* from their own (næ¹jbr).—*ye*, the diphthong (éi) or (éi) differs in two particulars from (éi) in the preceding word. In the first place the lengths of the elements are reversed, and in the second the last element is pure (i) and not (i). Natives think they say (jii). This shortening of the first and lengthening of the second element leaves the impression of the second vowel in the mind.—*him*, (h) always well sounded.—*laugh*, the vowel is as deep as in (wha₁t), but much shorter. This very short (á₁) is the sound given in Swaledale to *a* in all such words as *staff*, *ask*, *lath*, *chance*, which have (aa) in London, but see for Edenside, p. 539.—*at this news of mine*, variant (et t' níúuz et ái¹v giten), at the news that I've got.

2. *it's few of*, variants (nét, nyt si ma₁ni), not so many.—*that*, (et) for (et)=that, by attraction of the following (d).—*because*, variant (biko¹z).—*we*, (wi) weak, ('wéi) strong.—*know*, the initial voiceless (nh-) for *kn-* is very strong.—*none* (ny₁n), the exact value of this (y) is difficult to determine, see p. 540. I leave (y), which Mr. Melville Bell identifies with *e* in houses, but what that is when accented it is difficult to say.—*likely*, JGG. finds the final vowel to lie between (i, i), and it might be written (i¹), but it is so near (i) that with this caution (i) is used.

3. *these*, etc., variant (it)s dju₁st héiia₁r^c nú₁u), it's just here now.—*friend*, here the (y₁) signifies a slight variant of (y), which I cannot precisely define.—*while*, variants (wháil, whel, t¹l); this use of *while* for *until*, occurs in many other specimens, but is strange to s. ears. A schoolmaster is reported to have said to a noisy class

(âi kan)ət bigin whâil ʒe)ʀ° whâi)ət), which sounds like 'I can't begin *while* you're quiet,' but meaning was *until* you are quiet.—*hear'st thou*, meaning *listen*, as we often say 'do you hear?' an interrogative for imperative. Variants (la)dhæ nû,u), probably 'look thou now,' and (lâaist)ə) listest thou, the (t) of the second word being lost after the preceding one.

4. *I'm certain*, etc., variant, thought to be better (âi)z sîuæ,ʀ° əd)j hîæ,ʀ°d) təm tel—tel on—əbû,ut it), I am sure that I heard them tell—tell on—about it.—*say*, here (se) is quite unaccented, the stress falling on the following (sî,âi).—*that did I*, variants (dhat əd âi did, dhat əd did)i), where the meaning of (əd), which should be unaccented *that*, is not clear, see also the end of par. 5. Observe (i) JGG.'s (i') for unaccented *I*, several times in this par.

5. *great*, var. (gr°fiæt).—*father's*, observe the absence of the possessive 's in the dialect.—*squeaky*, var. (skwîeki).—*and I would trust*, etc., var. (ən âi)l əp°d)im, hî)l nət léii), and I'll uphold [=warrant] him, he'll not lie.—*any*, var. (anî).—*that would I*, the meaning of (əd) is not apparent, see par. 4.—var. (âi wîl 'dha,t nû,u), I will *that* now.

6. *body*, var. (wumæn).—*any*, var. (anî).—*without*, var. (widhû,ut).—*much*, var. (miti).—*if you'll*, etc., var. (ən as)ə,ʀ° an [one] ask her, where *an* =if, is supposed to represent 'an one,' that is, 'if one'; this is a peculiar idiom of the district, and being indefinite, would be preferred.

7. *any*, var. (anî).—*she shouldn't*, this was meant to be emphatic (shéii), but the courtesy of the district finds the emphasizing of a personal pronoun invidious. People will even avoid *thou* in speaking, as too personal. A mother will prefer saying *she* (shî) unemphatic even when addressing her daughter.—*wrong*, var. (w'ra,q) among the older people, (ra,q) among the younger, the final (q) often prolonged emphatically.

8. *she would*, the vowel in the word (shu) is due to the attraction of the following (w), the people themselves feel this effect.—*found the drunken*, observe (d') coronal suspended before (d) alveolar, the tongue is felt to slip forward in passing from the first to the second. The Dale form is (d,ʀ°u,qk'n), at Barnard Castle (12 nw. Richmond)

they say (d,ʀ°u,k'n).—*beast*, var. (felæ).—*husband*, var. (hu,zbæn'd).

9. *coat*, var. (kl'â,z) clothes.—*close by the*, var. (haar°d bisâaid'd), hard beside the.—*door*, the sound of (y₁) differs very slightly if at all from French (y), but the real sounds heard for this word were difficult to appreciate, and were in fact differently appreciated by JGG. at different times and from different speakers. He has lately heard the Swedish *y*, and thinks this nearly identical with it. Whether the sound was exactly the same as the (y₁) of D 10, 11, 19, is not quite certain.

10. *roaring*, var. (whéndjøn) whingeing, compare Salesbury's *wyngæ* (suprà, Part III. p. 763a), also heard at Rothbury, Nb.—*away*, in Cu. and We. (əwæ:), with a much deeper sound.—*that had got sadly frightened*, there is no dialect phrase equivalent to 'fretting.'

11. *son's wife*, omitting the possessive 's, var. (do'u,tə,ʀ°i)læa), daughter-in-law.

13. *business*, var. (dʒɒb).—*Jack*, var. (:dʒwɒn).—*don't*, the (n) omitted, compare D 29, var. iib, p. 461; this word sounded to me more like (*doot*), and JGG. said that it forcibly reminded him also of (*doot*) at first hearing, especially when lengthened in singing. Observe that *doubt* would have been (dú,ut), and hence quite distinct.

14. *home*, the aspirate sounded here to me as (jh).—*think on* is always used in the north-west for 'remember' and 'remind,' as 'I can't think on, you must think me on't.'—*that thou art not*, var. (duu,t bi), don't be.

15. *without reason*, var. (widhû,ut) and var. (wî nû,â, sens), with no sense.—*all I've got to say*, var. (mi last wuu,ʀ°d), my last word.

Notes to No. 3, *Hawes*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

2. *nobody*, variant (fîu fwû,ək) few folk.

4. *sure*, var. (saar°t'n), certain.

5. *bairn*, var. (su,ɪn).

9. *saw him*, var. (séiid)im), see'd him.

11. *hanging out*, old people say (âut).

Notes to No. 4, *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, La. D 31, V iib, p. 563.

0. *John* or (:dʒak').

1. *Jim* or (lâd).—*thee*, used as in

s.La., as explained in Notes to West Houghton, p. 337.—*cares*, TH. leaves the (r) unmarked throughout.

2. *because they're*, variant (wi bi jin).

3. *however*, TH. writes (úui'vər), but we should have expected (hóui'vər).

4. *I heard the same folk say as knew it all*, a various reading by the informant who has generally abridged the text.—*all* (AA) or (oo).

5. *rate*, var. (táim), time.

7. *in a thing of this sort*, var. (əbóut ər aan uzben), about her own husband.

8. *drunken beast*, possibly (bíást) or (slóuk, sləmp). TH. uses (u₂) for U partially throughout this region, see p. 554.

9. *saw* or (síid).—*lying at full reach*, (s'trɛtɪt ɒt fu:l lɛnθ), stretched out full length.—*best* or (su:ndə) Sunday.

10. *for all*, (AA) or (oo).

13. *and so then*, or (nóu dhɛn') now then.

15. *he is a fool*, etc., or (ɛni jan)z ɜ fíuul tɜ tAAk [took] wíjút ríwz'nz), any one's a fool to talk without reasons.

Notes to No. 5, Coniston, La. D 31, V ii^b, p. 563.

3. *matter*, or (kiás) case.—*quiet*, Miss Bell had heard only one old man use this form, gen. (kwáist).—*done*, Mr. Bowness wrote *deun*, implying (dún), which Miss Bell did not know. Mr. Ellwood thought *deean* (dɛn) better.

4. *I is*, Mr. Bowness wrote *I'm*, which Mr. E. says is not known as part of dialect.—*folk*, Mr. B. wrote *fwoke*, which older form (*fwook*) Miss B. did not recognise.—*enough*, no form of *enow* known to Miss B.

5. *father tongue*, Mr. Ellwood says the possessive 's is not usually omitted.—*to speak*, so written, and so Miss Bell, see Intro. to V ii^b, p. 550.—*that I would*, Mr. B. added (dhat wod)ɪ), which Miss B. did not know.

6. *now*, Mr. B. wrote *noo*, which was repudiated both by Mr. E. and Miss B., but as Coniston is so near the s. hoose line 6, no doubt many (nú,u) speakers are heard there.—*too*, this is generally replaced by (en oo), and all.—*won't she*, (wɛnt shɜ) at full contracted into (wɛtɪɜ) according to Miss Bell.

7. *over*, this was Miss B.'s pron.

8. *beast* or (ru,bish, teestrel) rubbish, taistril, the last a n. country word for

a scoundrel.—*calls*, Mr. B. wrote *cooas*, *cwooas*, which both Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated.—*husband*, (man) more usual.

9. *eyes*, Mr. B. wrote *een ees*, but Miss B. only knew (áiz).—*ground*, Mr. B. wrote simply *grund*, the sound was difficult to catch, but it came to me from Miss B. like (grɔ,nd), the (ɔ₁) is frequent before (r) according to JGG. in D 31, and I seemed to recognise it in Miss B.'s (nɔ₁t, grɔ₁nd) not, ground. It is probably the same sound which occurs in No. 10, and there marked (y₁), see Intro. to No. 10, p. 560.—*door stone*, or threshold, Mr. B. wrote *duer*, and Mr. E. preferred *dewer*, hence probably (diuer) or (diúr) may be heard from older people, as in Nos. 6, 7, 10.—*down*, here again Mr. B. wrote *doon*.

10. *bairn*, Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated the form (beern).—*frightened*, suggested by Miss B., Mr. B. wrote *in a freeat* (in ɜ fríat).

11. *out*, Mr. B. wrote *oot*.—*to dry*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.—*washing*, Mr. E. gave (wéishin), it will be seen that this does not occur in D 31, but is found in D 30.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. B. wrote *efterneun*, Mr. E. preferred *efternean*, Miss B. gave (nuun) here, but (níen) in the cwl.

13. *more than*, Mr. E. preferred (meer dhen).—*John*, in this place Miss B. admitted (:dɔɛn), but not in the title.—*either*, Mr. E. admitted dental or rather alveolar (dɛr), Miss B. did not employ them, but TH. says their use is quite prominent.

14. *I is going home*, Mr. B. wrote *I'm gáen heám*, I follow Miss B.—*at crowing*, written *t'craain'*, with variant *ta craa*, it seems as if Mr. B. used *at crowing* to escape *at crow*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.

15. *poor fool*, Mr. B. gave as a variant *fuil*. Mr. E. says that *peeur feeul* are not heard here.

Notes to No. 6, Casterton for Kirkby Lonsdale, We. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

5. *I'd trust him at speak*, observe *at for to*. Var. (áai)l ɛpɔ'd)im h'í,i)l sp'ík), I'll uphold him, he'll speak.—*any* (e₁ní) is an older form than (oni).

7. *wrong*, Mrs. Wilson could not remember (w'ra,ɪ).—*thing* or (póint).

8. *telling thee*, or (see,ʌn) saying.—*man* or (huzbʌnd).

13. *until to do*, the hiss of (wh) in *while* is weak.

14. *so sharp to crow*, so sharp at crow, would be more natural, but the dialect is rather mixed at Casterton, see par. 11 *at dry*, and par. 15 *note at say*; also p. 550.

15. *that's my last word* or (dha,t)s AA ai)v giten vt see,) that's all I've got to say.

Notes to No. 7, *Dent*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) was fully trilled.

3. *is the (ist)*, the German form, is occasionally used for *is*, without any contraction of *is it*. In this case it was perhaps due to the following (t'), and perhaps (is)t' faks) would be more correct.

7. *shouldn't*, observe the unusual form (sad'nt), comparable with (wad'nt) would not.—*wrong*, remembered (w'raq), but (raq) given as a variant.—*what dost thou*, and then Mr. Par- rington added (ebaut it dhisel'?), about it thyself, which was not in the original.

14. *at crowing*, this must be the sense as it stands, but it looks as if it were meant for (vt kraa) *at crow*.

Notes to No. 8, *Sedberg*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

In these notes the variants of the Cautley version are referred to by C. prefixed; the text gives only the Sed- berg version.

0. *John*, C. (:dʒwuu,ʌn).

1. *thee*, C. (si,i).—*at this news of mine*, C. (vt t' niuz vt ai)v giten tʌ tʌl ʒe), at the news that I've got to tell you.—*cares*, C. (ki,ʌ,z fʌ dhat), cares for that, obs. omitted (r).—*neither*, C. (neɪdhe,r).—*there*, the form (dhi,a,r), like (mi,a,r), par. 13, is peculiar to the s. side of the rocky backbone of the Lake District. JGG. says "the geological formation of the country in part determines the dialect by determining the kind of pasturage which the various kinds of people followed."

2. *few*, or (fiu men), C. (it)s fiu fu,k vt du,z'nt li,iv laq vt ʌftʌ,r dhʌ)r lʌft at) it's few folk that does not live long at—after they're laughed at. "At—after" is a regular s.We. and n.La. phrase. Mr. Peacock in his Lonsdale Glossary compares Danish

efterat.—*we know that*, C adds (wi,il ʌnu,f) well enough.—*make*, or (mi,ʌ,k), C (mak ʌm di,i).—*it is'nt*, C (it)s ny,t) it's not—*is it*, JGG. writes (ii,zs)t) here, and C (iizs)t).

3. *these are the facts of the case*, var. (ʌai)l tʌl dhʌ AAl ʌbu,ut it) I'll tell thee all about it.—*prihee*, C (dʒu,st) just.—*my lad*, C (fry,nd).—*while*=until, C (whail).—*done*, C (du,n).—*hark thou*, C (lis'n nu,u), listen now.

4. *I am certain*, C (ʌai)z si'ur) I am sure.—*heard*, C (hiə,rd).—*say so*, C (tʌl ʌbu,ut it).—*job*, C (thiq)—*from the first*, C inserts (varə).—*that did I safe enough*, C (ʌi iz dhat si'ur ʌnu,f) I am that sure enough.

5. *youngest lad*, C (ju,qist baarn).—*nine*, C (nain).—*old* C (AAl,d).—*tongue*, C (vʌis).—*all*, C (AAl).—*squeak- ing*, C (skwi,iki).—*and I'll uphold it, he's a lad*, etc., C (ʌn ai)d ʌpo'd)it, 'hi,i)l ny,t li,i) and I'll uphold it, he'll not lie, or C (ʌi,d tʒy,st)im vt sp'i,ik) t' tʒiuth ʌni dʒe, ʌji wad dhat nu,u), I'd trust him at (=to) speak the truth any day, aye, I would that now.

6. *woman*, also C (bodi)=person, singular of folk or people.—*straight*, C (st,rɛk).—*any*, C (mity).—*any bother*, Sedberg inserted here (what- i,vʌ,r), which it was not convenient to insert in the text.—*I'm sure*, this em- phatic pron. of 'sure' is stated to be common among old people all over the country, but chiefly in Swaledale, We. and e.Cu., the first (si) is very short, and is followed by the (:) check closure of the vocal chords, which explode suddenly on an intensified (·u). This is not given in the C version, which has C (ʌi)l wad'nt shʌ,ʌ), aye, wouldn't she?

7. *she told*, C (shʌ,tʌld).—*I*, C (i).—*times*, C (tʌimz) without nasality.—*did she*, C (dhat did shʌ).—*shouldn't*, Sedberg, or (wad'nt) wouldn't.—*wrong*, S with (r), C (faar raq) far wrong, with inserted *far* and (ra).—*this*, C (dhis'n).—*what dost thou think about it*, C (what dʒʒe thi,qk?).

8. *very well*, C (wʌai)ʌ).—*then*, C (dhen).—*as I was telling*, C (ʌz,i wʌz see'ʌn).—*would tell thee the same*, C (wad tel dhe), with 'the same.'—*she*, C (shʌ).—*drunken*, C (d,rʌ,k'n).—*husband*, C or (ma'n).

9. *she*, C (shʌ).—*with*, C (wi).—*lying*, C inserts (laq st,r'i,ʌ'kt) long stretched.—*atop the ground*, C restores (ʌtop ʌ)t' gru,n'd) atop of the ground.

—*best*, C (gud).—*coat*, C (kwíu,vt).—*close beside*, etc., C reads (1₁haard bisáid)t', or (klwíu,es tɛ)t' díuwr ev iz aan (Hí,us) hard beside, or close to the door of his own house.—*in the*, C (vt t').—*lane*, C (lwíu,énin).

10. *says she*, C (shə, sɛd) she said.—*little petted lass*, C (láil lās vt wɛz sadli fri:t'nd), little lass that was sadly frightened.

11. *her daughter-in-law*, C (lAA), or (t' su,u wáif), the son's wife.—*side*, C (sáid) without nasality.—*at dry*, C either (vt) or (tɛ d,rái).—*one*, C (v v).

12. *while*, C (wháil).—*for the*, C (fər).—*one bright*, C inserts (fáin).—*come*, C (ku), and omits *next*.—*Thursday*, C (thu,rzde).

13. *dost*, C (des) weak.—*never learned*, C (ny₁və,r 1₁haard) never heard.—*more*, C (mɛɛ'ər) certainly more modern than (mɛ,ár).—*job*, C (bizny,s) business.—*while*, C (wháil).—*sure*, C (síuə,r), see par. 6.—*John* or (:dʒɔn), C (:dʒwíu,ən)—*Shepherd*, C (:shy₁pə,rɛ).—*and I*, C (wɛj,i).—*want*, etc., C ('want nɛɛdhə,r, máinds)tɛ d'hat nú,u), want neither, mindst thou *that* now? the interrogation form of imperative, see p. 596, l. 4.

14. *I will away*, C (áiz gaəv).—*to the*, C (tɛ mi).—*night*, C (ní,it).—*so*, C (sɪ).—*at crow*, C (vt kraain) evidently a 'correction' by the informant.—*again*, S or (vɛí,á,n).—*'other*, C (tʃu,dhə,r).

15. *it's*, C (1₁Hí,i,z).—*fool*, (fíul) is the pron. of the old, (fú,ul) of the younger men, C (fú,ul).—*my last word*, C also (lAA ái)v gít'n vt sɛɛ), all I've got at (=to) say.—*night*, C (ní,it).

Notes to No. 12, *Kirkby Stephen*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

3. *those are the facts of the case*. It would come more natural to a speaker to say (hodj)i ! it's dʒu,st hí,ɔ,r^o ní,u ! hold ye, it's just here now.

6. *she would (do) that*, or (wad'nt shə,ɪ?) wouldn't she?

7. *what dost thou think?* or (what dɛ 'jɪ,i think), what do 'ye think?

11. *back yard*, or (ba,k sáaid) back part or side.

13. *job* or (bizny,s) business.

Notes to No. 13, *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

9. *good Sunday coat*, or (bet,tə₁r_omə₁ klí,é,z) better-more clothes.

13. *and I do not care*, or (wɛn) duu,t kəɛ,r), with (i) for (a) I, and (duu,t) for don't.—*either*, more usually (6u,də,r^o).

14. *sharp*, or (ry,di) ready.—*when he* (when)ɛ), or (when)i).

15. *only a weak fool*, or (nobɛt v dáfɛt wɛn) only a daft one.

Notes to No. 14, *Temple Sowerby*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

1. *neighbour* or (nɛɛbə,r^o).—*tale* or (níu:z) news.

2. *few folk die* or (fwi,ɛk du,z't dɛ,i), folk don't die.—*we know that*, here Mrs. A. inserts *gaily well*; *such as we die indeed!* (gɛɛli wí,il, sɛk ɛz 'hu,z dɛ,i ɛndɛ'id !), where observe (hu,z) emphatic for *us*, the s. Scotch say (hæz), the only word to which they prefix an unauthorised (h).—*that is it not*, but the 'that' has the weak form (vt) strengthened.

3. *man*, (mɪn) is a diminutive, and is used in a depreciatory or familiar manner, (fry,n'd) is much more dignified.

4. *say so*, either (sɛ 'sɪ,é,) with the emphasis on the second word, or ('sɛɛ sɪ,é,) with emphasis on the first.—*whole thing* or (bizny,z) business.

5. *nine*, both (ní,in, náain) are used.

7. *ought not* or (sud'nt) should not.—*wrong* (w'raq) with old people still.

9. *see'd him* or (sAA) ím) saw him.

10. *says she*, (shɛ shí,i) so dictated, the s of *say* becoming assimilated to the following (sh).—*world*, the form (waar'd'l), which was so dictated, reminds one of the Dv. (wárd'l), but I have not met with it elsewhere.

11. *and that* or (dhis lAA) this all.—*son wife* or (dóutə,r^o i lAA) daughter-in-law.

12. *come next* or (ku,m)t' come the.

13. *know* or (tɛhAA), this was perhaps more exactly Mrs. A.'s pron.

Notes to No. 15, *Milburn*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *gaily well*, introduced apparently from Mrs. Atkinson.—*that do we*, the (vt) emphatic, but retaining the (v) sound, or else (dɛnɛt wɛ?) don't we.—*what should make them die?* or (wha,t iz)tɛ in lɛ₁fɪn tɛ ma,k v bodi dɛ,i?) what is there in laughing to make a body die? The (iz)tɛ stands for (iz dhə,r^o), the (dh) changed to (t) by the influence of the preceding (z),

the (r^o) omitted and consequently the (ə₁) falling into the usual (ə).

3. *however* or (əwəvə₁r^o).—*case* or (mät,tə₁r^o) *matter*.—*hold thy* or (had t_i) which dh assimilated.—*my lad* or (fr^oin'd) with (i) and not (y₁).—*got done* or (d_iə,n) *done*, or (g_it'n mi niúuz telt, mi kraks d_iə,n w_i), *got my news told, my cracks—talk—done with*.—*list ye*, or (las)tə₁nu₁u, la₁)dhə₁nu₁u), *list thou now*.

4. *heard the folk* or (haar_od dhəm) *heard them*.—*enough* or (ən_iə₁f).

5. *nine years old* or (ni₁in jə₁r^o ool'd).—*and I would*, etc., or (ən)ə wad t₁r^ou₁st 'him tə sp_iik)t' t₁r^oiúuth eni d_əə, ɛɛ' i m_ər^oi wad)i), and I would trust 'him to speak the truth any day, aye, marry, would I.

6. *old* either (AA'l'd) or (ool'd).—*too* or (t_iu).—*mickle bother* or (mit₁ə₁vd₁u) much ado.

7. *she tell me so* (s_iə, s_ii, s_ia₁)—*and I'm sure that she*, etc., or ('sh_ii) emphatic.—*wrong* or (w^oəq' w^or^oəq').—*what do you think* or (what də jə 'thiə₁ v₁ut it?), *what do you think about it?*

8. *saying* or (telən o)jə) *telling of you*.—*too* or (t_iu).—*old* or (ool'd).

9. *with her* or (wi₁d)ə₁r_o).—*long stretched*, or (AA iz laq lenth) all his long length.—*in his best Sunday coat* or (ev iz bet₁tə₁r^oms kl_iə₁z), *in his better-more, i.e. better clothes*.

11. *son wife* or (d_ou₁tə₁r^o i lAA) *daughter-in-law*.—*back side* or (fool'd) *fold*.—*hanging* or (hiq'ən).—*washing* or (wəshən).

12. *of Thursday* or (k₁ nekst thu₁r^ozde), *come next Thursday*.

13. *know*, (nhoo) is used by old people.—*job* or (bizny₁s) *business*.—*until* (whel, tel, t'l).—*John* or (:dja,k).—*do not* (du,vənt) does not occur in any other example I have obtained. Compare Nb. (div'nt).

14. *tells thee* or (tAAks).

15. *fool* or (f_iə₁).—*prattles* or (tj₁t,t₁r^oz) *chatters*.—*without* or (wi₁d₁ut).

Notes to No. 16, *Langwathby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *not*, sometimes (ny₁t), but (nu₁t) was adopted as general.—*know*, (nhoo) was usually dictated (tnhoo), as in Mrs. Atkinson's case, No. 14, merely an emphatic utterance of (nhoo).

3. *my lad* or (fry₁nd) *friend*.—*done* or (d_iə₁n).

4. *thing* or (biz'ny₁s) *business*.—*enough* or (eni₁ə₁f).

5. *him* or ('h_im).

6. *too* (t_iu) or (t_iə₁).

9. *swore*, but (sw₁ə₁r^o) as in No. 15, is the common form of the district.—*nook* or (n₁ə₁k) *nook*.

10. *says she*, see No. 14, and note on par. 10, p. 599.

11. *daughter-in-law*, (t' su₁n wAAif), the son's wife, the 's regularly omitted.—*washing*, with either (-ən) or (-in), the two forms of participle and verbal noun are therefore confused.

12. *Thursday*, JGG. thought he heard Miss Powley once say (thu₁r^ozde), and believes that both forms are used.

14. *so*, both forms (s_iə, s_iə) are used.

Notes to No. 17, *Ellonby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

4. *tell about it*, the usual expression, but sometimes (sɛɛ) *say*.

5. *I would trust him*, in such a case as this the emphasis would most likely be laid on the verb; if laid on the pronoun, it becomes ('h_im).—*aye I would*, old people would say ('ət wa₁d_i).

6. *that will she, my blood! but won't she!* 'my sang' is my blood, a mild form of swearing; or (w_il sh₁ nət) *will she not?*

7. *when I*, (when)ə marked however as (when)ə^o, where (ə^o) is an obscure sound, reminding the hearer of (a) without quite reaching it, and again (dhisa^on sɛɛə^on) and in all participles, for which (ə^o) I write (ə) simply, as the sound was by no means certain.

8. *man* or (h₁z₁b'nd).

9. *loning* or (lonin)=lane.

13. *job* or (bizny₁s) *business*.

Notes to No. 18, *Keswick*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

1. *who*, this (whoo) is a mere town form.

2. *know*, the form (nhoo) not remembered, (naa) is used in Borrowdale, the long narrow valley running s. from Derwentwater, from 4 to 7 s. Keswick.

3. *so*, the (ə^o) marks a faintly indicated sound of (a₁), (s_oa^o) in Borrowdale; it would be difficult to distinguish (a^o, ə), and (ə^o) may be only a personal peculiarity.—*friend*, in the same way (e^o)

represents a sound of (e) rendered indistinct.

4. *through*, this (ʔ'u) may have been really (æ'u).

5. *for all it was so*, or with a different emphasis (fu₁r_o oo 't)waz sɐ) for all it was so.

6. *old*, Borrowdale (aald).—*much*, also (m'kɛl).

7. *two or three* (twi₁a,thr^oi₁i) without 'or,' Borrowdale.—*wrong*, almost (wra₁q'), old people said (w'r^oa₁q).

Notes to No. 19, *Clifton*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (wh, w) vary from person to person, (w) is more common near the Solway Frith, the (a) was distinctly not (a₁), indeed, had I not throughout these cs. adopted JGG.'s conception (p. 539) that (aa, a) are always fine, I should have written it (a¹), but as here (a₁) is used as the deep sound in German *mann*, which must be written (ma₁n), although I should generally write (maɪ) simply, the use of (a¹) would be too great a contrast to (a₁). Perhaps JGG. would have written the sound (a) as an advanced (a). On the whole, I consider it safer to use (a) only.—*for*, the (r) was trilled by Mr. Hetherington very distinctly when final or before consonants; whether this is a general habit, I cannot say; very possibly not so.—*John*, the (dʒ) was distinctly labialised even to the eye.—*doubts* was (duuts), and neither (du₁ts) nor (d₁uts). But (d₁u) occurs as in *now*, par. 2.

1. *neighbour*, the broad (æ) is used here and elsewhere by the older people only, the younger use (ee).—*neither*, distinctly (æw), not at all labialised to (öw); in the last syllable, and generally, I could not detect any difference from the common final (wɪ).

2. *know*, not with (nh) or (tn).—*should*, (sud) is becoming gradually replaced by (shud).

3. *however*, this form is common and not exceptional, (hu₁wi[·]vɛr, hewi[·]vɛr) are both new forms.—*hold thy*, (ti) is the older and rarer form, (dhi) newer.—*done* or (diɛn).

4. *I's*, (aa) is used only when emphatic, otherwise (a).—*those folk*, here I heard what seemed like (a₁), and in (fwok) the (f) was distinctly labialised, the inflation of the upper lip, which is characteristic of (w), being clearly seen, as Mr. H. pronounced the word.

5. *knew*, (ken) when there's recognition, Fr. *connaître*; (noo) when there's knowledge, Fr. *savoir*; thus (a ken im) I know him, but (a¹ noo ɛt hi)z gaan hi¹m) I know that he's gone home.

7. *told me it*, the older construction is (telt it m₁i) told it me.—*when*, Mr. H. says he never heard (wh) in *when*, but always in *who*, *which*, *where*.—*wrong*, if (w) precede, it is not distinct, at most (wraq, 'raq).

8. *found*, usually (fu₁nd) not (fand), and the (d) is heard, as also in (gru₁nd) ground.—*husband*, (man) is common.

9. *eyes*, both (i₁iin) and (ai₁z) are used by the same people.—*coat* (kliaz) clothes, would be better.

10. *whindging*, (w) here more common than (wh); (ju₁ul) yowl is used for either an adult or a child.

11. *the daughter-in-law*, *her* would not be used, only *the*, similarly 'he and the son-wife,' not 'he and his son's wife.'

14. *home*, this (jam) is the commonest form, but (hiám) is also used.

15. *good bye* seldom used, and so is also (farwe:l). I doubt the form (bói), although Mr. H. wrote it distinctly in glossic [baoy].

Notes to No. 20, *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) is very faint, no proper trill, very different from the Scotch, although Mr. Ellwood considered it to be the same. I could not identify it with the London (r_o), and hence I adopt (r^o), which I have used in so many previous versions.

1. *that*, I did not notice (a₁) here or elsewhere, but I cannot be certain.—*here there*, I did not notice (i₁i), only (i₁i). Mr. E. wrote simply ee = (ii).

2. *know*, Mr. E. considered it was (tnoo), but, as I heard him, he said simply (noo).

6. *much*, (m'k'l) also used, not (mitɪ).

10. *crooning*, Mr. E. says "it is usually used in the dialect for the whining noise made by a cow, also by a drunkard, or any whining sound. It is much more expressive for the sound of a drunkard than our word whine."—*pet*, a common word.

11. *her*, it is possible that the sound was really meant for (hæ₁r), but it came to my ear exactly like a broad (hæ₁),

and Mr. E. compared it to the pron. of the biblical name *Hur*.—*son's wife*, much commoner than (*dou,tə,r* in LAA) daughter-in-law, which is also used.

Notes to No. 21, *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, V i, p. 563.

5. *kent* or (*ken'd*) knew.

6. *woman* or (*bodi*) body.

7. *wrong*, with a slight vowel initial or (*w'raq*).

8. *goodman* or (*hu,zbən'd*).

9. *sware*, the (*y*₁) represents (*y*) spoken with a peculiar widening of the pharynx, which makes the sound somewhat different from any form of (*y*₁). The sound noted may, however, have been only Mrs. A.'s attempt to imitate the true sound, and even that may have been an individuality; but JGG. states that he has heard it from other old people.—*lying* or (*lái'ən*).—*on the* or (*ətop v dhə*) atop of the.—*good Sunday coat* or (*bət,tə,r^oma,r^o klə,vz*) bettermore clothes.

10. *in a fright*, not 'in a fret' as was intended, but the word does not seem to be used in the dialect.

11. *son's wife* or (*dəu,tə,r^o* in LAA).

13. *job* or (*ma,tə,r^o*, *bizny,s*) matter, business.

14. *going* or (*ga,qən*) ganging.—*night*, Mrs. Anderson remembered (*nə'lkjht*).—*quick—crow*, or (*kroo*).

15. *poor*, similarly (*dy,ə,r^o*, *sy,ə,r^o*, *my,ə,r^o*, *fly,ə,r^o*) door, sure, moor, floor; but a 'form' to sit on is (*fəor^om*) with *o* in *swore*, but (*fəə,r^om*) at Milburn, We.—*wisdom*, or (*r^oiz'n*) reason.—*word* or (*wəə,r^od*).

Notes to No. 22, *Knaresdale*, Nb. D 32, V i, p. 563.

1. *both* (*bi'əth*), misprinted with (*ii*₁) on p. 564, last line. JGG. writes (*ii*¹) in place of (*ii*), as a general rule. I do not distinguish these two sounds, but of course (*i*₁ *i*, *i*¹ *i*₁, *i* *i*¹) form a series for ears capable of distinguishing the sounds, and probably the difference is very perceptible from native speakers in conversation, though it evades analysis. However I retain JGG.'s symbol. The (*æ*) is quite distinct.

3. *till I be done*, the use of this *be* is very suspicious.

10. *world*, JGG. wrote (*wəər'ld*), as in par. 3 he wrote (*fəərst*). In revising with me he introduced the sign (*ə_o*), this like (*ə_u*) was one of the signs for this vowel affected by (*r*) which we agreed afterwards to write (*ə₁*), which is the symbol I retain. He says that with regard to all these sounds "there seems to be a gradual glide from (*u*) with an (*i*) tongue point through pure (*u*) to (*v^u*). That is to say, the (*u*) position is held from first to last, but at first the point of the tongue is raised to the (*i*) position, and afterwards the natural vowel (*v*) is sounded through the same position on to the buzzed (*r^o*). This remark applies, I think, to all the queer anomalous group with altered (*y*, *ə*) that I have come across in nw. Yo., in Cu., and We."

11. *day* (*dɛɛ'v*), a trace of this form is heard in Cu., producing a kind of tired effect; it is not the rule in Cu., and is only found in the pause.

TRADITIONAL NAMES OF PLACES IN EDENSIDE.

The above is the title of a paper read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, at Penrith, in January, 1881, which with his permission I reproduce from the Transactions of the above Society almost at length, but differently arranged. Owing to his connection with the Government Geological Survey, JGG. had to spend many years in this neighbourhood in the most out-of-the-way places, and amidst the rocks and hills that there abound, all of which have traditional names, which the orthography generally used fails to convey. JGG., who commonly used palaeotype to express sounds, employed it in this paper to represent these names as spoken, and this gives an additional reason, if one were wanted, for introducing it in this book, for which pal. has been mainly invented, extended, and familiarly used. JGG. says: "The researches of philologists have made it clear that it is

unsafe to hazard an opinion upon the etymology of these place-names. Within the hydrographical basin of the Eden, or what, for convenience sake, it would be well to call by the name **EDENSIDE** [D 31, Var. iv, p. 555], we have evidence that there have been in use an unknown form of Iberian speech; the form, or forms, of Celtic current in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, also practically unknown; the various dialects of the Angles, which were probably as diverse in their day as are the dialects of the parts the Angles came from, at the present day; unknown forms and dialects of a more decidedly Scandinavian character; and, lastly, superposed upon the foundation formed by these diverse elements, forms of the literary English of every period from the earliest times to the present day. Under these circumstances it becomes difficult for any man to decide, in the present state of philological knowledge, what words are corruptions of words of known meaning, and what are veritable relics of former speech, now all but lost. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the view that the traditional names of places are the original forms and their literary forms their corruptions will meet with general acceptance. . . . Acting on this principle I have thought it best to lay before the Society simply a collection of facts, just as they were received from the dialect-speakers themselves. The plan I have adopted is to place on record the pronunciation of every place-name, where this differs in any way from its literary form as expressed on the Ordnance Maps, and to record all names not on the maps that are spelled with approximate correctness, when these names serve the purpose of shewing that a particular termination exists in various names throughout the length and breadth of Edenside. A large proportion of the names in the list is from my own notebook, but I have gladly availed myself of the aid of others. Amongst these are the late talented Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderswath [see p. 561], who collected many words with a view of bringing out a list jointly with myself; Miss Powley, of Langwathby, Mr. J. Bainbridge [see p. 562], Mrs. Graham, and Mr. Wm. Birket, of Penrith; Mr. Dover, of Woodfoot [see p. 560], Mr. John Robinson, of Milburn, and lastly, Mr. William Atkinson, [then] of the Science Schools, South Kensington, who has placed his knowledge of the subject entirely at my disposal. Other helpers, too numerous to particularize, have taken more or less interest in the subject."

Localities and Arrangement.

JGG. has generally, not always, assigned a "locality" as he terms it, to the name, and has also generally, not always, given the usual spellings of the names of the places mentioned. In order to save space I here give a list of these localities in alphabetical order and numbered, and subsequently I refer to them by these numbers.

JGG.'s arrangement is generally (there are a few exceptions) by the sound in which the names end, and these form the "original categories," which have been left undisturbed, and numbered i. to xl. But the names in each category have been re-arranged according to the number of the locality in which it occurs.

When several names are referred to the same locality, the number is repeated before each one. The order is always: first, the number of the locality; next, the name of the place in pal.; and then in the ordinary spelling in italics when given by JGG., and if not so given, by a dash —. Sometimes the localities are very vague, as simply 21 Cu. and 74 We. Sometimes two or more localities are assigned to the same name. In this case generally the number of the other locality is added in [] to each, and the name is given under each locality. The reader will thus be able to find the pron. of all the names here given for any locality. But very frequently no locality is named, generally, says JGG., because the name referred to is not recorded on the Ordnance Maps, and then the number 0 is used. Sometimes "various localities" are assigned to a name, but not written. In this case they are numbered 00. Sometimes one locality is given, and others unnamed are said to occur. In this case + is added to the number of the locality actually given.

The particular form of pal. used after discussion with JGG. is given on p. 539, as explained by himself in this paper.

0 No locality assigned. 1 Ainstable. 2 Appleby. 3 Ash Fell, We. 4 Bampton. 5 (given in error). 6 Barton. 7 Bewcastle. 8 Blencarn. 9 Blenco. 10 Broadfield. 11 Brougham. 12 Caldbeck. 13 Calthwaite. 14 Carlisle. 15 Carrath. 16 Carrick. 17 Colby. 18 Croglin. 19 Crossfell. 20 Crosby Ravensworth. 21 Cumberland. 22 Dacre. 23 Dent. 24 Dufton. 25 Edenhall. 26 R. Glenderaterra. 27 R. Glenderamackin. 28 Greycarth Fell. 29 Greystoke. 30 Hawes Water. 31 Heskett Newmarket. 32 Howgill Fells. 33 Ivegill. 34 Kaber. 35 Kendal. 36 Keswick. 37 King's Meaburn. 38 Kirkby Stephen. 39 Kirkby Thore. 40 Kirkland. 41 Knock. 42 Langwathby. 43 Lowther. 44 Mallerstang. 45 Mardale. 46 Martindale. 47 Melmerby. 48 Mickel Fell. 49 Milburn. 50 Milburn Grange. 51 Morland. 52 Mungrisedale. 53 Orton, We. 54 Ousby. 55 Penrith. 56 Penrith side of Eamont Bridge. 57 Penruddock. 58 Plumpton. 59 Pooley. 60 Rose Castle. 61 Saddleback. 62 Shap. 63 Skelton. 64 Skiddaw. 65 Skirwith. 66 Sowerby Row. 67 Stainmoor. 68 Stenkrith. 69 Temple Sowerby. 70 Thirlmere. 71 Tirril. 72 Troutbeck. 73 Ullswater. 74 Westmorland. 75 Whinfell. 76 Wilbert Fell, We. 77 Winskill. 78 Yorkshire. 00 various unnamed localities; a + added to the number shews that other localities are mentioned but not named.

List of Names.

i. Names ending in (v). 8 stu₁r^vbə nɪuk *Sturba Nook*. 12 whelpə *Whelpa*. 21 skidə *Skiddaw*. 21 kAAɔv *Caldew*. 21 tor^vpənə *Torpenhow*. 22 u₁lkɪtə *Ulcath Row*. 39 loo a₁bə *Low Abbey*. 41 bu₁r^vnə *Burney Hill*. 41 flegdə *Flagdaw*. 46 bɛi^vdə *Beda Fell*. 49 wh^vaaitə —. 55 baar^vkə *Barcoe*. 55 thakə bek *Thackay Beck*. 55 wufə *Woufa*. 57 stu₁də *Stoddah*. 64+ kAAvə *Calva*. 67 du₁mə kr^va₁g *Dumma Crag*. 67 plu₁kə *Plucka Tarn*. 67 wu₁utə *Woufa*. 69 hɪ^vutə *Houtsay*. 70 sta₁nə *Stanah*. 74 ryd^vlɪsə *Riddlesay*. 74 r^vodhə *Rawthay*. 74 tɛbə *Tebay*. 00 pAAkə —. 00 grA₁nə kr^va₁g —. 00 br^vu₁unə —. 00 rɪspə —.

ii. Names ending in (shv). 32+ hɪɛr^vshə *Hareshaw*. 32 bu₁shə *Bushaw*. 49 hɪq^vishə *Hanging Shaw*. 00 wɛtshə —. 00 lɔfshə —.

iii. Names ending in (r^v). 1 ska₁r^və *Skarrow Hill*. 8 mu₁r^və *Moray Hill*. 18 dAAir^v —. 21 ska₁r^vəma₁n^vɪk *Skarrowmanwick*. 49 silv₁r^və bA₁nd *Silver Band*. 73 ɛɛr^və f₁u₁a₁r^və *Arey Force*. 73 sha₁r^və bɛɛ *Sharrow Bay*. 74 mu₁zgr^və *Musgrave*. 74 bA₁r^və *Barrow Moor*. 00 dok^və —. 00 sɛt₁r^və *Setterah*.

iv. Names ending in (skv). 2 [with 17] mɪnskə —. 17 mɪnskə —. 21 hɪa₁skə *Haresceugh*. 21 [with 72] lɪskə —. 21 [with 72] flu₁skə *Fluskew*. 21 nɔr^vskə *Northsceugh*. 21 bA₁skə *Barco Dyke*. 37 baar^vnskə *Barnskew*. 38 gr^va₁mskə —. 41 kɔskə *Cosca*. 47 [with 54] mu₁skə *Muska*. 49 thr^viyskə —. 54 [with 47] mu₁skə *Muska*. 55 sku₁mskə *Scumsceugh*. 71 hɪh^vuskə *Heughscar*. 72 [with 21] lɪskə —. 72 [with 21] flu₁skə *Fluskew*. 00 flA₁skə *Flasco Flaskew Fluskew*, etc.

xvii. Names ending in (əl, yl). 0 pe,tə₁r^oəl *River Petteril*. 55 tə₁r^oəl *Tirril*. 00 hhu,q^rəl hhu,q^ryl *Hunger Hill*.

xviii. Names ending in (skyl). 0 winskyl [more often] winskəl *Winskyl*. 0 lonskyl *Lonscale Fell*. 21 enskyl —. 21 hhu,dskylz *Hudscale*. 55 sku,skyl *Skirsgill*. 57 swāainskylz *Swinescales*. 60 grætskyl *Gaitgill*. 61 bōwskyl *Bowscale*. 62 r^ooskyl *Rosgill*. 73 bonskyl —. 74 hha,və₁r^oskylz —. 74 ga,skyl tarⁿ —. 74 grætskyl *Gaitgill*. 74 thr^u,skyl *Thrusgill*.

The principal vowel (ə) in the terminations given above is usually regarded as a slovenly substitute for one or other of the better recognised sounds. The group of place-names given next below will suffice to prove that the (ə) in the words given below is not due to careless utterance. The same speakers that employ this (ə) use also the "clear" vowels, and sound them, if anything, more distinctly than one is accustomed to hear in ordinary received English.

xix. Names ending in (bi). Uniformly sounded (bi) as (a,p^lbi, kə,r^obi, kr^osbi), etc. [So written but probably (bi^l) or (bi) was meant, see p. 540.]

xx. Names containing or ending in (iq). 0 liqstu,bz *Ling Stubbs*. 0 la,mbekiq *Lambecking*. 0 liqkəwel —. 44 iq₁hhl *Ing Hill*. 49 daar^oliq —. 58 piq^l *Plumpton*.

xxi. Names ending in (sit, sid). 0 hhaaksid *Hawkshead*. 0 a₁m^lsid *Ambleside*. 3 r^oeesit *Rayseat*. 16 swāainsit —. 17 swāainsit —. 21 nēpsit *Knapside Fell*. 41 swāaisit. 44 swāainsit. 45 selsit *Selside*. 67 léisit *Ley Seat*. 74 or^omsit *Ormside*. 74 kr^osbi rí,á,v^{nsit} *Crosby Ravensworth*. 74 léisit *Ley Seat*. 74 tú,usit *Towcet*. 74+ selsit *Selside*. 74 a₁nesit *rēek Annaside Rake*. 75 léisit *Ley Seat*. 00 jaar^olsit *Yarlside*.

xxii. Names ending in (sáaid). 42 skaar^osáaid —. 47 nhaar^otsáaid —. 55 ket^lsáaid —. 00 felsáaid —.

xxiii. Names ending in (r^oik, r^oyk). 0 ka,r^oik *Carrock Fell*. 11 we,də₁r^oiks *Weatherriggs*. 12 kēelbr^oyk *Calebrack*. 21 nhiur^oik *How Rigg (School)*. 21 nhiurik *Hung Rigg (Quarries)*. 45 du₁də₁r^oik —. 54 bu₁te₁r^oik gr^oēnz —. 62 bu₁tə₁r^oik *Butterwick*. 73 hhu,r^oyk wud —.

xxiv. Names ending in (ik). 0 kezik *Keswick*. 0 ska,r^oēma₁ník *Scarromanwick*. 0 gr^oēstik *Greystoke*. 0 mú,uə₁r^odivik *Moor Divock*. 0 ku,mdiv^oik *Cumdivock*. 21 wa₁tə₁r^o milik *Water Millock*. 21 pen^ou₁d^oik *Penriddock*. 61 dodik *Doddick*. 73 rholik *rhóu* —. 73 sa₁ník *Sandwick*. 73 blóu^oik —. 74 spu₁dík *Spurrig End*.

xxv. Names ending in (in). 0 sokín)ber^o —. 0 br^oekin)sla₁k *Brackenslack*. 0 la,q maar^otin *Long Marton*. 0 taákin tarⁿ *Talkin Tarn*. 2 kr^oekin)thr^op *Crackenthorpe*. 13 br^oekin)bru₁f —. 41 ska₁bín du₁b —.

xxvi. Names ending in (i^l) or (i). 0 ma₁nesti *Manesty*. 2 kéisli *Keisley*. 58 br^ookli mú₁ur^o —. 74 r^oezli *Reasley*. 74 est₁r^oi —.

xxvii. Names ending in (whit, whēet, whēt). 0 br^oekunwhit, *Brackenthwaite*. 0 aar^omwhit *Armathwaite*. 29 gr^oi₁inwhēet *Greenthwaite Hall*. 36 walwhēet *Walwhwaite*.

xxviii. Names ending in (kyt). 0 threlkyt *Threlkeld*. 73 spaar^okyt *Sparkhead* and *Sparket*. 00 bə₁r^okyt *Birket Mire*.

xxix. Names ending in (lyk, lík). 67 gbelyk —. 67 mú₁udhlyk *Mouthlock*.

xxx. Names ending in (thr^op). 0 hha,kthr^op *Hackthorpe*. 0 melkinthr^op *Melkinthorpe*. 2 kr^oekinthr^op *Crackenthorpe*. 23 and 35 mlthr^op *Milnthorpe*.

xxxi. Names having distinct (iu) in combination. 0 skiuf hht₁d *Sceugh Head*. 0 skiuf dáaik *Sceugh Dyke*. 0 la₁mskiuf *Lambsceugh*. 0 mid^llskiuf *Middle-sceugh*. 0 hhu,d^llskiuf [older pron. -(skiukwh)] *Huddlesceugh*. 0 kə₁r^obi fiu₁r^o *Kirkby Thore*. 0 kr^oiuguth *Crewgarth*. 0 nheg^l fiut *Heggle Foot*. 0 ka₁nə₁r^ohhiuf [older pron. -hiukwh] —. 12 hhu,tⁿ skiuf *Hutton Sceugh*. 21 [with 74] hhu,tⁿ r^oiuf *Hutton Roof*. 24 bliuthet *Bluethwaite*. 25 skiuf —. 47 fiul piul *Fairy Pool*. 49 kr^oiuktwaáiz. 55 líam *The Luham*. 73 glenkiuⁿ *Glencoin*. 73 kr^oiukidáa^lk —. 74 [with 78] líam *Lune*. 74 áukəd^l *Duckerdale*. 74 [with 21] hhu,tⁿ r^oiuf *Hutton Roof*. 78 líam *Lune*.

xxxii. Names having distinct (i₁a₁) in combination. 0 kí₁a₁bə₁r^o *Kaber*. 0 i₁a₁mēn *River Eamont*. 0 skí₁a₁lz-hhAA *Scales Hall*. 0 ne,də₁r^oskí₁a₁lz *Netherscales*. 0 stí₁a₁ngilz *Stonegill*. 19 laal dí₁a₁l *Little Dale*. 21 brí₁a₁dfí₁il^d *Broadfield*. 21 lí₁a₁dhz *Laihs*. 22 dí₁a₁kə₁r^o *Dacre*. 38 ní₁a₁tbi *Nateby*.

49 ú,ud'l dí,a,l —. 55 dí,a,lmí,a,n *Dalemain*. 62 tí,a,lbə,r^ot *Tailbert*. 66 whí,a,l gíl *Whale Gill*. 74 t' hñí,a,l *Hale Field*. 74 slí,a,ks *Slakes*. 74 whí,a,l *Whale*. 74 kr^oosbi r^oi,á,v^onsít *Crosby Ravensworth*. 78 tí,a,zd'l *Teesdale*.

xxxiii. *Names ending in (iiv) or (iix)*. 14+ r^oi,íe^o *Wreay*.

xxxiv. *Names having a distinct (ú,a,i) in combination*. 0 júenklú,a,s *Ewen Close*. 0 hñeg'l lú,a,nin *Heggle Lane*. 14 kú,a,t hñil *Cote Hill*. 16 mú,a,zd'l —. 22 djú,a,nbi *Johnby*. 29 áaik'l lú,a,nin. 41 klú,a,s hñú,us *Close House*. 41 kú,a,t áaik *Coatsike*. 55 kú,a,t klú,a,s *Colt Close*.

xxxv. *Names having a distinct (óu) in combination*. 0 bóuga,p *Hutton Grange*. 21 óuzbi *Ousby*. 55 fóur^oes *Fourass*. 55 bóu skaar^o *Bow Scar*. 74 bóut'n *Bolton*. 74 kóubi *Colby*.

xxxvi. *Names having distinct (íuu) in combination*. 0 ku,mr^oíuu *Cumrew*. 0 níuuten *Newton Keigny*. 2 biuuli kas'l *Bewley Castle*. 55 siuubor^oenz *Sewborvens*. 73 fiuuzd'l —. 73 biuuli (— or [lɔ]) *Beulah House*.

xxxvii. *Names ending in (bə,r^ot)*. 45 tí,a,lbə,r^ot *Tailbert*. 55 sokbə,r^ot *Sockbridge*. 74 wilbə,r^ot fel *Wildboar Fell*.

xxxviii. *Names ending in (mə,r^o)*. 0 r^oa,igmə,r^o mos *Wragmire Moss*. 0 sta,nmə,r^o —. 0 séimə,r^o taar^on —. 0 du,dmə,r^o *Dudmire*. 36 thelmə,r^o *Thirlmere*. 41 ka,t'lmə,r^o taar^on *Cattle Mire*. 49 oomə,r^o —. 52 réidmə,r^o —. 67 bla,kmə,r^o —. 67 winmə,r^o *Windmoor End*.

xxxix. *Names ending in (wath)*. 21 stog'lwath *Stockdalewath*. 74 windən-wath *Winderwath*.

xl. *Addenda and Miscellaneous Names not reducible to any of the above categories*. 0 hñu,lzw,a,tə,r^o *Ullswater*. 0 dof'nbi *Dovenby*. 0 dofənbi *Dolphinby*. 0 enstəb'l *Ainstable*. 0 su,dhə,r^oenbi *Southernby*. 0 wespa,r^olænd *Westmorland*. 0 ku,mə,r^olænd *Cumberland*. 0 ma,kwəhəbi *Maughanby*. 0 ba,nest *Bannest Hill*. 0 baskədə'ik *Bascodeyke*. 0 ba,r^oik *Barrock Park*. 0 kas'l ka,r^oik *Castle Carrock*. 0 hñi,i br'ig *High Bridge*. 0 stí,il jet *Steelgate*. 0 æket jet *Aiket Gate*. 0 kú,ur'ig. 0 gə,r^osnep *Grass Knop*. 1 br^oa,mə,r^oi —. 2 brekinbə,r^o *Brackenber*. 6 thoor^op —. 10 áait'nfi,i'l'd —. 13 ækba,qk *Oakbank*. 14 warik *Warwick*. 21 u,k'l'bə,r^o skaar^o *Oglebird Scar, Temple Sowerby*. 21 wili bú,uə,r^o skaar^o *Wildboar Scar*. 21 wilbeniuk *Willybower Nook*. 21 melə,r^obi *Melmerby*. 21 ga,muzbi *Gamblesby*. 21 lal sa,f'l *Little Salkeld*. 21 gə,r^ot sa,f'l *Great Salkeld*. 21 la,qənbi *Langwathby*. 21 bu,ste bek —. 21 r^ooo bek *Roe Beck*. 21 blenkaa^or^on *Blencairn*. 21 kə,r^oku,z'l'd *Kirkoswald*. 21 [and 74] kodbek *Coldbeck Caldbeck*. 21 bl'izf'l *Blaze Fell*. 21 məngr^oáai'zd'l *Mungrisedale*. 21 waanf'l *Wan Fell*. 21 skíprig —. 24 hñaa^ostí,idz *Hallsteads*. 27 gráaizd'l'bek —. 36 [with 67+] bor^oəd'l *Borrowdale*. 36 for^onsyt —. 38 skelsiz *Skelcies*. 40 aar^ol hñi'id *Ardale Head*. 41 hñ,ar^owə,r^oi bek part of *Swindale Beck*. 43 whípustí,idz *Whitby Steads*. 47 shəl gr^oin *Shield Green*. 51 lædhə —. 52 hñez'lñhə,st —. 54 hñáaikup *High Cap*. 55 aalbi *Aldby*. 55 la,qushiz *Milestone House*. 55 hñeemz *The Queen's Haims*. 55 bra,mə,r^oi —. 55 la,nfuts *Landsfoot*. 55 hñi,r^oig *Highrigg*. 57 ber^oiə,r^o nit'lz *Eycott Hill*. 57 beksiz *Beckcies*. 57 waləwə *Walaway*. 58 skí,ilz *Skeels*. 58 skr^oa,tymə skaar *Scratch Mill Scar*. 58 bróumə,r^oi —. 59 walhñú,us —. 61 ba,nədəl *Bannerdale*. 63 rigdə'ik *Rigdyke*. 67+ [with 36] borəd'l *Borrowdale*. 67 ba,r^oes — *Station*. 67 bə,r^oke pas,tə,r^o —. 72 a,skr^oig —. 72 sú,uthət'l —. 72 ba,nədəl *Bannerdale Fell*. 73 benst hñi'id *Bennethead*. 73 floshtəet —. 73 thoor^op —. 74 dípilən bú,uə,r^o *Julian Bower*. 74 r^oys'ndəl *Ravenstonedale*. 74 hñáaikəb'l *High Cup Gill*. 74 skaa fel *Scald Fell, Dufton*. 74 hñelbek *Hillbeck, Brough*. 74 mú,uə,r^olən *Morland*. 74 kr^oyn'l dáaik *Cringle Dyke*. 74 nhok páaik *Knock*. 74 hñeem kr^ooff —. 74 æklí bek *Milburn*. 74 loskəz *Loscars*. 74 br^oomə,r^oi *Bramery*. 76 dolfín stáai *Dolphin Sty*. 77 r^oobəbi *Roberby*, 00 hñaa^os *horse, hause, etc.*

[Names of places are always more altered than other words. We have abundant examples of such alterations in received speech. Hence such changes cannot be relied upon for general dialect pronunciation. But the above list is the most complete of its kind that has been drawn up, and I feel much indebted to JGG. for this opportunity of presenting it to my readers.]

SEWARD'S DIALOGUE FOR BURTON-IN-LONSDALE, YO.,

otherwise called Black Burton, nearly on the border of La. (13 ne.Lancaster, 3 w.Ingleton). The stalactite Yordas Cave (as the name is usually written) is near Ingleborough Hill, 56 yards long, 13 wide, and 16 high, Thornton Force or waterfall is also close by. There is a rare book, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte possesses a copy, that he allowed me to inspect and partly copy, entitled: "A Tour to Yordes Cave, by William Seward, Burton-in-Lonsdale, accompanied by a Shepherd from Thornton Force, Price one Shilling to Subscribers, Kirkby Lonsdale, printed by A. Foster for the Author, 1801," 8vo. in half-sheets. The Visit occupies pp. iv. 1-30. Then follows on half-sheet E. second leaf, "An attempt to illustrate the Dialect spoken in Burton-in-Lonsdale and its Vicinity in a familiar dialogue." When JGG. was in this neighbourhood on Geological Survey Duty, in 1876, he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Powley (:pú₁ul₁) of the post office, Burton-in-Lonsdale, a contemporary and fellow-townsmen of the author, William Seward, and from his dictation pal. a translation of this dialogue, which JGG. considers to be "one of the best specimens [of dialect] within his knowledge, and to present more than any other a nearly complete conspectus of the structure and phonology of the dialect of that part of Craven." I have therefore taken great pains to give JGG.'s writing with accuracy, and we have gone over the whole together vivâ voce. The cwl. which follow will be a further guarantee of the faithfulness of this representation of the speech current in these primitive rural districts. For the convenience of comparison I give the original orthography and the phonetic translation interlinearly. The original is an excellent specimen of dialectal spelling as usually found. It would have been totally impossible for a stranger to guess at the sounds used. Hence I put the translation first, which ought to be legible enough to those who have read so far, and add the original verbatim and literatim, with all its strange punctuation, use of capitals, and misprints, in the next line. The speeches are numbered as separate paragraphs for ease of reference, and a few notes are added at the end. As to the custom of sweethearts visiting at night, it must be remembered that it is thoroughly established, and suggests no impropriety.

"A Dialogue between Harre and Malle. Enter Harre."

1. *Ma₁li.* náu, |háu i₁z) t₁ t₁ n₁ é₁ t ?
 1. *Malle.* Naw haw iz ta ta nete ?
2. *Ha₁ri.* g₁ e₁ l₁ i₁, |háu) z t₁ áu t₁ n₁ é₁ t ?
 2. *Harre.* Gaily, haws taw ta nete ?
3. *M.* á₁ i₁ nha) n₁ e₁ t |háu) i₁ z. á₁ s₁ a₁ t u₁ p s₁ s₁ l₁ a₁ q' y₁ e₁ s₁ t₁ a₁ r₁ n₁ a₁ e' i₁ t e₁ t
 3. *M.* I knannat haw e iz. I sat up sa lang yesternete at
 á₁) k₁ e₁ n | h₁ a₁ a₁ r₁ d₁ i₁ | h₁ o₁ d m₁ i₁ e' n o₁ p' n.
 I can hardly hod my ene oppen.
4. *H.* w₁ a₁ t d₁ i₁ d) t₁ s₁ i₁ t u₁ p e₁ b₁ áu t, m₁ i₁ l₁ a₁ s ?
 4. *H.* what did ta sit up about, my lass ?
5. *M.* k₁ u₁, m, s₁ i₁ t) t₁ s₁ d₁ áu n, e₁ n) á₁ z t₁ e₁ l) d₁ h₁ e₁. m₁ i₁ m₁ u₁, d₁ a₁ r) z) i₁) b₁ e₁ d,
 5. *M.* Cum, sit ta dawn an iz tell tha, mi mudder's e bed,
 e₁ n h₁ e₁ z b₁ i₁ n d₁ h₁ i₁ s | h₁ o₁ f e₁ áu a₁ r. w₁ i₁ | h₁ e₁ d) e₁ k₁ áu e₁ t f₁ a₁ r d e₁
 and hez been this hofe aur. We ad a Cow at fard a

koovín, en ái sa,t bə)mí,sel' oməst ʌ` nēít.
covein, an I sat be me sel ommast o nete.

6. *H.* dháu)duz 'wéil tə)see 'oməst. ái kú,m báí íá,wə,r díúə,r
6. *H.* Thau duz weel ta say ommast. I com by yaur dure

əbáut ía,n ə)klok, an ái sà ə tʃap ə sʉ,m ma,k sí,tən ənenst)tə.
abaut yan a Clock, an I sa a chap a sum mack sittan anenst ta.

7. *M.* oo, dhat wəz nobet :tom, ət kAA'd tə líuk ət)t' kA'f, en
7. *M.* Ho, that waz nobet Tom at code ta luke at cofe, an

í,t waz'nt kAA'vd, en sí,e í)kla,pt)í,m dáun ə)t' stíul, en fel
it wazzent cov'd, an sea he clap'd him dawn ath stule an fell

əsléip. en sí,e eftə,r ə whâil í wa,k'nt, en b́í,gə,n ə)telən)mə
a sleep, an sea efter a while he wackened an began a tellin ma,

ət)í,d)bín d'riemən.
at e ad been dreaman.

8. *H.* wat díd)í, d'riem əbáut, pre)dhə) náu ?
8. *H.* what did e dream about pray tha naw ?

9. *M.* í, d'riemd sí,k ə d'riem əz moní, fook ní,və,r 'hârd. í,
9. *M.* E dream'd sic a Dream az monny foke niver hard, e

tháut ət áuə,r ka,t wəz báund tə pleə ə)t' ba,gpáips, en)ət
thaut at our Cat waz bawn ta play ath Bagpipes, an at

háu)ət)í,t)əd gí,t'n ə par)ə shá,un, en ít stud st'rek ú,p en
haw at it ad gitten a par a shoon, an it stud streck up and

sháut)íd: "ma,k rú,um fə)r)t' ra,t'nz!" en eftə,r ə whâil ə
shouted mack roum for Rattans, an efterawhile a

gə,rt d'rov kú,m, en shə wú,rí,d)əm 'AA, en 'et)əm sha,qk
girt drove com an sha worry'd am O an it am shank

en)ra,qk.
an rank.

10. *H.* ái ní,və,r sa sí,k ə d'riem əz tat! bət hɛz)t' ka'u kAA'vd ?
10. *H.* I never sa sick a Dream az tat, bat hezt Caw cov'd ?

11. *M.* nee, bət)t' ka,t)s 'kí,t'l'd.
11. *M.* Nay bat Cit kittled.

12. *H.* háu moní, kí,tlí,nz dí,d shə kí,t'l ?
12. *H.* Haw many kitlins did sha kittle ?

13. *M.* ba,n, shí,d nobet twí,e, en dheə)r əz láik)t' aal'd ka,t
13. *M.* Barn shead nobbat two an theare az like thauld cat

az twí₁a₁ brw₁d₁r_z, ɛn dhé b₁a₁th sáuk.
az two Brudders an they beath sauk.

14. *H.* í₁t)s wéil ɛt)ɛ)z s₁ geelí₁ tənédít. d₁í)l s₁t ɛ b₁t
14. *H.* Its weel as tas sea gailey ta nete, Ile sit a bit

na₁r)dhɛ.
nar tha.

15. *M.* íét mɛ s₁t ɛz níer ɛz í₁ ·wí₁l, ɛn ɜs wí₁l bət |hod ·of
15. *M.* Ye ma sit az near as ya will, an ya will but hod of

mɛ.
ma.

16. *H.* what? wí₁l)ɛ ta₁k)ɛ k₁s?
16. *H.* What will ta tack a kis?

17. *M.* áí lâik nóut ɛ)t' ma₁k. r₁a₁k)t' bārz, ɛn ma₁k ɛ lét.
17. *M.* I like ath mack reak bars, an mack a lete.

18. *H.* ·áái)l ma₁k nɛ lét. wɛ)kɛn) tAAk ɛ)t' dark, bət ɛn)ɛ)l
18. *H.* Ile mack na lete we can toke ith dark, but an tle

g₁)mɛ)ɛ k₁s, áí)l g₁)dhɛ)ɛ r₁bɛn ɛt :b₁rtɛn fɛr.
gimma a kis, ile githa a Ribbin at Burton Fair.

19. *M.* áái)l g₁)dhɛ ·n₁n. bət)dhɛ)mɛ) ta₁k ía₁n, ɛn)ɛ) ·wí₁l.
19. *M.* I le githa nin bat thau ma tack yan an ta will.

[Salutes her.]

20. *H.* dháu nhaaz áí lâik dhɛ ɛz wéil ɛz)í ·ka₁n díu. ɛn)ɛ)
20. *H.* Thau knaes I like tha az weel az e can du anta

héd'nt ɛ fārdí₁n, áí wəd hɛ)dhɛ v₁ú,ɛr oní₁ ɛt ·í₁və₁r)i
hedent a fardin I wad hetha afoar onny at iver e

saa)í)mí₁ lâíf.
sa emy life.

21. *M.* fook sud lâik ía₁n)ɛn₁d₁r réít wéil wen)dhɛ)r gaan tɛ
21. *M.* Foke sud like yananudder reight weel when thar gangan ta

wəd, fɛr)ɛ déil ɛ fook fAA áut ɛt ɛftə₁r.
wed, for a dele a foke foes aut at efter.

22. *H.* áí wu₁n)d₁r wat dhɛ fAA áut ɛbáut!
22. *H.* I wonder what tha fo aut about!

23. *M.* áí wad'nt wí₁sh tɛ nhaa. áí |hóɔɛp ·wí₁)z b₁í th₁k ɛz)
23. *M.* I wadent wish ta kna I hoap wees be thick az

laq)ɛz wɛ báaid tɛg₁d₁r. ɛn dháu néid gí₁t nóut ɛgeen
lang as wa bide tagidder, an thau need git nout again

háuuskéipín. m_i mu₁də₁r vl g_i)mø v déil ev odments, en
 hausekeepin mi Mudder al gimma a dele af odments, an

AA ma₁ks)v stu₁f i₁z so dí₁er vt wø)møn s_ia₁v AA)t' bras wø
 O macks a stu₁f's sooa dear at we man seave oth brass we

·ka₁n. ða₁n nhaaz nóut wat wø)z wa₁nt, en dháu sud bi₁g_in
 can. yan knaes nout what wez want, an thau sud begin

su₁m t₁reed wi₁d)d' bi₁t)v mu₁n_i vt)wø)·hev.
 sum trade wit bit a munny at wa hev.

24. *H.* háu mi₁t₁ bras hez)tø s_iá₁vd, :ma₁l ?

24. *H.* Haw mitch brass hez ta seav'd Mal ?

25. *M.* á_i)v nobøt ebáut ða₁n)en)twenti₁ paund; háu mi₁t₁ ez 'tá₁u ?

25. *M.* I ev nobbut about yan and twenty pound; haw mitch az taw ?

26. *H.* á_i hev'nt ez mi₁t₁. á_i nobøt ebáut ten ør)lev'n, wen)_i

26. *H.* I av not az mitch I nobbut about ten ar aleven, when e

peed)t' shú,uma₁kø₁r, bøt dháu nhaaz i₁t)l bi₁)v gøe déil
 paid Shoemaker, but thou knaes ittle be a gay dele

wen)_it)s AA pu₁t tægi₁də₁r.
 when its O put tagidber.

27. *M.* ma₁r_i, nøt 'i₁t. wat t₁reed vl)tø bi₁g_in ? á_i thi₁qk v

27. *M.* Marry nat it, what trade al ta begin? I think a

·ba₁d·d₁ø₁r)z best.
 Badger's best.

28. *H.* á_i wad'nt bi v ba₁d·d₁ø₁r, øn)ta)wød g_i)mø)t' best st_iá₁t

28. *H.* I wodent be a badger an ta wad gimmath best steate

i₁ :bu₁rtøn ! á_i)d ree də₁r bi₁ v kolø₁rd ø₁r)v t₁i₁mle swé₁pø₁r.
 e Burton, I ed raader be a Colyard er a Chimley sweeper.

ða₁n mø)si fook ku₁rsin)t' bad·d₁ø₁r_z i₁vø₁i, deø, øn soov dhá)z
 Yan ma se foke cursant Badgers iverey day, an soa thaus

sítø₁r vt dhe kaant dí₁ wéil 'laq'. ba₁d·d₁ø₁r_z wants tø ma₁k
 sure at tha can't du wele lang, Badgers wants ta mack

hu₁z bi₁lè₁v vt wi₁d)v feelen krop iv :iqlønd, bøt á_i nhaa
 az believe at wead a falean crop iv England, but I kna

vt)_it)s nóut vt)AA bøt s_ik døø₁rt øz)·tem vt kla₁mz AA)t'
 at its nout at O bat sick dirt az tem at clams oth

ku₁ntr_i : stu₁f)ed bi₁ laa i₁nu₁f, øn wi₁ hed'nt s_ik swaarmz
 countrey; stuff wad be law enuf an wa hedent sich swarms

on)əm. bət, 'kom, fotɪ)ɛz su₁mət tɜ drɪ,qk, :ma₁lɪ₁!
on em, bat cum, fotch az summat ta drink Malle.

29. *M.* mɪ₁ mu₁(dɜ₁r)z wak'n ái deer see, bu₁t ái)l' fotɪ ʔɛ)ɜ su₁p)ɜ
29. *M.* Me Mudders wacken I dar say, bat ile fotch ya a sup a

tɪɜ,ɾn mɪllhk.
Chirn Milk.

30. *H.* ái)l' | hev nɪ₁a₁ sɪk bla₁shmənt! i₁t ma₁ks mɪ belɪ₁ waark.
30. *H.* Ile hev nea sick blashment, it macks me belle wark.

31. *M.* mən)ɪ ma₁k)ʔɛ ɜ sú₁ɛp ɜ tɛi?
31. *M.* mun e mack ya a sup a Te?

32. *H.* w₁aar ɛn w₁aar, i₁t)s nóut bət slaa pu₁z'm. let mɪ₁ hev
32. *H.* war an war, its nout but slaw Puzzum, let me hev

ɜ gɜ₁rt pu₁dɪn, ɛt)s mɪ₁ád i₁n)ɜ pú₁ɛk, ɛn top fúl ɜ sí₁ɪ₁t.
a girt puddin ats mead in a Poak, and top full a suit.

33. *M.* i₁t)s gud ɛnu₁f ɛt)ɜ nɪ₁ún, bət ɛn hu₁z wɪ₁mɪn mu₁d'nt
33. *M.* Its good anuf at a nune, but an huz wimmen muddent

| hev ɜ sú₁ɛp ɜ tɛi, wɪ₁ məd bi₁ hu₁qɜ₁rd.
hev a sup a Te we mud be hungard.

34. *H.* wáa₁i, bu₁t ɛn)ʔi₁ wad'nt drɪ,qk sɜ mɪtɪ on)t, ʔɛ tɪ₁ɛks
34. *H.* Wia bat an ya wadent drink sa miteh ont yer checks

wəd bɛi ɜ dɛil ryd₁dɜ₁r, ɛn)ʔɛ)wəd léiv ɜ dɛil laqɜ₁r. bu₁t
wad be a dele redder an ya wad leve a dele langer, bat

ái)ɜ gɪt'n su₁m ku₁ps ɛn sɜasɜ₁rz for)dhɜ, dhɛɛ)l díú agə₁n)t'
l a gitten sum cups and sacers for tha theel du aganet

wed₁n. dhá₁u nhaaz i₁t)s nobet ɛbáut ɜ mu₁nth tɪ₁l ná₁u.
weddin, thau knaes its nobbat about a munth tull naw,

mu₁n wɪ₁ bi₁ ɛkst ɛt kɜ₁rk, ɜ₁r)wɪ₁)mən wed 'tu₁dɜ₁r wee?
mun we be ext ith Kirk ar we mun wed tudder way,

35. *M.* wɪ₁)l tAAk ɛbáut 'dha₁t su₁m nɛit els, wat sez)ti₁ fɜ₁dɜ₁r
35. *M.* Weel toke about that sum nete else, what sez te Fadder

ɛn mu₁dɜ₁r ɛbáut i₁t?
an Mudder about it?

36. *H.* mɪ₁ fa₁dɜ₁r)z réɜ₁rlɪ₁ plɪ₁ɛzd, ɛn sez ɛt ɜ)l 'gɪ)mɜ
36. *H.* Me Fadder's rarely pleas'd, an sez at heel gimma

thrɛi káa₁i, ɛn áa₁)z gɪt 'AA ɛftɜ₁r)ɪ₁ 'dɛiz. ɛn mɪ₁ mu₁dɜ₁r
three Ky, an iz git O efter he dees an me Mudder

sez : "líúk et ʒ bɪ́á,th pú,u t)ɪ́a, wɛe, ɛn kɛ́p dhɪ́sel'
sez luke at ya beath poo tea way, an keep thesel

frɛ)t' iɛl'ɛs, ɛn 'dhen iɛ)l' 'díú." wat sez)tí mu,ɔ́,r ?
fraith Eales, an then yeel du; what sez ty Mudder?

37. *M.* shu)wɛz nín sɛ wel plɪ́ɛzd et ái)z gaan tɛ lɪ́,ɛv)ɔ́,r.
37. *M.* Shoes nin sa weel pleas'd at iz gangan ta leave er,

dháu sɛ́z ái)z AA)t' baarnz shɪ́, 'hez bɪ́á,th ru,f ɛn smú,udh ;
thau siz iz oth Barn sha hez beath ruf an smooth ;

mu,n shɛ léiv wɪ́)ɛs ?
mun sha leve with az ?

38. *H.* á,i)i siú,ɔ́,r, ɛz laq ɛz shu)wɪ́l. wɛ)mɛn gɪ́t feevɔ́,r wɪ́)t'
38. *H.* Eight sure as lang az sha will, we man gith favver ath

aal' fook, ɔ́,r wɪ́)z gɪ́t 'nóut. en ái)l tel)dhɛ 'wat ái wɛz
ald foke er wese git nout, an ile tell tha what I waz

thɪ́,qkɛn tɛ mɪ́sel' et ái wɛd ta,k)ɛ lu,mp ɔ́ la,n'd su,m
thinkan ta me sel at I wad tack a lump a land sum

wɛɛr ɛbáut :bu,rtɛn, ɛn gɪ́t su,m bíes, ɛn sel i)t AA í níú
whare about Burtan, an git sum Beas an sel it O E new

mɪ́llhk, ɛn)wɛ)kɛn paart wɪ́ wɛr bu,t,tɔ́,r et onɪ́ práis.
milk, an we can part we wer Butter at onny price.

39. *M.* wat ? mɛn)wɪ́ sel AA)t' níú millhk, ɛn tɪ́ɔ́,rn tíú ? fook
39. *M.* what mun wa sell oth new Milk, an chirn tu, foke

wɛd síún sɛɛ et wɛ sel'd mɪ́llhk ɛn wat,tɔ́,r. áa)d sel')t'
wad sune say at wa seld milk an watter. I wad selth

bíes ɛfú,ɛr ái wɛd hev sɪ́kɛ níám.
Beas afoar I wad hev sic a neam.

40. *H.* ái sud'nt láik fook tɛ tAAk bɪ́hɪ́nt mɪ́ ba,k, bu,t ɔ́ 'dɛ́l
40. *H.* I suddent like foke ta toke behint me back, bat a dele

ɔ́ fook 'keerz)ɛt, ɛn)dhɛɛ díú)ɛt 'gɪ́t bras, háu i)t ku,m.
a foke caresent an tha du bat git munne haw it come.

41. *M.* ái rek'n nóut ɔ́ bɛi)ɪ́n rɪ́,tɪ́. i)t nobɛt ma,ks ɪ́a,n grɛ́dɪ́,
41. *M.* I reckon nout a bein rich it nobbat macks yan greede

ɛn ɪ́a,n nhaaz nóut | háu laq ɪ́a,n |hez tɛ stɛɛ wɪ́)i)t. fook
an yan knaes nout haw lang yan ez ta stay wete foke

dɛ́z fast í :bu,rtɛn 'náu.
dees fast e Burtan naw.

42. *H.* hod)ti₁ 'tu₁q' pre)dhe náu! dháu fleez me wi tAAkin ebáut
42. *H.* Hod te tung preathanaw, thau flays ma we tokin about

déi)in. wi sud |hev e déil e baarnz efáu,er wi thi,qk e déi)in.
dein we sud hev a dele a barns afoar we think a dein.

43. *M.* 'su₁d wə? 'dha₁t)s AA)t' feləz 'thi,qks on, gi,t₁n e
43. *M.* sud wa? that's O at Fellas thinks on gittin a

háusful e baarnz fe wi₁mi₁n fook tə ta₁k keer on! en dháu)l'
hauseful a Barns fort wimmen ta tack ceer on, an theyl

|ha,p'n ru₁n tət' iel)es, en baarnz rúu,erən en skri,emən
happen run tath ealas ant barns roarin an screamon

fi₁t tə bri₁st.
fit ta brist.

44. *H.* du₁st)tə bi,léiv et ái)l díú sí,á₁?
44. *H.* Dusta believe at ile du sea?

45. *M.* nee áiv e gə,rt epiniən et dháu)l' díú əz)tə 'sud díú, en
45. *M.* Nay I ev a girt apinyan at taul du az ta sud du, an

dhen baarnz)l' díú əz ní,á₁ hu,rt. Ya₁n əd bet,tə₁r ee twi,á₁.
than Barns al du az na hurt, yan ad better a two

baarnz en ya dru₁k'n fele i₁)t háus.
Barns an ya drucken Fella ith hause.

46. *H.* á'i)i, en ái)l tel dhe wat)s əz ba,d tíú—e gosəpən
46. *H.* Eigh an ile tel tha what's as bad az tem—a gossapan

wáif, et ga,qz ti,t'l' ta,t'l' frə |háus tə |háus wi' e láil baarn
wife, at gangs tittle tattle fray hause tə hause with a lile Barn,

en nhaaz AA)t' níúz i₁)t táwn, en lí,əvz e |háus láik e
an knaes oth news ith Tawn an leaves a hause like a

swáain kúu₁et.
swinecoat.

47. *M.* wáai)v dháu neid'nt fií,ər et ái)l' bi Ya₁n)v dhem. ái)l
47. *M.* wia thau needent fear at ile be yan a them, ile

kéip mi,sel' tíú mi,sel', en dhen ní,á₁bodi₁)l' fi,nd faat
keep me sel ta me sel, an then neabody al find, fate

wi₁)mə.
wimma.

48. *H.* ái háu,əp dháu)l' bi e gud)ən, bet ái mən ewee tə 'bed.
48. *H.* I hoop thaul be a gud an, bat I man away ta bed.

49. *M.* wen)'l' tɛ kʊ,m vɛɛɛn?
49. *M.* When al ta cum again?

50. *H.* tɛ)múu,ɔrn ɛt nɛít.
50. *H.* Ta morn at nete.

51. *M.* máaínd tɛ díú. gud nɛít tɛ)dhɛ!
51. *M.* Mind ta diu. gud nete to tha.

52. *H.* gud nɛít tɛ)dhɛ, dʒóí!
52. *H.* Gud nete to tha, joy!

Notes to Seward's Dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale.

1. *Molly.* Final *y*, or *e* as Seward writes it, is here always (*i*₁) with the deeper variety of (*i*) used for the simple (*i*) in all cases. JGG. had sometimes written simple (*i*), but as he thinks it was an inadvertence, I have written (*i*₁) everywhere.—*now, how*, although Burton-in-Lonsdale is essentially the same variety of D 31 as Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, yet it lies s. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and the primitive (*uu*) which there was (*ú,u*), has passed into (*áu*) here. This Seward represents by *aw*, and hence has no sign but *o* for (*AA*), see par. 7.—*how*, the aspirate is always very faint.—*art thou*, the (*dh*) of (*dháu*), when the word is unaccented as (*dhɛ*), becomes usually (*t*) after (*z*) as here, and (*d*) as in par. 4, and (*t*) par. 5. 'I is, thou is, he is,' are the regular constructions.—*to-night*, the regular form of long (*ii*) is (*éi*) beginning with short (*e*) and ending with medial (*i*), both with stress. JGG. had sometimes written (*éi*, *éii*), but he considers that this was mere hesitation, and that the vowel was always of medial length. The people themselves consider that they say pure (*ii*), hence the original spelling *nete*, but this is a sound they have much difficulty in pronouncing.

3. *know not*, with initial (*nh*).—*how I am, I* enclitic becomes (*i*), but *he* becomes (*i*₁) or (*v*).—*yesternight*, JGG. says that initial (*j*) is usually replaced by a brief vowel, here written (*i*) throughout, the accent on the following vowel being then omitted, as (*i*) sufficiently indicates both glide and subsequent stress. The vowel (*e*) varied much as (*ɛ*) in JGG.'s writing, and he thinks there must have been a reason for it in Mr. P.'s pron. In some words, as (*hez*, *ɛftɔ* *r*), the use of (*ɛ*) is regular. Hence JGG.'s writing is

followed for (*e*, *e*, *ɛ*); the last syllable (*næ'it*) for (*nɛít*) is quite abnormal, why Mr. P. here used (*næ'it*) is unknown, it may have been an inadvertence.

5. *I shall*, 'I is' not only represents the present, but 'I shall or will' in the *immediate* future, here 'come sit thou down and I will tell thee directly.'—*mother*, the dental (*d*, *t*) before (*r*) are never represented by Seward.—*e* for *in*, Seward was apparently afraid of using *i* lest it should be taken as (*ái*).—*half, calving, all, and calf*, in par. 7, observe Seward's helpless use of *o* in these words, see par. 1, *now*.—*fared* or *went, began*.—*almost*, becomes (*omvst*) by mere absorption of (*l*).

6. *come* for *came*, regular.—*of some make*, of some kind.—*anenst*, opposite to.

7. *so* (*sí,ɛ*), this form is used again immediately, but (*sí,a*) or (*sí,a₁*) is the regular form.

9. *boun*, the translation (*báund*) seems to be an error for (*báun*) *boun* or *going*.—*and that how that it had got a pair of shoes*, the first 'that' depends upon 'dreamed,' the second 'that' depends upon 'how,' and would not be used in rec. sp.—*rats, 'ratten'* or 'raton' is the regular word for 'rat' in the singular.—*an ate them*, possibly (*et*) is an error for (*i,t*).

13. *two*, first (*twí,ɛ*) as (*sí,ɛ*), par. 7, and then (*twí,a₁*), which looks as if the first form had been an inadvertence.

14. *nearer*, (*nar*) is the comparative of (*níer*) in par. 15.

15. *hold off me*, keep from touching me.

21. *at after*, the Danish *efterat* thereafter.

23. *we shall*, immediate future.—*thick, close friends, undivided*.—*odds, odds and ends, the French*

termination *ment* has been quite incorporated in the dialect.—*all makes of stuff*, all kinds of food.—*we shall want* immediate future.

26. *I nobbut about*, I have only about, the have omitted idiomatically, so immediately 'when I paid' for when I have paid. JGG. says that this omission is general in the north of England.—*together*, clearly 'tagidber' was a misprint in the original for 'tagidder.'

27. *badger*, travelling cornfactor, see introduction to Orton cs., D 31, No. 11. These men are constantly held in disrepute, and are actually charged with increasing the price of corn, see par. 28, where Harry represents a very general feeling.

28. *state*, estate or farm holding, a 'statesman' is a yeoman possessing the land he farms.—*a collier or a chimney sweeper*, as symbolising dirty trades.—*us*, here Mr. P. has used (*hu z*) the emphatic form, but as the original has *ta mack az*, it is evident that Mr. Seward meant (*te mak ez*) unemphatic, as indeed the whole context shews it should be. The aspirate to *us* in emphatic form, as (*haz*) is found in D 33.—*stuff*, corn; in rec. sp. we talk of 'bread stuffs,' i.e. bread materials, and here 'bread' is simply omitted.—*clam* starve, and *fetch* (*foʔ*), these two words extend as far as Cautley-by-Sedberg (for Cautley, see introd. to cs. No. 8, p. 559), and are not used further north, where *clam* becomes *hunger* as in par. 33. On the range of *clam* see TH.'s *Four Dialect Words*, published by the E. D. Society.

29. *my mother shall* (i.e. will) *wake*, probably meaning that she would have to go through her mother's room and waken her.—*churn milk*, buttermilk; observe the introduced (*lh*).

30. *blashment*, to blash is to splash or paint, hence applied as a substantive to rubbish or weak liquor, blashy and blashment are both used; observe the *-ment* as in *oddmnt*, par. 23.—*work*, simply ache, applied also to teeth.

31. *sup* was (*su p*) in par. 29.

32. *worse and worse*; *it's nought but slow poison*, to which JGG. thought that *isn't tea* (*iz'nt tēi*) should be added.—*a poke*, a bag or tied-up cloth.

33. *a noon* or midday meal, dinner, *Mittagsessen*,—*might be*.

34. *I have got*, in the original 'I'

is misprinted 'I.'—*they'll do for the wedding*, the 'they' is Mr. P.'s word, the original has *theet*, i.e. thee will, or thou wilt; the *against* must then mean 'until,' that is, you'll do as you are till the wedding; but the passage is obscure and possibly faulty.—*a month* from then *till now*.

36. *kine*, cows, of which *ky* (ags. *cy*) is the proper plural, *kine* being formed by adding the plural *n* to the pl. inflection.—*I shall get* certain future.—*Alehouse* with (*i*) prefixed as frequently occurs.

37. *She was* is Mr. P.'s alteration, to make (*shu*), as usual, result from the attraction of (*w*); but Mr. S. wrote *shoes* (*shu,z*), she is, using the *shoo*, which is frequent enough in m. and s. Craven, and s.Yo. This is then a pure *shoo* (*shu,u*) as in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (see *cwl.*), uninfluenced by a following *w*.—*going*; here again Mr. P. has (*gaan*) and Mr. S. (*gaqen*); both are used.—*all the bairns*, Mr. P.'s word for *all the bairn* which last is better.—*both rough and smooth*, probably bearded and non-bearded, that is, male or female.

38. *get favour with the*, this is Mr. P.'s version, the original spelling shews that Mr. S. meant (*gi,t*)'favar v't') get the favour of the, with a different pron. of *favour*.—*some beasts*, that is, cows.

40. *brass*, the original has (*mu,ni*) money.

43. *that's all the fellows think on*, but the original has 'that's all that fellows thinks on,' meaning all that men (not the men) think about.—*for women folk to take care of*, the original has 'for the women to take care of,' *the* being used before women, implying (*ʔ,r*)'t'); *care* should be (*ki,ar*) according to the spelling.—*thou'll perhaps run to the ale-house*, here Mr. P. has made a serious change of (*dhee*)l) they will, into (*dhau*)l) thou wilt, which is certainly a mistake, as the whole context and next two paragraphs shew.

45. *at thou'l*, should be (*ʔt tau*)l) as shewn by the original.

46. *as bad too*, the original has (*ʔz bad ez tem*) as bad as them = they are.

47. *myself to myself* is, in the original, myself to (*te*) myself, with unaccented *to*.—*nobody will find fault*, JGG. thinks should be 'nobody will find no fault' (*ni, faat*).

WEARDALE AND TEESDALE dt.

Of the 4 dt. which I have received for this region, all in io., it seems best to give only one, with such variants in the notes as seem of importance. They all point to a practically identical pron., but as regards the U' words there is the same trouble as for the St. John's Weardale cwl. The exact value of it cannot be determined, but it cannot be widely different from (æ'u). The 4 dt. were:—

1. *Heathery Cleugh* (kl'æf), nearly at the head of Weardale, the last houses passed on going from Weardale to Allendale, Nb. (9 w.Stanhope), written in 1879 by Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), Rector of Edmondbyers (16 nw.Durham).

2. *Stanhope* (13 w-by-s.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, bookseller, of Stanhope, but a native of Upper Weardale, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show*, and her *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*. This was accompanied with very full notes and explanations, and is therefore here adopted as the most trustworthy. It uses, however, pure (ii, uu) and not (i'i, æuu).

3. *Bishop Auckland* (9 ssw.Durham), written in 1879 at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long, by Mr. John Wild, master of the Union Workhouse at Bishop Auckland, described by the vicar as "a man of considerable knowledge of the dialects of the district, and one who has made language his study."

4. *Easington* (9 e.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the Rector, who had lived chiefly at Hart (4 w.Hartlepool), where the pron. seems to be the same.

These dt. cover the whole ground of Weardale in s.Du., the Wear itself passing into n.Du. just w. of Bishop Auckland and going to Durham and Sunderland, which belong to D 32.

For Lower Teesdale, Mrs. Alfred Hunt, novelist and wife of the artist, b. in the neighbourhood of Durham, who had, however, acquired her knowledge of the dialect in Lower Teesdale, in Jan. 1876 kindly dictated to me a cs., and gave me a lw. for that district, but her recollections were not precise enough for me to print it at length. Her version adopted pure (ii, uu), and was very like the Middleton-in-Teesdale cwl. with, however, an occasional tendency to an (æu) form.

STANHOPE dt.

1. wái a see, lads, ʒ sii nuu ɛd aa)z riit ɛbuut jon lét'l las kumən fre jon skitel.

2. shi)z ganən duun)d' lonən dhúr, thruu)d' riid ʒt on)t' left hand sáid ɛ)d' rood.

3. shúr aníuf, t' beern)z gívn s, tráit up ti)d' dúuɛr ɛ)d' raq huus,

4. weer shi)l mebi fínd dhat d,ruk'n diif shruqk'n felɛ, ɛ)d' níəm ɛ :tomí.

5 wi aal naa)m varɛ wiil.

6. wínbət t'AAɔd felɛ sívn lívɛn ɛr nət tɛ di)d ɛgívn, púuɛr thiq !

7. lík ! iz'nt it t,riú ?

Notes.

The references to Nos. 1, 3, 4 are to the Heathery Cleugh, Bishop Auckland, and Easington versions respectively, see above.

1. *well*, the *so* would not be used in (a, aa), No. 4 writes *oi*.—*lads*, mates this place, the (wái) answers to our is imported (given in No. 4, *marrows* well; *so* would be (sii) or (si) as in in No. 1), fellow-workers in lead mines (nut si gud) not so good.—*I* is always are (shuudher fellɛz) shoulder fellows,

but speak to one another as 'lads.'—*ye*, superiors and elderly people are generally so addressed.—*now*, especially said to rhyme to *too*, *do*, *loo*. The

following are all the words of this kind in the specimen, with their mode of treatment in Nos. 1, 3, 4.

	No. 1.	No. 3.	No. 4.
1. <i>now</i>	<i>noo</i> , rh. boot	<i>now</i>	<i>noo</i>
<i>about</i>	<i>aboot</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>aboot</i>
<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>
2. <i>through</i>	<i>throo</i>	<i>through</i>	<i>throw</i>
3. <i>sure</i>	<i>seer</i>	<i>sure</i>	<i>shower</i>
<i>door</i>	<i>door</i> , rh. boor	<i>dooer</i>	<i>dower</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>hooss</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>hoose</i>
5. <i>poor</i>	<i>power</i> , poor	<i>pouer</i>	<i>power</i>

All written with *oo* in No. 2.

Mrs. Hunt also dictated to me (*puur*) = power, and (*póur*) = poor. It is evident therefore that the general s.Du. pron. cannot be pure (*uu*), and probably not pure (*ú,u*), but has some sound which suggests (*ou*), for which JGG. in despair wrote (*u'u*) in St. John's. See also D 32, the dt. from near Lanchester and notes.—*that*, there is a fondness for a (d) termination, (*əd*) for (*ət*).—*I is*, *I are*, *he be*, *we'm*, *you'm*, *we you they is*, do not occur; *am* is not used.—*right*, "r trilled as in Scotch," this (ii) is against the St. John's cwl., said to rhyme *fleet*, *meet*, *beet*; probably the (ii) is not quite pure; written *reet* in Nos. 1, 2, 3, but left as *right* in No. 4.—*yon* used for something at a distance.—*little*, probably *bit* would be added, or else used alone, as 'little bit lass' or 'bit lass'; No. 1 has *smaw*, *bit*, *wee*.—*coming*, the part. and vb. noun are not distinguished.—*the*, (*t*, *d*) are both used, see rule at end of these notes.—*school*, I believe (*skí,əl*, *skí,əl*) was intended; Mr. E. writes *skeail*, is inclined to *skeäl*, but used 'pli'ace fi'ace mi'ad hi'am,' etc., in Betty Podkins, and says that 'moon bone again done gone tune' have all the same vowel, and adds that '*-liet* in *Juliet* is very near our *leit* late,' No. 1 *skeool*, No. 3 *skute skyul*, No. 4 *skule*.—*yonder* is used in the form (*ɔndhər*); but (*inder*, *dhondher*) are both unknown.

2. *down*, rhymes to soon.—*through* rhymes to 'too.'—*red*, rh. *weed need creed*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 have *reed*, No. 4 *red*.—*gate*, both (*jit*, *jet*) used, (*op'n*)d' *jit*, *t'jet*'s *op'n* open the gate, the gate's open; No. 1 *yet*, No. 3 *gate*, No. 4, *gæte*.—*left hand side*, No. 1 has

left neaf side, rh. leaf, meaning 'left fist side,' and says it is common, but not particularly so.—*road* and *lane* and also *way* are used with a difference, as in the examples (*hi*)z dʒʌst ɡɪvən duun)d' lonen; máind vnd kíp vɔd' rood, what *wee is*ts ganen? a thiɔk a)'l gan t' hii wee, or riit duun)d' rood), he's just gone down the lane; mind and keep on the road; what way art thou going? I think I'll go the high way, or right down the road; No. 1 writes *wā*, No. 4 *way*, Nos. 2 and 3 change the word.

3. *enough* (*ɛniu*) is sometimes used; Nos. 1 and 4 have *neugh*, No. 2 *eneuf*, No. 3 *eenyuff*.—*has*, here contracted to (*z*), he has it (*hi hes*)t; conjugation affirmative (*a hee*, *hev*, *wi ji dhe hee*, *dhuu hi hez*), negative (*a hev'nt henɛt* *hene*, *wi ji dhe henɛt*; *dhu hi hez'nt*).—*straight*, No. 1 *streight*, No. 2 *stryte*, No. 3 *sthrite*, No. 4 *straight*.—*house*, aspirated.

4. *drunken*, No. 1 *drookn*, Nos. 2 and 4 *drucken*, No. 3 *dhrucken*.—*name*, No. 1 *nay-um*, No. 2 *neaim*, No. 3 *n'yam*, No. 4 *neeam*.

5. *all*, No. 1 *a*, *owe*, No. 2 *avll*, No. 3 *all*, No. 4 *arll*, the last explained as (*aal*).—*know*, No. 1 *ken*, No. 2 *knav*, No. 3 *ken nau*, No. 4 *knowse*.

6. *won't*, No. 1 *won-et wun* as *won*, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 *winner*.—*old*, No. 1 *od*, rh. toad, Nos. 2 and 3 *awd*, No. 4 *ard*, explained as (*aad*).—*to do it*, No. 1 *t' d' ad*, (*dee*)ad, No. 2 *te did*, No. 3 *te di'd*, No. 4 *t'deet*; on the contraction (*di*)d see note, p. 619, on the 'Differences, etc.'

7. *look*, No. 1 *leeook*, No. 2 *lewik*, No. 3 *leuk*, No. 4 *lukstho*.

Differences between Stanhope and St. John's.

Mr. Egglestone recognises only the following :

all know won't old, too, do
Stanhope. (aa'l naa wunnt aad, ti, di).
St. John's. (oo noo wunnt oad tía dív).

In Mr. Moore's version of the Song of Solomon into St. John's Chapel dialect made for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says: "At East Gate [2 w.Stanhope] and Stanhope the words *didst thou do it* and *will thou do it* are pronounced *did te did* and *will te did*, while at St. John's Chapel they are *dud tu dud* and *will tu dud*." Mr. Egglestone says he has often heard (*dud tɛ du*)d, or *dhu dud'nt dɛ*)d?) at St. John's, but more for the sake of the sound or repetition of (*dud*) than general usage. *Do* at St. John's is (*dív*) sometimes (*duv*), *do it* is (*dí*)'d or (*di*)d, the *it* becoming (d), and the (*i*) being lengthened (*dud tɛ du*)d is used, but the others are more common at St. John's. Also (*tu*)d is used for 'to it,' as (*híer*, :djak, gan tí)d' hors! ái, a'l gan tu)d, here, Jack, go to the horse! aye, I'll go to it.

The definite article (d', t').

- I. In commencing a sentence and after all breaks, (t') is used.
 II. If the preceding verb end in a voiced consonant, (d') is used; if in a voiceless one (t'). But verbs ending in (d) require the art. (t').
 III. Verbs ending in (l, m, n, r) may be followed by either (t' or d').
 The pronoun *it* is governed by the same laws. Examples:—

(whii)l	rub)d'	hors.	a)l	rub)d.	[I will rub it].
" "	shuu)d'			shuu')d	[shoe it].
" "	gag d'			gag)d.	
(let)s	galɛp)t'	horse.	a)l	galɛp)t.	
" "	tak)t'	" "	" "	tak t.	
" "	rook)t'	" "	" "	rook)t.	
" "	trot t'	" "	" "	trot it.	
" "	fiid' t'	" "	" "	fiid it).	

Var. i, form a. NORTH CRAVEN cwl.

This should be compared with Dent and Howgill, Var. iii.

- B Burton-in-Lonsdale or Black Burton (13 ne.Lancaster), see introduction to separate specimen, p. 607. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Powley, there mentioned as having dict. the specimen. The slight differences between this cwl. and that spec. are probably all due to double uses, pronunciations, or appreciations.
- C Chapel-le-dale (19 ne.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Whernside Hills, through which runs Dalebeck, which flows into the Greta by Ingleton, and thence into the Lune, which passes by Lancaster. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Wm. Metcalfe, Esq., of Weathercote (1 nne. of Chapel), who had been acquainted with the dialect all his life (different from the Mr. Metcalfe, of Dent).
- H Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale (21 ene.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills. Pal. in 1877, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Jackson, of Studfold (:stɛ dfe'l'd) (a hamlet 2 s.Horton), b. about 1800, and acquainted with the dialect all his life.
- M Muker, etc., see p. 557, introduction to No. 2. This was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of E. Alderson and James Kearton, two of those from whom the cs. was obtained, and the words are added here for comparison. The principal difference is the treatment of the U' words.

When no initial is prefixed, the pron. refers to all four places; when subsequently an initial is prefixed to a pron., it implies that this is a second pron. heard

in this place. Often only the points of difference are noted. Where only some initials are given, there is no information from the missing places.

Throughout (r) = (r^c).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bí á.k. 4 ta,k. 5 ma,k. 6 mí,á,d. 7 sí,á,k. 8 hev, M hee. 9 C bihí,á,v, BHM -eev. 10 had. 12 BHM saa, C saa. 13 [M (nhaar'l) used]. 14 M d,raa, d,raa, 15 M aa. 17 BH laa, C laa. 18 k'í,á,k. 19 tí,á,l. 20 lí,á,m. 21 ní,á,m. 22 tí,á,m. 23 M sí,á,m. 24 sha,m. 25 mí,á,n. 27 BHM nhí,á,v, C n-. 28 BH hí,á,r, CH heev, M haar. 30 BH k'í,á,r, C keer. 31 lí,á,t. 33 ree,d,r. 34 last. 35 [M (elsen) used]. 36 BC thaar, M tháu. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(kú,m) used]. 40 B kú,um, C kú,um, H koom [honeycumb, M (hu,ni-kí,á,m)]. 41 BM theqk, C e, H e, M a, 43 hà,n'd. 44 là,n'd. 46 ka,n'l. 47 M wa,n,d,r. B s,aq, BCHM a, 50 ta,q,z, M teqz. 51 ma,n. 53 BHM ka,n. 54 want. 55 as, M as. 56 wesh. 57 as, M as.

A: or O: 58 BM free, C e, H frem, M frev. 59 la,m. 60 CM la,q, BH a. 61 vma,q'. 62 BH s,t,r,aq', CH a, 63 C thraq', H a, M t,ra,q. 64 CM ra,q, B 'ra,q', M w'ra,q. 65 BH saq, CM a, 66 C waq, BHM wh.

A- 67 M gaa, [& M (ga,q) used]. 69 noo, M ní,á. 70 tí,á. 71 BCM wí,á, C woo. 72 C wí,á, B |wh, H whii,v, M whá, whe. 73 BC sí,á, CH soo. 74 BM twí,á, H tú,u, C óu. 75 s,t,rí,á,k, M s,t,rwóek. 76 tí,á,d. 77 CM lord, H ó, B ú,v. 78 M aa [áut, aad]. 79 aan, M aan'd. 80 ha,lidv, M -di. 81 lú,un, M lwóenin. 83 mí,á,n. 84 BC mí,á,r, H ee, M aa. 85 BC sí,á,r, H ee, M aa. 86 BCM ú,ets [H (kaarn) used, M (ha,v,r^c) used]. 87 klí,á,z. 88 klí,á,dh. 89 bí,á,th. 90 blaa [pt. blíú]. 91 maa [pt. miú]. 92 nnaa. 93 snaa [pt. sníú]. 94 M kraa. 95 thraa, M t,raa. 96 saa [pt. síú], M soo. 97 sóul, M sául. 98 nnaa. 99 thraan. 100 saa.

A': 101 ia,k. 102 CH eks, BM as. 104 rú,ed, M rwóed. 105 rí,á,d. 106 brí,á,d. 107 lí,á,f, C loof. 108 CH dóuf, C drí,á,f [B (pí,á,st) used]. 109 laa, H lóu. 110 M nu,t. 111 M óut. 113 BCM hí,á,l, H whá,el. 115 hí,á,m. 118 M bí,á,n. 121 BCM gí,á,n, H gon, M gaan. 122 CBM ní,á,n ní,n, H nin [the two last as in 'none so bad']. 123 [M (náut) used]. 124 stí,á,n. 125 [(nobut) used]. 127 CH hú,ers. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 C goost, H gú,est [B (bog₁rt) used], M gí,á,st. 130 H bú,et. 131 M goot. 132 iét. 133 B vrí,á,t, CM rí,á,t, H rí,et. 134 BCM í,á,th, H ooth. 135 klí,á,th.

Æ- 138 fa,d,r, M fádhd,r. 140 heel. 141 M neel. 142 CM sní,l, BH ee. 143 M teel. 144 vgeen. 146 meen. 147 breem. 148 CHM feer, B feer,r. 149 B blí,ez, H ee. 150 CH lí,inst, B íe. 152 wa,t,r. 153 se,t,r,rdv.

Æ: 155 tha,k. 157 rí,á,v'n, B ee. 158 ef,t,r. 160 eg. 161 dee, M dee. 164 mee. 165 sed. 166 CH meed, M [(lās) used]. 167 d'í,á,l. 168 talv, M a, 169 BC wen, H when, 170 HM haarvist, C harest, B v. 171 CH baarlí, B í. 172 CHM gæ,rs, B ga,rs. 173 M waz. 174 C æ'sh, BHM z. 175 fast. 179 BC wat, HM wh. 181 [M (t,rod) used].

Æ- 182 BH sá. 183 C tí,etj, B tí,etj, H tétj [hardly distinguishable]. 184 BC lí,ed, H ee, M lí,ed. 185 ré,ed red. 186 brédth. 187 lí,ev. 188 H né'i [C (wini), B (whini) used], M nē'i. 189 M wē,ii. 190 CM kee'i, B ke'ii, H ke'í. 191 BH há,l. 192 B mí,é'n, CH mí,ien, M mé,ín. 193 CH klí,é'n, B klí,é'n, M klé,ín. 194 CH oni, B oni, M a,ni ani. 195 B moni, CH moni, M ma,ni mani. 196 BC war, H woor. 197 tjé,iz. 199 bleet, B blí,é,t. 200 C wí,iet, H whí,iet, R íe, M whé,ít. 202 C hé,ít.

Æ': 203 BHM spé,ítj. 204 dé,íd. 205 thré,íd. 207 né,íd'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 B wee, CH wh, M whee. 218 CM ee,d,r, B eedh,r. 216 BH dé,l, C dí,el. 218 shé,íp. 219 slé,íp. 221 CH fí,ter. 222 B hé,er, H heer, C hí,á,r, M haar. 223 H dhí,á,r, C ée,í, B íe, M dhaar. 224 BCH waar, M wh-. 225 M flesh. 226 mí,á,st. 227 wet. 228 CH swí,iet, B íe. 229 BHM breth, C bryth. 230 fat, M fa,t.

E- 232 CM brí,é,k, B íe', H éi. 233 CHM spí,é'k, B íe', M spé,ík. 234 CHM ní,é'd, B íe'. 235 CH wí,é'v, B íe. 236 C ísva,r, HM íé,í-. 237 M

tpil'bleen. 238 hndj. 241 reen. 242 H whien, M twi'á. 243 [(leek) used].
246 kwéin [queen], M whien [quean]. 248 B meer, CHM miá,r. 249 wiá,r.
250 swiá,r. 251 CHM miá't, B ír. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 lɛ,dá,r,
M leddhə,r. 255 wɛ,də,r.

E: 257 wɛd [pl. (wɛddjiz)]. 259 wɛd [pl. wɛddjiz]. 261 see. 262 wee.
264 eel. 265 BCH st,rɛ'it, M st,rɛ'it. 270 CHM bɛlis, B -us, CHM bɛli,
B -i. 272 HM ɛlɛm [CB (hoom) used]. 273 men. 274 BHM biqk, CH ɛ.
276 CHM thiqk, B í. 278 M wentj. 280 uliev'n. 281 lɛqth, M lenth.
282 st,rɛqth, M st,rɛnth. 283 CHM myri, B í. 284 thresh. 285 kresh.
286 ha,rɛ. 287 bɛiz'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 íi íi ɛ. 290 hɛi hi i v. 291 dhɛi dhɛi dhɛ. 292 mɛi mi mɛ.
293 wɛi wi, B wu. 294 fɛid. 296 bilɛiv. 298 fɛil. 299 grɛin. 300 kɛip.
301 hɛi,r. 302 mɛit. 303 swɛit.

E': 305 BH hɛi, C hɛ'i. 306 hɛit. 307 M náai. 308 nɛid. 309 spɛid.
310 hɛil. 311 ten. 312 hɛi,r. 314 BH h,ɛard, C hɛ,rd, M hɛ,rd. 315
fɛit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gí,á,p. 320 M kaar. EA: 321 saa. 322 lɛf. 323 fɛut.
324 ɛ'it, M ɛ'it. 325 waa,k. 326 CB aal'd, C ɔul'd, H ɔud, M aad. 327
CH bóul'd. 328 CB kaal'd, H kɔud, M kaad. 329 C fɔul'd, H foud. 330
hod. 331 [(sɛl't) used]. 332 [(tɛl't) used]. 333 kaa,f. 334 haa,f. 335 CB
aa, HM aal. 336 CB faa, HM faal. 337 waa, M waal. 340 ɛə,rd, M
ɛə,rd. 342 aar'm, M aarm. 343 waar'm, M waarm. 345 BC daar, H deer,
M daar. 346 B íet, C íyt, H íet, M ía,t ["distinctly different from (ɔa,t),
(gí,á,t), a road"].

EA'- 347 CHM hɛ'ɛ'd, B ír [here in 350-6, 360, 361, etc., the (ɛ) is not
certain in M, but becomes indistinct]. 348 íi [pl. (áin) C]. 349 H fiú, BC ír'ú.

EA': 350 CHM díɛd, B díɛ'd. 351 CHM líɛd, B líɛ'd. 352 CH red,
B ryd. 353 CHM bríɛd, B bríɛd. 354 CHM shíɛf, B ír. 355 CHM díɛf,
B ír. 356 CH líɛf, B ír. 357 [(fer aa) for all, used]. 359 C neɔ,r, BH
ɛ'i, M nɛɛ'ibə,r. 360 CHM tíɛm, B ír. 361 CHM bíɛm, B ír. 363 CHM
tɛiɛp, B ír. 365 níə,r. 366 gəə,rt, M gríɛt. 367 CHM thríɛt, B ír.
368 CM díɛth, B ír, H deth. 369 CBM slaa, H slaa. 370 CB raa, H raa.
371 st,rí,á.

EI- 372 BM áij, C ɛ'i, H ɛ'i. 373 dhe. 374 nee. 375 M reez. 376
beet. EI: 377 stí,á,k. 378 week. 382 CHM dheer, B dhəə,r.

EO- 383 C sɛb'n, BH v, M síɛv'n. 384 hev'n, M híɛv'n. 385 H
biniɛth. 386 íou. 387 BC níú, H ní,ú.

EO: 388 CHM málhk, B í. 389 ɔok. 390 sud, H shud. 393 BHM
bɛjont, C bɛjont. 396 waark. 397 BC sɛ,ə,rd, HM swə,rd. 398 staarv,
M áiz náai hu,qə,rd tɛ díɛth ɛn feer staarvd wí)t' kaad [I am nearly hungered
to death and fairly starved with the cold]. 399 bréit. 400 M ívɛrnist. 402
CH ləə,ru, B aa, M líɛrn. 403 f,aa,r. 404 st,aa,r. 405 C haastɛn, BH ástɛn,
M ástɛn [=hearthstone, hearth not being used separately]. 406 M ívɛrth.
407 faardán.

EO'- 409 BH bɛi bí, C bí. 411 BCH thréi, M t,réi. 412 shéi shi shɛ,
HM shu shú,u. 413 C dív'l, B dev'l, HM dív'l. 414 BCM flá. 415 léf.
416 díə,r. 417 C tɛjg, BH tɛ'uu, M tɛjə. 418 bríú. 420 BHM fɔə,r,
C faaə,r. 421 CM farti, B forti, H forti.

EO': 423 théi. 424 ru,f. 425 léit. 426 BHM fɛ'it, B fə'it, C fɛit.
427 M bɛi bí. 428 sɛi. 430 fry,nd. 431 bíə,r. 432 HM fɔurt, B fɔurt,
C fɔə,rt. 433 bry,st, M bréist. 434 B bet. 435 íú,u, M jóú ru ɛ. 436
t,ríú. 437 t,ríúth.

EY- 438 CM dɛi, BH d'í. EY: 439 B t,rú,st, CHM t,ry,st.

I- 440 HM wɛik, BC í. 441 CHM sív, B í [M has (síɛv) a rush,
(sí,á,v) to save]. 442 CH ávín, B -i,n, M hávín. 443 M fráidi. 444 HM
stáil, BC í. 446 BCH náin, M náin. 448 M dhə,r. 449 CHM git [gat
git'n], B í. 450 BCH tíúzdə. 451 CH sɛ'uu, B sɛ'n, M síú.

I: 452 C áai, BHM ái [enclitic, B (i)]. 454 CHM wítj, B í. 455 CH
lig, B í. 457 CHM máit, B méit. 458 BM néit, C nɛ'it, H náit. 459 CB
rɛ'it, H ráit, M réit. 460 M wéit. 462 BHM sɛit, C sɛ'it. 464 HM whítj,
C w, B wí. 465 CH sitj, C sík, B sík, M sáik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467

- wáaid. 468 [(baarnz) used]. 471 CHM *tímə,r*, B *i*. 473 C *blin'd*, BH *i*. 475 CHM *wín'd*, B *i*. 476 CHM *bánd* [ban'd *bə,n*], B *i*. 477 CHM *fin'd* [fan'd *fə,n*], B *i*. 478 CH *gru'nd* [gran'd *gru,n*], B *i*, M *gru'nd*. 479 B *wé'n'd* [wan'd *wə,n*], CHM *i*. 481 CH *fíqə,r*, B *i*. 485 CHM *this'l*, B *i*. 486 C *íest*, M *íest*, H *íest* [B (baarm) used]. 487 C *íests,tə,rðv*, B *íest-*, H *íest-*, M *íes-*. 488 CH *íy,t*, B *í,t*, M *í,t*.
 I'- 490 C *bi*, *bái*, H *bi*, B *bi*. 493 C *d,ráiv* [d,rí,á,v d,róv'n]. 494 *táim*. 496 *áir'n*. 498 C *ráait*, H *ráit*, BM *vraít* [vrí,á,t vrí,t'n].
 I': 500 *lák*. 501 *wáid*. 502 *fáiv*. 503 *láif*. 504 *nháif*. 505 *wáif*. 506 *wumən*. 507 CH *wimin*, B *i*, M *wumin*. 508 *máil*. 509 *wáil*, B *wel*. 511 *wáin*. 513 *wáir*. 514 *áis*. 515 *wáiz*. 516 *wízəm*. 517 BC *íuu*, H *íuu*.
 O- 520 BHM *bóu*, C *bú,u*. 521 BCH *fú,el*, M *fu-*. 522 *op'n*. 523 H *hoop*, C *ú,v*, B *óv*, M *whú,əp*. 524 BHM *wor'l'd*, C *wə,r'l'd*.
 Ó: 526 *kof*. 527 BCH *bóut*, M *áu*. 528 BCH *thóut*, M *áu*. 529 BCH *bróut*, M *áu*. 530 M *vraút w'ráut*. 531 BCH *dóu,tə,r*, M *dáu-*. 532 BCH *kú,el*, M *kw-*. 533 *du,l*. 534 BCH *hú,el*, M *wh-*. 536 BCH *góud*, M *gól'd*. 537 *móud*. 538 BHM *wad*, C *wud*. 539 *bóul*. 540 CHM *holin*, B *i*. 542 *bóut*, M *bolt*. 545 *hop*. 547 *bú,ərd*. 549 *hú,ərd*. 550 BHM *wú,rd*, C *wə,rd*. 551 C *stor'm*, BH *stáarm*, M *storm*. 552 C *kor'n*, B *kaarn*, M *kw,ə,rn*. 553 C *hor'n*, B *haarn*, M *horn*. 554 CHM *kros*.
 Ó'- 555 BCH *shú,u*, M *shú*. 556 *te* [at is not used for to in Var. i, only in Var. iii.]. 557 BCH *tú,u*, M *tú*. 558 B *liúk*, C *luk*, H *lú,uk*, M *liuk*. 559 *mu,də,r*. 561 BH *blá,um*, M *blúm*. 562 CH *má,un*, B *míun*, M *míun*. 563 BCH *mu,ndv*, M *-di*. 564 B *siún*, M *siun*, CH *sú,un*. 565 BCH *nú,vz*, M *nw-*. 566 *u,də,+r*.
 Ó: 569 H *bú,uk*, C *buk*, B *bíuk*, M *bóuk*. 570 H *tú,uk*, C *tuk*, B *tíuk*, M *túuk*. 571 *gu,d*. 572 BCH *blú,d*, M *blúd*. 573 BCH *flú,d*, M *flúd*. 574 BCH *brú,ud*, M *bríud*. 575 BCH *stu,d*, M *stíud*. 576 BCH *wed'nzde*, M *-di*. 577 BCH *bú,u*, M *biú*. 578 BCH *plú,u*, M *plíu*. 579 BH *vu,f*, C *inu,u*, M *vuuf*. 580 BCH *tu,f*, M *tuuf*. 581 M *sáut*. 582 CH *kú,ul*, B *kúl*, M *kíul*. 583 CH *tú,ul*, B *tíul*, M *tíul*. 584 CH *stú,ul*, M *stíul*. 585 B *brú,um*, M *bríum*. 586 C *díu*, H *dú,u*, M *díu*. 587 *du,n*, B *díun*, M *díun*. 588 CH *nú,un*, B *niún*, M *níun*. 589 *spú,un*, B *spiún*, M *spíun*. 590 CH *flú,uə,r*, B *íu*, M *fly'ur*. 591 *má,uə,r*. 592 [BCH *swí,á,r*, M *swaar sware*, used]. 594 M *bíut* [also (te *bíut*) to boot]. 595 CH *fú,ut*, B *fiút*, M *fiút*. 596 M *ríut*. 597 CH *sú,ut*, B *siút*, M *siút*.
 U- 599 BCH *vbu,v*, M *vbiún vbiun*. 600 *lu,v*. 601 BH *fóul*, M *fú,ul*. 602 BCH *sú,u*, M *síu*. 603 *ku,m*. 605 *su,n*. 606 CH *dú,uə,r*, B *íu*, M *y'u*, *íu*. 607 *bu,tə,r*.
 U: 608 CH *u,glí*, B *i*. 609 *fúl*. 610 *wú,ul*. 611 *bulek*. 612 *su,m*. 613 *dru,qk*. 614 M *hu,n'd*. 615 M *pu,n'd*. 616 *gru,nd*. 617 M *sú,un'd*. 618 BCH *wáumd*, M *wá,um'd*. 620 *gru,n*. 622 *u,n,də,r*. 625 *tu,q'*. 626 *hu,qə,r*. 629 *su,n*. 631 *thə,rzðv*, M *thú,rzdi*. 632 *u,p*. 633 *ku,p*. 634 BCH *thrá,u*, M *t,rú,u*. 635 M *wu,rth*. 637 *tu,sk*. 639 *du,st*.
 U'- 640 BCH *káu*, M *kú,ù*. 641 BCH *háu*, M *hú,ù*. 642 BCH *dháu*, M *dhú,ù*. 643 BCH *náu*, M *nú,ù*. 644 *sáuk*. 645 *du,v*. 646 BCH *báu*, M *bú,ù*. 647 CB *ául*, H *hu,lert*, M *híulert*. 648 BCH *áur*, M *á,úə,r*. 649 BCH *tháuzend*, M *thú,úz'nd*. 652 *ku,d*. 653 *bu,t*.
 U: 654 BCH *shérad*, M *-ú,ùd* [the only word in which *shr-* = (sher-)]. 655 BCH *fául*, M *fú,ùl*. 656 *rú,um*. 657 BCH *bráun*, M *brú,ùn*. 658 BCH *dáun*, M *dú,ùn*. 659 M *tú,ùn*. 661 BCH *sháus,r*, M *shú,ùə,r*. 662 *-hu,z* [emphatic]. 663 BCH *háus*, M *hú,ùs*. 664 BCH *láus*, M *lú,ùs*. 665 BCH *máus*, M *mú,ùs*. 666 *hu,zbend*. 667 BCH *áut*, M *ú,ut*. 668 BCH *práud*, M *prú,ùd*. 671 BCH *máuth*, M *mú,ù*. 672 BCH *sáuth*, M *sú,ùth*.
 Y- 673 HM *mítj*, BC *i*, M *mik'l*. 674 M *did*. 676 *lí*. 677 *d,ráai*. 678 CHM *din*, B *i*. 679 BCM *kə,rk*, H *tjə,rty*, M *tjúrty*. 680 CH *bizi*, B *bi,zí*, M *bizi*. 682 *lál*.
 Y: 683 CH *míddy*, B *i*, M *midj*. 684 CHM *brig*, B *i*. 685 M *rig*. 686 *bái*. 689 CH *báld*, B *i* [M pp. (billht)]. 690 *káaind*. 691 *máaind*. 693 CHM *sin*, B *i*. 694 *wu,rk*. 696 *bə,rth*. 697 *by,ri*, M *beri*. 699 *réit*, M

ur'it u'r-. 700 waars, B waar. 701 fæ,rst. 703 CHM pit, B i₁. 704 H viks'n.

Y'- 705 skáai. 707 thæ,rtéin. 708 háai,r. Y': 709 fáai,r. 711 láais. 712 máais.

II. ENGLISH.

[No words were given in this division from Chapel-le-dale except 737, 744, 746, 761, 767, 769, 778, 808.]

A. 713 ba,d. 714 la,d [compare M (lasi) not (la,si)]. 715 M pa,d. 716 M a,d'l' [to earn]. 717 BCH dæed, M jood [an old horse]. 718 M t,reed. 722 BM d,reen. 723 B dée,rri, H deeri, M deeri. 724 baald. 725 si,á,l. 728 sha,m. 729 freem. 730 HM ka,n,tæ,r. 733 [M (flee) v., (fleet) sb. used]. 734 daarn. 735 ma,sh. 737 meet. 740 M weev. 742 BCH leezi, M -i.

E. 743 HM skriem, B i₁. 744 mez'l'z. 745 M tjiët. 746 B bréidh, CH briidh. 748 M figd.

I. and Y. 753 [(HM kit'l, B i₁) used]. 754 M pig. 757 M téini. 759 H fit, B i₁.

O. 751 lí,á,d. 767 nóiz. 769 CHM móudiwarp, B i₁. 771 fon'd. 772 bí,á,nfaai,r. 774 BCH póuni, M -i. 777 shop. 778 BCH vfu,i,rd, M vfu-. 783 B páu,t,ri, H pu,l,t,ri. 785 B láandj. 789 róu [but (e lóum en róu néit) a calm, quiet, still night]. 790 H gáun, B góun, M gú,un.

U. 793 hu,g. 794 dju,g. 799 H sku,l. 801 ru,m. 803 dju,mp. 805 kr,u,dz. 808 pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

[No words marked in this division for Chapel-le-dale.]

A.. 809 BM ía,b'l, H æeb'l. 810 fí,á,s. 811 plí,á,s. 812 lí,á,s. 813 M beek'n. 814 mí,á,s'n. 815 M fa,ks. 816 M feed. 817 B ra,dí,sh, H i. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 B di,lee, HM i. 822 mee. 824 tjeer. 825 HM weef. 826 M éig'l. 827 írgæ,r. 828 H eegv. 829 M geen. 830 HM t,reen. 833 B péæ,r, M peer. 835 M ríiez'n. 836 M stíez'n. 838 M tréit. 840 M tja,mæ,r. 841 BCH tjans, M a. 842 pla,qk. 843 BCH brantj [M (biú) bough used]. 844 t,rensh. 845 M eenshunt. 847 deendjæ,r. 848 tjeendj. 849 s,t,rendjæ,r. 850 BCH dans, M a. 851 BCH ant, M ant. 852 apæ,ræn, M ía,p'r'n. 853 HM baargin, B i₁. 854 ba,rel. 855 ka,rut. 856. pá,rt. 857 kí,á,s. 858 M brees. 859 tja,s. 860 pí,á,st. 861 tí,á,st. 862 sí,á,f. 864 B bikaz, M bika's. 865 faat. 866 pá,u,r.

E.. 867 téi. 869 HM viiel. 871 H vgræi, BM gréi. 874 HM riian, B íe. 875 BCH feent, M fent [as a vb. pres. (fant) gen. in the N]. 877 H eer. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 883 dandi,láaiven. 886 M fríu,r. 887 H klæ,rdj. 888 sart'n. 890 biíest, B íe [M pl. (béis)]. 891 fíust, B íe. 892 M nevi. 893 B fláuo,r, H óu. 894 H diséev, B i₁, M diséiv. 895 H riséev, B i₁, M riséiv.

I.. and Y.. 897 H diláit. 898 HM náais. 899 HM néis. 900 pree. 901 faain. 902 BM máain, H ái. 903 B dáain, H ái. 904 B váaiet. 908 M vdvás. 909 HM bréiz. 910 B djáaist, H ái, M djáis. 911 H siíustæ,rn. 912 BM ráis.

O.. 913 BCH kú,etj, M kw-. 914 B brú,etj, M brw-, H oo. 915 stu,f. 916 HM u,níen, B i₁. 917 roog. 918 H fæib'l. 919 óintment. 920 M póint. 921 M ekwent. 922 BCH bu,shel, M bish'l. 924 tjóis. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. 927 t,ru,qk. 928 BCH áuns, M ú,uns. 930 lóin. 931 B dju,glæ,r. 933 frú,nt. 935 kwn,t,ri. 936 H font. 937 M kok. 938 BM kornæ,r, H kaarna,r. 939 BCH klú,es, M klw-. 940 BCH kú,et, M kw-. 941 BCH fú,ul, M fúul. 942 bu,ttjæ,r. 943 tu,tj. 944 B vláu, H vlóu. 945 B váu, H vóu. 947 bóil. 948 [(baa, baal) used], M bú,ul. 950 su,pæ,r. 951 ku,p'l. 952 B kú,æ,rs, H áuo, M kw-. 953 BM ku,zi,n, H -en. 954 B whí,shen, ku,shen, HW wishin. 955 BCH dát, M dú,ut. 956 ku,væ,r.

U.. 961 BCH gríuel, M -el [final (e) distinct, and so (kríuel) cruel, but (kríul) crewel]. 963 BCH kwáai,et, M wh-. 964 H síú,t, B -et. 965 óil. 966 fríút. 967 síút. 968 óistæ,r. 969 síú,r. 970 dju,st. 971 flíút.

(5) Var. i, form b. N.W. HORN OF Yo. cwl.

Written in io. by the Rev. W. R. Bell, Vicar of Laithkirk (20 nw.Richmond, Yo.), who gave himself much trouble to explain his symbolisation, but, as already remarked, p. 547, I was unable to interpret it satisfactorily. Fortunately JGG. had been able to see him personally, and had written the pron. of most of the words in the Wessex section of my cwl. from his dictation, assisted by an old parishioner. On comparing this with Mr. Bell's descriptions, JGG. and I felt that they agreed. Under these circumstances, considering the peculiarities of the style of speech, I give JGG.'s appreciation of the pron. The (r), as usual, must be considered as (r').

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bia,k. 4 tīa,k. 5 ma,k. 6 mīa,d. 7 sīa,k. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 d,raa. 15 aa. 16 daan. 17 laa. 19 tīa,l. 20 līa,m. 21 nīa,m. 22 tīa,m. 23 sīa,m. 24 sha,m. 25 mīa,n. 27 nīa,v. 28 heer. 31 līa,t. 32 beedh. 33 raa,d,er. 34 la,st. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(ku) for come used]. 40 ké,em. 41 tha,qk. 43 ha,n'd. 44 la,n'd. 46 ka,n'l'. 47 wan,d,er. 48 sa,q. 50 tee,qz. 51 ma,n. 54 want. 56 wesh. 57 a,s. A: or O: 58 frēe. 59 la,m. 60 la,q. 61 uma,q. 62 s,t,ra,q. 63 thra,q. 64 ra,q. 65 sa,q. 66 thoq [(whīa q) commoner].

A'- 67 ga,n. 69 nī,a. 70 tī,a. 71 waa. 72 whī,a. 73 sīa. 74 twī,a. 75 strook. 76 tī,a,d. 77 lœrd [see 85]. 78 aa. 79 aan. 80 ha,lī,d. 81 ii. lonvn. 83 mī,a,n moon. 84 mœr [see 85]. 85 sœr [described by JGG as *ö* in *könig*]. 86 ī,a,ts oots. 87 klī,a,s. 88 klīid. 89 bī,a,th. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sīa,zl. 99 thraan. 100 saan.

A': 101 ī,a,k. 102 a,ks. 104 rood. 105 rī,a,d. 106 brī,a,d. 107 lī,a,f. 110 i. nā,ut. ii. no't. 111 a,ut. 113 jhīa,l. 115 jhī,a,m. 118 bī,a,n. 121 gī,a,n. 122 nī,a,n. 124 stī,a,n. 125 [(mobet) used]. 127 hærs [P see 85]. 129 goost. 131 goot. 132 het. 133 rī,a,t. 134 ooth. 135 klī,a,th.

Æ- 138 fa,dher. 139 drēe. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 snā,i'l. 143 teel. 144 egrī,a,n. 145 slēen. 146 mēen. 147 brēen. 148 fēer. 150 līi,st. 152 wa,i,ter. 153 se,t,erde.

Æ: 155 thī,k. 157 rīa,v'n. 158 eft,er. 160 e,g. 161 dēe. 163 [(wez ligv) was lying, used]. 164 mēe. 165 sed. 167 dīa,l. 168 ta,l,g. 169 when. 170 haari,st. 171 bēerle. 172 gœors. 173 wa,s. 174 esh. 175 fa,st. 179 wha,t. 180 baa,th. 181 peeth [(t,rod) common].

Æ'- 182 sīi. 184 līid. 185 rī,d. 186 brīid. 187 līiv. 189 wēe,i. 190 kee,i ká,i káa. 191 héil. 192 méin. 193 klēin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 waaron. 197 tjeiz. 200 whēit. 201 hēidh'n. 202 hēit.

Æ': 203 spēitiy. 204 dēid. 205 thri,d. 206 red. 207 néid'l. 210 klee. 211 grēe. 212 wēe. 215 taat tē,ut. 216 dēil. 218 shēip. 219 slēip. 221 fēier. 222 heer. 223 dheer. 224 whaar. 225 flesh. 226 mī,a,st. 227 wet. 228 swēit. 229 brēith. 230 fa,t.

E- 232 brēik brīk. 233 spēik. 235 wēiv. 236 fēiv. 238 he,ddj. 239 seel. 241 rēen. 243 plee [(leek) also used]. 246 i. kvēin. 247 [(spī,a,n) used]. 248 mēier. 249 wēier. 250 swēier. 251 méit. 252 kef'l. 253 nef'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 ed'dj. 259 weddj. 260 láa. 261 see. 262 wēe. 264 eel. 267 jēil'd. 268 eldist. 270 i. belus. ii. beli. 272 el'm. 273 men. 274 bēsh. 276 thi,qk. 280 elēiv'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 me,r. 284 thresh. 286 ha,rs. 287 wæzem. 288 let. E'- 289 jēi i je. 290 hēi hī, e. 292 méi mī ms. 293 wēi wī ws. 294 fēid. 295 brēid. 296 blēiv. 298 fēil. 299 grēin. 300 kēip. 302 méit. 303 swēit. E': 305 hēi. 306 hēit. 307 naa. 308 néid. 309 spēid. 310 héil. 311 ten. 312 hēier. 314 haard. 315 fēit.

EA- 319 giá,p. 320 kaar. EA: 321 saa. 022 la,f. 323 fá,ut. 324 ée,ít. 325 waak. 326 aad. 327 bá,ul'd. 328 kaad. 329 faad. 330 haad. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 kaaaf. 334 haaf. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. waa. 340 i. jærd. 342 eerm. 343 wæerm. 345 daar. 346 ja,t. EA'- 347 héiid. 348 éi [pl. (éiin)]. 349 fiéu. EA': 350 déiid. 351 léiid. 352 réiid. 353 bréiid. 354 shaaf. 355 déiif dii,f. 356 léiif. 357 dhoo. 359 náiber. 360 téim. 361 béiin. 363 tjeép. 365 néiier. 366 grii,t. 367 threút. 368 déiith, dii,th. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 372 ée,ít. 373 dheer. 374 neer. 376 bæet. EI: 377 stíá k. 378 wé'ík. 382 dhæer. EO- 383 séiiv'n. 364 héiiv'n. 385 enu,n,de r. 386 jə'u. 387 niúu. EO: 388 mlk. 390 sæd. 393 wjont. 396 waark. 397 sæard. 398 staarv. 399 bréit. 400 jæornist. 402 laarn. 403 faa r. 404 staa,r. 405 haa,rth. 406 jæorth. 407 faa,r'd'n. 408 niuu. EO'- 409 báii. 411 threú. 412 shái, shi shə. 413 déiiv'l. 414 fléii. 415 léii. 416 déiier. 417 tje'u. 418 br,uu. 420 fower. EO': 423 théii. 424 ru,f. 425 léiit. 426 fə'it. 427 béii. 428 seii. 430 frin'd. 431 béiier. 432 fow,rt. 433 brii,st. 434 bet béiit. 435 jii, jv. 436 triuu. 437 t,rii,th. EY- 438 déi. EY: 439 tru,st.

I- 440 wéiik. 441 séiv. 442 háaiiv'n. 443 frə'ide. 444 stéiil. 446 mə'in. 448 dhæoz. 449 git. 450 tiúgzde. 551 siúu. I: 452 aa a v. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 méiit. 458 néiit. 459 réiit. 462 séiit. 464 wháik. 465 sáaik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 waa,il'd. 468 tjilded. 472 skriqk [(ru,n u,p) used of woollen cloth]. 473 blind. 474 rə'in'd. 475 wəind wind. 476 bünd [pp. (bu,nd)]. 477 find [pt. (fa,nd), pp. (fu,nd)]. 478 grə'ind. 479 win [pt. (wa,n) pp. (wu,n)]. 481 fiqer. 484 dhis. 485 thris'l'. 486 jüst. 487 jisterde. 488 jít. I'- 490 báai bi. 493 dráaiiv. 494 tə'im. 496 áairun. 498 rə'it. I: 500 lə'ík. 501 wə'id. 502 fáaiiv. 503 lə'if. 504 nə'if. 505 wə'if. 506 wu,men. 507 wu,min. 508 máai,il. 509 whaa,il. 511 wə'in. 513 wáair. 514 ə'is. 515 áairz. 516 wizdəm. 517 jéu.

O- 520 béun. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 hæ'up. 524 wər'l'd. O: 526 kaaaf kə'u. 527 bæ'ut. 528 tha'ut. 529 brə'ut. 530 wæ'ut. 531 da'uter. 532 kool. 533 dül [not (du,l)]. 534 hool. 536 gə'ul'd. 537 mə'ul'd. 538 wad. 539 bæ'ul. 540 holin. 542 bæ'ult. 545 hop. 547 bæoard. 548 fæoard [(wath) common]. 549 hæoard. 550 wæoard. 552 kæorn. 553 hæorn. 554 krös. O'- 555 shə'uu shə'uu. 556 tə [unacc.]. 557 tii, tii,v. 558 léuk. 559 mu,dhər. 561 bléum. 562 múun. 563 mu,nde. 564 sian. 565 nooz. 566 u,dhər. O: 569 biak. 570 tiak. 571 gud. 572 blu,d. 573 fléud. 574 bréiad. 575 stiad. 576 wed'nzde. 577 béun. 578 pléuf. 579 enéuf. 580 táf. 581 sa'ut. 582 kíul. 583 tíul. 584 stial'. 586 dii, dii,v. 587 diim. 588 néun. 589 spian. 591 mæ'uer. 592 swéiier. 593 [(mu,n, mən) used]. 594 bíut. 595 íut. 596 riut. 597 síut.

U- 599 əb'a,n. 600 lu,v. 601 féul. 602 séu. 603 ku,m. 605 su,n. 606 déuur. 607 bu,ter. U: 608 ugli. 609 fú'l. 610 wú,u. 612 su,m. 613 dru,qk. 614 hu,n'd. 615 pu,n'd. 616 gru,n'd. 617 séun'd. 618 wéun'd. 619 fu,n'd. 620 gru,n'd. 622 u,n,de r. 625 tuq. 626 hu,qər. 629 su,n. 631 thæozdi. 632 u,p. 633 ku,p. 634 thrú,u. 635 wæorth. 637 tu,sk tu,sh. 638 bu,sk. 639 du,st [(stáur) used]. U'- 640 kéun. 641 héun. 642 dhéun. 643 néun. 645 du,v. 646 béun. 647 éuul. 648 éuur [also (əz) enclitic]. 649 théuuzənd. 652 kud. 653 bu,t. U: 654 shréund. 656 réun. 657 bréun. 658 déun. 659 téun. 661 shéuur. 662 hu,z. 663 héuus. 664 léuus. 665 méuus. 666 hu,zbənd. 667 éuut. 668 préund. 671 méuuth. 672 séuuth sá,u.

Y- 673 mik'l'. 674 did dud. 676 léii. 677 dráai. 678 din. 679 kjæork. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l'. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báai. 687 fléii. 689 bil'd. 690 kə'ind. 691 mə'ind. 693 sin. 694 wæork. 696 bæorth. 697 beri. 699 réiit. 700 wæors. 701 fæorst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 skáai. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 thətéiin. 708 háaiiv. Y: 709 fáaiiv. 711 lə'is. 712 mə'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 bréiidh. 748 figd. O. 761 l₁a₁d. 770 [(má, wdi-waarp) used].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 réin. O.. 948 béuul.

VAR. *ii*a, NORTH LA. cwl.

Lonsdale south of the Sands.

This is made up from the following sources:—

Unmarked words. Heysham (:isum), (4 w.Lancaster), from a partial wl. in io. by the Rector, Rev. C. T. Royds, who when sending it had had 12 years' acquaintance with the speech, conjecturally pal. by A.J.E. The (í, i, ú, u, ee, æ, er, æ, r) are uncertain in many words.

H wn. by TH., Lancaster, Cockerham (6 s-by-w.Lancaster), Hornby (8 ne.Lancaster), and Caton (4 ene.Lancaster).

The words from these several places not being enough to distinguish local forms, they are here collected in one list without any separation. It may be assumed that the whole of this ne.La., or Lonsdale s. of the Sands, has a similar pron.

The (r) is probably (r^o) throughout. TH.'s medial second elements of diphthongs and suspended final consonants, although constantly marked by him, have, in accordance with my general rule, not been indicated, either here, or in the next cwl., see pp. 316, 317.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tek, H tak. 12 soo. 14 droo. 20 leem, H leem. 21 neem. 24 sham. 31 H léet. A: 46 kan'l. 56 wesh, H wash. A: or O: 60 H laq. 61 umaq. 62 H st₁raq. 63 thraq. 64 ruq, H raq. A'- 67 gee, H gu gúv. 76 túnd. 87 kléevz. 89 bieth. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. A': 101 jek. 106 H braad. 115 H úvm, úvm. 117 jan, H wan. 121 gívn, H ga'n. 123 [H (nóut) used].

Æ- 138 fa₁d₁r, H fadher. 152 H wa₁te₁r. Æ: 155 thak. 167 díel. 172 gres. Æ'- 182 H sív. 190 H kje'i. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 218 shí'ip. 224 H wíer.

E- 232 brék. — H e'it [to eat]. 251 H me'it. 255 we₁d₁r. E: 262 H wee. — fí'ílz [fields]. 284 thresh. E'- 290 í, i, H íi. 292 m₁i. E': 305 H e'i. 312 H íer. 315 H fit.

EA: 326 H óud. 328 H kóud. 330 haad hod, H ód. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 336 faa. 337 woo waa. 346 H gjæ'et. EA'- 347 híied. EA': 350 H díed. EO- 386 háu. EO: 395 juq. 402 H larn. EO'- 417 t₁ig. 420 H f₁er f₁u₁r. EO': 422 sík. 424 H ru₁f ru₁kh. 425 líit.

I- 440 H wíik. I: 458 níit. 459 réit riit. 468 H t₁il₁d₁r. 477 find. 478 grínd. 484 H dhís. I'- 492 H sáid. I': 502 H íáiv. 508 H máil.

O- 519 óu₁r, H óu₁r. 521 f₁óil. 522 H op'n. O: 529 bróut. 532 k₁óil. 534 h₁óil. O'- 558 H læ'uk luk. 559 H mu₁dher modher. 560 H skuul. O': 571 gud, H gu₁d. 577 buu. 578 pluu. 579 H vnu₁f. 586 H dæ'u du. 588 H nuun.

U- 600 lu₁v. 603 ku₁men, H ku₁m. 605 s₁n. 606 H d₁ur d₁u₁r. 607 bu₁te₁r, H bu₁te₁r. U: 608 u₁glí. 612 H su₁m. 613 H d₁ru₁qk. 622 H u₁n₁d₁r. 626 u₁q₁r, H u₁q₁r. 629 s₁n. 632 H u₁p. 633 kup. 639 d₁'st. U'- 641 H áu. 642 dháu. 643 H náu. 648 w₁r [unaccented]. 650 H v₁báut. U': 658 H d₁am. 663 háus, H áus.

Y- 682 láil lít'l. Y: 684 H brig. 702 H wídh.

VAR. ii^b, FURNESS AND CARTMEL CWL.

Lonsdale north of the Sands.

This district I divide into three groups, C, U, and B. The information is derived from wn. by TH. in 1877 and 1881.

C Lower Holker (:òukər), and Cark (5 e-by-s.Ulverston), see also p. 558, No. 4. I reject the words of Mrs. Betty Butler, b. in 1797, near Grasmere, who had come to Cartmel at 6 years old, because the pron. seemed to be a mixture of Grasmere and Cartmel.

U Ulverston.

B Broughton-in-Furness (7 nw. Ulverston), see also p. 553, for a dt. from Broughton. The pron. here had not altered from 1861 to 1881. Together with High Nibthwaite (7 n-by-e.Ulverston), at the s. part of Coniston Water, and Coniston, from TH.'s wn.

E This belongs to the preceding group, but is taken from Mr. Ellwood's wl. for Coniston, Hawkshead (3 e.Con.), Seathwaite (5 w-by-s.Con.), Torver (2 ssw.Con.), Ulpha (7 sw.Con.), Broughton-in-Furness, Kirby Lowick (7 ssw.Con.), and the higher parts of Colton (7 s.Con.), as read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, native of Coniston, introduced by Mr. Ellwood. The *r* final or before consonants is uncertain, probably (*r*^o). The dentality of *tr-*, *dr-* was so uncertain, and, if it really occurred, slight, that I do not mark it. The (iá) did not sound to me like (iá₁). Miss Bell belonged to the younger generation in pron. The vowel in 172 *girse* = grass, seemed to be (e₁), but it was difficult to identify. I seemed generally to hear (ee) rather than (eē). No aspirate heard. The diphthongs (a'í, a'u) sounded to me most like (ái, óu), and the former seemed to become (ái) before voiced consonants, see No. 502 and 505, but Miss B. did not acknowledge any difference. The (óu) sounded at first like (a'u), but I found it difficult to determine, and have therefore used (óu).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 E bíák. 4 E tak. 5 C míá'k. 6 E m'ád. 7 E síák. 8 E hev. 10 E haa. 12 E saa. 14 B d,roo, E draa. 17 B loo, E laa. 19 E tíál. 20 C lévm, E l'vm [ʔ (lévm) leaam]. 21 C névm, B néa'm neem, E n'ám [ʔ (névm) neaam]. 22 E tíám, written leaam. 23 E síám. 24 E sham. 25 E míán. 27 E n'áv. 28 E jaar. 31 CB l'et, E líát. 33 E reeder. 35 E AAL. 36 E thaa thóu [both used]. 37 E klaa.

A: 39 E kom. 40 E k'vm. 46 E kan'l. 47 E wander. 50 E taqz. 56 CE w'esh.

A: or O: 58 E fre. 59 E lam. 60 C laq, BE laq. 61 E emaq. 62 E s't,raq. 63 E thraq. 64 B roq, BE raq. 65 E saq.

A': 67 C gá'in, UB gaan [going], E gaa. 69 n'á. 70 E tíú. 72 E waa. 73 CB s'uv, E síá [and (s'uv)]. 74 C t'uu, E tuu [must be modern]. 78 E aa. 79 BE aan. 80 E al'ídv. 81 E líán lonin [but (lívn) as in Mr. E's looan was known]. 82 CB jans. 84 B méur, E m'ár. 85 E s'ár. 86 C óets [E (aver) used]. 87 C t'íuz, E klíáz. 89 C bé'eth bíá'th, E bíáth. 90 E blaa. 92 C naa. 93 E naa [(kæn) in sense of *connaitre*]. 94 E kraa. 95 E thraa. 96 E saa. 97 E sóvl. 98 E naan. 99 E thraan. 100 E saan.

A': 101 E jak. 102 E eks. 104 CE r'úvd. 105 E r'íád. 106 E br'íád. 107 E líáf [(lú,vf) more common]. 108 [E paste (p'íást) used]. 109 laa. 110 E n'ot [Mr. E. had written n'irt]. 113 C úel, E jal. 114 E mool. 115 CUB jám, E j'ám. 117 C t'év [the one], já ee, B jàn. 118 bíán. 121 E gan [(gaan) going]. 122 CB n'ev[n], C n'iv, B n'iv, E n'in. 123 [E (n'óvt) used]. 124 B stéa'n st'ien, E st'ían. 125 E [(nobbut) used]. 127 E oos [so Miss Bell, but Mr. E. wrote hoorse]. 128 E dhoor [used]. 129 E goost. 130 E búvt. 131 E g'úvt. 132 j'át. 133 BE r'íá't. 134 E ooth. 135 E [(kl'óvt) used].

E- 138 CU fadh'er, CE fa d'v.r. 141 E n'ívl. 142 E sn'íál. 143 E teel [obs. these last three forms]. 144 E vgeen. 148 E feer. 149 E blíuz. 150

- E *livst*. 152 CBE *wa,tər* [(t) uncertain from Miss Bell]. 153 CUBE *sɛ,tər,də*, [the (t,r) uncertain from Miss B.].
 Æ: 158 BE *ɛf,tər*. 161 CUB *dɛe*, BE *dɛe*. 164 E *mee*. 166 [E *lass* used].
 167 B *dɛəl*, E *dʲal* 169 E *wɛn*. 170 E *hæst* [Miss Bell had heard this only from an old farmer, generally (aavest)]. 172 CBE *gɑrs'*, E *gɑrs*. 173 C *waz waz*, E *woz*. 174 E *ɛsh*. 179 E *wat*.
 Æ'- 182 E *sii*. 183 E *tíétj*. 184 E *lívd*. 187 E *lív*. 188 E *nee*. 189 E *wét*. 190 E *kéi*. 191 E *íel*. 193 CBE *thiin*. 195 E *mɛni* [Miss B. did not know (*man*)]. 197 E *tjiiz*. 199 E *blíst*, *blíek*. 200 UBE *wíet*. 201 E *eədh'n*. 205 E *thriəd*. 209 C *nívvr*. 210 E *klee*. 211 E *grɛe*. 213 E *ceder*. 215 [E (*laarnt*) used]. 222 E *jaar*. 223 E *dhíer*. 224 UBE *wär*. 225 CE *físh* [Mr. E. writes *feysh*, *feygsh*]. 226 C *míast*, E *míast*. 227 E *wɛt*. 228 E *swíet*. 230 C *fa,t'vər* [fatter].
 E- 232 E *brik* [brak brok'n]. 233 C *spíak* B *spíek*. 234 E *nívd*. — B *wɛ,d'vər* [weather]. 235 E *wíw*. 236 E *feevər*. 237 E *bleen*. 238 [E (*dáik*) used]. 239 E *seel*. 241 BE *reen*. 243 [E (*leek*) used]. 247 E *wíán* [(*spíán*) also used]. 248 E *míer*. 249 E *wíár*. 250 E *swíer*. 251 CU *míet*, E *míet* [probably (*míat*) was meant]. 252 E *ket'l*.
 E: 260 E *lig*. 261 CE *see*. 262 U *wee*, E *wee*. 265 E *street*. 268 E *eldst*, *aaldst* [used indifferently]. 270 E *beles*. 272 E *ɛl'm*. 278 E [not used]. 280 E *ɛlɛ'b'n*. 281 E *lenth*. 282 E *strenth*. 284 E *thresh* *threesh* [both common]. 287 E *biiz'm*.
 E'- 290 BE *í*. 294 CU *fid*. 299 B *gríin*. 301 E *íer*. 302 E *míit*. 303 E *swíit*. 304 E *biit'l*. E': 305 C *ɛ'i*, E *éi*. 306 E *áit*. 312 E *íer*. 314 BN *árd íurd*, E *aad*. 315 E *fiit*.
 EA- 317 [E used only in the sense of frighten as a (*flee*-*kraa*), a scarecrow]. 319 E *gráp*. 320 E *kíar*. EA: 321 BE *saa*. 322 BE *laf*. 323 E *fówt*. 324 E *éit*. 326 CNB *aad*, CB *ald*, E *aald ald*. 327 E *bóuld*. 328 C *kaad kaad*, E *kaald*. 329 E *faald*. 330 E *od*. 331 E *selt*. 332 B *tóvd*, E *tɛlt*. 333 C *kóf*, E *koof*. 334 C *AAV af*, E *oof*. 335 CBE *oo*. 336 E *foo*. 337 E *woo*. 342 E *aarm*. 343 CE *wárm*. 345 C *a dár see* [I dare say], E *daar*. 346 B *gjeet*, E *jíet*.
 EA'- 347 CUBE *ívd*. 348 E *ái áiz* [Miss B. did not recollect hearing (*iin*)]. 349 E *fiu*. EA': 350 UE *dívd*. 351 E *lívd*. 352 E *rɛd*. 353 E *brívd*. 354 E *shíuf*. 355 E *díef*. 356 E *líef*. 357 [E (for *oo*) for all, used]. 359 E *nɛbr*. 360 E *tíim*. 361 E *bíen*. 365 C *nar' níerdhər* [nearer]. 366 CB *gart*, E *gərt*. 367 E *thrt*. 368 E *díeth*. — C *də'ù* [dew]. 369 E *slaa*. 370 E *raa*. 371 E *stríe*.
 EI- 372 C *ái ái*, E *ɛɛ*. EI: 377 E *stíak*. 378 E *week*. EO- 383 E *sɛb'n*. 386 E *jóu*. 387 CBE *níu*. EO: 388 E *mílk*. 393 E *ɛjont*, *bíont*. 396 E *waark*. 397 E *súrd*. 399 E *brít*. 402 CUBE *lárn*. 405 E *earth*. 406 E *ɛarth* [probably]. 411 CBE *thrii*. 413 E *dívil*. 414 E *fiíi*. 415 E *lii*. 417 E *tjéu*. 420 BE *fówer*. EO': 423 E *thii*. 424 E *ru,f*. 425 E *lít*. 426 C *fí'ít*, E *feet* [no (i) heard, but Mr. E. wrote *feight*]. 428 CE *sii*. 430 E *frínd*. 432 E *fóurt*. 433 E *brɛst*. 434 E *bíet* [also (*breet*) brayed used]. 435 B *jù*. 436 B *tríu*, E *tríu*. EY- 438 CUBE *díi* [Miss B. inclined to (*díi*), but in other words I did not hear (*íi*), and hence leave (*ii*)].
 I- 440 E *wík*. 442 E *áivi*. 444 E *stii* [Miss B, Mr. E. added (-l)]. 446 E *náin*. 449 E *git*. 451 E *soo*. I: 452 E *ái a*. 455 E *lig*. 458 CB *nít*, E *nit*. 459 B *réit*, E *rít* [so Miss B., written *reet*]. 460 E *wéit*. 462 E *sít*. 464 E *wítj*. 465 CE *sík* [Mr. E. (*sɛk*)]. 466 [E (*bàrn*) used]. 471 E *tímer*. 472 E *shríqk*. 475 CE *wínd* [Miss B. added (-d), Mr. E. omitted it]. 477 E *fínd* [as 675]. 478 E *grɛ'n*. 481 E *fíqur*. 485 E *this'l*. 486 E *jɛst*. 487 B *jɛstərdə*, E *jɛstərdə*. 488 C *jít*, E *jɛt*.
 I'- 491 E *sáii*. 492 C *sáid*. 493 E *dráiv*. 494 E *táim*. 496 E *áim*. 499 E *biit'l*. I': 500 E *lárk*. 501 E *wáid*. 502 C *íáiv*. 503 E *láif*. 504 E *náif*. 505 E *wáif* [but (*wáivz*) nearly, and so for five, knives]. 508 E *máil*. 509 B *wáil*, E *wáil*. 511 E *wáin*. 513 E *wáir*. 514 E *áis*. 515 E *wáiz*. 517 E *jú*.
 O- 519 CE *ávr*. 520 E *bóu*. 521 E *fúel*. 522 C *ɔp'n*, E *ɔp'n*. 523 E *ú,ap*.

O: 526 E kóuf. 527 CUBE bóut. 528 CE thóut. 529 E bróut. 530 U ra'ut, E róut. 531 CUB dóu't'v'r, E dóutur. 532 CUE kúel. 533 E du,l. 534 E úel. 536 E góuld. 537 E móuld. 539 E bóul. 540 E olín. 542 E bóut. 544 C dhén. 547 E búerd. 548 E fáerd. 549 E úad. 552 E korn [(kuurn) old-fashioned].

O' - 555 CBE shuu. 556 E dín. 557 C tíu [Miss B. said *too* was replaced by [en oo] and all]. 558 E líek. 559 C mudher, B mu,d'v'r mu,d'v'r, E mu,dar. 561 E bluum. 562 C máun, BE muun, E m'én. 563 C mándæ. 564 CUE sæn. 565 BE núez. 566 C enu,d'v'r, B enu,d'v'r, E u,dar. 567 C tu,dher.

O': 569 E bu,k. 570 E tiák. 571 BE gu,d. 572 E blíad. 577 E buu. 578 C pláu, E plu. 579 E enu,f [pl. (enu) known]. 580 E tóuf. 581 E sóut. 583 E tiel. 584 E stíel. 585 E bríem. 586 CB dí,u. 587 BE dún. 588 BE ním. 589 E spíen [but (te spíán) to spoon-feed or wean]. 590 E flúer. 592 [E (swiâr) is for sware]. 593 [E (mu,n) used]. 594 E buut. 595 E fu,t. 596 E riát. 597 E síst.

U - 599 E ebiun ebuun. 600 E lu,v. 601 E fól. 602 E suu. 603 B kóm kúm, E ku,m. 605 C sun, B sú,n sùn, E su,n [the same as 629, no difference felt]. 606 C dúer, BE dúer. 607 C bú,te,r.

U: 609 E fu,l. 610 E wuu. 612 C sú,m, B sùm, E su,m. 614 E óund. 615 C póund, B pu,nd, E pu,nd. 616 E grə,nd. 617 E sóund. 618 E wóund. 620 E grə,nd. 622 E u,nder. 625 E tu,q. 626 B uqer [ʔ u,qer], E u,qur. 629 E su,n [the same as 605, Miss B. felt no difference]. 631 CU th'arzdæ, E thorzdæ. 632 B u,p, up. 634 E thruu.

U' - 640 CBE kóu [B (kóu)us] cowhouse]. 641 CE óu. 642 E dhóu. 643 C ná'v, BE nóu. 646 E bóu. 647 E u,let. 648 E óur. 649 B thóuzen. 652 E ku,d. 653 E bu,t.

U': 654 BE shróud. 655 E fól. 656 E róum [old-fashioned]. 657 E bróun. 658 E dóun. 659 E tóun. 661 E shóur. 662 E u,z. 663 C óus óus. UB óus, E óus. 666 [E (man) used]. 667 CE óut.

Y - 673 E mu,tj [but in asking the price. (óu mítj) how much?]. 674 E díd'. 677 E drái. 679 E tjə,rtj [kiré not used]. 681 [E (thraq) used]. 682 CB láil, E láil. Y: 684 E brig. 685 [E (rigin) roofing used]. 687 E flíit. 689 E bild. 690 E káind. 691 E máind. 694 CBE wark. 697 E bəri. 699 E riit. 700 E waars. 701 C fast, E fə,rst. Y' - 705 E skái. 706 E wái [=well, but in asking a question always (wat for)]. Y: 712 E máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 733 E skaar. 736 CB las. 740 E weev. E. 743 E skríem. 744 E mez'lz. 745 E tjíát. I. and Y. 753 [E (kít'l) used]. 754 C pig. 756 B shrímp. O. 761 E liád. 766 E móidurd [occasionally used]. 767 E nóiz. 769 E móudiwaarp. 772 E bíunfáir. 774 E póunt. 778 E sfuurd. 790 E góun. U. 804 E dru,k'n. 805 E kru,dz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E jab'l jab'l. 810 E fiás. 811 E plíás. 813 E bəkin. 818 [Mr. E. wrote *yeye* (jüdy) apparently, but Miss B. did not know it]. 822 E mee. 824 E tjeer. 830 E tzeen. 832 E meer. 833 CBE pàr. 835 E ríez'n. 836 E síez'n. — C skíá's [scarce]. 845 E eəshənt. 847 E deəndjər. 849 E streəndjər. 852 E eəprən. 857 E kíás. — C slát [slate]. 860 E píst. 861 E tíást. 862 E síáf. 864 E kos. 865 E faat. 866 E páur.

E.. 867 CE tii. 869 E víel. 874 E rēn. 875 E fənt. 879 E fimeel. 885 CUB vare. 887 E klaardjət. 888 E saartin. 890 C bíes [pl.]. 892 E nefi. 894 E disiiiv. 805 E risiiiv.

I.. and Y.. 901 C fáin. 903 E dáin. 904 E váiəlet. 910 E djáist. 911 E sistern.

O.. 913 E kútj. 914 E brootj. 918 E feeb'l. 919 E óintmənt. 920 E póint. 924 E tjóis. 925 E vóis. 926 E spóil. 928 E óuns. 929 E kóukmər. 939 E kláus. 940 E káut. 941 E fuul. 947 E bóil. 948 E bóul. 952 E kúers. 957 E emplóí.

U.. 960 E kee. 963 E kwáit. 965 E óil. 968 E óister. 970 E djú,st.

VAR. iii, DENT AND HOWGILL CWL.

- D Dent, Yo., Var. iii, form *b*, see 22 interlinear cs. No. 7, p. 558, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Messrs. Parrington and Metcalf, respectively 35 and 22 years acquainted with the dialect. This form has U' = (áw).
- H Howgill (:hóugil) (3 nnw.Sedberg), Yo., Var. iii, form *c*, p. 559, No. 8, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Best, then of Kirkby Thore (:kə,rbiː :fʰuə,r) (4 nw.Appleby, We.), who had previously lived 50 years in Howgill. Mr. Best, in January, 1878, read some of the principal words of this list to AJE., who was thus able to verify JGG.'s appreciation. The (r) was trilled slightly, it was more than (r^o). This form has U' = (úu).

No initial prefixed indicates that the pron. is the same in both cases. The vowel (i¹) is not distinguished from (i). The fractures (éü, íü) are usually written (éi, íi), the second element being taken medial instead of long, and so in other cases.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 b₁a₁k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 m₁a₁d. 7 s₁a₁k. 8 D hev, H hiev.
 9 D bi₁h₁áv, H bi₁h₁éev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 H naa. 14 H d₁raa. 15 D íaa, H aa. 16 H daan. 17 laa. 18 k₁á₁k. 19 t₁a₁l. 20 l₁a₁m. 21 n₁á₁m. 22 t₁á₁m. 23 H s₁á₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 m₁án. 26 H [(les'n) used]. 27 D nh₁a₁v, H n₁á₁v. 28 D h₁ia₁r, H h₁ier. 30 D k₁á₁r, H ki₁r.
 31 l₁a₁t. 32 H beedh. 33 D ree₁de₁r, H reedher. 34 last. 35 D aal, H ú₁el. 36 D thaa, H thóu. 37 klaa.
 A: 40 D k₁ám, H k₁ám. 41 theqk. 43 |han'd. 44 lan'd. 46 ka₁n'l.
 48 saq'. 50 taq'z. 51 ma₁n. 53 kan'. 54 want. 55 as. 57 as.
 A: or O: 58 free. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q'. 61 H uma₁q. 62 s₁t₁ra₁q. 63 thraq. 64 raq wra'q, D w'raq. 65 saq. 66 D waq, H whaq.
 A'- 67 [(gaq) used]. 69 n₁á₁. 70 t₁á₁. 71 w₁á₁. 72 D w₁á₁, H wh₁á₁, whaa. 73 s₁á₁. 74 D tuu, H tw₁á₁, th₁ú₁. 75 D s₁t₁rook, H s₁t₁rú₁ek.
 76 t₁á₁d. 77 D lord, H lórd. 79 aan. 80 |halidə. 81 D lw₁én, H lú₁en.
 83 D m₁á₁n, H m₁én. 84 D m₁á₁r, H meer. 85 D s₁á₁r, H s₁ár. 86 ú₁ets. 87 kl₁á₁z. 88 kl₁a₁dh. 89 b₁á₁th. 90 blaa. 91 maa. 92 D nhaa, H naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sóul. 98 D nhaan, H naan. 100 sóun.
 A': 101 ía₁k. 102 eks. 104 D rw₁ú₁ed, H rú₁ed. 106 br₁á₁d. 107 k₁áf.
 108 [(p₁á₁st) used]. 109 laa. 111 óut. 113 h₁á₁l. 115 h₁á₁m. 118 H b₁á₁n. 122 D n₁á₁n, H nu₁n. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 st₁á₁n. 127 H h₁ors. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 D g₁á₁st, H g₁ú₁st. 130 bú₁et. 133 D wr₁á₁t, H r₁á₁t. 134 í₁á₁th [also H (óoth)]. 135 kl₁á₁th.
 Æ- 138 D faddh₁r. 140 D h₁el, H |héevl. 142 D snáil, H snéevl. 144 D vgeen, H vgián. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 feer. 149 D blúez, H bleez.
 150 líest. 152 wa₁t₁r. 153 se₁t₁rde.
 Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 r₁á₁v'n. 158 ef₁t₁r. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 mee.
 165 sed. 167 d₁á₁l. 168 ta₁lə. 169 D wen, H when [almost (wen)]. 170 h₁arvist [(harist) about Kirkby Thore]. 171 baarl₁. 172 g₁ə₁rs. 173 waz [emph.]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 179 D wat, H what. 181 [(t₁rod) used].
 Æ'- 183 tíet₁. 184 líed. 185 D réid, H r₁í₁d. 186 bredth. 187 líev. 188 [D w₁ini], H (n₁ini) used]. 189 H w₁é₁i. 190 D k₁é₁f. 191 |húél. 192 D m₁én, H mién. 193 D kl₁én, H kl₁ien. 194 eni. 195 D mani, H meni. 196 waar. 197 D t₁éiz. 199 Dbl₁est, H bleet. 200 D wíet, H whíet. 202 |h₁á₁t.
 Æ': 203 D spe₁ty, H í₁i. 204 D de₁id, H di₁id. 205 D thre₁id, H í₁i.
 207 D ne₁id'l, H í₁i. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 D wee, H whee. 213 D ee₁de₁r, H eedher. 215 H t₁í₁et. 216 diél. 217 [not used]. 218 D she₁ip, H í₁i. 219 D sle₁ip, H í₁i. 221 fú₁r. 222 D h₁á₁r, H h₁ier. 223 D dh₁á₁r, H -er. 224 D waar, H whaar. 226 m₁á₁st. 227 wst. 228 swíet.
 229 D breth, H bryth. 230 fa₁t.

- E- 232 D bry₁k, H (briik) occ.]. 233 spiæk. 234 nínd. 235 wíev. 236 feev₁r. 237 bleen. 238 [hedr. 241 reen. 243 plee [on a fiddle, but (leek) at cards]. 246 ii. whíen [quean, female]. 248 míar. 249 wíar. 250 swíar. 251 míet. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 D lédh₁r, H le'd₁r. 255 D weddh₁r, H we'd₁r.
- E: 257 edj [pl. (ed'djiz)]. 259 wedj [pl. wed'djiz]. 261 see. 262 D webb, H wee. 264 eel. 265 s1r. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 [harv. 287 D béiz'm, H í.í. 288 let.
- E'- 289 D íéi, H jí.í. 290 D [héi, H hí.í. 291 D dhéi, H dhí.í. 292 D méi, H mí.í. 293 D wéi, H wí.í. 300 D kéip, H í.í. 301 D híar, H hí.í. 302 D méit, H mí.í. 303 D swéit, H í.í. E': 305 héi, 306 D háit, H hí.í. 308 D néid, H í.í. 309 D spéid, H í.í. 310 D héil, H í.í. 311 tán. 312 D héiar, H í.í. 314 D haard, H híerd. 315 íit. 316 nekst.
- EA- 319 gíá.p. 320 H kíar. EA: 321 saa. 322 D láf, H laf. 323 fót. 324 ée.it. 325 waaK. 326 aal'd. 327 bóul'd. 328 kál'd. 329 D fól'd, H fál'd. 330 [hod. 331 [(sel't) used]. 332 [(tél't) used]. 333 kAAf. 334 [haaf. 335 AA. 336 fAA. 340 íar'd. 342 ar'm. 343 wár'm. 345 D dáar, H daar. 346 D geet, H íet.
- EA'- 347 hínd. 348 D éi, H í. ii. 349 íú.
- EA': 350 dínd. 351 línd. 352 D red, H rínd. 353 brínd. 354 shínf. 355 dínf. 356 línf. 357 D dhoo [H replaced by (far AA)]. 359 neeb₁r. 360 tíem. 361 bíen. 363 tpiép. 365 níar. 366 D g₁rt, H gríet. 367 thriét. 368 díeth. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 D s

EI- 372 áj.í. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 376 beet.

EI: 377 stí.á.k. 378 week. 382 D dhí.á.r, H dheer. EO- 383 sev'n. 384 [hev'n. 386 íou. EO: 388 míllhk [I did not hear the (lh) from Mr. Best myself]. 389 D íook, H íú.ek. 390 sud. 393 bíont. 396 waark. 397 sw₁rd. 398 staarv. 402 D líiern, H laar'n. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 D [haa]sten, H [ha]sten [hearthstone, without which suffix hearth is never used]. 407 D faard'n, H fad'n. 408 D níu. EO'- 409 D béi, H bí.í. 411 D thréi, H í.í. 412 D shéi, H í.í. 413 D div'l, H di.v'l. 414 D fléi, H í.í. 415 D léi, H lí.í. 416 díar. 417 D tjié, H tjóu. 418 bríú. 420 fówv. 421 forti. EO': 423 D théi, H thí.í. 424 ru.f. 425 D léit, H í.í. 426 fr'it. 427 D béi, H bí.í. 428 D séi, H sí.í. 429 H í.í.índ. 430 fry.nd. 431 bíar. 432 fóurt. 433 D bry₁st, H bríest. 434 bet. 435 íú.u. 436 t₁ríu. 437 t₁ríuth. EY- 438 D déi, H dí.í. EY: 439 t₁ru.st.

I- 440 D wéik, H wí.ík. 441 D síiv, H sí.v. 442 D áivín, H áivi. 444 D stéil, H stáil. 446 nân. 448 [H (dhu₁r) used]. 449 git. 450 tíuzdi. 451 D soo, H síu.

I: 452 ái [emphatic], -i [enclitic], a- [proclitic]. 454 wítj. 455 líg. 457 máit. 458 D néit, H ní.ít. 459 D réit, H í.í. 460 D wéit, H wéit. 462 D séit, H í.í. 464 whítj. 465 D sâik, H sík. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wáild. 471 tím₁r. 473 blín.d. 475 D wáind, H win'd. 476 bin'd. 477 fin'd. 478 gry.nd [Nos. 475-8 make past tense in (-an'd), and past participle in (-u₁n)]. 479 H win'd. 481 íi,q₁r. 485 this'l. 486 íest. 487 D íy₁s,t₁rde, H íe-. 488 D ígt, H íet.

I'- 490 báí bí. 491 H sâi. 493 dráiv. 494 táim. 496 áiren. 498 ráit. 499 H bí.íd'l.

I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 D nháif, H n-. 505 H wáif. 506 wunen. 507 wímin. 508 máil. 509 D wáil, H wh-. 511 wáin. 513 wáiar. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wízdem. 517 D íú, H jí.ú.

O- 520 bóu. 521 D íwú.él, H íú.él. 522 D op'n, H op'n. 523 D [hoop, H [hú.ép. 524 wor'l'd.

O: 526 D kaf, H kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróút. 530 H róut. 531 dóu.t₁r. 532 D kwú.vt, H kú.vt. 533 du.l. 534 D whú.él, H [hú.él. 536 góul'd. 537 móud. 538 wad [emphatic]. 539 bóul'. 540 D holín. 542 bóut. 545 [hop. 547 bú.ard. 548 íú.ard. 550 wu.ard. 551 D stor'm, H stárm. 552 D kor'n, H kárn. 553 D [hor'n, H [hárn. 554 kros.

O' - 555 sh₁u. 556 ts. 557 D t₁u, H t₁ū. 558 l₁ūk. 559 D m₁ddh₁r, H m₁d₁r. 561 bl₁um. 562 m₁un. 563 m₁nd₁. 564 D s₁ūn. 565 D nw₁ez, H n₁uz. 566 D u,ddh₁r, H u₁d₁r.
 O: 569 b₁ūk. 570 t₁ūk. 571 g₁ū,d, H g₁ūd. 572 bl₁u,d, H bl₁ūd. 573 fl₁ūd, H fl₁ū,d. 574 br₁ūd. 575 D st₁ā,d, H st₁ūd. 576 wed'nzd₁. 577 b₁ū. 578 pl₁ū. 579 D v₁uf, H v₁uf [sg. (in₁u) pl.]. 580 D tof, H t₁f. 581 H s₁ut. 583 D t₁ūl, H t₁ūl. 584 D st₁ūl, H st₁ūl. 585 D br₁ūm. 586 d₁ū, H d₁ū. 587 d₁ūn. 588 n₁ūn. 589 D sp₁ū,un, H sp₁ūn. 590 fl₁ū,r. 591 D m₁ū,r. 593 [(m₁u) used]. 594 b₁ū,t. 595 D f₁ūt, H f₁ūt. 596 H r₁ūt. 597 H s₁ūt.

U - 599 D v₁u,v. 600 lu₁v. 601 H f₁ū,ul. 602 s₁ū,u [approaching (s₁ū)]. 600 km,m. 605 su₁n. 606 d₁ū,r. 607 bu₁t t₁r.

U: 608 u₁gli. 609 f₁ū,l'. 610 D w₁u,n, H w₁u'u [this after flatus was nearly (wh) as I heard Mr. Best; but possibly this, as also (æ'u), was an individuality]. 611 bu₁l₁k. 612 sw₁m. 613 d₁ru,qk. 614 H h₁ū,un'd [I heard almost (h₁ūnd), and pronunciation varied as (h₁u,n'd)]. 615 H pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁n'd. 619 f₁ū,un'd. 622 D u₁nd₁r. 625 t₁ū,q. 626 h₁u₁q₁r. 629 sw₁n. 631 th₁u,rde. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 D thr₁ū,u, H thr₁ū [perhaps an individuality]. 637 t₁ū,sk. 639 d₁u,st.

U' - [D has (āu), H (ū,u)]. 640 D k₁ū, H k₁ū,u. 641 D h₁ū, H h₁ū,u. 642 D dh₁ū, H dh₁ū. 643 D n₁ū, H n₁ū,u. 645 d₁u,v. 646 D b₁ū, H b₁ū,u. 647 D u₁let, H ū,ul. 648 D āu,r, H ū,u,r. 649 D th₁ū,zend, H th₁ū,u-. 652 ku₁d. 653 bu₁t.

U: [D āu, H ū,u]. 654 D sh₁rāud, H sh₁rū,ud [(shr) becomes (sh₁r-) in this word only]. 655 D f₁ūl. 656 DH r₁ū,um. 657 D br₁ūn, H br₁ū,un. 658 D d₁ūn, H d₁ū,un. 661 D sh₁ū,r, H sh₁ū,r. 662 hu₁z [emphatic form]. 663 D h₁ū, H h₁ū,us [approaching (h₁ū)]. 664 D k₁ū, H k₁ū,us. 665 D m₁ū, H m₁ū,us. 666 hu₁z,bend. 667 D ū,t, H ū,t. 668 D p₁ū,ud, H p₁ū,ud. 669 H u₁nk₁ū,ntht [probably an individuality]. 671 D m₁ū,uth, H m₁ū,uth. 672 D s₁ū,uth, H s₁ū,uth.

Y - 673 m₁tj. 676 D l₁ū, H l₁ū. 677 dr₁ū. 678 d₁n. 679 D k₁ū,rk, H t₁ū,rty. 680 b₁ū. 682 l₁ūl'. Y: 683 m₁dj. 684 br₁ig. 685 H r₁ig. 686 b₁ū. 687 H fl₁ū,t. 688 b₁ūl'd [(billht), p.p.]. 690 k₁ūnd. 691 m₁ūnd. 693 s₁n. 694 w₁rk. 696 D b₁ū,rth, H by₁rth. 697 by₁r. 699 D r₁ū,t, H r₁ū,t. 700 waars. 701 f₁ū,rst. 703 p₁t. 704 v₁ks'n. Y' - 705 sk₁ū. 706 [what for, used]. 708 h₁ū,r. Y: 709 f₁ū,r. 711 l₁ū. 712 m₁ū.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d. 715 D pa₁d. 716 D a₁d'l. 722 d₁reen. 723 de₁ri. 724 D ba₁ld, H ba₁. 725 s₁ū,l. 728 sha₁m. 729 D fr₁ū,m, H fr₁ū. 730 kant₁r. 734 da₁r'n. 735 mash. 737 meet. 740 we₁v. 742 le₁zi. E. 744 m₁z'l'z. 746 H br₁edh. 748 D fl₁gd, H fl₁gd. I. and Y. 753 [(k₁it'l) used]. 754 H p₁g. 759 fit. O. 761 l₁ū,d. 767 D n₁ū. 769 m₁ūdiwaarp. 771 fon'd. 772 b₁ū,ūnfā₁r. 774 D p₁ūni, H p₁ūni. 777 D shop. 778 D v₁ū,ūrd, H v₁ū. 783 D p₁ū,t₁r₁, H p₁ū,t₁r₁. 789 D r₁ū. 790 D g₁ūn, H g₁ū,un. U. 793 D hu₁g. 794 d₁ū,g. 799 sku₁l'. 801 ru₁m. 803 D d₁ū,mp [also (l₁ūp)]. 805 kru₁dz. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 yab'l. 810 f₁ū,s. 811 pl₁ū,s. 812 l₁ū,s. 813 H beek'n. 814 m₁ū,s'n. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 822 mee. 824 tjeer. 825 D weef, H w₁ū,f. 827 D yag₁r, H yag₁r. 828 H eegu. 830 t₁reen. 833 paar. 835 r₁ūez'n. 836 s₁ūez'n. 840 D t₁amb₁r. 841 t₁ans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 D t₁rensh. 845 H eenshent. 847 deend₁r. 848 tjeendj. 849 st₁reend₁r. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 a₁p₁run. 853 D b₁ūrg'n, H b₁ūrgin. 854 barul'. 855 karet. 856 part. 857 k₁ū,s. 858 H br₁ū,s. 859 t₁ū,s. 860 p₁ū,st. 861 t₁ū,st. 862 s₁ū,f. 864 biko's. 865 faat. 866 p₁ū,r. E. 867 D t₁ū, H t₁ū. 871 D gr₁ū, H gr₁ū. 874 r₁ūen. 875 fent. 877 eer. 880 D egzamp'l. 883 dandilā₁en. 884 H v₁ry₁ntis. 886 H fr₁ū,r.

888 sàrt'n. 890 búest. 891 fúest. 892 nefi. 893 D fláua_r, H fláu. 894 D diséiv, H íi. 895 D riséiv, H íi.
 I.. and Y.. 897 dilârt. 899 D néis. 900 pree. 901 fâin. 902 mâin.
 904 D váialet. 908 évváis. 909 D bréiz, H bréiz. 910 djâist. 911 D síestâ_{rn}. 912 râis.
 O.. 913 D kwá,utj, H káu-. 914 D brootj, H brá,utj. 915 stu_f. 916 u_{nien}. 917 roog. 918 D féib'l, H íi. 919 D ointment, H ón-. 920 D po nt, H ói. 922 bu_{sh}'l. 924 tíóis. 925 D vóis, H ói. 926 D spóil, H ói. 927 t_{ru},qk. 928 D áuns, H u_{uns}. 929 H ká,uku_m_r. 930 D lóin, H ói. 931 D dju_{gl}_r. 933 frú_{nt}. 935 ku_{nt}_{ri}. 938 korn_r. 939 klá,us. 940 kwá,ut. 941 íu'l. 942 D bu_{ttj}_r, H bu_{ttj}_r. 943 tu_{ttj}. 944 D vláu. 945 D váu. 947 D bóil, H ói. 948 D bú,ul, H bóul. 950 su_p_r. 951 ku_p'l. 952 D káua_{rs}, H káa_{rs} [coarse]. 953 ku_{zin}. 954 D wishen, H whi-. 955 D dáut, H dúut. 956 ku_v_r.
 U.. 961 gríu_l. 963 D wâiet, H kw-. 964 síu_t. 965 D oil, H ói. 966 frút. 967 síut. 968 D óista_r. 969 síu_r. 970 dju_{st}. 971 flíut.

VAR. iv, EDENSIDE cwl.

Some of the most important words from the 22 cs. Nos. 12 to 17, p. 563, as a help to the student.

S from Kirkby Stephen, No. 12.

M from Milburn, No. 15.

C from Crosby Ravensworth, No. 13.

L from Langwathby, No. 16.

T from Temple Sowerby, No. 14.

E from Ellonby, No. 17.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 SCME ma_k, L mak, T mek. 21 SMLE ní,ám, CT ní,ém.
 A: or O: 64 SE vra_q, C r_{aq}, M w'ra_q. A'- 84 S méea_r,
 C mee_r, MLE mee_r, T maar_r. 87 SMLE klí,áz, CT klí,éz. 89 SMLE
 bí,áth, CT bí,éth. 92 SCE noo M nhoo, L tnhoo, T naa. 93 T nhaa, M
 nhoo, L tnhoo, SE noo, C nó. A': 102 SCTM ás, LE a_{ks}. 110 ii. CTL
 nu_t, S ny_t. 113 SML hí,ál, CT hí,él, E híl. 115 SML hí,ám, TE
 hía_m, C hí,ém. 122 ii. S ní,áis, ML ní,éis, T ní,éis, CE ní. 137 CTMLE
 nóu,ár.
 Æ- 138 SCT fád,ár, M fad,ár, L fá,ár, E fa,ár. Æ: 161
 S dee_r, CTMLE dæ. Æ'- 194 S ani, CL oni, TM emi, E emi. Æ':
 214 S nee₁,ár. 223 SCTMLE dhí,ár. 224 SM whoor_r, TL whaar_r,
 CE wheer_r.
 E- 233 SCTLE spí,áik. E: 261 SC see₁, ML see, T sí,éi. 265 CE
 st_rek, S st_rak, M st_réit. E'- 292 SCTMLE ní,ái. E': 312
 SCTMLE hí,ái,ár. 314 SCTLE haar_d, M hí,ái,ár.
 EA- 320 C kee_r, S kéear_r, TMLE kee_r. EA: 326 C ool'd, E oold,
 T Aald AAd, M AAl'd. 330 SCTMLE hod. 338 STML kaa, CE koo.
 EA': 359 T neea_r, S nee-, C ne-, MLE nee-. 366 SC gró,áit, TE gæ_r,áit,
 ML gjæ_r,áit. EO'- 412 SCMLE shu [before w], T shá. EO': 430
 S fró,ánd. 437 S tró,áuth, CTMLE tró,áuth. EY- 438 SCTMLE díi.
 I: 452 STL wad)i, [but E aa wa_d, the pron. differing according to position].
 I'- 494 STL táaim, CME táaim. I': STL laaik, C lá,áik, M laa,áik.
 510 TL máain, SE máain, C máin.
 O- 519 SCTMLE óua_r,ár. 524 SCM waa_r,áld, TL waar_r,áld, E waa_r,áld.
 O: 531 SCLE dóu,ár. 535 SCT fwa_{uk}, M fwa_{uk}, L fwa_{uk}, E fwa_{uk}.
 O'- 557 SCTML tú. 567 SCTMLE tú,ár. O': 579 SCTMLE vnif.
 587 SCTMLE díun. 592 SM swí,ár, S swee_r, T swyy_r,ár, L swyy_r,ár.
 U: 612 SCTMLE su_m. 616 S gru_{nd}, TL gru_{nd}, E gró_u,án, CT gró_u,án.
 631 S thu_r,ázde, CL the_r,ázde, TE the_r,ázde. 634 SCTMLE thráu, SCTML
 thráu. U'- 641 SC húu, H huu. 643 SCTMLE ní,áu. 651 SC wí,áut,
 LE wí,áut, TM wadu. U': 663 SCTMLE húus.
 Y: 701 SCTMLE fæ_r,ást.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 T *sí₁e₁f*, MLE *sí₁a₁f*. E.. 885 SCTL *va₁r^oe*. 888 SCTMLE *saar^ot'n*. O.. 940 T *kwoot*, CM *kwú₁vt*, L *kwú₁át*, E *kú₁át*. 941 SCTMLE *fíul*. 955 SCTMLE *dú₁uts*. U.. 969 STML *síú₂r^o*, E *sy₁é₁r^o*, C *shú₁u₂r^o*. 970 STM *dju₁st*.

VAR V, WEST CUMBERLAND CWL.

The same words as in Var. iv. collected from Nos. 18 to 20 in the 22 cs. p. 563.

K from Keswick, No. 18.

C from Clifton, No. 19.

H from Holme Cultram, No. 20.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 CH *mak*, K *ma₁k*. 21 K *ní₁a₁m*, C *nám*, H *ní₁em*. A: or O: 64 K *r^oa₁q*, CH *raq*. A'- 84 K *meer^o*, C *meer*, H *mээр*. 87 K *klí₁a₁z*, C *klí₁á₁z*, H *klí₁vz*. 89 KC *bí₁a₁th*, H *bí₁eth*. 92 KCH *noo*. A': 102 K *ás*, H *as*, C *aks*. 113 K *hí₁a₁l*, C *híal*. 115 K *hí₁a₁m*, C *jam*, H *jэм*. 122 ii. K *ní₁a*, H *ní₁e*, C *ní₁e*. 137 KH *nóu₁d₂r^o*, C *náú₁d₂r^o*. Æ- 138 K *fa₁d₂r^o*, CH *fa₁d₂r*. Æ: 161 KC *dæ^o*, H *dee*. Æ'- 194 KC *eni*, H *ani*. Æ': 223 KC *dhí₁i₂r^o*, H *dhí₁er^o*. 224 KC *whoor^o*, H *whóoer^o*. E- 233 K *spí₁ik*, C *spí₁ik*. E: 261 KC *see^o*, H *see*. 265 K *s₁t₁réeit*, C *s₁t₁rí₁it*. E'- 292 K *mí₁i*, C *mí₁i*, H *mii*. E': 312 KC *hí₁i₂r^o*, H *hí₁er^o*. 314 K *hà^od*, CH *haard*. EA: 320 K *keer^o*, C *keer*, H *kээр*. EA: 326 H *ool*, K *oold*, C *aud*. 330 KCH *hod*. 338 KCH *koo*. EA': 359 KH *nèb₂r^o*, H *nèber^o*, C *nèber^o*. 367 K *gr^oi₁it*, C *g₂rt*, H *gríit*. EO'- 412 [emphatic] KC *shí₁*, H *shii*. EO': 430 K *fr^oe^ond*. 437 K *t₁rí₁úth*, C *t₁rí₁úth*, H *t₁rú₁th*. EY- 438 KC *dí₁i*, H *dii*. I'- 452 KC *a wad*, H *wad*i [I would, would I]. I'- 494 K *táaim*, C *táim*, H *téim*. I': 500 K *lák*, C *lák*, *léikl₁*. 510 K *máa₁in*, C *má₁in*, H *méin*. O- 519 K *óur^o*, C *dúur*, H *óuur*. 524 K *waar^oeld*, C *warld*, H *waar^old*. O: 531 K *dóu₁t₂r^o*, C *dáú₁t₂r*. 535 K *fwú₁ek*, C *fwook*, H *fóuk*. O'- 557 K *tíu*. 567 K *tu₁d₂r^o*, C *tu₁d₂r*. O': 579 K *éniuf*, C *énu₁f*. 587 KC *du₁n*, C *díú₁n*, H *dí₁en*. 592 K *swyy^ort*, C *swoort*, H *swí₁er*. U: 612 KCH *su₁m*. 616 K *gry₁nd*, C *grú₁nd*, H *gr^ou₁n*. 634 K *thr^os'ut*, C *thrú₁ut*, H *thr^ou*. U'- 641 KC *há₁u*. 643 KC *nú₁u*, H *nuu*. 651 K *wí₁dú₁ut*, C *é₁dú₁ut*, H *é₁duut*. U': 663 KC *há₁us*, H *huuz*. Y: 701 K *fú₁r^ost*, C *fá₁r^ost*, H *fú₁erst*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 K *sí₁a₁f*, C *síaf*. E.. 885 K *va₁r^oe*, CH *vare*. 888 K *saar^ot'n*, CH *saar^ot'n*. O.. 940 *kwú₁vt*, C *kwot*, H *kúóoet*. 941 K *fíul*, C *fíú₁l*, H *fí₁ul*. 955 K *dú₁uts*, C *duuts*, H *dúts*. U.. 969 K *sheúr^o*, C *shuu₁r*, H *sí₁uer*. 970 KC *dju₁st*.

(9) VAR. VI, WEARDALE AND TEESDALE CWL.

St. John's, Weardale (:waard'l), Du., head of the dale, about 12 e-by-n. Cross Fell, Cu., and 24 w-by-s. Durham, wl. pal. in 1878 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. and Miss Harrison, natives, who had lived there 40 years from birth. All words unmarked refer to this.

M Middleton-in-Teesdale (22½ sw. Durham), wl. io. by Rev. John Milner, Rector, in 1878, who had then been there only 2½ years. Only such words in this list as are re-spelled are here given, pal. conjecturally by AJE. M after an unmarked word shews that this agrees with the former, and in

estimating this agreement, as M is very imperfectly known, I disregard any apparent differences where the M may possibly represent the finer analysis given by JGG, for St. John's.

The (r) is (r^c), but is left unmarked.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 bⁱek M. 4 ta_k. 5 ma_k. 6 mⁱed M. 7 sⁱek M. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 12 saa. 17 laa. 19 tⁱel M. 20 lⁱem M. 21 nⁱem M. 22 teem M. tⁱem. 23 sⁱem M. 24 sha_m. 25 mⁱem M. 27 M nⁱev. 28 heev. 31 lⁱet M. 32 M bⁱeth. 33 reedher M. 34 last. 35 aal'. 36 thou M.
- A: 39 kom. 40 keem. 41 th^oqk. 43 ha_{nd}. 44 la_{nd}. 46 ka_n'l M. 48 saq. 50 teqz M. 51 ma_n. 54 want. 55 as. 56 w^osh M. 57 a_s.
- A: or O: 58 free M. 59 la_m. 60 la_q. 61 ema_q. 62 s^tra_q M. 63 thra_q M. 64 ra_q M. 65 M sa_q. 66 wha_q.
- A'- 67 ga_n, M ga gang. 69 nⁱl, M nⁱe, 70 tⁱi, M tⁱe. 71 wⁱi, M wⁱe. 72 whⁱi, M whⁱe. 73 sⁱi. 74 twⁱi, M twⁱe. 75 s^trook, M s^tri^eek. 76 tⁱed M. 78 oo, M ou. 80 h^elidi, M ha_{lidi}. 81 lonen. 84 meer^c M. 85 seer^c M. 86 jets [(haver) gen.]. 87 klⁱez M. 88 klⁱedh M. 89 bⁱeth M. 91 moo. 92 M naa. 93 snoo, M snaa. 94 kroo, M kraa. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 so^ol. 98 noon, M naan. 99 throon. 100 soon.
- A': 101 ja_k M. 102 a_s. 104 ro^od. 105 rⁱed M. 106 brⁱed M. 107 lⁱef M. 108 du_f, M [(pⁱest) more usual]. 109 loo. 110 not, M nu_t. 111 out M. 112 hⁱel M. 115 hⁱem M. 118 bⁱen M. 121 gⁱen M. 122 nⁱen M. 123 [(n^out) used, M]. 124 stⁱen M. 125 [(nobst) used]. 127 M hⁱes. 128 dhem. 129 gost. 130 M bu^ot. 131 gⁱet. 132 het M. 133 rⁱet M. 134 o^oth. 135 [(klo^oit) used M]. 136 ou^od_r, M [spelt oud^other].
- E- 138 fa_d,r M. 140 heel M. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 egⁱen. 146 mⁱen. 147 breen. 148 fee_r. 152 wat_r, M. 153 se_r,rdi M.
- E: 155 M tha_k. 158 ef_r M. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sed M. 166 meed. 167 dⁱel M. 168 ta_{le}. 169 when. 170 haarⁱst. 171 baarli. 172 g^ors M. 173 wa_z. 174 xsh M. 175 fast. 179 wha_t. 181 [(tⁱrod) used].
- E'- 182 sⁱi. 183 tⁱity. 184 lⁱid. 185 rⁱid. 186 brⁱith [used]. 187 lⁱiv. 188 neⁱ [(n^oek_r) more used]. 189 weⁱ. 190 keⁱ M. 191 hⁱil. 192 mⁱin. 193 klⁱin. 194 oni M. 195 moni M. 197 tⁱiz. 199 blee. 200 whⁱit. 201 hⁱidh'n. 202 hⁱit.
- E': 203 spⁱity. 204 dⁱid. 205 thrⁱid, M thriid. 206 red. 207 nⁱid'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 whee. 215 to^ot M. 216 dⁱil. 217 tⁱity. 218 shⁱip. 219 slⁱip. 221 fⁱ,r. 222 hee_r. 223 dhⁱ,r. 225 flesh. 226 mⁱest M. 227 wet. 228 swⁱit. 229 brⁱith. 230 fa_t.
- E- 232 brⁱik, M briik [(bra_k brok'n)]. 233 spⁱik [(sp^oek spok'n)]. 235 wⁱiv. 236 fⁱiv^or. 237 M tⁱiblⁱen. 238 hed_r. 241 reen. 243 plee [(leek) used]. 246 kwⁱin [queen and quean]. 247 [(spⁱen) used, M]. 248 mⁱ,r. 249 wⁱ,r M. 250 swⁱ,r, M swiir. 251 mⁱit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 led_r, M -dh-. 255 wed_r, M -dh-.
- E: 257 ed_r. 259 wed_r. 260 lai [evidently a confusion with *lie*] 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 268 [(codist) used M]. 270 beli, belisiz, M beles. 272 el'm, M aam. 273 men. 274 be^oqk besh. 275 [(stⁱqk) used]. 276 thi^oqk. 277 d^ren^oth. 278 wensh. 280 elⁱib'n. 281 lenth. 282 s^trenth. 283 meri. 284 thr^osh M. 285 kresh. 286 ha_re. 287 buz'm [this is right for a besom]. 288 let.
- E'- 289 sⁱi r^e sⁱ. 290 hⁱi, v, i. 292 mⁱi m^o mⁱ. 293 wⁱi wu w^o. 294 fⁱid. 295 brⁱed. 296 bilⁱiv. 298 fⁱid. 299 grⁱin. 300 kⁱip. 301 hⁱ,r. 302 mⁱit. 303 swⁱit.
- E': 305 hef. M heⁱ. 306 hef. 307 nⁱi. 308 nⁱid. 309 spⁱid. 310 hⁱiel. 311 ten. 312 hⁱ,r. 314 hⁱrd. 315 fⁱit. 316 nekst, M [occ.] néist.
- E.A- 319 gⁱep M. 320 kee_r, M kⁱ,r. EA: 321 [(sⁱid) used]. 322 lⁱf. 323 fⁱet, M f^out. 324 ee^oit. 325 waak. 326 od M [and (AAd)]. 327 M bou^od. 328 kod M. 329 M f^od fAAd. 330 hod M. 331 [(sel'd sel^olht)

used] M. 332 [(tel'd, tel'ht) used] M. 333 kaaf M. 334 haaf M. 335
aa M. 336 faa M. 337 waa M. 340 jerd M. 342 er'm. 343 waar'm.
345 daar M. 346 ja,t, M gi'ut.

EA'- 347 h'í,d, M hiid. 348 éi, M ii. 349 fiú. EA': 350 d'í,d,
M diid. 351 l'í,d, M liid. 352 r'í,d, M riid. 353 br'í,d, M briid. 354
sh'í,iv, M shiif. 355 d'í,if, M diif. 356 l'í,if. 357 dhoo M. 359 ne'íba,r M.
361 b'í,in. 365 n'í,ia,r. 366 gəə,rt, M griit. 367 thr'í,it, M thriit. 368
d'í,ith, M diith. 369 sloo, M slaa. 370 roo. 371 st,r'éi, M str'í,ə.

EI- 372 á,i,é, M éi. 373 dheer. 374 nééi, M ní,ə. 376 beet. EI: 377
st,éek M. 378 week M. 382 dheer. EO- 383 sí,ib'n. 384 hev'n. 385
bn'í,ith. 386 ja'ú M. 387 niuu.

EO: 388 mil'lhk. 390 su,d. 393 biront M. 396 wark. 397 swəə,rd,
M swu,rd. 399 br'í,it, M briit. 401 jaə,rnist M. 402 liú,rn. 403 faar. 404
staar. 405 haarth. 406 jərth. 407 fard'n, M -in.

EO'- 409 béi bi. 411 thr'éi. 412 shéi shə shu. 413 d'í,i'l, M diiv'l. 414
fléi, M fiui. 415 l'í,i, M lii. 416 d'í,ia,r. 417 t'ə'u M. 418 brúu. 420
fə'uə,r. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théi, M thii. 424 rə,f. l'í,iit, M liit. 426 fə'it M. 427 béi
bi. 428 séi. 429 M f'í,ənd. 431 b'í,ia,r. 432 fəurt M. 433 br'í,ist, M
briist. 434 b'í,it. 435 jéi jə ji. 436 t'riú M. 437 t'riuth M. EY- 438
d'í,ii, M dii. EY: 439 t'ru,st.

I- 440 w'í,ik. 441 s'í,iv, M siiv. 443 fráidi, M fréidi. 444 stə'il M. 445
M héi. 446 ne'ín. 448 dhə,r. 449 git M. 450 f'í,uzdi. 451 siuu, M sou.
I: 452 ái, M a. 454 w'í,t. 455 lái, M lig. 457 máit, M méit. 458
n'í,it, M niit. 459 r'í,iit, M riit. 460 wə'ít. 462 s'í,it, M siit. 464 wh'í,l'lhk,
M wh'ík. 465 sek, M sək. 466 [(beern) used]. 467 wə'í,d. 471 timə,r M.
472 [(tə r'á,n ə,p) used]. 473 blin'd M. 474 [(swə,rd) used]. 475 wáin'd
wind. 476 bənd M. 477 fənd M. 478 grə und, M gru,nd. 479 win'd. 481
fiqə,r M. 484 dhəs. 485 thís'l. 486 jest, M jiist. 487 jis,tərdi. 488 j'í,t.

I'- 420 b'í,i bi. 491 sái. 493 d,ráiv. 494 tə'im. 496 áir'n. 498 rə'it M.
I': 500 lə'ik. 501 wə'id M. 502 fáiv. 503 lə'if M. 504 ne'if M. 505
wə'if M. 506 wu,mən. 507 wu,mín M. 508 mə'il. 509 whə'il. 511
wə'in M. 513 wá,ə,r. 514 e'is M. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem.

O- 520 bə'uú, M bəu. 521 fú,əl, M fəú,əl. 522 op'n M. 523 hə'uup.
524 wu,r'l'd. O: 525 kof. 527 bəut M. 528 thəut M. 529 brəut M.
530 róut. 531 dəu,tə,r, M dəuthər. 532 ku,əl, M kwəl. 533 dú,l, 534
hə,əl M [apparently, written *whoal*]. 536 gə'u'l'd. 537 mə'uud, M muuld.
538 wu,d wad. 540 holen M. 542 bəut M. 545 hop. 548 ford. 549 herd.
550 wu,rd. 551 storm. 552 ku,rn. 553 hu,rn.

O'- 555 shəúu [see 640]. 556 tí,ə. 558 f'ək M. 559 mu,də,r, M -dh-
561 bləúm, M bl'əm. 562 mí,ən M. 563 mən,ndə. 564 s'í,ən M. 565
n'í,əz, M n'w'í,əz [written *nwoas*]. 567 t)u,d,d'ə,r'.

O: 569 b'í,ək M. 570 t'í,ək M. 571 g'w'í,d. 572 bl'w'í,d, M bl'í,əd. 573
fiəd. 574 brəúud. 575 st'í,əd M. 576 wed'nzde. 577 bə'uú. 578 plíu M.
579 en'í,əf. 580 t'í,əf. 581 səut. 582 kí,əl M. 583 t'ə,əl, M t'í,əl. 584
st'í,əl M. 585 M br'í,əm. 586 d'í,ə. 587 d'í,ən M. 588 n'í,ən M. 589 sp'í,ən
M. 590 f'w'ú,ə,r, M fl'í,ə,r. 591 məuer. 592 [(swéurd) swear'd, used], M
sw'í,ar. 593 [(mən) used] M. 594 b'í,ət M. 595 f'í,ət M. 596 r'í,t M. 597
st'í,ət M. 598 səúth.

U- 599 eb'í,ən M. 600 lə,v. 601 f'ə,ul, M fiul. 602 səúu, M suu. 603
ku,m. 605 su,n. 606 də'uə,r' [p əú], M d'ur' [see 640]. 607 bu,t,tə,r,
M [says 'h sounded,' p meaning that *ter* = -*ther*, or simply that the *t* is dentalised].

U: 608 ə gl'í. 609 fu,l'. 610 wə'ú. 612 su,m. 613 d,r'w'í,qk. 614 hu,nd M.
615 pu,nd M. 616 gru,nd M. 617 sə'uun'd, M suund. 618 wə'in'd. 619
f'ú,nd M. 620 gru,nd M. 622 u,ndə,r M ['with a slight (h) that is slightly
dentalised (d'ə,r)]. 625 tu,q. 626 hu,qə,r. 629 su,n. 631 th'w'í,rstə. 634
thrə'uú. 635 wu,rth. 636 [(faardhə,r) used, M]. 639 du,st [(stə'oor) also
used].

U'- 640 kəúu, M kuu [JGG. is not quite satisfied with this symbol, which,
however, is different from the (ə'uú) of 520, 606, 610, 617, 618, which has more
of an (ə'u) effect. Neither of them is supposed to be (ə'u). The present sounds

in 640, 641, 642, 643, etc., are (uu) sounds, as shewn by the M appreciation, but begin with some undefined sound which JGG. could not appreciate after some days of observation. The result is like (ú,u, œ'u), transitional from (uu) to (a'u)]. 641 hæúu, M huu. 642 dhæúu, M dhuu. 643 næúu, M nuu. 646 bæúu, M buu [compare 577 (bæúu)]. 647 v'uul. 648 v'uur, M uur. 649 thaúuzend. 652 ku.d. 653 bu.t.

U: 654 sh'ræúud, M shruud. 655 fæúul. 656 ræúm. 657 bræúun, M bruun. 658 dæúun, M duun. 659 tæúun, M tuun. 660 bæúur. 661 shæúur, M shuur. 662 hu.z. 663 hæúus, M huus. 664 læúus, M luus. 665 næúus, M muus. 666 hu.zbend. 667 v'út, M uut. 668 præúud, M pruid. 671 mæúuth, M muuth. 672 sæúuth, M suuth.

Y- 673 mæ'k'l, M mýtj. 674 du.d. 676 læ'i, M lii. 677 d,râi. 678 dîn. 679 tju.rj. 680 bizi. 682 lét'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig M. 685 rig M. 686 bæi. 687 flæ'it. 689 bil'd. 690 kæ'in'd M. 691 mæ'in'd M. 693 sin. 694 wæ,rk, v gu,d wæ,rkær ev iz waark [a good worker of his work]. 696 bæ,rth. 697 bæri. 698 mæ,rth. 699 ræ'it, M riit. 700 wars M. 701 fu,rst M. 703 pit. Y- 705 skâi. 706 whæ'i. 707 thæ,rj'in. 708 hæú,r. Y: 709 fæú,r. 711 M læ'is. 712 mæ'is M.

II. ENGLISH.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A. 725 s'el. 730 kan,tæ,r [or (-th-) as it is stated that *h* is sounded]. 733 skæ,er. E. 743 skræ,em. 744 mez'lz. 745 tæ,et. O. 761 læ,ed. 764 ku,d'l. 766 mæidhæ,r. 769 mæudæwarp. 774 pæuni. 780 dju,s'l. 784 buuns. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 805 kru,dz. 808 pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A.. 809 jab'l. 810 fæ,es. 811 plæ,es. 812 læ,es. 817 redish. 852 apr'n. 857 kæ,es. 859 tæ,s. 860 pæ,est. 861 tæ,est. 862 sæ,ef. 865 fæat. E.. 874 riin. 875 fent. 884 prentis. 887 klarjæ. 892 nevæ. I.. and Y.. 910 dæist. O.. 913 kæ,æ,tj. 921 ækæent. 927 træ,qk [said to be "as in We."]. 928 uuns. 929 kuu,kæmbæ,r. 930 luundj. 940 kæ,æ,t. 941 fæ,el. 952 kuurs. 955 duut. U.. 961 græ,uæl. 963 wæ,æ,t. 966 friut. 969 sæur. 971 fiut.

D 32 = NN. = north Northern.

Boundaries. On the n. the L. line 10. On the s. the n. tee line 7. On the e. and w. the sea.

Area. A small portion of n.Cu., about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle. The n. of Du. The whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills.

Varieties. This area is again divided into six Varieties: Var. i, n.Cu.; Var. ii, n.Du.; Var. iii, Hexham or sw.Nb.; Var. iv, 'the Pitmen' or se.Nb.; Var. v, m.Nb.; Var. vi, n.Nb.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per J.G.G., || so., and ° io.

Cu. † Brampton, † Carlisle, * Dalston.

Du. *° Bishop Middleham, * Clickeminn, near Lanchester, ° Collierly, ° Dalton-le-Dale, ° Edmundbyers, * Kelloe, ° Lanchester, ° Shincliffe, *° South Shields, *° Sunderland, ° Tyneside.

Nb. ° Acklington, ° Alnwick, ° Ancroft, * Berwick-upon-Tweed, ° Birtley, ° Doddington, ° Embleton, ° Haltwhistle, ° Harbottle, * Hexham, † Knaresdale,

*Morpeth, *Newcastle-on-Tyne, *North Shields, *Rothbury, °Stamfordham, °Tyne to Wansbeck, *°Warkworth, °Whalton, °Whittingham, °Woodhorn, °Wooler.

See also the notice of the Burr on p 641.

General Character. The essential character of D 32 at present is that of a transition from D 30 and 31 to D 33, from E. and WN. to L. Historically, of course, this must be an incorrect conception. But with historical derivation we have here nothing to do. The L. like the S. has entirely abandoned the (*u*) sound of U and replaced it by (*æ*), while the (*u*, *u*₁) are retained in D 30 and 31, and the great peculiarity of D 32 is the gradual dying out of this (*u*) into (*æ*). In D 32, Var. i, the (*u*) sound remains, in D 32, Var. vi, it has been quite replaced by (*æ*). Between varieties i and vi the (*u*) very frequently occurs, but is also very frequently replaced by a bad imitation of (*æ*), which I represent by (*æ*₁). I was altogether unprepared for this sound when I reached Newcastle in 1879, and was much puzzled by it. I had considered that the *ü* used by my correspondents represented (*u*, *u*₁) alone as throughout Yo. and (except about Longtown and Bewcastle) Cu. The first dt. I attempted to write at Newcastle in February, 1879, disillusioned me. I noted that the new sound was not (*æ*, *æ*, *u*), but lay among them. When in February, 1883, I wrote to Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw. Hexham, Nb.), to point out in his wl. which of his *ü* words had (*u*), and which (*æ*), he observed: "in all these *ü* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *beuf*, *fleur*, etc. Also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the rec. pron. It is slightly prolonged in the folk-speech of Hexham and w.Nb. district." This quite agrees with my own observations. The sound is of medial length in general, which it is needless to notice, and adumbrates (*æ*). To indicate all this I annex an inferior (₁) to (*æ*), thus (*æ*₁), but I was unable strictly to analyse the sound when I heard it, and I cannot venture to do so from memory. There is no labialisation as for (*æ*), and it will be quite sufficient to use (*æ*₁) in speech. No doubt in a generation or two (*æ*₁) will have quite given place to (*æ*). In the mean time it is characteristic of the mixed region in n.Du. and Nb, just as (*som*) is characteristic of the region between lines 1 and 2, and as (*u*₀) is transitional from (*æ*) to (*u*) throughout the M. counties. See the obs. on (*u*₀) on p. 291, and note especially the relation of (*u*₀) to (*æ*₁). The two transitions are obviously closely allied. This (*æ*₁) is not found in Cu., but it is very prevalent in Hexham, Var. iii, and is said to have become general in Alnwick, but it is not till about Wooler, as far as I have been able to ascertain, that (*æ*) becomes permanently installed for the whole of L. The use of (*æ*) in Sunderland is probably due to Scotch influence. See 22 dt., No. 6, Introd.

The fractures (*i*₁, *ü*₁), the former from E' sinking to (*éi*), and the latter from U' rising to (*óu*), or nearly so, probably occur through D 32. But where I possess written accounts only, these sounds are not distinguished from (*ii*, *uu*), in fact the natives

consider them as such. In (\acute{u} ,u) the (\acute{u} ,) approaches at times very close to (o), and hence the resemblance which induced me to write (\acute{o} u) from dictation in several cases, where I think (\acute{u} ,u) was meant. See *now* in par. 1 of 22 dt., Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15. In Nos. 12, 14 and 17 I have (\acute{u} ,u). No. 17 was indeed very carefully dictated to me by Mr. Ridley to bring out the sound. I have thought it best, however, to retain the signs in each case which I first wrote from dictation. The case where the vowel U' was open, as at the end of a word, e.g. in *now* just considered, is different from that in which U' occurs before a consonant, as we shall see especially in D 33. Hence *about, down, house*, in the 22 dt. have more frequently (uu) than (\acute{u} ,u) or (\acute{o} u). But still there is the same tendency, which completely disappears in L., where (uu) or (\acute{u}) is universal before a consonant.

The I' generates a diphthong, generally taken as (\acute{e} i, \acute{e} 'i), but which I heard as (\acute{o} 'i, \acute{a} 'i), practically the same as in my own speech. But I think that when it occurs in open syllables it may be (\acute{a} i). The two sounds of this representative of I' are discriminated in L., and in the Brampton wl. below (\acute{a} i) occurs in *drive, wide, five*, and (\acute{a} 'i) otherwise, but there is no consistent usage. In the English pron. of Greek it is customary to speak the diphthong *ei* as (\acute{o} 'i) or (\acute{a} 'i) and *ai* as (\acute{a} i), and hence among the clergymen whom I have had to consult so much, *ei ai* have been considered the proper signs to represent the difference. This is of course rather embarrassing to a Londoner, who has only one long \bar{i} , intentionally, though it varies individually, as (\acute{a} \bar{i} , \acute{o} 'i, \acute{a} 'i, \acute{a} 'i). But the difference, as we shall see, is highly developed in L, and we already found it in D 31, Var. v.

The treatment of O' varies as (\acute{i} u, \acute{i} u, \acute{i} œ \acute{i}). Compare *school, soon, look*, in the 22 dt. It is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, as *swin* for (\acute{s} i \acute{u} m, \acute{s} iœ \acute{i} n).

The treatment of A-, A' forms a difference between Var. iii and iv, as will be seen presently.

The guttural (kh, kjh) has practically disappeared even on the very verge of L., but Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw. Hexham, and 8 e. L. border), admits it faintly in Var. iii in *night, right, sight, bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter, sought, etc.*, see the s.Nb. cwl. No other authority gives it, so it is probably very local. But in the greater part of D 32 the *r* is pronounced gutturally. This pron. does not even determine varieties, and being very peculiar and local, will be considered separately.

The definite article is always (dhv). *I am* (a)m) is quite as often *I is* (a)z).

The classical work in the se.Nb. or Pitman's dialect is Thomas Wilson's *Pitman's Pay*, a cheap edition of which, with other poems, was published in 1872 by Routledge, London. It has set the norm for spelling, which, however, is rather confusing to a Southerner. Thus *aw*=(aa') or (aa) of JGG., p. 539, the very fine (aa) which prevails over the n. of England, and *not* (AA) as it suggests. Again *ou*=(\acute{u} ,u) or (uu), not (\acute{o} u), which is written *ow*,

and *ui* is generally (ʔu, ʔœ₁), as (sʔœ₁n, kʔœ₁l) *suin*, *cuil* = soon, cool; and *never* (yy₁) or any approach to French *u*, as the orthography suggests. Also no distinction is made between (u₁, œ₁), but *u* is used for both indifferently. On this point some detailed information will be seen in the s.Nb. cwl. which contrasts sw. and se.Nb.

Characters of Varieties. These are not particularly well marked, but I have endeavoured to make them clear by interlinear illustrations.

Var. i, in n.Cu., is so like D 31, except in the use of (dhø), that I have thought it best to put the two cs., one for Carlisle, Cu., and one for Knaresdale, Nb., among the 22 cs. illustrating D 31, pp. 562, No. 21, and 563, No. 22. This Var. is distinguished by an absence of (œ₁), so that the (u₁) of Cu. suddenly becomes the (æ) of D 33 without passing through any intermediate form. *I'* becomes (Eʔ) as appreciated by JGG. In Carlisle (nʔʔm, hʔʔm) name, home, occur, but in Knaresdale (nʔʔm, hʔʔm), with a distinct (æ). At Brampton there was the intermediate (nʔʔm, hʔʔm) with an indistinct (e), which was not yet (ø), as shewn by (°), the symbol of indistinctness. See the Brampton cwl., p. 669. There is no Nb. *burr*.

Var. ii, in n.Du., see 22 dt., Nos. 1 to 6. The (œ₁) begins to assert itself, but (u) is more general, the (u₁) greatly resembles (ou), both (néœm) and (nœm) = (niœm) are employed. The resemblance is rather to Var. iv, the Pitmen's, than to Var. iii the Hexham form. There is not much burr even near Newcastle. Sunderland can hardly be said to be a dialect on account of the mixed population and influence of Scotch and Irish. South Shields has the great peculiarity of losing its *r* altogether except before a vowel, and even then it is much debased.

Var. iii, the sw.Nb., extends e. to about 1 w. Stamfordham, and includes Bellingham (:bæ'l'ndʔm) on the nw., and Ovingham (:o'v'ndʔm) on the se. This is recognised by the Newcastle people as a distinct variety. Their favourite example is the speech of a woman to her daughter as she gives her a penny to buy "a halfpennyworth of salt, and bring a halfpenny back, taking a saucer to put it in." This becomes (ø hoo'porth o sœt, øn ø hoo'pni ba'k, øn hioor)z dhø soo'sor tæ pœt it in), which in Var. iv is (ø haa'porth o saa't, øn ø haa'pni ba'k, øn hioor)z dhø saa'sor tæ pu,t it in). A similar sentence was concocted about the beginning of the century at a school a little n. of Birtley, as related to the Vicar, Rev. G. Rome Hall, by the old churchwarden, Mr. Percy Robson. The sentence was "I went to serve [=feed] the calves, and it snowed and it blowed, and my feet balled [with snow sticking to the soles of the boots], and ah! it *was* cold." At Woodburn, 4 ne. Bellingham, and in the Redesdale district varieties, and the same would be the case in Var. iv, they said

(a¹ went tæ sa'ra' dhø kaa'z, øn it snaa'd øn it blaa'd, øn ma' fiit baa'd, øn ææ'i! it 'wa'z kaa'd).

But at Birtley and s. of the Rede in the valley of the North Tyne, they said (a¹ went tæ sa'ra' dhø kooz, øn it snood øn it blood, øn ma' fiit bood, øn, ææ'i, it 'wa'z kood).

Another point of difference which is not brought out in these sentences is well shewn in the s.Nb. cwl. All words having (iæ) in Var. iii have (iæ) or (iœ₁) in Var. iv, thus *name*, *home*, *soon* are in Var. iii (niœm, hiœm, siœn), and in Var. v (niœm, hiœm, siœn).

Var. iii also has a great predilection for (œ₁). This is remarkable at Halt-whistle (14 w. Hexham), because it is close to Var. i, from which (œ₁) is absent.

To this var. belong two entertaining but unfinished little stories by Thomas Bewick, the celebrated Newcastle wood engraver (born at Ovingham), called "The Howdy" and "The Upgetting," of which 60 copies were printed in 1850 for Mr. John Gray Bell. I had hoped to give them in a phonetic form, but while I was at Newcastle I could find no one who was able to read them to me, and there are so many curious words in them, that I was unable to pal. them conjecturally. The original MSS. were said to be in possession of Mr. John

Bell, of Gateshead, but I failed to discover him, or the printer or publisher. I owe my transcript to the kindness of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who possesses a copy.

Var. iv, se.Nb. The distinctions between this and Var. iii have just been pointed out. This variety contains the speech of the Pitmen, and is most characteristic of Nb. But the mere writing of this speech conveys very little notion of its peculiarities of intonation, which are different for pitmen, keelmen [= boatmen], and ploughmen. The singsong and musical drawl of the pitmen must be heard to be understood. It is this variety to which the numerous dialectal books, annuals, comic stories, and songs usually refer. But their spelling was intended only for those familiar with the speech, and is scientifically valueless.

Var. v, mid Nb., occupies the county from the Wansbeck to line 9, and is scarcely different in pron. from Var. iv, see 22 dt., Nos. 14 to 21, p. 656. The town of Alnwick seems to have adopted (æ), or perhaps (æ₁) exclusively, but that is not yet the habit of the peasantry.

Just before reaching line 9 are the towns of Chillingham and Chatton, which are credited with pronouncing *ch* as (sh). Mr. Allen, of Snitter, dictated the following sentence (dhi shiiz v :shet'n is nee meer le'ik dhi shiiz v :shi'liqum, nor shaak's le'ik shiiz) = the cheese of Chatton is no more like the cheese of Chillingham, nor (than) chalk's like cheese. Chillingham is famous for its wild white cattle, but is also noteworthy phonetically as being the only Nb. name in -ingham, which is pron. with (-iqum), all the others having (-indjəm). Mr. Ridley dictated the same sentence the other way over, thus (dhe shi'iz v :shiliqum iz nii meer la'ik dhe shi'iz v :sha't'n nor shaa'k's la'ik shi'iz). This sentence reminds us naturally of Dr. Murray's for Chirnside (9 nw. Berwick-on-Tweed), (dheer)z ez ged shiiz i :shirset ez wez evər shoud wi shafts) there's as good cheese in Chirnside as was ever chewed with chafts, i.e. jaws, Chirnside (:shirset) being celebrated for the same change of (tj) into (sh), as has taken place regularly in French (Dialect of S. Scotl. p. 85).

Var. vi, taking the extreme n. of Nb. and Berwick-upon-Tweed, has adopted (æ) throughout, and in other respects much resembles D 33, but differs from it, as will be seen among other things in the absence of (kh) and inability to produce a trilled (r), see the Berwick es., p. 645, and notes, p. 652.

THE BURR.

In describing and distinguishing the above six varieties I have barely alluded to the Burr, which is commonly looked upon as *the* characteristic of Nb. speech. This is because I consider it a modern accidental growth very conspicuous to a Lowlander or a Southerner, though quite inessential to the dialect. But it requires special consideration, and hence has been placed last.

The Nb. Burr or (*krv*₁p) is a peculiar pronunciation of the letter *r* in which the interruptions of voice sound, that in my opinion form the essence of the *r*, are made by the flapping of the uvula (instead of the tip of the tongue), as set in motion by the voiced or flated stream of air itself, and not by a voluntary muscular effort. It is really a defect of articulation which tends to become epidemic. As such it exists vigorously in the n. of Germany and n. of France, and especially at Paris. But it is also a peculiarity of individuals that reside in other districts. The Nb. burr is complicated by some labialisation, and by being influenced by some vowels more than others, especially the labial series (A, o, u). It varies much in different parts of Nb. according to accounts which I have received, but I am not able to state what the differences are, as it would require residence for some time in different parts of the

county, and intercourse in each place with a considerable number of natives, to obtain anything like satisfactory results. The burr is said to be "rougher" in se.Nb. than at Alnwick, where it is credited with perfection. Mr. Robson (in the notices to his translations of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte) attempts to write the Newcastle burr as "urround the urrugged urrocks," and the n.Nb. burr as "errooeend th' erruggeed errocks" for *round the rugged rocks*. The Vicar of Embleton for the peasantry there wrote "oowit, thwoo, oowéd," his curate for the fishing population used "'rite, thr'oo, rred," both for *right, through, red*, and these symbols represented to them distinct differences, but certainly neither these nor Mr. Robson's avail for an outsider.

It is easy to produce great varieties of burr, by varying the form of the tongue on which the uvula seems to lie, to agree with the position for different vowels, and by increasing or diminishing the closure of the lips, as well as the degree of force in the emission of breath. The sharpness of the rattle heard from a young Parisian lad calling "L'Entracte! Programme des spectacles, prix trois sous," is something remarkable, and this *r* well replaces the Italian tip-tongue trilled *r*. The German uvular *r* is often indistinguishable from a guttural (gh) initial and medial, and (kh) final. Both are combined, at least occasionally, in the Dutch *ch, g*, and Arabic *ġ ħ*. The modern Greek *γ* is very mild. The extent of excursion of the flapping uvula makes a great difference in the effect produced. But there is much difficulty in ascertaining what practice actually prevails in any given place. And, after all, the practice may really vary from speaker to speaker at the same place. As a general rule I shall represent the burr by (*r*) simply, by (*rw*) when the labial element is conspicuous, by (*r_o*, *rw_o*) when in either case the uvula is so stiffened that it serves only to impede the passage of air without definite interruptions. Thus the words *to marry a very merry lass* sounded to me, as pronounced by a Nb. pitman, as (tə ma¹r_oⁱ v va¹r_oⁱ ma¹r_oⁱ la¹s), *merry* and *marry* being pronounced identically and rhyming with each other and with *very*, while the (*r_o*) was so inconspicuous that much attention was required to discover the differences of (ma¹r_oⁱ, va¹r_oⁱ) from the Italian *mai, vai* (mâ¹i, vâ¹i), with which indeed Mr. Swinburne, the poet, a native, identifies them. But the habit is so local, and probably in Europe so modern, that it does not affect general relations of dialect, as the reverted (R) of the S. div. certainly seems to do. The actual usage and its variety in different places is therefore comparatively unimportant, although striking to a stranger.

It is much more important to determine the limits of country over which the Burr extends. I was recommended for information to Mr. Peter Mouatt, 8, Shield Field, Newcastle, as having travelled much about the border, but he could not tell me himself, and when he tried his commercial travellers he found that they all had the burr without knowing it, and were hence unable to detect its presence or absence. At last he found one, Mr. J. R. Dickson, who was a Scotchman, and hence fully aware of the defective uvular

trill. From his notes, assisted by Mr. Gunn of Berwick-on-Tweed, Mr. Lees of Edinburgh, Mr. J. G. Goodchild, who has had experience on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, Mr. Laurence Goodchild, a blind traveller (no relation to the last-named), Mr. Proctor of the *North of England Review*, Mr. Jas. Mearns, son of the minister of Coldstream, some notes and correspondence on the subject by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Dr. J. A. H. Murray's notes, etc., I obtained sufficient information to draw up the following table.

The places in () have not been identified, those marked * are on the Maps of the Dialect Districts, the others are referred to them.

BURR STRONG.	BURR WEAK.	NO BURR.
*Berwick-upon-Tweed Spittal (1 se. Berwick) Horncliffe (4 sw. Berwick)		Horndean, Bw. (8 ne. Coldstream)
Norham (7 sw. Berwick)		Ladykirk, Bw. (6 ne. Coldstream) (Newtown)
Cornhill (1 e. Coldstream) (Donaldson's Lodge)	Wark, Nb. (1 sw. Coldstream) Carham, Nb. (3 wsw. Coldstream)	*Coldstream, Bw. Birgham, Bw. (3 w. Coldstream)
*Wooler Keilder (26 nw. Hexham) Falstone (19 nw. Hexham)	Haltwhistle, Nb. (14 w. Hex.) Allendale, Nb. (9 sw. Hex.) Edmundbyers, Du. (10 sse. Hexham) Minster Acres, Nb. (8 se. Hexham) Castleside, Du. (13 se. Hexham) Benfieldside, Du. (13 wnw. Durham) Shotley, Nb. (13 nw. Durham)	*The Cheviots (n. slope), Nb. Yetholm, Rx. (10 w. Wooler) (Riccarton) Greenhead, Nb. (17 w. Hex.) Brampton (8 ne. Carlisle) (Allenhead, Cu.) Blanchland, Nb. (8 s. Hex.) Alston, Cu. (17 sw. Hex.)
Whittonstall, Nb. (9 ese. Hexham)	Ebchester, Du. (11 se. Hexham)	Iveston, Du. (10 nw. Durham)
Prudhoe, Nb. (9 w-by-s. Newcastle), and thence strong to S. Shields		North Shields, Nb. South Shields, Du.

This covers the whole inland border of Nb. beginning at the n. Beyond the Tweed, to the n., except in Berwick and its Liberties, there is no burr. Mr. Lees had observed it from some men at Burnmouth and Eyemouth (6 and 9 n. Berwick), but is inclined to think it due to intercourse with Berwick as a market town. Mr.

Gunn and others suppose that the burr dies out suddenly at the b. of the Berwick Liberties, Mr. Lees thinks it only dies rapidly. In the "New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the respective parishes, etc.," 1845, vol. ii. p. 154, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte pointed out to me, the then Minister of Hutton-on-the-Tweed, adjoining the Liberties of Berwick, says: "The language spoken is the Berwickshire dialect of the Scots, intermixed with the Nb. *burr*." In January, 1876, the then Minister of Hutton, Dr. R. Kirke, wrote to the Prince: "The Nb. *burr* is *not natural* to the natives of this parish, and is *never known* except in the speech of persons who have been born and brought up in Nb. and in the Liberties of Berwick," and that this applies also to the adjoining parish of Mordlington. But as a defect of speech I myself in 1854 heard it very strong indeed from the young son of a Scotch gentleman in Edinburgh. Again the n. slopes of the Cheviots are decidedly Scotch, but a strong burr has been heard at Kielder (Mr. Dickson) and Falstone (JGG.). On the south, Mr. Laurence Goodchild considers that the burr stops at Gateshead. But I myself heard it from a native of Kelloe (18 s-by-e.Gateshead). From Bishopton (5 nw.Stockton, Du.) the Vicar in 1879, Rev. C. H. Ford, who I was told had a strong burr himself, reported its existence there. Finally, at North Shields, Nb., and South Shields, Du., in the midst of a burr country, the entire burr has vanished. But the pitmen just beyond the town burr vigorously.

Hence the burr, like the change of (u) into (ə), or of (uu) into (a'u), cannot be regarded as disrupting a phonetic dialect district. D 32 is therefore held to extend to parts of Cu. and Du. which have no burr. The burr cannot even be regarded as the mark of a variety. The same thing occurs in France and Germany.

Illustrations. For Carlisle and Knaresdale I give cs. pal. from dict. by JGG. as Nos. 21 and 22 among the 22 interlinear cs. of D 31, pp. 562, 563.

For South Shields, Newcastle, and Berwick I give also inter-linear cs. all pal. from dict. by myself. They are in themselves a good epitome of the whole of Nb. pron.

But I have been enabled to give 22 dt., interlinearly arranged for Var. ii to vi, eleven of which were pal. by me from dict. These serve very well to shew the slight differences and general resemblances and the transition to L.

Finally, there are four cwl. For Var. i a valuable one from Brampton, written from dict. by JGG. For Var. ii a cwl. for South Shields, by Rev. C. Y. Potts, which I had to pal. from an original glossic, by the help of the *viva voce* rendering of the cs. for the same place. For Var. iii and iv, contrasting the Hexham and Pitmen usages, two important lists are here thrown together for ease of comparison by Rev. G. R. Hall and Rev. Hugh Taylor, which I have had to pal. from their spellings and indications, and from personal knowledge of these varieties obtained at Newcastle in 1879. For Var. v I give a valuable cwl. settled from the dictation of Mr. Ridley of Warksworth.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

1. *South Shields*, Var. ii, n.Du., at the mouth of the Tyne. The original was written in glossic by Rev. C. Y. Potts, then of Ledbury, but born and bred at South Shields. Mr. Potts, who gave himself much trouble to inform me, also sent a lw. given hereafter as a cwl. I transliterated the cs. into pal., and then corrected it in Jan. 1879, from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Pyke, Ocean Terrace, South Shields, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Lyell, cousin of the Sec. of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Newcastle. The following is from that corrected version, Mr. Potts's principal variants are given in the notes, p. 649. There are, as both Mr. Potts and Mr. Pyke stated, three pron. prevalent at South Shields, viz. those of the Pilots, Middle Town Folk, and Pitmen. The version gives the second, as Mr. Pyke was only partially acquainted with the others, and Mr. Potts considered them "vulgar," but they will be occasionally referred to in the notes.

2. *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Nb., Var. iv. Great pains have been taken to make this cs. as correct as possible. It was originally written in Dec. 1873 by Mr. William Henderson Dawson, 50 years acquainted with the dialect, then writer of the "Lokil Lettor" [local letter] in the *North of England Advertiser*, under the signature of "a Retiort Keelmin" [a retired boatman]. It was afterwards read to me by Mr. T. Mitcheson, a native of Rothbury, who had lived long at Cramlington (8 n-by-e. Newcastle, and 5 sw. Blyth), where he had become acquainted with pitmen at Blyth (:bléidh) and Bebside (2 w. Blyth). As he had been in London 10 years, during which he had tried to forget his dialectal habits, and had conquered the burr, he was afraid that he might not correctly recollect the pron., and in Jan. 1876, he procured me an interview with two pitmen, John Bryson, of Bebside Colliery, and Ralph Young, of Newcastle, native of Bebside. With them I went over the cs. as written phonetically from Mr. Mitcheson's dict. In Feb. 1876, I had an opportunity of going over the same with Mrs. Ferschel, a native of Newcastle, who had married a German and lived in London. I was very desirous to hear Mr. Dawson read it, and, having to go to Newcastle in 1879, I had arranged to see him, but unfortunately he was taken ill a few weeks previously, and died the day that I arrived, 27th Jan. Under these circumstances I went over the phonetic transcript I had made for Mr. Dawson, after correcting as above, with Mr. T. P. Barkas, of Newcastle, and the following is written from the copy thus corrected. But I have thought it best to give in the notes such variations and information as I received from the sources above named. Probably my (a¹, a) would have been heard by JGG. as (a, a₁) respectively, and this makes the usage agree with that of D 31, see (a₁), p. 539. Observe that natives say *Newcas'tle*, not *New'cas:tle*.

3. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, Var. vi, is now quite included in Nb., giving its name to one of the parliamentary divisions which extends to s. of Alnwick, the old borough having been abolished in 1886. But the town and liberties, which extend into Bw., have their own peculiar character, quite distinct from L., though on L. soil on the n. side of the Tweed. The cs. was pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. G. M. Gunn, a native, who lived there the first 20 years of his life, and has since visited it annually. The roughest part for the dialect and for social position is in the place called Greenses (:grínsiz), where the fishermen live outside the walls. The next are Shaw's Lane and Walkergate Lane.

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------|--|
| O | S | <i>South Shields</i> , Du. | whé'i :djak hez ní ₁ duuts. |
| | N | <i>Newcastle</i> , Nb. | hú ₁ u :djon hez ni dùts. |
| | B | <i>Berwick-upon-Tweed</i> . | whái :djoon hez noo duts. |
-
- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1. | S | will nə'i'bə, ɔ)el | b'ɛθ laf at mə'i n'nuz. |
| | N | will n'ɛbo ₁ rw, jii ɛn h'ɪm me b'ɛθ la'f ɛt dho ₁ r n'nuuz | |
| | B | weel n'ɛbə, juu ɛn hii me booth laaf ɛt dh'is n'nuuz | |

S wii ke'z? it)s nii₁ mats—it)s nóudhe
 N v mæ'in. whi keerz? dha't)s nóudhor
 B v máin. whée kééez? dhat)s nèdhe

S híiv na dhéev.
 N híir nor dhéeo[r].
 B híiv ne dhéev.

2. S nii₁bodi díiz bíkaaz dh)a láft et, wi naa dív'nt wi?
 N fiúu MEN díi ká'z dho)r lá'ft et, wi naa' dív'nt wé?
 B fiúw MEN dáí bíkəz dhé)v laaft at, wi kən dív'nt wé?

S what wud mīek dhim? it iz)int vɛ[r]i le'iklɛ is)t?
 N wha't shu,d mīek dhəm? it)s not va'r_oi le'iklɛ is)t?
 B whot shəd meek dhəm? it iz'nt vɛri láiklɛ iz)it?

3. S onihóu aa]l tel vɛ dhɛ faks ən)t, so dʒi₁st haad
 N huusiv'vor dhor)z dhɛ fa'ks vɛ dhɛ kees, si dʒu₁st ha'd
 B huɛvɛ dhiiz iz dhɛ faks v dhɛ kees, soo dʒi₁st háuld

S vɛ dʒaa ɛn see nóut tɛl aa)v dʒœ₁n. dʒi₁st híiv.
 N vɛr whi₁st, ɛn bi kwáit tɛv a'z dʒœ₁n. líz'n.
 B vɛ nôi₁z, frind, ɛn bi kwáit tɛl a)m dan. lízin.

4. S aa)m saat'n a haad dhəm see—su₁m o dhəm fooks
 N aa'z saa[r]t'n a' híiovd dhəm see—su₁m ov dhor fooks
 B a)m saat'n a híiəd dhəm sè—sam v dhəm fook

S dhat went th₁ruu dhɛ hool thiq f₁rɔ)dhi fóvst dhɛ'vselz,
 N dhet went th₁ruu dhɛ híel thiq frɛ dhɛ fo[r]st dhorselz,
 B at went th₁rù dhɛ hool thiq frè dhɛ forst dha,selz,

S dhat a díd, sɛf ɛnɛœ₁f.
 N dhat a díd, sɛf ɛnɛœ₁f.
 B dhat díd a, seef ɛnaf.

5. S dhat dhɛ vɛqest su₁n hízsel, a g₁riit lad nœ'in rii₁vz
 N dhet dhɛ vɛqest su₁n ízsel, v griit lad v nœ'in
 B dhet de vqest sən íssel, v big ladi v náiv'in

S aad níuu híz feedhe va'is at vɛns fɛ[r] aal it wíz sii
 N níuu híz fɛdhorz vóis et wons, thoo it wá'z si
 B kənd iz fɛdhɛ)v vóois et wons, althoo it wəz sɛ

S kwíe[r] an skwiiki, an aa wad t₁ru₁st him tɛ tɛl dhɛ
 N kwíor ɛn skwiiki, ɛn ad tru₁st him tɛ spíik dhɛ
 B kwíe ɛn skwiikín, ɛn a wəd trəst im tɛ spíik dhɛ

S t₁ruuth ɔni dee, ái, dhat a wad.
 N truuth ɔni dɛɛ, ee, a' wa'd.
 B trùth ɔni dee, ææ'i, a wad.

6. S an dhi aad wu₁man hæsəl ɪl tɛl ɔni oo jɛ dhat lafs
 N ɛn dhɛ a'd wɛ'if horsɛl' ɛl tɛl ɔni o jɛ dhɛt la'f
 B ɛn dhɛ áuld wæmɛn ɛsɛl ɛl tɛl ɔni on jɛ at laaf

S nuu, an tɛl jɪ stɪrɛ'it ɔf, tii, widhuut ɔni bɔdhɛ,
 N nú,u, ɛn tɛl jɛ strɛ'it ɔf, tii, widhuut mu₁tɪ bɔdhor,
 B náu, ɛn tɛl jɛ ɛt wɔns ɛn ʌʌ, ɛdhut mætɪ bɔdhɛ,

S if j)el ɔoni ask ɛ, oo! winit shi?
 N if j)ɛl ɔoni a'ks ɔr, oo! winit shɛ?
 B if j)ɛl ɔnli aks ɛ, oo! wɛl shi noo?

7. S ɔnɛ'hóu shi tɛld 'mii ɔn)t wɛn 'aa akst ɛ, tuuth₁rɪ
 N ɛt lí,ist shi tɛld 'mii wɛn a' akst ɔr, tú,u ɔr
 B ɛt ɔni reet shi táuld 'mii wɛn ar akst ɛ, tuu ɛ

S tɔ'imz óue, æ'i, did shi, an 'shii ɔut'nt tɛ bi ɹraq
 N thrɪ,i tɔ'imz óuɛr, did shi, ɛn shii ɔut'nt ti bi ra'q
 B thrii tɔimz áuɛ, did shɛ, ɛn 'shii áut'nt tɛ bi rooq

S ɛbuut sítɪ ɛ matɛ₁r az dhɛs, what di 'jii thi'qk?
 N on sek ɛ pɔ'ɪnt ɛz dhɛs, wha't di jii thi'qk?
 B on sítɪ ɛ pɔ'ɪnt ɛz dhɛs, whot d)jɛ thi'qk?

8. S wɛl, ɛz aa wɛz seejɪn, 'shii wɛd tɛl jɛ hóu whɛɛ'ɛ ɛn
 N wiil, ɛz a' wɛz sɛɛɛn, 'shii wɛd tɛl jɛ hú,u whéor ɛn
 B wɛ'l, ɛz di wɛz seejɪn, shii wɛd tɛl jɛ huu whéɛs ɛn

S wɛn shi fu₁nd dhi d₁rɔɛ,k'n biist shi kaalz hɛ
 N wɛn shi fu₁nd dhɛ dr_u,qk'n biist dhɛt shi kaa'lz ɔr
 B wɛn shi fænd dhɛ dræk'n biist ɛt shi kAAZ ɛ

S hu₁zbɛnd.
 N gu₁d ma'n.
 B hazbɛnd.

9. S shi swóos shi saa ɛm widh ɛr aan áiz lái)in aal iz
 N shi swor shi siid im widh ɔr aa'n ɛ'iz lɛ'í)in strítɪt ɛt
 B shi swúus shi sid im wɛ' ɔr áun díz lái)in strítɪt at

S laq lɛnth on dhi g₁rɔɛ,nd in hiiz su₁nde kleez, kloos
 N fu₁l lɛnth on dhi gr_u,nd in iz sɛ,ndɛ kuut, kloos
 B fál lɛnth on dhɛ gránd in iz gád sándiz koot, kloos

S bi dhi dAA₁r i dhɛ huus duun at dhi kAA'ɛnɛ₁r ɛ
 N bi dhɛ dor iv dhɛ hú,us, du₁un ɛt dhɛ kɔrnɔr ɛv
 B bái dhɛ door ɛ dhɛ háus, duun ɛt dhɛ kóɔɛnɛr ɛ

S dhon leen.
 N jɔn lɛn.
 B jɔn leen.

10. S hii wəz wə'ínin on, sez shii, fə₁r aal dhi waa'əld
 N hii wəz whándjən ewee, sez shii, fə₁r aa' dhə woorld
 B hi wəz krá'ín ewee, seshii', fə₁r ʌ dhi worəld

S lə'k a púus bēe'en, v₁r a līt'l las f₁rētən.
 N lə'k a sáik béorn, or v bit la'si in v pət.
 B láik v béorn et voz'nt wəl', or v līt'l lasi ut v tempə.

11. S an dhat hap'nd az shii an v dóuts₁r in laa kom
 N en dha't ha'p'nt iz shíi en or dóutor in laa' kom
 B en dhat hap'nt, az shii en v gad dáuter keem

S th₁ruu dhi bak jee'əd f₁rē hígən uut dhi wət kleez
 N thrú₁u dhi ba'k jaa₁rđ frē hígín ú₁ut dhə wət kleez
 B thruu dhə bak jéed frēe hígín ut dhə wət kleez

S tə d₁rə'i on v weshín dee,
 N ti drə'i on v weshən dee,
 B tə drái on v weshín dee,

12. S wə'il dhə ket'l wəz bóilən fə tii, won boni
 N whə'il dhə ket'l wəz bóilən for tíi, won fə'in brə'it
 B when dhə ket'l wəz bóilín fə tii, woon fá'jin bráit

S su₁mə₁r aftəní₁n, ooni v wík síns kú₁m nekst
 N su₁mor aftorní₁n, ooni v wiik egien níkst
 B samez eftenuun, oonli v wiik egoo kəm níkst

S thAA'ezdə.
 N thorzde kú₁mz.
 B thareзде.

13. S en di)jə naa? a nívs léend oni mées na dhís əbuut
 N en di ji naa? a' nívor léornd oni méor nor dhís iv
 B en d)jə kən? a nevr leornd òni mós nə dhís əbut

S dhat matə₁r u₁p tə dhís dee, əz shúu)z ma níem)z
 N dha't biznis ə₁p tə dhə dee, əz shuur əz ma' níem)z
 B dhat biznis til dhə dee əz shúu)z mə neem)z

S :djak :shəpəd, en a dínət want iidhə. dhéev
 N :dja'k :shəpərd, en a' dínə wa'nt óudhor, dhéor
 B :djak :shípəd, en a dev'nt wənt tə kən nēdhə. dhéev

S nuu!
 N nú₁u!
 B náu.

14. S en nuu aa)m gaan jəm tə hee mi' su₁pə. gu₁d niit,
 N en soo a')z ga'n hím tə hee mi' su₁pə. gu₁d niit,
 B en soo a)m goon hoom tə ma sapə. gad náit,

S ɛn dɪnɪt bi si kwɪk tɛ k[raa óu]v[r ɛ bodi ɛgʲɛn when
 N ɛn dɪnɛ bi si kwɪk tɛ kraa' ɔur ɛ bodi ɛgʲɛn, when
 B ɛn dev'nt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo áu,vr ɛ bodi ɛgeen, when

S hi taaks ɛbuut dhɪs A dhɪ tu,dhɛ.
 N hi taa'ks ɪv dhɪs dha't or dhɛ tu,dhor.
 B hi tAAks ɛbut dhɪs dhat ɛ dhɛ ɛdhɛ thiɔ.

15. S hii)z ɛ púus fɪɔɛ,l dhat bladhez wɪdhuut [riizɪn.
 N hii)z nobɔt ɛ wiik fɪul dhɛt ba'b'lz wɪdhuut ri,iz'n.
 B it)s ɛ wiik ful' ɛt gab'lz ɛdhut riiz'n.

S ɛn dhat)s mi last wɛəd. gu,d bá.i.
 N ɛn dha't ɪz ma' la'st word. gu,d bə'i.
 B ɛn dhat)s ma last worɛd. gad bá.i.

Notes to the South Shields cs., p. 645.

In giving the variants, the name of Rev. C. Y. Potts will be contracted into Po., of Mr. Pyke into Py.

0. *why*, Po. (wái).—*Jack*, Po. (ɔ:dʒan).—*no*, Po. (niɪ).
1. *neighbour*, Po. (éi), but I heard (s'i), and possibly this sound was meant by Po., no final r, but Py. said that he "felt it," that is, he felt his equivalent for (r), just as Londoners do. Po. says "it is lost in mere vocal breath" (?) or (ɛ), when not preceding a vowel. When it does precede a vowel, it is apparently a very mild (r, r_o), written [r; it is not burred, except by the pitmen, who burr strongly.—*my*, Po. (maa), Py. also gave (má'i).—*cares*, Po. (kéevz).—*matter*, Po. (mɪ,tv), which Py. says is Pilot talk; this variant will not be given again.—*it's neither here nor there* was a variant by Po., not corrected by Py.
2. *nobody*, Po. (niɪbadi), the (a) was I think a mistake for (ɛ), which I shall use without further notice.—*dies*, Po. (diiz).—*we*, Po. (u,s).
3. *anyhow*, Po. (huuzi,vɛ), this (óu) pron. of U' final seemed peculiar to a few words, they also say (dhóu) thou, though they retain (huus). This resembles Rx. usage, D 33. It will not be noticed hereafter.—*just*, Po. (dʒu st).—*hold*, the pitmen say (had), the pilots (hóuld ɔn).—*done*, Po. (diun). All the (ɔɛ) are due to Py.'s dictation, Po. allowed only (u₁).
4. *whole*, town (hool), pit (ɔɛl), which Po. gave.—*I did safe enough*, Po. (aa did sɔɛf enʒu,f).
5. *himself*, Po. (hiissel).—*years*, Po. (iɛz).—*knew*, Po. (naad).—*father*, town (feedhɛ), pit. and Po. (fɛdɛ).—*any day*, Po. (ani dee) and often.—*aye*, Po. (éi).
6. *without*, Po. (wivuut) and afterwards. Py. was strongly against this.—*ask*, Po. (aks).
7. *anyhow*, Po. (anihuu).—*two or three times over*, Po. (twii ɛ th[rii téimz óu,v) or (óu,v[r ɛn óu,v[r ɛgʲɛn) over and over again.—*aye*, Po. (éi).—*such*, Po. (su,tɔ).
8. *well*, Po. (wiil).—*would*, Po. (wad).—*how*, Po. (huu).—*drunken*, Po. (d[ru,qk'n), Py. 'the women say this.'—*beast*, makes the pl. (biists).—*husband*, Po. (hu,zbent).
9. *lying all his long length*, Po. (lái)in st[ri]tɔt at fu,l lenth) lying stretched at full length; to this Py. objected that when a man is dead he is said to be (st[ri]tɔt uut) stretched out. Po. also gave as an alternative (lái)in aal hiz fu,l lenth) lying all his full length.—*ground*, Po. (gru,nd).—*he's* Po. (iz), which seems more usual.—*Sunday*, Po. (su,ndɛ), and so at the termination of all the weekday names.—*the*, Po. (dhi).—*yon*, Po. (dhan), Py. admitted both (dhon, dhonde) yon, yonder; it is a Scotticism I think.—*lane*, town (leen), country (lonin), pilot (liɛn).
10. *whining*, Po. (wéinɪn), Py. preferred (whindyin).—*poor*, Po. (púuɛi).—*fretting*, Po. (in a fret).
11. *she*, Po. (hAA'v), meaning (hóv)

I think, *hor* for her.—*daughter-in-law*, the phrase (*su₁n wə'if*) son wife is not used.—*hanging*, Po. (*haqin*).—*dry*, Po. (*drii*).

12. *bonny*, Po. (*sun-shéini*) sunshiny.

13. *Shepherd*, town (*:shepəd*), pilots (*:shipəd*).—*don't*, Po. (*div'nt*).—*either*, Po. (*əudhə*).

14. *home*, I think (*h'ēm*) is more correct.—*have*, Po. (*ha*).—*quick*, Po. (*fast*).

15. *fool*, Po. (*f'u,l*).—*blethers*, Po. (*taaks on*).—*my*, Po. (*maa*).—*word*, Po. (*wAA'əd*).—*goodbye*, Po. (*g'u,d bA'i*), Py. said that (*sə laq'*) so long was also used.

Notes to Newcastle cs., p. 645.

The following was general information gleaned from my informants, whose names will be abbreviated thus, M. = Mitcheson, P. = the two pitmen, Bryson and Young, F. = Ferschell, B. = Barkas.

M. Initial (*h*, *wh*) are distinct. Master (*meestor*), the (*r*) scarcely audible and probably (*rw*), at any rate the labialisation attacked the preceding vowel, and converted it into (*o*) or (*o*). The agriculturists are broader in speech, but not so vulgar as the pitmen. There is a countrified speech about them. There is a rising inflexion in speech, higher for questions than for simple affirmation. The (*r*) in (*rat*) had very few beats, but had a suspicion of (*g*) about it. The fracture (*i₁i*) is distinct, but there are words in which (*ii*) occurs as (*t'pik*) cheek, Ws. *ceáce*. In the same way (*ú₁u*) was distinct, as in (*nú₁u*, *sú₁u*) now, a sow, (*sú₁um*) swim, that is, float, but (*swim*) is used for men swimming. Found, ground, had (*u₁*), but round, about, house, had (*uu*), which did not to me appear to be (*ú₁u*). The long *i* is (*é'i*) or (*á'i*), not (*ái*). Short *a* is rather (*a'*) than anything else. There was a tendency in M. to run into (*æ*), possibly, I thought, from London habits. The long vowel is (*aa*). Conjugation of verb substantive (*a'*)*m*, *dhá₁u*)*z*, *hii*)*z*, *wii*)*r*, *ro*)*r*, *dhéo*)*r*, here (*ii*) should probably be (*i₁i*). M. pronounced the words for 8, 18, 80 with (*é'it*), and called *alehouse* (*æ₁hús*).

P. The French (*r*) is general, but is lost when no vowel follows. Thus they told me that in county (*:dóoum*) Durham, they say (*:dæm*). About (*:báa'ik*) Berwick, they would say (*liēn*). Through (*thrú₁u*) was almost (*thróu*). (*hú₁u d*)*ɔ₁ dii*) how do you do, is not much used in the district, the phrase is (*hú₁u aa*) *ji*) how are you, or at full (*hú₁u aa*) *ji g'itín on dhú déi?*) how are you getting on to-day. *I am* (*a'*)*m* is pretty frequent, but *I iz* (*a'*)*z* is the regular expression. They never use *I be*, *I beant*, *we'm*. In (*u₁*) the

lips are very open, almost as much as for (*a*) [yet the sound was not at all (*u₁*) or (*æ*)]. The (*oo*) is sometimes spoken with lips as close as for (*u*) [but remains distinctly (*oo*)]. *Thou* in addresses is used in anger, it is disrespectful, but may be used from a mother to a child or a father to a baby, he would not use it when the child was ten or twelve years old. *Goodbye* is not used, they say (*gud dee*) good day, when parting, and (*g'u,d móunən*) good morning in meeting. To children principally (*ta' ta'*) is said in parting, but it is also used by men, who are beginning to say (*sa' la'q*) so long [a salutation which I have heard of in the colonies]. There is a slight difference between the farming and mining people. The former have a more sluggish way of speaking with a drawl. [As these men spoke very well, with the exception of (*aa*) for *er* in *certain*, etc., I asked if they spoke so in the pit. They said] "Oh no! in the pit you must speak as they speak or you will be laughed at. We are allowed to speak properly at the weekly meetings of the Trades Union." [They had come to London in connection with that Union.]

F. If you say (*div'nt wi*) don't we, the *we* refers only to the speaker and person addressed, if you say (*d'nt wi*), the *we* is the speaker and any others. (*a'*)*z* is more frequent than (*a'*)*m*. (*wéit*) is a woman, *wench* not used, (*la's*) not (*la'si*) even for a little girl. (*bodhor*) is much used. (*d'nt out ti ev diun*) didn't ought to have done = ought not to have done. (*ma'n*) is generally employed for husband, which, however, is used. In (*ma' su₁nz wáif*, *mí dóutorz ma'n*), my son's wife, my daughter's husband, observe the (*ma'*) masculine (*mi*) feminine. Mrs. Fer-

schell's father, William Carr, then at Glass House Hill Works, Southwick, Sunderland, in 1876 sent me this analysis of the *burr*: "If you let your tongue lie in your mouth quite still, with the tip just touching your teeth, and make a noise from the throat (not by the nose at all), and your mouth moderately open, you will produce the burr just as we Newcastle folk have." He was sixty, a native, and natural dialect speaker. (*gud báit*) is not general, (*ta' ta'*) is much used both among men

and women; they also say (*sə loq*), which F. had chiefly heard in Sunderland. (*ju*) is weak, (*jii*) is strong. *quarrel* = (*kaa'rl*). They say (*li'it n'i, it brá'it fá'it*) light night bright fight.

B. To Mr. Barkas I owe almost all the (*æ*) [the others, except M. at times, gave (*u*) only], and also nearly all the final (-*or*). He also confirmed the very common use of (*ta' ta'*) among grown-up people.

The following are the special notes to the cs. distinguishing the variants of my different informants by the same initials as before.

0. *no*, P. (*nee*), F. (*ni*).—*doubts*, F. (*duuts*), ? (*dú, uts*).

1. *neighbour*, P. (*nə'i- nee-*), F. (*nái-*).—*this*, P. (*dhís*), F. (*dhor*).—*mine*, P. almost (*mæ'in*).—*who*, F. (*wi,i*).—*cares*, P. (*keevz*).—*neither*, P. (*nóudhor*, *nə'idhor*).

2. *they are*, M. F. (*dhor*), P. (*dhéi,ə*).—*don't*, B. (*div'nt*) or (*din't*) both used, see F.'s preliminary observations.—*very*, P. F. (*va'ri*).

3. *of the*, F. (*i dhu*).—*till*, P. (*tiv*), B. (*til*) is better.—*done*, M. F. (*diun*), P. B. (*diæn*).

4. *I am*, B. (*a'm*, *a'z*) equally often, P. (*a'z*).—*certain*, M. and P. no (*r*), B. (*r*).—*heard*, B. (*híord*), and most of the (-*or*) are due to B.—*folks*, P. (*fook*).—*that did I*, B. put *I did*.—*safe*, P. (*seef*), saying (*sixf*) was used further north.—*enough*, P. (*vnúuf*).

5. *that*, F. (*dhít*).—*nine*, F. (*nái'in*).—*though*, P. F. (*thoo*), B. says (*dhoo*) is equally usual.—*was*, F. (*wəz*) unemphatic.—*trust*, F. inclined to (*tru,st*).—*aye*, P. (*ee*), F. (*éei*), B. or (*á'i*).—*I would*, P. (*a' waa'd*, *wá'd*), mere emphasis.

6. *straight*, F. (*strá'it*).—*without*, M. (*wiv-*), F. B. (*widh-*).

7. *oughtn't*, B. seemed to say (*áut'nt*), but (*óu-*) was heard from the others and is most likely.—*such*, M. (*sik*), F. B. (*sek*).

8. *how, where, and when*, F. (*ú,u weer en wen*), *h* inserted by B.—

drunken, P. (*dru,k'n*), B. (*dræ,k'n*) sometimes, but more often (*dru,qk'n*).—*good man*, that is, husband, so in original.

9. *stretched*, P. with (*ii*) or (*i*), F. B. with (*i*).—*Sunday*, B. with (*æ*).—*coat*, M. (*koot*), F. (*kúut*) with a very faint indication of a fracture like (*kú,ut*).—*lane*, P. (*leen*), objecting to (*liæn*), B. (*lonæn*); F. (*lonæn*) is used in Durham, Gateshead, etc.

10. *whindging*, this was the P.'s word, F. says it's the cry of a sick fretful child, B. says (*whə'inæn*) whining is quite as common, F. says it is used for children crying and differs from *whindging*; (*bleeræn*) is also crying as a child.—*world*, B. with (*oo*), the rest with (*o*).—*bit* inserted by B.

11. *day*, B. (*dæ*), the rest (*dee*).

12. *afternoon*, B. (*-niæn*), the rest (*-niun*).—*only a week against next Thursday comes*, P. put *a week since (sins) next Thursday*.

13. *more than this*, I seemed to hear only (*mə nə dhis*) from P.—*do not want*, M. had (*wa'nt tə*), but this *to* was not in the original and was struck out by B.—*there now*, F. says the phrase is very common at Newcastle.

14. *so*, M. (*sii*), original and P. (*soo*).—*going*, P. (*ga'n*), original and F. (*ga'næn*).—*to have my supper*, so P. F., original (*ti su,p*).—*quick*, P. (*shaa'p*).

Notes to Berwick-upon-Tweed cs., p. 645.

0. *no*, 3½ miles beyond they say (nee).—*doubts*, the (u) quite short; when (uu) is said, Berwickers think the speaker comes from Yo. or Cu., of which (uu) is a mark to them.

1. *neighbour*, there was no (r), but it seemed as if the speaker opened his mouth at the end; this loss of (r) is a marked feature.—*he*, the (ii) very sharp, not at all the (i) or (i,i).—*both*, the (oo) inclined towards (u).—*laugh*, Berwickers never use (kh) at all, they have the greatest difficulty in pronouncing it, notwithstanding their uvular (r).

2. *few*, the mouth seemed to close up to a (w), but I am not certain that it was intentional.—*die*, I have generally written (ái), which is, I believe, the regular form of the diphthong. In a few cases, which I shall note, I wrote (ó'i), but I have given (ái) in the text uniformly.—*we ken*, in B. they use *ken* for *savoir*, and *know*, which is rather refined, for *connaitre*.—*them*, they never drop the (dh), or rather never use the form *hem* with omitted aspirate.—*what should*, even emphatically, a boy would say (shad, v noo) should I not?—*very*, this (r) was light, but still marked, and the trill of the uvula had much the effect of a tongue trill.

3. *these is*, they never think of saying (aa) are, but this is a peculiar case.—*friend*, (mái man) is more common.—*I am*, they never use *I is* (a)z in B., they will say (wi wi) with us, and never use (hæz) for *us*.

4. *certain*, this is refined, (shûæ) is the common word.—*say*, no inclining to (i) at the end.—*that*, (at) is the regular form.—*first*, this inserted (v) is regular, as (wórd, thæræzdee).—*enough*, the form *enow* is not known.

5. *nine*, pron. as a dissyllable.—*squeaking*, the distinction between the participle and gerund is not known at B., nor apparently in Nb. generally.—*aye*, this one word (ææ i) is the mark of a Berwickier.

6. *now*, they say (nuu) at B. The final U' and its congeners are only partially treated as in D 33, L. *now*, *thou*, *to bow*, a barley mow, the prow of a ship, a row (noise), a vow, have (áú), but how however cow brow shower sow s. coward cower power have

(uu, ù).—*at once*, the usual phrase, *straight* is (stráit).—*and all*, regularly used for *too*, a word unknown to the lower classes.—*bother*, the word is much used.

7. *I asked* (ar akst), observe the euphonic (r) after (a)=I.—*two or three*, so at Spittal (1 se. Berwick), on s. of the Tweed, but in the Liberties of B., they say (táu v thrái); a few miles n. of the Liberties they used a strongly trilled (.r), and cannot pronounce (r).—*wrong*, the (r) was good and strong with no trace of (w). Observe the (oo), which I seemed to hear, not (oo). Mr. G. said that (oo), or, as he conceived it, (oo), long, is heard in broad, God, cod, on, among, along, strong; but road has (o), so that a broad road becomes (v brood rod), or, as Mr. G. conceived it, (v brood rod), while a fishing rod is (rood).

8. *husband*, this is a polite usage, (v' man) her man is the regular expression.

9. *eyes*, *lying*, *by*, were noted as (ó'i) in place of (ái), which I think was intended.—*full*, so also (pál) pull.—*coat*, rather between (koot, kuut).—*by* (bái), meaning near, (bi) applied to the instrument.—*yon*, much used, never becomes (dhon).

10. *crying*, this is the word almost invariably used for making a noise of weeping, (whimperin) is also used for a fretting child.—*says she*, contracted into *sayshe*.

11. *dry*, this was noted *drai* (dró'i).

12. *when*, the word *while* is absolutely never used.—*tea*, at Spittal and Tweedmouth, s. of the Tweed, but within the Liberties they use (tái) for *tea*, and (mái) for *me*, and (jáu) for *you*. In both B. and Spittal, especially the latter, (hini) honey is a common term of endearment.—*fine*, dissyllable, as *nine* (nái, in), par. 5.—*bright*, similarly *night*, *sight*, *light*, *fight*, have (ái) with a sharp glide on to the *t*.

13. *business*, (meetv) matter is the common word.—*the day*, that is, *to-day*, and so the morn, the night, as in L.

15. *without*, (widhut) with a short vowel, could also be used.—*good-bye*, here also (bó'i) was noted, the phrase is common; (ta taa') is used among men, but not much, *so long* unknown.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. i, n.Cu., is illustrated in Nos. 21 and 22, pp. 562, 563, 602. We begin therefore here with

Var. ii, n.Du., Nos. 1 to 6.

1. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw.Durham). In io. but with full explanations by the Rector, Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), who came there in 1856, and was still there in 1886. He states that this district is bounded by three watersheds, and includes the villages of Cold Dowley, Castleside, Muggleswick, Daskerby, Edmundbyers, Ruffside, and Hunstanworth in Du. and Blanchland in Nb., and that communication tended rather towards Upper Weardale and Allendale than eastwards. The boundaries of his district are Allansford on the e., Upper Allendale w., and Weardale s., and not further than Minster Acres n., beyond that the influence of Tyneside begins to be felt.

2. *Lanchester* (7 nw.Durham). The place was really a farm house, called (:klik'əmin'), or something like it, 10 nw.Durham. The informant, Mr. Robson, was a bailiff or overseer, whose assistance was obtained for me in Feb. 1879, by Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham (who befriended me dialectally in many ways), but as he did not arrive till late in the evening, and as I had to return to Newcastle that night, I was much hurried. Particularly the diphthong here and at the time written as (əu) was not clear to me, and may have been (ə₁u) or (əúu) as in St. John's Weardale. Also (lɛrn, mɛɛr) were not approved of either by Canon Greenwell or Robson, and I inclined to (lar₂n, mɛɛr₂) at the time. Perhaps indistinct (le^orn, mee^or₂) might be better. Pal. from dict. by AJE.

3. *Annfield Plain*, near Linz Green (12 nw.Durham), Vic. of Collierly-under-Lanchester, St. Thomas's Vicarage. It is an extensive parish, chiefly of colliers, and the vicarage was so difficult of access (when I was at Newcastle in January, 1879, snow was on the ground, and the vicarage lay four miles from a station, road uphill, with no conveyance), that I was obliged to renounce seeing the old learned vicar, Dr. Blythe Hurst, since deceased, to whom I am indebted for two dt. practically identical (one by H. Leslie, teacher at the National School), and a wl. with a glossary of Tyneside. He had spoken the dialect himself for the first 36 years of his life.

4. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse.Durham). Through the kindness of the vicar, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, I was taken to see two natives, George Lazenby and William Greenwell, from whose dictation I pal. this dt. They told me that the talk used to be much broader than it is now, and that the school had knocked up the dialect.

5. *Kelloe* (7 se.Durham), pal. by AJE. from the dict. of R. Heightley, a tailor, then living at Bishop Middleham, the vicar of which, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, introduced me to him. Heightley had a decided burr (r), but it was very faint.

6. *Sunderland*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth. Sunderland contains Bishop and Monk Wearmouth. Mr. Potts informed me that I need not pay any attention to Sunderland as furnishing dialectal information, for it was a Scotch colony about the time of the Commonwealth, when it became a port, and most of the people are descended from the Scotch. Most of the queer pronunciations are not native. The Irish are also numerous and mixed up with the 120,000 people that live within the bounds of the union. Hence we have the Scotch element, the Irish element, and the sailor element. But Bishop Wearmouth is ancient, and there are descendants of the old families there. Mr. Brockie (22, Olive Street, an antiquary, to whom I had an introduction) said that Mr. Taylor Potts was a representative of these old settlers. Mr. Taylor Potts rather unceremoniously rejected a wl. given me by the late Mr. Tom Taylor (editor of *Punch*), who told me he "was born there, and lived and was educated there till he went to Glasgow University," saying that Mr. T. Taylor had left young, and that his memory had deceived him, thus Mr. T. T. gave *nā-ām* = (n^oɛɛm), and Mr. T. P. (niām) for name. As a specimen of genuine Sunderland Mr. T. P. gave me as the cry of a woman watching two other women fighting: (deg₂ɛr in)dɛr mɛl)ɛr)iiin, :bɛt), dig = hit her in the mid of her eyes, Bet.

Var. iii, sw.Nb., Nos. 7 to 9.

7. *Hexham* 1, pal. Jan. 1879, by A.JE. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Wright, Keeper of the Natural History Museum at Newcastle, a native.

8. *Hexham* 2, pal. Jan. 1879, by A.JE. from the dict. of Mr. Dobson, native of Hexham, but Master of the Marine School at North Shields. Although the burr is strong at Hexham, Mr. D. could not pronounce it; hence I have supplied the (r) from No. 7.

9. *Haltwhistle*, the town, 14 w.Hexham, and hence near to the Cu. b., written in io. with explanations by Rev. W. Howchin, conjecturally pal. by A.JE. from these explanations and Nos. 7 and 8. It is apparently a town speech, and hence, perhaps, the predominance of (æ). Mr. H. says communication, education, etc., have caused great diversity in the pron.

Var. iv, se.Nb., Nos. 10 to 13.

10. *Stamfordham*, formerly called and still known to the peasantry as Stannerton (12 nw.Newcastle), pal. conj. by A.JE. from the writing in io. by Rev. John F. Bigge, vicar, and said to apply to a few miles n., 2 miles e., and only 1 mile w. and s. At one mile w. begins the Hexham Var. iii, the limits of which are thus fixed.

11. *Whalton*, with Belsay and Bolam (5, 8, and 7 sw. and wsw.Morpeth), pal. conj. by A.JE. from the io. by Rev. J. Walker, rector, made from notes by Mr. Robert Bewick, of Whalton, with long explanations.

12. *Newcastle*, pal. in Feb. 1879 by A.JE. from the dict. of Mr. William Lyell, secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

13. *North Shields* (8 ne.Newcastle), at the mouth of the Tyne, on the n or Nb. side the river, pal. in Feb. 1879 by A.JE. from the dict. of Mr. J. Edington, secretary to the Free Library there.

Var. v, mid Nb., Nos. 14 to 21.

14. *Rothbury* (13 nw.Morpeth), pal. by A.JE. Feb. 1879 from the dict. of Mr. Andrew Scott of Debdon farm, 2 m. off, a natural dialect speaker, procured for me by the late Rev. Dr. G. H. Ainger, then rector.

15. *Snitter* (3 w-by-n.Rothbury), serving also for Whittingham (8 w.Alnwick), pal. Feb. 1879 by A.JE. from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Allen of Whittingham, a remarkably intelligent man.

16. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick), on the w. b. of Nb., written in io. by Dr. F. Richardson there resident, and conj. pal. by A.JE. Dr. R. says: "This village is situated at the base of the Cheviots. The inhabitants of those hills to the w. are L. Scotch, and of course from their proximity for a lengthened period it is difficult to distinguish in many words whether or not the pron. has been modified by the intercourse. I have endeavoured to eliminate this element, and hope I have succeeded."

17. *Warkworth* (5 se.Alnwick), representing e.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick, pal. in Apr. 1879, and corrected in May, 1887, by A.JE. from dict. of Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, engineer, native, but resident generally at Coatham (21 nw.Whitby, Yo., on the coast), accompanied by a wl.

18. *Alnwick*; written, March, 1879, in io. by Mr. Robert Middlemas, solicitor, Alnwick, and by him taken to represent not only Alnwick, but Felton (8 s. Alnwick), Rothbury (10 sw.A.), Wooler (15 nw.A.), Belford (13 nnw.A.), Ellingham (7 n.A.), and Bamborough (14 n-by-e.A.). This seems rather too wide a range. Certainly all these places do not use (æ) for U. Wooler and Belford do, Rothbury uses (æ₁, u₁). But probably the town of Alnwick uses (æ), for Mr. M., president of a Young Men's Society at Alnwick, sent me a paper read by Mr. George Thompson before it, on the "Northumbrian Vowel Sounds (applicable solely to Alnwick)," of which I give the substance in the notes, p. 668. It must be recollected that Alnwick is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and hence speaks "fine." Rev. James Blythe, Greenville, Alnwick, also gave me a cs. in io., said to represent n.Nb. The variants are very slight, and are given in the notes. Both conj. pal. by A.JE.

19. *Whittingham* (:whitindrɛm) (6 w. Alnwick), conj. pal. by AJE. from the version written in io. by Mr. William Dixon, draper, of Whittingham, whom I heard read out a dialect story at an entertainment at Rothbury.

20. *Embleton 1* (6 ne Alnwick), representing the peasant as distinct from the fishing population, written, 1879, in io. by Rev. M. Creighton, then vicar, and conj. pal. by AJE. Mr. C. had the greatest difficulty with the (*r*), which he describes as "a guttural *oo* prolonged; during the prolongation the tip of the tongue is turned up towards the palate, and is drawn along from the front of the mouth to the uvula." Hence he writes *oowit*, *rwooid*, *thwoo*, *oowéd*, right, road, through, red. As (*rw*) is the regular sign for the labialised uvular *r*, I indicate this variety, which I have not heard, by (*rw*₁). If the description is correct, it is complicated with (*rw*). Embleton is the head of a scattered district, where many families have lived for generations. The agricultural population of Nb. is shifting and constantly reinforced by Scotch. My pal. is merely the best I could do from the indications given.

21. *Embleton 2*, the fishing population, see No. 20, written in io. by Rev. C. E. Green, in 1879, then curate, conj. pal. by AJE. This place has had a steady population, subject to very little change. The vicar considered that the *r* was ordinary (*r*), and not the (*rw*₁) quasi (*rw*) of the land peasantry. Mr. Green has also a difficulty with this sound, writing 'rrite, gurrl, yondó'rr, 'rrode, th'roo, rred, 'rrong, dr'r'ucken, sh'rrivull'd, vah'è, poo'or, tr'oo, right, girl, yonder, road, through, red, wrong, drunken, shrivelled, very, poor, true.

Var. vi, n.Nb., No. 22.

22. *Wooler* (:u,lɜr) (15 nw. Alnwick), written 1879 in io. with many explanations, by Matthew T. Culley, Esq., of Coupland Castle, Wooler, and pal. conj. therefrom by AJE. Mr. C. says, "The *u* is pronounced as in *cut* or *butter*, the other pron. ending somewhat n. of Newcastle. The dialect bears a strong resemblance to the Scotch of Bw. and Rx., but with a strong guttural accent entirely different to the thrilling sound of the Scotch, and the R is pron. with a guttural difficult or impossible to describe on paper—*barrel* would become *barl* (baarl), *baron barn* (baarn), but the sound of the letter it is impossible to give. H strongly pron. A very broad like *aw* (*a*). *I* as the personal pronoun, *aw* (*a*), and elided [ʔ] before a vowel or before *will*, as *aw'll* (*aa'l*). *Do* pron. *dee* (*dii*). *I say* beginning a sentence would be *awsa* (*ai su*)—accent on the penultim. U has the sound of French *u* in syllables like *soon*, but not in *moon* [ʔ mian]. Scotch [i.e. L.] is spoken as soon as the border is crossed, and there is a slight admixture of it here." On this I found my n. *sööm* line 9. Mr. Culley was mistaken as to the use of (*u*₁). We find it at Embleton, and hence I draw the line between Embleton and Wooler. In another letter Mr. C. adds: "The guttural *gh* is very mildly pron. compared to what it is on the Scotch side of the border. The sharp *u* in *soon*, etc. [ʔ his French *u*] is more Scotch than Northumbrian, but the two dialects are somewhat mixed. *U* is pron. as in *but*, *cut*, in *bull*, *pull*, *full* (*bæl*, *pal*, *fæl*)." In May, 1883, Mr. Kirkup, who had been pupil teacher at Yetholm, Rx., only 1 m. from the Nb. border, read me this dt., but seemingly had mixed up Nb. and Rx. I give his variants in the notes.

As, unfortunately, interviews with all my *vivâ voce* informants were short and hurried, and as I had no opportunities for revision, while the speech was entirely strange to me, and therefore liable to be misheard at first, and as I had in the majority of cases to puzzle out the pronunciation from a great variety of orthographies by the aid of what I had been really able to hear, I must ask indulgence if my palaeotypic rendering is not quite so perfect as could be desired, and contrasts unfavourably with the minute accuracy of JGG.'s and TH.'s contributions.

* *vivá voce* pal. by AJE.

1.	1	<i>Edmondbyers</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	SEE,	meets,
	*2	<i>Lanchester</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	aa	see,	meets,
	3	<i>Annfield Plain</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	see,	marəz,
	*4	<i>Bishop Middleham</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	séev,	méevts,
	*5	<i>Kelloe</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	see,	méevts,
	*6	<i>Sunderland</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.			a see,	
	*7	<i>Hexham 1</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	
	*8	<i>Hexham 2</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a	sii;	maroz,
	9	<i>Haltwhistle</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	see	a	see,	la ¹ dz,
	10	<i>Stamfordham</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	11	<i>Whalton</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	sóov	a ¹	see,	ma ¹ ruz,
	*12	<i>Newcastle</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	*13	<i>North Shields</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	aa	séev,	meets,
	*14	<i>Rothbury</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	*15	<i>Snitter</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	séev,	meets,
	16	<i>Harbottle</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	ladz,
	*17	<i>Warkworth</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	sii	a ¹	see,	la ¹ dz,
	18	<i>Alnwick</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	19	<i>Whittingham</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	sii	a	see,	nə ¹ iborz,
	20	<i>Embleton 1</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	see,	míeets,
	21	<i>Embleton 2</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	séev,	méevts,
	22	<i>Wooler</i> , Var. vi, p. 655.	SEE	d ¹	sv,	kalents,

1	ɽ	séi	nuu	dhət	a)z	r ₀ iit	ɽbuut	dhat	bít
2	ɽ	séi	nóu	dhat	à)m	r ₁ iit	ɽbóut	dhat	lét ¹
3	ɽ	sii	nuu	dhət	aa)z	riit	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
4	ɽ	see	nóu	dhət	aa)z	rét	ɽbóut	dhat	lét ¹
5	ɽ	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	rét	ɽbóut	dhat	lét ¹
6	ɽ	sii	na ¹ u	dhət	à)m	rit	ɽbóut	dhat	lét ¹
7	ɽ	s ₁ i	nuu	dha ¹ t	à ¹)m	rét	ɽbuut	dha ¹ t	lét ¹
8	ɽ	sii	nóu	dhət	a)m	riit	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
9	ɽ	s ₁ i	noe ¹ u	dha ¹ t	a)z	rét	ɽbùt	dha ¹ t	lét ¹
10	ji	sii	nuu	it	a ¹)m	riit	a ¹ buut	dha ¹ t	bit
11	jo	sii	nu	it	a ¹)z	riit	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
12	ɽ	sii	ná ₁ u	dhat	a ¹)m	riit	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
13	ɽ	séi	nóu	dhət	à)m	riit	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
14	ju ₁ u	séev	ná ₁ u	dhat	a)m	rét	ɽbú ₁ ut	dhat	lét ¹
15	ju	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	rát	ɽbuut	dhe	lét ¹
16	ji	séev	nuu	dhat	a ¹)m	rét	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
17	ɽ	s ₁ i	ná ₁ u	dhət	a ¹)z	riit	ɽbú ₁ t	dha ¹ t	lét ¹
18	ji	sii	nóu	dhat	a)m	rét	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
19	je	séi	nóu	dhat	a)m	rə ¹ t	ɽbuut	dhet	lét ¹
20	ɽ	sii	ná ₁ u		a)m	ru ₁ ə ¹ t	ɽbuut	dhat	lét ¹
21	ɽ	sii	nuu	dhat	a)m	rə ¹ t	ɽbuut	dhet	lét ¹
22	ji	sii	nuu		d)m	rə ¹ ikht	ɽbuut	dhat	bít

1	lās	kʷm̄n	fr _o	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondhɛr _o .
2	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	from	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛr _o .
3	las	kʷm̄n	fro	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛr _o .
4	las	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
5	las	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛr.
6	th ⁱ q	kʷm̄n	fro	dhɛ	skʷl.	
7	las	kʷm̄n	fro	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛr.
8	las	kʷm̄n	fre	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
9	las	kʷm̄n	frɛ	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr _o .
10	geerl	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl.	
11	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝonɛr.
12	las	kʷm̄n	fo)dhɛ		skʷl	dhondɛr.
13	las	kʷm̄n	fwe	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛ.
14	las	kʷm̄n	frwom	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
15	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	frɛm	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
16	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
17	las	kʷm̄n	fre	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
18	garl	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	dhondɛr.
19	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
20	g ⁱ orl	kʷm̄n	frw,om	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
21	garl	kʷm̄n	free	dhɛ	skʷl	ʝondɛr.
22	las ⁱ	kʷm̄n	frɛɛ	dhɛ	skʷl	uutbɛ'i.

2.	1	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o oɔd	dh ⁱ ier _o	thru	dhɛ
	2	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	d _o un	dhɛ	r _o od	dhee'r	throu	dhɛ
	3	sh ^ɛ)z	ganɛn	doon	dhɛ	r _o oɔd	dh ^e ɛɛr	thruu	dhɛ
	4	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	d _o un	dhɛ	r _o oɔd	dhee'e	thruu	dhɛ
	5	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	d _o un	dhɛ	r _o oɔd	dh ^e ɛɛ	throu	dhɛ
	6	sh ⁱ)z	gan	d _o un	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^e ɛɛr	thruu	dhɛ
	7	sh ⁱ)z	gan ⁱ n	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^e ɛɛr	thruu	dhɛ
	8	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^ɛ r	thru	dhi
	9	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o uɔd	dh ^e ɛr _o	thr _o 'u	dhɛ
	10	sh ⁱ)z	ga'n ⁱ n	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	thruu	dhɛ
	11	sh ⁱ)z	ga'n	duun	dhɛ	r _o oɔd	dh ^ɛ r	thru	dhɛ
	12	sh ⁱ)z	ga'nɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	thruu	dhɛ
	13	sh ⁱ)z	gAAɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^e ɛɛ	thruu	dhɛ
	14	sh ⁱ)z	goo'in	d _u ,un	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^e ɛɛr	thru _u	dhɛ
	15	sh ⁱ)z	gaan	vlaq	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	thru _u	dhɛ
	16	sh ⁱ)z	ganɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o d	dheer	throu	dhɛ
	17	sh ^ɛ)z	ga'nɛn	d _u ,un	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	thru _u	dhɛ
	18	sh ⁱ)z	gan	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	throu	dhɛ
	19	sh ⁱ)z	gan	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dheer	throu	dhɛ
	20	sh ⁱ)z	gooɛn	duun	dhɛ	r _o uɔd	dh ⁱ ɛr	thru _u	dhɛ
	21	sh ⁱ)z	gaa'n	duun	dhɛ	r _o od	dh ^e ɛɛr	thruu	dhɛ
	22	sh ⁱ)z	gAAɛn	duun	ʝon	rAAɔd		thruu	dhɛ

1	riid	gét	ɤ	dhɤ	left	han	sáid	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
2	riid	gét	ɤ	dhɤ	left	an	sə'id	ɤv	dhɤ	rood.	
3	riid	gjet	ɤ	dhɤ	left	hand	séid	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
4	reed	[?riid]	gét	ɤ	dhɤ	left	an	sáid			
5	reed	[?riid]	gét	ɤ	dhɤ	left	an	sáid	ɤ	dhɤ	lonɔn.
6	riid	gíat	on	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	lonɔn.	
7	riid	gíet	ɤ	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
8	riid	jet,	ɤ	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
9	r _c riid	jet,	on	dhɤ	left	han	séid	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
10	riid	jet	i)dh	left	hand	séid	i'v	dhɤ	wɛɛ.		
11	riid	jet	i)dhɤ	left	han	séid	i'v	dhɤ	wɛɛ.		
12	riid	geet	o)dhɤ	left	ha'nd	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.		
13	riid	géet	on	dhɤ	left	han	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
14	riid	geet	on	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤv	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
15	riid	geet	on	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	rwood.	
16	riid	geet	on	dhɤ	left	hand	séid	ɤv	dhɤ	wɛɛi.	
17	riid	jet	on	dhɤ	left	ha'nd	sə'id	i	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
18	riid	geet	on	dhɤ	left	han	sə'id	ɤv	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
19	riid	geet	on	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wɛɛ.	
20	rw ₁ ed	gíeet	ɤ	dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wíɛɛ.	
21	red	gét	ɤ	dhɤ	left	hond	sə'id	ɤ	dhɤ	wéɛɛ.	
22	riid	jet	i)dhɤ	left	hand	sə'id.					

3.	1	shuur	ɛnɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	béern	hɛz	géen	stráit	u ₁ p	tí
	2	shú ₁ u _{er}	ɛníuf	dhɤ	bæ'ern)	z	gíæn		u ₁ p	tɛ
	3	shuur	inɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	béern	hɛz	gjen	stréit	u ₁ p	tɛ
	4	shuur	ɛníuf	dhɤ	béern)	z	gòn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	5	shoor	ɛníuf	dhɤ	béern)	z	gòn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	6	wə'i		dhɤ	béern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	hɔ'p	tɛ
	7	shuur	ɛníuf	dhɤ	béern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	8	shuur	ɛnɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	ɔɛ ₁ p	tɛ
	9	shú ₁ u _{er}	ɛníuf	dhɤ	béern _o)	z	gíæn	sthr _o eet	ɔɛ ₁ p	tɛ
	10	shuur	ɛníuf	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	stréit	ɔɛ ₁ p	tiv
	11	sir	ɛníuf	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	stréit	ɔɛ ₁ p	tɛ
	12	shuur	ɛnɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	béern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	13	shú ₁ u _ɛ	ɛníuf	dhɤ	béern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	14	suur	ɛnú ₁ u	dhɤ	béern)	z	gAA _n	stréit		tɛ
	15	shuur	ɛníu ₁ f	dhɤ	béern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	ɛp	tí
	16	shuur	ɛníuf	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	stréit	ɔɛ ₁ p	tɛ
	17	shú ₁ u _{er}	ɛníuf	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	u ₁ p	tí
	18	shuur	ɛnɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	strə'it	ɔɛ ₁ p	tɛ
	19	shuur	ɛníuf	dhɤ	beern)	z	géen	strə'it	ɛp	tɛ
	20	shœ ₁ rw ₁	ɛnɔɛ ₁ f	dhɤ	tjə'ild)	z	gon	strw ₁ ə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	21	shuoor	ɛníuf	t'	tjə'ild)	z	geen	strə'it	u ₁ p	tɛ
	22	shyy ₁ r	ɛnuu	dhɤ	beern)	z	gíæn	strə'ikht	ɛp	tíl

1	dhə dʊr _o	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
2	dhə dɑr _o	ɜv	dhə raq	hóus,
3	dhə door	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
4	dhə dóu _a r	ɜ	dhə raq	hóus,
5	dhə dóoer	ɜ	dhə raq	hóus,
6			dhə raq	óus,
7	dhə dóoer	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
8	dhə d _u er	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
9	dhə dúu _e r	ɜ	dhə r _o aq	huus,
10	dhə duur	iv	dhə ra'q	huus,
11	dhə duur	i)dhə	ra'q	huus,
12	dhə door	o)dhə	ra'q	huus,
13	dhə dóoer	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
14	dhə door	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
15	dhə duur	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
16	dhə duur	ɜv	dhə raq	huus,
17	dhə d _o r	i	dhə ra'q	h _ə s,
18	dhə duu _e r	ɜv	dhə raq	huus,
19	dhə duu _e r	ɜ	dhə raq	huus,
20	dhə duu _o r	ɜ	dhə r _w aq	huus,
21	dhə duu _e r	ɜ)dh	raq	huus,
22	dhə duur	ɜ)dhə	raq	huus,

4.	1	wíer _o	shí)l	hap'n	fínd	dhat	druk'n	diif
	2	wheer _o	me)bi	shii)l	fínd	dhat	druk'n	diif
	3	wéer	shí)l	ɜv ɜ tʃans tɜ	fínd	dhat	druk'n	diif
	4	wéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	druk'n	diif
	5	wéer	shí)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	druk'n	diif
	6	wéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	dro'k'n	diif
	7	whéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dha't	dru,k'n	diif
	8	wheer	shii)l	hap'n	tɜ fínd	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	9	whéer _o	shí)l	me)bi	fínd	dha't	drœ,k'n	diif
	10	wheer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	11	wher	shii)l	meviz	fínd	dhet	drœ,k'n	diif
	12	weer	shii)l	mevi	fínd	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	13	wéer	shii)l	mebi	fínd	dhat	dru,k'n	diif
	14	whéor	shii)l	mebiz	fínd	dha't	dru,k'n	diif
	15	wheer	shii)l	mebiz	fí,nd	dhat	drak'n	diif
	16	wheer	sh _ə wœ ₁ l	mebiz	fínd	dha't	drœ,k'n	diif
	17	wheer	sh _ə l	meviz	fínd	dha't	dru,k'n	diif
	18	wheer	shí'wœ ₁ l	mebi	fínd	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	19	wheer	shii)l	ʃi'b'lz	fínd	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	20	whéor	shí)l	hap'n	tɜ fí'índ	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	21	whéor	shí)l	tʃans	tɜ fí'índ	dhat	drœ,k'n	diif
	22	wh _{AA} r	shii)l	mebi	fínd	ʃon	drak'n	diif

1	kiz'nd	w ^p	fɛlə,	bɪ	dʰe	néem	ɐ	:tomes.
2	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	neem	ɐv	:tom.
3	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	njem	ɐ	:tomes.
4	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	néem	ɐ	:tomes.
5	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	néem	ɐ	:kɛlə.
6	wiz'nd		div'l,	ɐ	dʰe	niàm	ɐ	:tomes.
7	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐ	:tom.
8	wiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐ	:tomes.
9	kiz'nd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐ	:tomɛ.
10	wuz'nd		fɛlə	i)dh	niem	iv	:tomes.	
11	wos'nd		fɛlə	iv	dʰe	ném	iv	:tomɛs.
12	wiz'nd		tʃɛp	ɐ)dhɛ	niem	ɐ	:tom.	
13	shwiv'ld		fɛlə	ɐv	dʰe	niem	ɐv	:tomes.
14	shrwiv'ld		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	néem	ɐ	:tom.
15	staarvd		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐ	:tom.
16			fɛlə	ɐv	dʰe	niem	ɐv	:tom.
17	wiz'nd		fɛlə	i	dʰe	niem	ɐ	:tomes.
18	shwɛ,k'n		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐv	:tomes.
19	wɛ,z'nt		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	neem	ɐ	:tomes.
20	widhord		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	niem	ɐv	:tomes.
21	shriv'ld		fɛlə	ɐ	dʰe	néem	ɐ	:tomes.
22	le'iurt		fɛlə		kaad			:tomes.

5.	1	wi	aal	ken	em	vari	wiil.
	2	wi	aal	naa)m		wiil	enúuf.
	3	wi	aal	ken	en	vari	wiil.
	4	wi	aal	naa	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	5	wi	aal	noo	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	6	wi	aal	noo	im	veri	wiil.
	7	wi	ool	ken	im	vari	wiil.
	8	wi	oo	ken	em	varɐ	wiil.
	9	wi	œ ₁	noe ₁)em		var _o a	wiil.
	10	wi	aa	ken	him	verɐ	wiil.
	11	wi	aa	ken	im	verɐ	wiil.
	12	wi)a'l		na ^t	im	va'ri	wiil.
	13	wi	aal	naa	im	vawi	wiil.
	14	wi	aal	naa	im	va ₁ ri	wiil.
	15	wi ₁	aal	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	16	wi	aa	naa)m		varɐ	wiil.
	17	wi ₁ i	aa'l	ken	em	va'ri	wiil.
	18	wi	aa	naa	him	verɐ	wiil.
	19	wi	aa	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	20	wi	aa	nhoo	im	veerw ₁ i	wiil.
	21	wi	aal	nhoo	im	vái	wiil.
	22	wi	aa	ken	im	varɐ	wiil.

6.	1	winet	dhe	aad	tjap	sün	tíetj	er	not	ts	dii)t
	2	winet	dhe	aad	tjap	sien	lern	er	not	ts	dí)d
	3	winet	dhe	aad	tjep	sün	léern	er	nut	ts	dí)d
	4	winet	dhe	aad	tjap	sien	teetj	er	not	ts	dí)d
	5	winet	dhe	aad	tjap	sien	larn	e	not	ts	dí)d
	6	winet	dhe	aad	tjap	sün	lorn	er	not	ts	tró'i it
	7	wínit	dhe	ood	tja'p	sün	léorn	er	not	ts	dí)d
	8	wu ₁ net	dhi	ood	tjap	sien	léorn	er	not	ts	dí)d
	9	wunet	dhe	ood	tjap	sien	liern	her _o	nít	ts	dii
	10	wœ ₁ nít	dh)aad	tjep	süen	leern	er	nut	ts	dí)d	
	11	wœ ₁ nít	dh)aad	tjap	sün	leen	er	no)s	ts	dí)d	
	12	wínt	dhi	aad	tjep	síœ ₁ n	léorn	er	not	ts	dí)d
	13	wínit	dhe	aad	tjep	sien	laan	e	not	ts	dí)d
	14	wí ₁ net	dhe	aald	tjep	sien	léern	or	not	ts	dí)d
	15	wad'nt	dhi ₁	aad	man	sien	léorn	or	nat	ts	dí)d
	16	wœ ₁ l'nt	dhi	aad	tjep	sün	léorn	hor	not	ts	dí)d
	17	wínet	dhe	aa'd	tjep	sün	leern	or	not	ts	dí)d
	18	wonet	dhi	aad	tjep	síœ ₁ n	tíitj	or	not	ts	dí)d
	19	wœ ₁ net	dhe	ad	tjep	sün	tíitj	hor	not	ts	dí)d
	20	wóe)nt	t'	aad	tjep	sün	larn	hor	nut	ts	duu it
	21	wóe)nt	t'	óvd	tjep	suun	teetj	or	not	ts	duu)t
	22	wäl	dh)aald	tjap	noo	shyy _r	laarn	hor	noo	ts	dii)t

1	egéen,	póuer	thiq!
2	egien,	poor	thiq!
3	egren,	púuer	thiq!
4	egien,	póuer	thiq!
5	egéán,	póuer	thiq!
6	on egien,	púus	béern!
7	egien,	piir	thiq!
8	egüen,	pyyr	thiq!
9	egüen,	péer	thiq!
10	egeen,	puur	thiq!
11	egéin,	puur	thiq!
12	egien,	puur	thiq!
13	egüen,	póos	thiq!
14	egien,	puur	thiq!
15	egí ₁ en,	puur	thiq!
16	egéin,	píur	thiq!
17	egien,	pü _r	thiq!
18	egien,	puuer	thiq!
19	egin,	puur	thiq!
20	egen,	puur	thiq!
21	egen,	puoor	thiq!
22	egin,	pyy _r	thiq!

7.	1	lfuk	iz'nt	ət	triu?
	2	l _u k	iz'nt	it	tróu?
	3	læk	iz'nt	it	truu?
	4	læk	iz'nt	it	truu?
	5	læk	iz'nt	it	troo [ʔ truu]?
	6	líuk!	iz'nt	dhat	truu?
	7	líœ ₁ k!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	8	líœk!	iz'nt	it	sii?
	9	líœk!	iz'nt	it	triu?
	10	líukstø!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	11	líukø!	iz'n	t)it	truu?
	12	l _u k!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	13	læk!	iz'nt	it	t _w uu?
	14	luuk!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	15	lùk!	iz'nt	it	tróu?
	16	líuk!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	17	l _u kø!	iz'nt	it	trú ₁ u?
	18	luuk!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	19	luuk!	iz'nt	it	tróu?
	20	lœ ₁ k!	iz'nt	it	trw ₁ uu?
	21	luuk!	iz'nt	it	truu?
	22	luuk!	iz)t	no	truu?

Notes to No. 1, *Edmundbyers* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *see* (sá) "very short."—*right*, "no burr, no trill," by that he only means not as in Ireland.—*bit lass*, usual form, but (lí'1 gørl) might be said.

3. *enough*, stated to have "u in but," which I interpret as (œ₁).

6. *poor*, written "½ power, ½ poor," see subsequent notes.—*chap*, not a common word.

Notes to No. 2, *Lanchester* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *mates*, as in the phrase (dhem)z AAl meets v mœ'in) they are all mates of mine.—*I am*, Robson said he had never heard (a)z) I is.—*right*, almost (r₁éit).—*yonder*, this I think is the southernmost place where I have heard initial (dh) in this word.

2. *of the road*, 'way' would not be used in this connection, though they say (dhu wee tœ :dy₁rem) the way to Durham; in this word the (y₁) was obscure as in German *würde*; and it seemed at times to get mixed up with (œ). The (v) was extremely short. Robson also said (vœri my₁ri) very merry.

4. *wizened*, 'shrivelled' is not used, but (shr-) initial is fully pronounced.—*of the name of Tom*, (kAAd :tom) would be more usual.

6. *to do it agen*, see D 31, Stanhope, p. 617, and notes.

7. *true*, the distinction between this (tróu) true and (tróu) a *trough*, was insisted on, in (a)v bœut v tróu, tróu eniuf) I've bought a trough true enough. I think the first was (óu), but I am not clear of the last, though (óu) was the nearest I could reach. See D 31, St. John's, Weardale, p. 636, under U'.

Notes to No. 3, *Annfield Plain* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *marrows*, meaning 'mates,' both versions have this.—*now*, here, as in No. 1, only pure (ii, uu) are recognised.—*I is*, it is curious that this is given

from Nos. 1 and 3, and that No. 2 professed to know nothing of it.—*yonder*, the other version gave (jonder).

2. *road*, the other version has (*lonen*) lane.—*gate*, the other version has (*geet*).

3. *enough*, written *inyuff*, the (*æ*) is conjectural.—*straight*, written *streight* and *stright*, and also (*riit*) given.—*door*, one version writes *dor*, meaning not clear.

4. *have a chance to find*, or (*mabiz find*) perhaps *find*.—*wizened*, the school-teacher gives (*shivild*) also.—*fellow* or (*tjæp*).—*of the name of*, or (*kaald*) called.

5. *learn*, written *läurn*, (*tiitj*) also given.

Notes to No. 4, *Bishop Middleham* dt., pp. 653, 656.

2. *reed*, I feel a doubt as to whether this (*reed*) and (*weel*), par. 5, are correct, they may have been (*reiid*), (*weil*) meaning (*riid*, *will*), they may have been wrongly written (*reed*, *weel*) from a habit of using glossic. Similarly in par. 5, same words, and par. 7 (*trou*) may be (*truu*). But as 1. *say* (*see*) cannot be a mistake, except for (*sei*), I leave all standing as in my notes.—*gate*, the form (*ge'æt*) was written twice, possibly it was only an individuality.—*of the way*, omitted,

because the informant said "way is not used in the sense of *road*, but only of manner."

4. *door* (*dóovr*) also used.—*house*, all these (*ou*) are liable to the doubt expressed in No. 2, p. 662, but they sounded thus to me.

4. *deaf* or (*déif*).—*wizened*, (*shr-*) is rightly pron.—*name* or (*né'əm*), see *gate*, par. 2.

5. *well*, see *red*, par. 2.

6. *teach*, rather (*larn*).—*not*, etc., or (*not ts déi't oni maa₁r*).

Notes to No. 5, *Kelloe* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *lass*, also (*giæl*).—*yonder*, (*dh-*) most usual, perhaps (*-or*) would be more correct; the late Vicar of Kelloe, Rev. W. L. Kay, wrote "they sound r as aw."

2. *gate* or (*gje't*).

3. *gone* or (*giá'n*).—*door* or (*dóovr*).

4. *wizened*, initial (*shr-*) pron. correctly.—*name* or (*néám*).—*Kelloe*, the name of the village, or (*:kokse*) Coxhoe (2 wsw. Kelloe).

5. (*weel*), 7. (*trou*), see notes to No. 4, par. 2.

Notes to No. 6, *Sunderland* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *so*, omitted as not used in this position.—*mates* similarly omitted, but (*mæn*, *ladz*) might be used.—*now*, in this word I heard (*á'u*), but it was certainly the same sound that I wrote (*ou*) elsewhere. See note on No. 2, par. 7. Otherwise this was a s. Scotchism.—*thing* or (*las*), (*wentj*) is seldom used.—*coming*, this (*æ*) anticipates Var. v, but it may have been (*æ*).—*school*, possibly (*skiæl*) was said.—*yonder*, (*ʝonder*, *dhondər*) might either be added, but it would not be native; it is, however, heard all over this region.

2. *going* or (*gan*).—*lane*, (*lonin*) is the usual word for road in this neighbourhood; *way* would not be used.

3. *well*, like the Cu. (*wáivə*), not for *why*, and was preferred to (*shíuər enut*).—*up*, this is merely (*u₁p*) up, spoken with much emphasis.—*door of the* (*dóovr ə dhə*) would not be inserted.

4. *maybe*, chance (*tjans*) would not be used here.—*devil* or (*frloo*).

6. *learn*, I am not certain that I wrote the sound correctly, see introd. to No. 2, p. 653.—*try it on again* or (*di*)d do it, as in the other versions.

Notes to No. 7, *Hexham 1* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *mates*, omitted as not used, and Mr. Wright could not think of the proper substitute.

2. *way*, this word is in Hexham used for road.

4. *wizened*, (*shr-*) correctly pronounced.

5. *ken*, more used than *know*.

Notes to No. 8, *Hexham 2* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *say*, the (*sii*) was probably an error of the speaker for (*see*).—*school* or (*skiul*).

Notes to No. 9, *Haltwhistle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, Mr. Howchin writes *nōo*, and says German *ö* or French *eu* comes nearest to it; hence I recognise the sound I have previously written (ω_1), here and in "coming through drunken all know," in all of which he uses *ö*, though in the last two (*oo*) was to be expected. The second element of the diphthong *öo* he admits to be (*u*).—*right*, Mr. H. says "the *r* has no trill in its sound, but is given with the tongue raised and the mouth nearly closed." Hence I write (*r_o*). Mr. H.

adds that "the guttural sound," that is (*r*), "is often heard among elder people, but is disappearing among the younger.

2. *hand*, (*h*) pretty well pron., (*d*) dropped.

3. *up*, Mr. H. wrote *oup*, but subsequently explained it as *ö* (ω_1).—*house*, *home* is (*hiem*).

4. *kizzened*, (*shr-*) initial correct except in *shriek* (*skrik*).

6. *do it*, the *it* would be dropped in this connection.

Notes to No. 10, *Stamfordham*, dt., pp. 654 656.

1. *so*, at the end of a sentence (*sii*), as (*a¹ see sii*).—*bit*, commoner than *little*.—*girl*, they would say 'lass' in speaking to each other.—*school*, Mr. Bigge said, "I think *skuil* better than *skule*; there's a symptom of *i* in the way [it is] pron. about here." I have indicated this by (*e*), but I think the *Pitman's Pay* orthography deceived the informant,

and that (*skⁱ ω_1 l*) would best represent the sound. Mr. B. also writes *suin*, *luik*, soon, look.—*yonder* is not used, but *yon* might be put before *school*.

2. *gate* or (*geet*).

3. *gone*, possibly *gyen*, *nyem*, may have been conventional spellings, from the *Pitman's Pay*, observe No. 11, notes, par. 2.

Notes to No. 11, *Whalton* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, written *nōu*, but explained "sound like in *you* short."—*coming*, with "*u* in *tub*," as Mr. G. Rome Hall said in giving me a list of such words: "in all these *ü* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *bœuf*, *fleur*, etc.; also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the received pron."—*yonder*, often, not always, without *d*; and seldom, but occasionally, (*dhonder*).

2. *gate* (*set*), "with old people, the younger adopt (*geet*)."—*hand*, *h* always sounded except in the personal pronouns *him*, *her*; *d* lost.—*side*, Newcastle people always write *ey*, which I am bound to render (*éi*), but I heard (*éⁱ*, *áⁱ*), see Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, p. 658. Its use here in (*g^éin néim eg^éin*) going

name again, and also (*héim*) *home*, Hexham (*hiem*), Newcastle (*hiem*), is peculiar.

3. *up*, "*u* as in *dull*," that is (ω_1).—*door*, "*oo* very broad, full *oo* or *ou*," see *now*, par. 1.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (*shi w ω_1 l*).—*maybe*, occ. (*mebiz*).—*wizened* or (*w ω_1 z'nd*) for *shrivelled*, not used.

6. *learn*, "the *r* not definite" (*?* distinct).—*not*, "by old people the *t* is omitted, but a faint *a* is added."—*thing*, but (*n ω_1 thiⁿ s ω_1 mthiⁿ*) with (*n*) not (*q*).

7. *look!*, when used as an exclamation subjoins (*e*).—*isn't it true*, words written *isn tit trou*, and the *ou* explained by *you*.

Notes to No. 12, *Newcastle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *gate*, (*gⁱet*) is *gate* in the sense of road.

4. *maybe*, both (*mebi*, *m ω_1 vi*) are used, but the latter is commoner.—*drunken*, when taking this down I

noted "this (ω_1) puzzles me a good deal; it is not quite (ω) nor (α) nor (*u*), but lies in among all these," see p. 638.—*wizened*, (*shr-*) properly used.—*chap*, commoner than fellow.

Notes to No. 13, *North Shields* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *right*. Both *n*. and *s*. Shields are celebrated for not pronouncing the letter (*r*). To me it seemed to be

entirely vocalised in *n*. Shields when *not* preceding a vowel, and *when* preceding a vowel, as here, to become that

stiff lip trill which I now write (w), a turned m, in preference to (u) or turned m, at first proposed. It is different from (brh), and naturally confounded with (w) by ordinary ears, but the speaker always feels the difference between (w, w), for the sides of the upper lip are inflated for (w), but not at all

for (w). Here I heard (wiit).—*lass*, sometimes but rarely (went).

4. *maybe*, the word *chance* is used in such a phrase as (hiiz got nii tjans) he's got no chance.

6. *learn*, or (téitj) teach.

7. *look*, I heard (lak) and not (lœ,k); in the pit districts (líek).

Notes to No. 14, *Rothbury* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *from*, the (ru) shews a decidedly labial form of the burr as observed in the particular words where it is written.

2. *red*, they also call 'read, head' (riid, hiid).

3. *enow*, Mr. Scott did not know the two uses of enough sg., and enow pl., but when asked if he knew enough,

said (enifuf! aa)z héord it ofen) enough! I has heard it often.

4. *fellow* or (felə).

6. *learn* or (larn), and I noted that Mr. S. called *both* (biɪf), and *bullocks* heifers (bo'lɛks, ɛferz), and used the phrase (ái, a see it) aye, I say it.

Notes to No. 15, *Snitter*, and No. 19, *Whittingham* dt., pp. 654, 655, 656.

1. *now*, the words 'now, through' seem more liable to pass into (óu) than any other.—*I am* and *I is* constantly alternate.—*coming*, observe the forms (o', u₁) in Nos. 14, 15, both written at the time, and the use of (œ₁, æ).—*school*, "ten or fifteen miles further nw. towards the Cheviot range, (skiɪl) is used."

2. *road*, 'way' would not be used

here, but it is called (wées) when used.

3. *up*, and 4. *drunken*, an unmistakable (ɛp), at first however I wrote (op); I had to correct it.

6. *wouldn't*, "we don't use won't."—*man*, (tjap) is common by Wooler.—*learn*, where they use *teach* they call it (tiitj) not (teetj). Mr. A. also called our, always (wor, ɛlwi,z).

Notes to No. 16, *Harbottle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *coming*, "the first syllable rhymes to *hum*," when I have not heard the sound myself, I always suppose that in Var. iv (œ₁) was meant, because it was that I generally heard.

4. *she will*, (shɛ wœ₁) emphatic form, otherwise (shiɪ).—*fellow*, written *falla* with note, "both the a's very

broad, probably Scotch," that might be (fala), as however I got (fælə) vv. in No. 15, I have interpreted this to mean the same.

5. *very*, written *varra*, with the note, "the r's very guttural, and, though very difficult of pronunciation, in very common use indeed by the natives."

Notes to No. 17, *Warkworth* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *so*, (siɪ) rather than (sii), but the latter was intended.—*see now*, the (i₁i, ú₁u) were carefully explained and read to me slowly.—*right*, the (r) was gentle and never labialised, (ii) intended for (ii) was given here, not (i₁i).—*about*, the vowel being shortened only, (ú₁) not (ú₁u) was heard.—*little*, not (láil).—*lass*, wench is hardly ever used.—*coming* seemed the first time to have (u₁), but the second time (œ₁).—*school*, in w.Nb. (skiɪl).—*yonder*, (dhondɔr) is heard.

2. *red*, also (riid).—*of the way*, the phrase is used.

3. *door*, also (dú₁r).—*house*, with medial vowel as in *about*, par. 1.

4. *where*, the (wh) distinct.—*may be's* or (mɛbi), they also say (ma'rvɛlz) for *marbles*, that is, they habitually confused (b, v) in some words.—*wizened*, they pron. (shr-) initially.—*of the name of Thomas*, better (dha't dhee ká'l :tomɛs) that they call Thomas.

5. *know*, (kɛn, naa') are used indifferently.

6. *do it*, they also say (ha'd) for *have it*.—*poor*, the vowel very short.

7. *look* or (liuk).—*isn't it true*, (didn't a' see si) would be more used.

* * * See specimen on next page.

NED WHITE, A YARN, IN WARKWORTH SPEECH.

The following specimen, cut from a newspaper, was read to me by Mr. Ridley at the same time as he gave me the above dt. There is a wonderful confusion of the Peninsular War with the Battle of Waterloo, but that is a trifle; the point is the pron., which must here be attributed to Warkworth. I put a translation interlinearly.

ma'n, a¹ fel in wi :ned :whē'it dhi u,dhər dee. ʒi naa¹
 Man, I fell in with Ned White the other day. You know

:ned ən u,dhər twenti fōur ev :haa'ks tʃeps, went uut ti dhi
 Ned and other twenty four of Hawkes's chaps went out to the

:pininsulər :wor, whor :welintən wa's, ʒe naa¹. sii, ɛz wi
 Peninsular War, where Wellington was, you know. So, as we

wor hevɪn ɜ gɪl tɛgɪdhər, a¹ sez ti him, :ned dʒe mē'ɪnd
 were having a gill together, I says to him, Ned d'you mind

whən ʒi wɜr in dhə :pininsulər :wor?—a¹ shu,d theqk a¹ dii,
 when you were in the Peninsular War?—I should think I do,

sez hɪi.—did ʒe ivor fəl in wi :welint'n? sez a¹.—:welint'n!
 says he. — Did you ever fall in with Wellington? says I. — Wellington!

sez hɪi, wē'i, ma'n, a¹ nə'd him. wē'i, dʒu,st dhi dee vfoor dhə
 says he, why, man, I knowed him. Why, just the day afore the

ba'tl ɜ :wa'tɜrlu, hi sent for mi.—:ned, hi sez, tɪek ʒɔr
 battle of Waterloo, he sent for me.—Ned, he says, take your

twenti fōur mɛn, hi sez, ən gə'n œp ən shift thəm :frɛntʃmɛn
 twentyfour men, he says, and go up and dislodge those Frenchmen

ɔf dhə top ɜ ʒɔn hɪl.—:aa'l riit sez aa¹, bu,t it winɪt tɪek
 off the top of you hill.—All right, says I, but it will not take

aa'l dhi twenti fōur, a¹ sez.—aa¹! bu,t itʒs :nəpɔoliənz kra'k
 all the twenty four, I says.—Ah! but its Napoleon's crack

riɪdʒmɛnt, hi sez, ʒi)d bɛtɜr tɪek plɛnti.—:aa'l riit, a¹ sez,
 regiment, he says, you better take plenty.—All right, I says,

wɪ'l sɪʊn shift dhəm.—:si dʒu,n a¹ kœ,m ti dhə la'dz, ən
 we'll soon shift them.—So down I come to the lads, and

a¹ sez—nɪu, mi la'dz, :welintən wa'nts u,z ti shift ʒɔn
 I says—Now, my lads, Wellington wants us to dislodge you

:frɛntʃmɛn ɔf dhi top ev ʒɔn hɪl.—:aa'l riit, dhə sez.—hɪɔr,
 Frenchmen off the top of you hill.—All right, they says.—Here,

:bob :skot, a¹ sez, h^u₁u moni :frentjmen ar dhor œ₁p jondor?
 Bob Scott, I says, how many Frenchmen are there up yonder?

—æb^u₁t f^our hæ₁ndord, i¹ sez.—h^u₁u moni on ^u₁s wⁱl it tⁱek
 —About four hundred, he says.—How many of us will it take

tⁱ shift them? a¹ a¹kses.—oo, t^{en}, sez :bob.—w^e₁i, wⁱ₁i)l tⁱek
 to dislodge them? I axes. —Oh, ten, says Bob. —Well, we'll take

fiftⁱn, dj^u₁st tⁱ hⁱumor dhⁱ aa^d maⁿ.—aa¹ rⁱit, dhe sez. sⁱi
 fifteen just to humour the old man. — All right, they says. So

òf wi set a^t dhⁱ d^u₁b^l eloq^h dh^e lon^{en}; b^u₁t dj^u₁st a^z wⁱ tornd
 off we set at the double along the lane, but just as we turned

dhⁱ korⁿer a^t dh^e fu^t ev dh^e hⁱl, whⁱi sh^u₁d wⁱ mi^{it} b^u₁t
 the corner at the foot of the hill, who should we meet but

:bon^epart hⁱzsel^h on v lⁱl^{wh}e^{it} hors, wⁱ v kokt ha^t on.—
 Bonaparte himself on a lily white horse, with a cocked hat on. —

whor a^r jⁱ òf tⁱ, :ned? sez hⁱ₁i.—w^e₁i, tⁱ shift jon :frentjmen
 Where are you off to, Ned? says he. — Why, to dislodge yon Frenchmen

òf jon hⁱl?—whaa^t! hⁱ sez, w^e₁i dha^t)s mi kra^k rⁱdjment,
 off yon hill?—What! he says, why that's my crack regiment,

hⁱ sez.—n^ever m^e'nd dha^t, a¹ sez, :welⁱnt^{en} sez wⁱ hev tⁱ
 he says.—Never mind that, I says, Wellington says we have to

shift them, and shifted dhe)l bⁱ₁i, n^u₁u.—jⁱi)r kodⁱn, sez
 dislodge them, and dislodged they'll be, now. — You are jesting, says

hⁱ₁i.—ni kodⁱn v^b₁t it, a¹ sez, wⁱ₁i)l sⁱun shift dh^em òf, a¹
 he. — No jesting about it, I says, we'll soon dislodge them off, I

sez, kœ₁m b^e'i!—ha^d on, hⁱ sez, vⁿ hⁱ ga^leps rⁱit œ₁p dh^e
 says, come by! — Hold on, he says, and he gallops right up the

hⁱl tⁱ dh^em, øn shu^{ts} uut—gaⁿ ba^k, m^e la^dz, gaⁿ ba^k!
 hill to them, and shouts out. — Go back, my lads, go back!

hⁱor)z :ned :wh^e'it frøm :haa¹ksⁱz, and hⁱz twenti f^our ladz
 here's Ned White from Hawks's, and his twenty four lads

kœ₁mⁱn œ₁p tⁱ shift jⁱ. jⁱ hev^{nt} v ha^porth v t^jaⁿs!
 coming up to dislodge you. You haven't a ha'p'orth of chance!

—vⁿ ba^k dhe went. dⁱd a¹ i^vor sⁱ₁i :welⁱnt^{en}? w^e₁i, maⁿ,
 —And back they went. Did I ever see Wellington? Why, man,

jⁱ sh^u₁d thi^qk shⁱem!
 you should think shame!

Notes to No. 18, *Alnwick dt.*, pp. 654, 656.

Variants in Rev. J. Blythe's version.

1. *so* (sii).—*mates* (marez) marrows. —*now* (nuu). — *girl* (last). — *school* (skiul). — *yonder* (joner).
2. *going* (ganin).
3. *gone* (gēin).
4. *she will* (shii)l). — *chance* (shans). — *shrunken* (wœ,z'nd) wizened.
5. *all* (aal).
6. *soon* (siun). — *teach* (larn). — not (nu,t). — *again* (egēin).
7. *look* (luuk).

Substance of Mr. G. Thompson's paper on the Nb. Vowel Sounds.

- a* = "a in *fat*, *fan*, very general," probably (a¹), used in *father*, *law* (fa¹dher, lā¹).
- a*, *ai* = "a in *fair fare*, unaltered." ? (ee), and often in *gate* (geet), sometimes pron. as *g* prefixed to *yet* (g¹æt).
- o*, "correct" as in *no* (noo). "Some s. country people pronounce it *a-oo*, a in *fan* and *oo* in *root*, (ā¹u).
- ou*, *ow* in *through* is "adequately represented by *o-oo* pronounced rapidly so as to make one sound,

thus *thro-oo*. So with *ow* in *now*, *brow*, which would be *no-oo*, *bro-oo* (one syllable in each case)," this must mean (*ou*) as I frequently appreciated it.

e, ordinary as in *feat feet*, *pet hen*, and also *ei* as in *height*; but he probably meant (*éi*).

i. In Alnwick it is made up of *eh* and *ee*, thus *fight* is *feh-eet* (fē'it), similarly (*stre'it*) straight.

u. "We sound in the usual way in such words as *uncle*; but we sound it the same way in *bull pull*, which is a departure from the classical standard." This should mean (*bal*, *pāl*).

ue in *true* rhymes to *through now*, see *ou*, that is, they say (*trou*). *blue* is (*blū*) not (*bluu*).

oo in *soot* is (iœ), explained "as one syllable *sy-eut*, taking *eu* according to the French."

ou in *you* unemphatic is the same as *e* in *the* (rē, dhē), emphatic (ii).

h. The Northumbrians never misplace the aspirate, but omit it in unaccented pronouns, accented *us* is (hæz).

Notes to No. 20, *Embleton 1 dt.*, pp. 655, 656.

1. *now*, written *nuoo* and explained the *u* was that in *full*. — *right*, on (*rw*₁), see Introduction, p. 655. — *coming*, spelled *cumin*, and stated to have the vowel in *hum*.

2. *red*, the vowel here, and in No. 21, seems doubtful.

3. *sure*, spelled *sheuwō*, and *eu* said to be French. — *enough*, vowel conjectural, written *u*. — *child*, I question the use of *child* here and in No. 21. — *bairn* is admitted to be also used. — *up*, the *u* in *full* accepted.

4. *find*, the use of (fē'ind) here and in No. 21 is quite unexpected.

5. *know*, Mr. C. wrote *hn*, and considered that *h* was decidedly but slightly pronounced.

6. *the old*, the use of (t¹) here and in No. 21 is remarkable, and I inquired about it particularly. Mr. C. says, "The use of *t'* for *thē* is by no means uncommon. It is not always used, but often, and apparently in an arbitrary way, *t'* or *thē* is used. *T'* is also sometimes used for *that* (conjunction, not pronoun). . . . I am quite clear of its use in this part of Nb." I have not had it given me from any other place in Nb. In the present case it may arise from assimilation to the preceding (t) in (wōent).

7. *look*, written *leuk*.

For a comparison of the peasant and fishing speech see end of notes to No. 21 on next page.

Notes to No. 21, *Embleton 2 dt.*, pp. 655, 656.

3. *the child*, Mr. Green says, "The *t'* in such expressions as *t' child* is of frequent use. In ordinary conversation the word 'the' is generally shortened into *t'*, *th'*, *ti*. I may mention that

the expression *th' day*, *th' night* is often used instead of *to-day*, *to-night*." This is of course L. The *th'* can scarcely differ from (dhē) except in extreme shortness of the (v).

Differences in the original spelling of Nos. 20 and 21, which were recognised by Mr. Creighton as representing "real differences of pronunciation." The words are arranged in the order of a cwl., and to the original spellings in italics are added my pal. interpretations. 1. refers to the peasants; 2. to the fishing population.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 1. *nǣym*, 2. *nǣm*; 1. *niem*, 2. *néem*. A: 43 1. *haand*, 2. *hond* or *haand*; 1. *hand*, 2. *hond*. A: or O: 58 1. *fwom*, 2. *frā' frō'*; 1. *frw,om*, 2. *free*. 64 1. *ōwong*, 2. "rong or wrang"; 1. *rw,aq*, 2. *raq*. A'- 67 1. *gōim*, 2. *ga'in*; 1. *goon*, 2. *gaain*. 92 1. *kno*, 2. *knok'*; 1. 2. *nhoo*. A': 104 1. *rwoōūā*, 2. *rrode*; 1. *rw,ūūūd*, 2. *rood*. 110 1. *nūt*, 2. *not*; 1. *nu,t*, 2. *not*. Æ: 177 1. *thaat*, 2. *thet*; 1. *dhat*, 2. *dhet*. E: 262 1. *weay*, 2. *wāā'*; 1. *wīee*, 2. *wēee*. E'- 297 1. *fello*, 2. *fello'r*, 1. 2. *felz*. EÅ: 326 1. *t'awd*, 2. *t'o'd*; 1. *t'aad*, 2. *t'ōd*. 346 1. *geayt*, 2. *gāet*; 1. *giēt*, 2. *gēet*. EO: 394 1. *yondow*, 2. *yondō'rr*; 1. 2. *yondor*. I: 459 1. *owūt* 2. *rrūt*; 1. *rwō'it*, 2. *rō'it*. 466 1. *thē child*, 2. *t' chīl*; 1. *dhē tjo'ild*, 2. *t' tjo'īl*. O'- 558 1. *leuk*, 2. *look*; 1. *lœ,k*, 2. *luuk*. 560 1. *skooūl*, 2. *skeul*; 1. *skūuel*, 2. *skūl*. 564 1. *seun*, 2. *soon*; 1. *sūn*, 2. *suun*. O': 579 1. *eneuff*, 2. *eneugh*; 1. *enœ,f*, 2. *eniuf*. U- 606 1. *dowā*, 2. *dōōer*; 1. *duuor*, 2. *duuer*. U: 632 1. *oop*, 2. *ūp*; 1. 2. *u,p*. U'- 643 1. *nuoo*, 2. *noo*; 1. *nū,u*, 2. *nuu*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 1. *meayts*, 2. *māets*; 1. *mīeets*, 2. *mēeets*. I. and Y. 758 1. *geawl*, 2. *gurrl*; 1. *giorl*, 2. *garl*.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 885 1. *vāwy*, 2. *vāh'ē*; *veerw,ē*, 2. *vāi*. U.. 969 1. *sheuwō*, 2. *shūōr*; 1. *shœ,erw,1*, 2. *shuor*.

Notes to No. 22, Wooler dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *so I see*, K. [*i.e.* Mr. Kirkup] gave (see a' see).—*you see now*, K. (*ī séi na'u*), this is quite Rx.—*right*, K. (*rāit*).—*that*, K. (*dhà't*).—*from*, K. (*thre*), this is also Rx.—*at a distance*, out-by, while (*in-bæ'i*) in by, means close at hand. K. pron. (*ūtbat*), and said it meant at a considerable distance, and so preferred (*jon skyy,l*) *yon school*, which Mr. C. gave as an alternative.

2. *she's going*, K. (*shæ'z gån*).—*road*, K. (*rood*).—*through*, K. (*thræ'u*) apparently Rx.—*gate*, K. (*geet*).—*side*, K. (*séid*).

3. *enough*, K. (*eniuf*).—*going*, K. (*gån*).—*straight*, K. (*strāit*).—*til the*, K. (*tæ dhø*).—*door*, K. (*door*).

4. *liard*, grey-haired, grised, properly a grey horse, Scotch.—*fellow*, K. (*falu*).—*called*, K. gave (*níem*) for name.

5. *we*, K. (*wéi*), which is Rx.—*all*, K. (*à*).—*very*, K. (*veri*).

6. *soon*, K. (*síun*).—*learn*, K. (*lern*).

7. *look*, K. (*lu,k*).—*true*, K. (*træ'u*).

Altogether Mr. Kirkup's pron. is hardly safe.

VAR. i. BRAMPTON, CU., cwl.

(:bra₁mtøn) (9 ene. Carlisle), just where the Scotch-Cu. dialect begins. This cwl. was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Spottiswood, Hale Grange, Kirkby Thore, We. (4 w. Appleby), (:hæel :græendʒ, :kæ₁rbs :ftur), who had been 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

The (r) is trilled in all positions, medial and final, as well as before a vowel, as in L.

The (a, a₁) are here used as on p. 539, for which I should probably have

written (a', a) respectively, as there noted. They certainly correspond with my (a', a) in what I wrote from Mr. Ridley, No. 17, pp. 656, 666, 678. The (e°) is an indistinct attempt at (e), which is hardly separable from (e), and seems to represent an individuality. The (e₁) is also scarcely separable from (e) or even (e).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biie°k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 miie°d. 7 siie°k. 8 hev. 9 bihee₁v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 17 laa. 18 kiie°k. 19 tiie°l. 20 lie°m. 21 niie°m. 22 tiie°m. 23 siie°m. 24 shiie°m. 25 miie°n. 27 niie°v. 28 hee₁r. 30 kee₁r. 31 lie°t. 32 bedh [(dùk) used]. 33 ree₁dher. 34 last. 35 aal [(als'n) used]. 36 thóu. 37 klAA.

A: 39 kiie°m. 41 thraq. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 48 sa₁q [pret.], hi sa₁q v saq [he sang a song]. 53 ka₁n. 55 a₁s. 56 wesh. A: or O: 59 la₁m'. 60 là₁q'. 61 e°màq'. 62 s₁t,raq'. 63 thraq'. 64 w'ràq uràq'. 65 saq'. 66 whiie°q'.

A'- 67 te gàn, ga₁n. 69 noo. 70 tiie°. 71 wee. 72 whiie°. 73 siie°. 74 twiie°. 76 tiie°d. 77 luv₁urd. 78 AA. 80 helide°. 83 miie°n. 84 mee₁r. 85 see₁r. 86 [(kwá,urn) corn, used]. 87 kliie°z. 88 klid. 89 biie°th. 90 bloo [bliu bloom]. 91 moo [miu moon]. 92 noo [niu, noon]. 93 snoo [sniu]. 94 kroo [kriu, kroon]. 95 throo. 96 soo [siu, soon]. 97 sóul.

A': 101 tek. 102 as. 104 rá,ud. 105 riie°d. 106 bríie°d. 107 lie°f. 108 [(piie°st) paste, used]. 109 loo. 111 óut. 113 híie°l. 115 híie°m. 118 bíie°n. 119 giie°n. 122 niie°n. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 stíie°n. 128 dhòz. 129 goost. 132 hrt. 133 [(rit) used]. 134 ooth. 135 kléenth [klùt]. 136 óudhur.

Æ- 138 fadh₁r. 140 hà₁l'. 142 snò₁l'. 144 egíie°n. 146 mee₁n. 147 brée₁yn. 148 feer. 149 bliie°z. 150 liist. 152 wa₁te₁r. 153 se₁te₁rde°.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 ree₁v'n. 158 f₁t₁r. 160 e₁g. 161 dee₁. 164 mee₁. 165 sed. 167 díie°l. 168 ta₁le. 169 when. 170 ha₁r₁vist [(i) distinct]. 171 baarli. 172 ge°rs. 173 waz. 174 e'sh. 175 fast. 179 what. 181 [(t₁red, fet-rwó,ud) tread, foot-road, used].

Æ'- 182 séi. 183 tit₁. 184 lid. 185 riid. 186 brénth [assimilated to length]. 187 liv. 188 [(ni₁ker) used]. 189 wé₁i. 190 ké₁i. 191 hil. 192 min. 193 klin'. 194 oni. 195 moni. 197 tpiiz. 199 blit. 200 whit. 202 hit.

Æ': 203 spiit₁. 204 diid. 205 thrid. 206 red. 207 niid'l. 210 klee₁. 211 gree₁. 212 whéev. 216 dil. 218 ship. 219 shp. 221 fir. 222 hee₁r. 223 dhee₁r. 224 whee₁r. 226 miie°st. 227 wet. 228 swit. 229 bréth bri₁th. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 brek. 233 spiik [pure (ii)]. 234 [(wu₁rk u₁p) used]. 235 wíiev wiiv. 236 fiver. 238 [(dá₁ik) dyke, used]. 241 reen [(riá₁n), grass left beyond the furrows in ploughed land]. 243 plee [leek]. 246 kwín. 247 [(spiie°n) used]. 248 miie°r. 249 wíie°r. 250 swyy₁e°r. 251 mit. 252 kat'l. 253 nst'l. 254 ledher. 255 wédher.

E: 257 edt₁. 259 wedt₁. 261 see₁. 262 wee₁. 264 ee₁l. 265 strée₁it. 270 i. beliz, ii. bel'i. 272 elem. 273 men. 274 bentt₁. 276 thi₁qk. 280 eliiv'n. 281 lenth. 282 strénth. 283 méri. 284 thrésh. 285 kres. 286 ha₁re. 287 bu₁z'm [bosom is (booz'm), see No. 287 on p. 635]. 288 let.

E'- 289 je°. 290 héii [(e) distinct in this and the three following words]. 291 dhéii. 292 méii. 293 wéii. 294 fid. 295 bréd. 296 bliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 híie°r. 302 mit. 303 swit.

E': 305 héii [the same as 290]. 306 héiit. 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hiil'. 311 ten. 312 híie°r. 314 híie°rd. 315 fit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 giie°p. 320 keer. EA: 321 saa. 322 lakwh. 323 fóukwht [also (fit)]. 324 ée₁it. 325 wa₁k. 326 óld. 327 bóul'd. 328 kool'. 329 fool'd. 330 hod. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 kAAf. 334 hAAf. 335 AA. 336 fAA'v. 337 wAA'v. 340 jee₁rd. 342 erum. 343 wàrem. 345 dàr. 346 jet.

EA'- 347 hid. 348 áf. 349 fiuu. EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid.

353 brid. 354 shíie^cf. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 [(fær AA) for all, used]. 359 n̄,íber. 360 tim. 361 bin. 363 t̄p̄. 365 níie^r. 366 grit. 367 thrit. 368 dith. 369 sloo. 370 ɾAA. 371 s̄,t̄ríie^o.

EI- 372 ɾ'i [with a long glide from (ɛ) through (i) to (i)]. 373 dhee. 374 n̄eɪ. 376 béest. EI: 377 stíie^ok. 378 week. 382 dh̄æɾ.

EO- 383 suv'n. 384 hæv'n. 385 [(vnu,n,dv̄r) on under, used]. 386 jóu.

EO: 388 millhk ["(llh) very distinct as a glide from the vowels to the voiceless (k)"]—JGG.]. 389 jók. 390 sud [not (sud)]. 393 bíront. 396 wu,ɾk. 397 súvrd. 398 staarv. 399 bræ'it. 402 laaren. 403 faar. 405 haarthstíie^on [not used without stone]. 406 è^rth. 407 fãrdin. 408 niu.

EO'- 409 báii. 411 thr̄ii. 419 sh̄ii [emph.], she she shu [unemph.] 413 div'l. 414 fl̄ii. 415 léii. 416 díiv. 417 t̄jóu. 420 fówɾ. 421 forti.

EO': 423 th̄ii. 424 ruf. 425 læ'it. 426 fæ'it. 427 béii. 428 séii. 430 fr̄i,n'. 431 híiv. 432 fout. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 juu. 436 tr̄id. 437 triúth. EY- 438 d̄,ii. EY: 439 t̄,ru'st [see 701].

I- [There are two (a'i) diphthongs, fine and broad, JGG. wrote the first as (ɛ'ii) = (ɛ'i) with a long glide from (ɛ) to (i), and also as (æ'i), and as he thinks the latter form preferable, although he is not perfectly satisfied with the analysis, it is here adopted. This n. diphthong is usually taken as (ɛ'i, éi), but in Nb. I heard (ə'i) or (á'i), I could not determine which. The broad form is always (âi) or (ái), and JGG. prefers the first form, here written.] 440 wik. 441 siiv [not (siiv)]. 442 háv̄in. 444 stæ'il. 446 næ'in. 448 [(dhooz, dhoor) used]. 449 git. 450 t̄iuzde^o. 451 sóu [sóud].

I: [see note after I-]. 452 a, aa [(a)z] I is, is used in all the district]. 454 wit. 457 mæ'it. 458 næ'it. 459 ræ'it. 460 w̄e, it. 462 sæ'it. 464 whit. 465 s̄ek. 466 [(beæren) used]. 467 wæ'id. 471 t̄i,m̄ɾ. 472 [(ru,n u,p) used]. 473 blin'. 475 win'. 476 bind [ba,n'd, bu,n]. 477 fin'd [fa,n'd, fu,nt]. 478 grin' [gra,n'd, gru,n]. 479 win' [wa,n'd, wu,n]. 481 fi,q̄ɾ. 485 th̄is'l. 486 ɾest. 487 ɾest,t̄ɾde^o. 488 i,t.

I'- [see note after I-]. 491 sæ'ikjh s̄ai. 493 dr̄aiv. 494 tæ'im. 496 âren. 498 ræ'it.

I': [see note after I-]. 500 læ'ik. 501 wæ'id. 502 fãiv. 503 læ'if. 504 næ'if. 505 wæ'if. 506 wamen. 507 wamen [the (u) remaining from the sg.]. 508 mæ'il. 509 whæ'il. 511 wæ'in. 513 wãiv. 514 æ'is. 515 wãiz. 516 wízd̄m. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fw̄ú,e'l. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 wu,rel'd word'l. O: 526 kokwh. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóu,t̄ɾ. 532 kw̄ú,el. 533 du,l'. 534 wh̄ú,e'l [JGG. preferred writing (hw̄ú,e'l), but I did not hear his (hw) as different from my (wh)]. 536 guld. 537 móud. 538 wad. 539 bóud. 540 holin. 542 bóut. 545 hop. 547 by,erd. 548 fw̄ú,rd, fy,erd. 549 hored. 550 wu,rd. 551 storem. 552 kw̄ú,ern. 553 wh̄ú,ern [(hw-) see 534]. 554 kros.

O'- 555 sh̄ú,u. 557 ty,ú. 558 lùk. 559 mu,dher. 561 bly,um. 562 míun. 563 monde^o. 564 st̄un. 565 nw̄ú,uz. 566 u,dh̄ɾ.

O': 569 by,uk. 570 ty,uk. 571 gud ḡ'd. 572 bly,ud. 573 fly,ud. 574 bry,ud. 575 sty,ud. 576 w̄d'nzde^o. 577 buu. 578 pl̄u. 579 eniut [and (eniuu), but doubtful whether sg. or pl.] 580 t̄t̄ukwh. 581 sóut. 582 ky,ul. 583 ty,ul. 584 sty,ul. 585 bry,um. 586 dy,ú. 587 d̄iun. 588 niun. 589 sp̄iun. 590 fly,e^r. 591 my,ur. 592 swy,ur. 593 [(mu,n) used]. 594 by,ut. 595 ty,ut. 596 ry,ut. 597 sy,ut.

U- 599 v̄b̄iun v̄by,un. 600 lu,v. 601 fóud. 602 sóu [older form (siuu)]. 603 ku,m. 605 su,n. 606 dy,ur. 607 bu,t̄t̄ɾ.

U: 608 u gli. 609 ful'. 610 wuu. 611 bu,l̄sk. 612 su,m. 613 d̄,ru,qk. 614 hu,n'. 615 pu,n. 616 gru,n'. 617 s̄i,un'. 618 wu,n'. 619 fu,n'. 625 tu,q. 626 hu,q̄ɾ. 629 su,n. 631 th̄u,rzde. 632 u,p. 633 ku,p. 634 thruu. 637 t̄u,sk. 639 du,st.

U'- 640 k̄,uu. 641 h̄,uu. 642 dh̄,uu. 645 du,v. 646 buu. 647 hu,let. 648 ú,ur. 649 th̄,uz'n. 652 kud. 653 bet [unemph.].

U': 654 sheróud. 656 r̄um. 657 br̄un. 658 dùn. 661 sh̄,uur. 662 hu,z [emphatic, also (hi,t)=it emph.]. 663 h̄us. 665 m̄us. 666 hu,zbnd.

667 üt. 668 prùd. 669 u,qkə u,qkəθ [(u,qkət) at Temple Sowerby, We.].
 671 mæth. 672 sùth.
 Y- 673 mu,tj mu,k'l. 675 drái. 676 lí,ii. 678 dín. 679 tju,rtj ke'rk.
 680 bí,zi. 682 lí'tl [obs. neither (láa'l) nor (laal)]. Y: 684 bríg. 685
 r'ig. 686 bá. 687 flæ't. 689 bí,l'd. 690 kæ'in'. 691 máin'. 693 sín.
 696 bærh. 697 bæri. 699 rí,it. 700 wu,rs. 701 fu'rst [for (u') the
 tongue is advanced midway between (i) and (u) positions]. 703 pí. Y'-
 705 skái. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 tha,rtiin. 708 háiv. Y': 709 fáiv.
 712 mæ'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 ba,d. 714 la,d. 723 deeri. 724 bæ'l'd. 725 stie'ol. 730 ka,n,tə.r.
 734 dār. 735 ma,sh. 737 mee,t. 740 wéev. 742 leezi. E. 744 mez'lz.
 745 tjt. 746 bridh. 750 beg. I. and Y. 753 [(kit'l) used]. 754 pí.
 759 fít. 761 líe'ol. 767 nóiz. 769 móudiwarp. 771 fon'd. 772 bíe'nfáir.
 774 pómí. — níuk [nook]. 777 shop. 778 wfu,ú,erd. 783 pu,l,t,ri. 789
 róu. 790 gún. U. 793 hu,g. 794 dju,g. 799 sku,l. 801 ru,m. 802
 ru,m. 803 dju,mp. 805 kru,dz. 808 pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 íeb'l'. 810 fíie's. 811 plíie's. 812 líie's. 813 beek'n. 814
 míie's'n. 818 ír'dj. 819 reedj. 824 tje,r. 825 wíie'f. 830 t,reen. 833
 pee,r. 835 riz'n. 836 siz'n. 838 t,rít. 852 eepur'n. 853 bárgin. 854
 ba,r'l' ba,ril. 855 ka,rut. 856 pàrt pèrt. 857 kíie's. 858 bree. 859 tje'ie's.
 860 píie'st. 861 tíie'st. 862 síie'f. 865 fáat. 866 py,ur.
 E.. 867 téii. 871 gréii. 874 ré'in ræ'in. 875 íe'ent. 877 ee,r. 881
 sèns. 888 sàrt'n. 890 bíst. 891 físt. 892 nevi. 893 fíur. 894 dsíiv.
 895 risíiv.
 I.. and Y.. 897 dlæ't. 898 næ'is. 899 nis. 900 pree. 901 fæ'in.
 902 mæ'in. 908 vdvæ'is. 909 bríiz. 910 djiis. 912 ræ'is.
 O.. 913 kwá,tj. 914 brootj. 915 stu,f. 916 u,ni,ɛn [not (u,nɛn), and
 so (rili,dj,ɛn) religion]. 917 roog. 919 ó,ntment. 920 pòint. 921 ekwènt.
 922 bu,sh'l. 924 tjo'is. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. 933 fru,nt. 935 ku,n,t,ri.
 939 klw,ú,rs. 940 kwá,ut. 941 fiul. 942 bùtjer [not (bu,tj-)]. 943 tu,tj.
 947 bóil. 948 bùl'. 950 su,p [the last syllable of *supper* being omitted].
 951 ku,p'l. 952 kwá,rs. 954 ku,shen. 955 dùt. 956 ku,vèr.
 U.. 960 kee. 961 grá,ul'. 963 kwá,ut. 964 síu,ut. 965 óil. 966
 fríuut. 967 síuut. 969 syy,ur. 970 dju,st. 971 fíuut.

VAR. ii. SOUTH SHIELDS, DU., cwl.,

formed from the lw. given me by Rev. C. Y. Potts, native, and constantly
 corrected and augmented from 1868 to 1883, written in glossic and pal. by
 A.J.E., see the cs., pp. 645, 649.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tšek'n [taken]. 5 mšek. 6 mšed. 7 nšem sšek [namesake]. —
 krød'l [cradle]. 8 hev. 17 laa. 18 kšek. 21 nšem. 23 sšem. 24 shem
 shšem. 28 hšee. 30 kšee. 34 last.
 A: 39 kom. 43 [pl.] hanz. 44 land [pl.] lanz. 46 kan'l. 49 híq. 50
 tšeqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 frēm. 59
 lam. 60 laq. 61 vmaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 raq. 65 saq.
 A'- 67 gan. 69 na' [in answer to a question]. 72 wii woo. 73 sii. 75
 strook. 76 tšed. 77 laa'ed. 79 aan óum. 81 hšen. 87 kleez. 89 brēth.
 90 blaa. 91 máau móum [p.p. mown]. 92 naa. 93 snaa snóu. 94 kraa.
 95 thraa. 97 sšul. 100 saan sšum.
 A': 102 aks. 104 rood. 113 hool wool. 115 hšem. 117 won. 118 bšem.

121 gien. 122 nien [none], nii [no]. 123 nothin. 124 stien. 125 onti.
132 het. 134 ooth. 136 oudhe.

Æ- 138 fadhv [best], feadhv [intermediate], fidhv [worst]. — lædhv [ladder]. — blædhv [bladder]. 140 heel. 144 egien. 148 fëev. 149 bliiz. 150 liist. 152 watv waate. — whædhv [whether]. Æ: — wæ'k'n [waken]. — stidi [steady]. — tegidv [together]. 161 dee. 164 mee. — sléit [sleight]. — empí [empty]. 169 whæn. — glas [glass]. — kéert [cart]. 179 what. Æ'- — ritv [to reach]. 184 liid lid. — ridi [ready]. 187 liiv. 189 wéi. 190 kii. 191 hiil. 192 miin. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 205 thriid thrid. 206 ræd. 208 ivv. 209 nivv. 210 klee. 215 tóut. 216 diil. — miil [meal]. 222 héev. 227 wiit. — hilth [health].

E- 232 brk. 233 spik. 234 næd. — triid [to tread]. — stiid stid [stead]. — wædhv [weather]. 235 wiiv. — heví [heavy]. 239 seel. 243 plee. 244 wiil. — tiiv [to tear]. — biiv [to bear]. — piiv [a pear]. 248 miiv. 249 wiiv. 250 swiiv. — iit [to eat]. — fædhv [feather]. 254 lædhv.

E: — hiiv [to heave]. 258 sæg. 260 lee. 261 see. — biid [a bead]. 262 wee. 266 wiil. — fiid [field]. 267 iild. — wæl [a well]. 272 elsm. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 284 thræsh. — brv'st brv's'n [burst, pres. and p. part.]. E'- 301 hiiv. E': 305 hái. 306 héit. — bliis [bless].

EA- — haak [hawk]. — jæl [ale]. EA: 322 laf. 323 fóut fit. 324 éit. 325 waak. 327 bóuld. 328 kóuld. 329 fóuld. 330 had [occ.]. hóuld [gen.]. 331 sóuld. 332 tóuld. — hælts [halter]. 337 waal. 338 kaal. — æmæst [almost]. — bíud [beard]. 340 jéevd. — haad [hard]. 342 éeem. — haam [harm]. 343 waam. — waan [warn]. 345 daa'v. — jéevn [yarn].

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii [Newcastle]. 349 fiu. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid brid. 355 diif. 356 liif. — tái [tie]. 359 néivv. — hiip [a heap]. — iiv [year]. — tiiv [a tear]. — lóus [loose]. 366 griit. 367 thriit. 368 diith dith. 369 slaa slóu.

EI- 372 éei. 373 dhee. 375 reez. 376 beet. EI: 378 wiik. 382 dhéev.

EO- 384 hiv'n. 386 jóu. 387 niu. EO: 389 rook. 390 shuud. — daak [dark]. 397 swaa'ed súued. — kaav [carve]. 398 staa. 399 briit. — éeul [eel]. — faam [farm]. — brv'nt [burnt]. 402 léevn laan. 404 staa. — smaat [smart]. 406 éesth [earth]. 407 faadn. EO'- 413 divil. 414 fiu. 416 diiv. 417 tjóu. 420 fóuv. EO': 425 liit. 426 féit. — whiil [wheel]. 430 frind. — dipnis [Ws. deópnyss, for depth]. 432 fóuveth. 433 briist brist. 434 bet. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii.

I- 447 ha'v. — jis [yes]. 449 gæt'n [gotten]. 451 sóu. I: 452 a aa. 453 wík [alive], kwík [rapid]. — thaa'ed [third]. — baa'ed [bird]. 458 niit [in fortnight often (fa'etnith), see Part II. p. 477a]. 459 riit. 462 siit. 464 wh'tv. 465 sik. 466 tjeild. 473 blind. 476 bind. 477 find. — bhind [behind]. 478 grind ['very low'], gru'ndsvn [grindstone]. 479 wind. 481 fiqv [and generally as in (s'q'l, straqv, laqv), ng is (q) not (qg)]. 485 this'l. 488 jit. — daa'v'ti [dirty].

I'- [(éi) may be (e'i)]. 490 bái. 492 séid. 498 réit. — thaa'v'ti. I': 500 lé.k. 502 fáav. 504 néif néivz. 505 wéif. 506 wu'mæn. 508 méil. 510 méin. 511 wéin.

O- — bræk'n [broken]. — shuiv'l shu,l [shovel]. — juiv'n [oven]. 519 óuv. 520 bðu. 523 hoop. — faa'v [fore]. 525 waa'uld. O: 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 531 dóutv. 532 kool. 533 du,l. 536 góuld. góulsmith. 538 wad. 539 bðul. 542 bóult. — skaa'v [score]. 550 waa'ed. 552 kaa'v'n. 553 haa'v'n.

O'- 556 tiv [(t)id] to it]. 558 liu,k. — fadhv [fodder]. 559 mu,dhv. 560 skiu,l. 562 miu,n. 566 u,dhv. 568 brv,dhv. O': 569 biu,k. 570 tiu,k. 572 blu,d. 578 pluu. 579 vniuf [pl. and sg.]. 584 stiu,l. 586 div. div'nt [don't], éi div'v [yes do I], éi v dii [yes I do]. 587 diu,n di'd [do it]. — bu,zum [bosom].

U- — wu,d [wood]. 599 avu,v. 600 lu,v. 602 suu. — thv,m [thumb].

— *thuns* [thunder]. — *hini* [honey as a term of endearment]. 605 *su,n*.
 — *nu,t* [nut].
 U: — *pu,l* [pull]. 610 *wu,l*. 612 *su,m*. 615 *puund* [refined], *pu,nd* [vulgar]. 616 *gruund* [ref.], *gru,nd* [vulgar]. 618 *wuund*. 619 *fuund* [ref.], *fu,nd* [vulgar]. 620 *gruund* [ref.], *gru,nd* [vulgar]. 621 *wuund* [ref.], *wu,nd* [vulgar]. 625 *tu,q*. — *faa'v* [fir].
 U': 640 *kuu*. 641 *huu*. 644 *su,k*. 646 *buu*. 648 *úu* *waa'v*. 650 *vuut*. 652 *kuud*. 653 *bu,t*. U': 657 *bruun*. 658 *duun*. 659 *tuun*. — *súuv* [sour]. 662 *hu,z*. 664 *luus* [but *loose* is *lúus*]. 667 *uut*.
 Y: 675 *dxii* [in N. Shields]. 676 *lii*. 679 *tjAAAtj*. Y: 685 *rig* [occ.]. 689 *biid*. 690 *kéind*. 691 *méind*. 694 *wáæk*. — *waa'em* [worm]. 700 *waa'v*. 701 *faa'est*. — *shaa'et* *sháavt* [shirt]. — *tjíst* *kíst*. 702 *wiv* [often]. Y': 709 *féiv*. 712 *méis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 *taak*. 734 *daan*. E. — *welth* [wealth]. 747 *indi'v*. 748 *figd*. O. 774 *póuni*. — *pultis* [poultice]. 783 *pu,ltri*. — *puur* [to pour]. U. 794 *dju,g*. 796 *bluu*. — *bu,lk* [bulk]. — *tíun* [tune]. 808 *pu,t*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fíes*. 813 *bíek'n*. 822 *mee*. — *feel* [fail]. — *éev* [air]. — *tjeen* [chain]. — *pliiz* [please]. — *plízhv* [pleasure]. — *meestv* [master]. 840 *tjéem*. — *léeedj* [large]. — *tjéevdj* [charge]. — *meri* [marry]. — *waand* [warrant]. — *keri* [carry]. 854 *baral*. — *éesmi* [army]. — *baa* [bar]. — *skéevs* [scarce]. 856 *peest*. — *géeete* [garter]. — *mas* [mass]. — *pas* [pass]. 860 *piest*. — *mits* [matter]. 862 *síef*. 865 *falt*. — *fals* [false].
 E.. — *kriite* [creature, and so *-ture* gen.]. — *peen* [pain]. — *streen* [strain]. — *trim'l* [tremble]. — *héevl* *haal*. 886 *fríiv*. 887 *kláadri*. — *péevl* *paal* [pearl]. *treek'l* [treacle]. — *híiv* [hearse]. *trízhv* [treasure]. — *prízins* [presence]. — *niit* [neat]. — *mezhv* [measure]. 890 *biist*. 893 *flúue*. — *úue* [hour]. 894 *disiiv*. 895 *risiiv*. I.. and Y.. 898 *méis*.
 O.. 914 *brootj*. — *feeth* [faith]. 922 *bu,shel*. 928 *iins*. 935 *ku,ntri*. — *skAA'vdj* [scourge]. 239 *kloos*. — *roost* [roast]. — *toost* [toast]. 940 *koot*. 941 *fu,l*. 942 *bu,tjv*. 943 *tu,tj*. 947 *ba'l*. — *faa'v* [fur]. — *tAA'en* [turn]. 953 *ku,zin*. — *pu,sh* [push]. 954 *ku,sh'n*.
 U.. — *diu* [due]. — *truun* [truant]. — *shu,gv* [sugar]. — *dju,dj* [judge]. — *waa* [war]. — *pu,lpit* [pulpit]. 969 *shúuv*. 970 *dju,st*.

SOUTH NORTHUMBERLAND, cwl.,

Embracing and contrasting Var. iii and iv.

H. Var. iii, wl. by Rev. George Rome Hall, Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne (9 nw.Hexham). District bounded by the river Rede to n., by Watling St. to e., by North Tyne river to w., and by Barrasford Crags (6 n.Hexham) to s.; applying to most of the district of North Tynedale from Bellingham to Hexham, written in 1877, after 17 years' acquaintance with the dialect, with numerous explanations in io. and conjecturally pal. by AJE.
 P. Var. iv, Pitmen's speech in se.Nb., between rivers Tyne and Wansbeck, for about 10 miles from the coast, written in 1877, with numerous explanations in io. by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (5 nw.Hexham), who had been acquainted with the dialect 40 years, and revised by Mr. John Taylor, of Earsdon (7 ne.Newcastle, Nb.), and Mr. G. B. Forster of Backworth, in the same parish, both mining engineers, and in constant communication with the pitmen. Pal. conjecturally by AJE.

Where no letter is prefixed, the pron. is common to both H and P.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H bíek, P bíek. 4 H tíek, P tíek. 5 H míek, P míek. 6 míed, P míed. 7 H síek, P síek. 8 hev. 9 H bhéev, P bhéev. 10 H hoo, P haa. 11 H moo. 12 H soo, P saa. 13 H noo, P naa. 14 H droo, P draa. 16 H [brik v dee] used, P daan. 17 H loo laa, P laa. 18 H kíek, P kíek. 19 H tíel, P tíel. 20 H líem, P líem. 21 H níem, P níem. 22 H tíem, P tíem. 23 H síem, P síem. 24 H shíem, P shem. 25 H míen, P míen. 26 H wéen. 27 H níev. 28 H héor. 31 H líet, P líet. 32 H beedh. 33 H reedhor, P rēdhor. 34 H last. 35 H [(i)lsin, elsin] used, P aal. 36 H thoo, P thaa. 37 H kloo, P klaa.

A: 39 H kom, P kam. 40 H kíem ["as in *real*," but also said to be distinct (kíam), but I take *real* to be the proper type, see (níem) p. 660, Nos. 7 and 8]. 41 H thaqk, P thēqk. 43 H han. 44 H lan. 46 kan'l. 47 H wander, 48 saq. 50 H tēqz, P tēqz. 51 H man, P mēn. 52 H waan, 54 want. 55 H as [pl. and sg.]. 56 wēsh. 57 H [(kæ)di] used.

A: or O: 58 íre. 59 H lam. 60 laq. 61 emaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 raq. 65 saq. 66 H thaq, P thaq thēq.

A'- 67 gan, P gii [(gii jor weez tē skíæ,l) go your ways to school]. 69 nii. 70 H tii. 71 H woo. 72 whii. 73 sii. 74 twii. 75 H strook. 76 H tíed, P tíed. 78 H oo, P aa. 79 H óun, P aan, 80 halíde. 81 [(lonín) used]. 83 H míim. 84 meer. 85 seer. 86 jets [H occ. (havor)]. 87 H klíez, P kleez. 88 H klíeth klēd, P kleedh. 89 H bíeth, P bíeth. 90 H bloo, P blaa. 91 H moo, P maa. 92 [H *ken* used], P naa. 93 H snoo, HP snaa. 94 H kroo, P kraa. 95 H throo, P thraa. 96 H soo, P saa. 97 sōul. 98 [H (kēnd) used], P naan. 99 H throon, P thraan. 100 H soon, P saan.

A': 101 H jæk. 102 aks [H axe = (eeks)]. 104 H rood. 105 rid. 106 bríed. 107 H líef, líef. 108 H doo, P duu. 109 H loo, P laa. 111 óut [H with slight (kwht)]. 113 H híel, P híel. 115 H híem, P híem. 116 H híem. 118 H bíen, P bíen. 121 H gíen, P gíen. 122 H níen, P níen. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 H stíen, P stíen. 125 onl. 126 H oor, P or. 127 híirs. 128 H dhooz, dhii, P dhor. 129 H gíust, P geest. 130 H báuet. 131 H goot. 132 hēt. 133 rit [used]. 134 eeth. 135 H klíet, HP klunt. 136 óudhor.

Æ- 138 H feedhor, P fēdhor [but children say (H dad', P dædi)]. 139 H dree. 140 H héel. 141 H néel, P nēl. 142 H snéel. 143 H tíel [as *real*]. 144 H egíen, P egíen. 145 H sleen. 147 H breen. 148 H feer. 149 H bleez. 150 H liist. 152 wētor. 153 sētorde.

Æ: 155 thak. 157 H reev'n. 158 eftor. 160 H eg. 161 H dee. 164 H mee. 165 seed. 166 H meed. 168 H tale. 169 H whēn. 170 H haarvest. 172 H gras gars. 173 H [(waar) used], P was [with (s)]. 174 wsh. 175 H fast. 178 [(midj) used]. 179 what. 180 [not used]. 181 H pēth.

Æ'- 182 H sii. 183 H tíitj. 184 H líid. 185 H riid. 186 H bríidh, P bríidh. 187 H líiv. 188 H [(n'kor) used]. 189 H wē'kh, P wii. 190 H kii. 191 H híil. 192 H míin. 193 H klíin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 H oor, P wer. 197 H tpiiz. 199 H bliit [occ. (bleer), but that gen. applies to cattle]. 200 whiit [(wh) fully heard]. 201 H híidh'n. 202 H híit.

Æ': 203 spíitj. 204 díid. 205 H thriid, P thriid. 206 rēd. 207 níid'l. 210 H klee. 211 H gree. 215 H toot [and (tíitj)], P tōut. 216 díil. 217 H íitj. 218 H shiip. 219 H shiip. 222 héor. 223 dhéor. 225 H fíesh. 226 H meest, P míest. 227 wiit. 228 swiit. 230 H fat.

Æ- 232 brik [brak]. 233 H spik [spak]. 235 H wíiv. 236 H fívor. 237 H tjilblēn. 238 H hēdj. 239 seel. 240 H leed, P líen. 241 reen. 242 H tween. 243 plee. 246 kwiin. 247 H spíen. 248 míir. 249 wíir. 250 swíir. 251 H míit. 252 H kēt'l. 253 H nēt'l. 254 lēdhor. 255 wēdor.

Æ: 257 H ēdj. 258 H sēg. 259 H wēdj. 260 H lee. 261 H see. 262 wee. 264 H eel. 265 stréit. 268 [H oodst, P aadust]. 270 i. belesis, ii. bēli. 272 H elm. 273 H mēn. 274 H bēntj. 276 H thiqk. 277 H drēntj. 278 H wēntj. 280 íli-v'n. 281 H lēnth. 283 mari. 284 thrēsh

[H to berry is most usual, see Brockett's Glossary]. 285 kræs. 286 harv. 287 bæ,z'm [or possibly (bu,z'm)].

E'- 289 jæ. 290 hi. 291 dhæ. 292 mæ. 293 wi. 294 H fiid. 295 H bræd. 296 H biliiv. 298 H fiil. 299 H griin. 300 H kiip. 301 hior. 303 H swiit. E': 305 H hii. 306 H héi|kjht. 307 néi. 308 H niid. 310 H hiil. 311 H ten. 314 H htiord, P hord. 315 H fiit. 316 H nekst, P nrkst.

EA- 317 [*flay* not used except in sense of *frighten*]. 319 H giiep. 320 keer.

EA: 321 H soo, P saa. 322 H laf. 323 fôut [f'it'n], [H slight (kwh)]. 324 á'it [H slight (kjht)]. 325 H wook, HP waak. 326 H ood, P aad ad. 327 bóuld. 328 H kood, P kaad kad. 329 H food. 330 H hood, P had. 331 P sóuld, H [(sæld sælt)] used. 332 [(H teld, HP tælt) used]. 333 H koof. 334 H hoof [or (hoo) in (hoopni) halfpenny], P heef. 335 H oo [and (aa)], P aal. 336 H foo [and (faal)], P faal. 337 H woo [and (waal)], P waal. 340 jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 H deer, P daar. 346 H giuet, P griit.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii. 349 H fiu. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid. 354 shæf. 355 diif. 356 H liif. 357 H thoo. 359 H néibor, P niibor. 360 H tiim. 361 H biin. 362 H slee. 363 H tjiip. 365 H niir, P [(néi) used]. 366 H griiut, P griit. 367 H thriit. 368 diith. 369 H sloo, P slaa. 370 H roo, P raa. 371 H stree, P straa.

EI- 372 æ'i [P "half a dozen accents and tones according to meaning"]. 373 H dhee. 374 H nee, P naa. 375 H reez. 376 H beet. EI: 377 H stiiek, P. stiek. 378 week. 382 H dheeor.

EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hiv'n. 385 eniith. 386 jóu. 387 H niu. EO: 381 H milk. 389 H jóuk. 390 H shu,d su,d. 393 wout. 396 waark. 397 H suurd, P sword. 398 B staaarv, P steerv. 399 H bréi|kjht. 400 aarnest. 402 H laarn, P leern. 403 H faar. 404 H staaar. 405 H hærth, P heerth. 406 H jærth, P earth. 407 faard'n.

EO'- 409 H bii. 411 H thrii. 412 shii she. 413 H dávil diil, P diivil. 414 fiil. 415 hi. 416 diior. 417 tjóu. 418 bruu. 420 fówær. EO': 423 thii. 424 H rœf. 425 H léi|kjht, P liit. 426 H féi|kjht, P féit [fit]. 427 H bii. 428 H sii. 429 fiind. 430 friind. 431 biior. 432 fówærth. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 jæ. 436 truu. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 H træst.

I- 440 H wiik. 441 H siiv. 442 H áivi. 443 H fréide. 444 stéil. 445 H hii. 446 H néin. 448 H dhii, P dhor. 449 H git. 450 H tiuzde. 451 síu.

I: 454 H wity. 455 [to lay used]. 457 P miit. 458 H néi|kjht, P niit. 459 riit [H slight (-kjht)]. 460 H wéi|kjht, P wéit. 461 H sliit [slight (-kjht)]. 462 H séi|kjht, P siit. 464 H whity. 465 sik. 466 [*hairn* used]. 468 [*hairns* used occ.], P tjædor. 471 timor. 472 H shriiqk. 473 blind. 475 wínd. 476 bind. 477 fiind. 478 grind. 479 wœnd. 481 fiqor. 484 H dhis. 485 H thris'l. 486 H jæst, P jist. 487 jistorde. 488 jit.

I'- [instead of (éi) I heard (æ'i) or (á'i).] 490 béi [H (utbéi) at a distance, (inbéi) near]. 491 séi. 493 dréiv. 494 téim. 496 éiren. 498 réit [H used generally (a)m ræten) I'm writing]. I': [instead of (éi) I heard (æ'i) or (á'i).] 500 léik. 501 wéid. 502 féiv. 503 léif. 504 néif. 505 wéif. 506 H wœ,mæn. 507 H wœ,mæ,n. 508 méil. 509 whéil. 511 wéin. 513 wéir. 514 éis. 517 jiu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fáuel. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526 H kof. 527 H bóu|kht, P bóut. 528 H thóu|kht, P thóut. 529 H bróu|kht, P bróut. 530 H róu|kht, P róut. 531 H dóu|khtor, P dóutor. 532 kúuel. 533 dœ l. 534 H húuel. 536 H góud, P góuld. 537 H móuld. 538 H wu d, P wad. 539 bóul. 542 H boolt. 545 hop. 547 H buurd. 549 H haord. 550 word. 551 H storm. 552 H korn. 553 H horn. 554 H kros. O'- 557 ti. 558 H líiqk, P líe k. 559 P midhor [a child says *mammy*, H P]. 562 H míuen, P míe,n. 564 H síuen, P síe,n. 565 H nooz. 566 H u,dhor.

O': 569 H bíiek, P bíe,k. 570 H tíiek, P tíe,k. 571 H giíed, P giœ d. 572 P bíe,d. 573 H fœ,d, ?flu,d. 574 H bruu. 575 H stœ,d, ?u,. 576

wedinzde. 577 buu. 578 H plüet, P plu. 579 H enüef, P enüef. 580 H tüef, P tüef. 581 H söu kht, P söut. 582 H küel. 583 H tüel. 584 H stüel, P stüel. 586 dii, H [also] div. 587 H diien, P dïe.n. 588 H niien. 589 H spüen, P spüe.n. 590 H fluur. 591 H moor. 592 H swor. 593 [(mœ,n men mæn) used]. 594 biüt bïe.t. 595 H fœt fit. 596 H rœt. 597 H siüt, P siœ.t.

U- 599 H æbiten. 600 H læ,v, P lïuv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 H kœ.m. 605 H sœ.n. 606 duuor. 607 H bæ,tor bu,tor. U: 608 H œ.gli. 609 H fœ.l. 610 uu. 611 H bæ,læk [also (stïir, nôut)]. 612 H sœ.m. 613 H drœ,qk. 614 huund, H hœ,nd [also especially (grœhœ,nd) greyhound]. 615 pœ.nd. 616 H grœ,nd, P gru,nd. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 fœ,nd. 620 H grœ,nd, P gru,nd. 622 enœ.ndor. 625 H tœ,q. 626 hœ,qor. 628 H nœ.n. 629 H sœ.n. 631 thorzde. 632 H œ,p u,p. 633 H kœ,p ku,p. 634 H thruu [occ. thrœ,f]. 636 worth. 636 fordhor. 638 H bæ,sk. 639 H dœ,st.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 H dœ,v. 646 buu. 647 uul [nearly always (dïni huulet) Jenny howlet]. 648 wor. 649 thuuzen. 652 H kü,d. 653 H bæ,t bu,t. U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 661 shuoor. 662 hœ,z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 praud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 H mœ,tj mœ,k'l. 674 H did. 676 lii. 677 H dréi. 679 tjortj [H (kœrkfiild) field next the church]. 680 H bizi. 682 H lit'l. Y: 683 H midj. 684 H brig. 685 H rig. 686 H béi. 687 H fléi,kht. 689 biild. 690 H kéind. 691 H méind. 693 H sin. 696 borth. 697 H bæri, P bari. 698 P morth. 699 H réit. 700 H wars, P wors. 701 forst. 703 H pit. 704 H viiks'n. Y'- 705 skéi. 706 whéi. 707 thortiin. 708 héir. Y': 709 féir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 725 H síul. 733 H skær, P skiir. 737 H [occ. (mare) marrow]. 740 H weev. E. 744 mæz'lz. 746 briidh. 747 indïvor. 748 H flægd, P flægd. 761 piirt [=bright looking]. I. and Y. 753 H [usually (kit'l)]. 758 geerl. O. 761 H liid, P liid. 762 H móudirat. 774 póuni. 783 H pœ,ltri, P pu,ltri. 784 buuns. 785 luundy. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 799 P skïœ,l. 803 H [usually (loup)]. 804 H drœ,k'n. 805 krœ,dz. 807 H pœ,s, P pu,s. 808 H pœ,t pu,t, P pu,t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 H fiies, P fiës. 811 H plües. 812 H liies. 815 faks. 816 H fiied, P fiid. 817 rædish. 824 P tjïir. 828 H eegi. 832 mïoor. 838 P træt. 840 H tjambor tjamor, P tjemor. 843 H bræntj. 845 H eenshen. 846 H tjanslor. 847 H daandjor [so also (aandjæl) angel]. 853 P beergin. 854 P barl. 856 peert. 857 H kües. 859 H tjïes. 860 H piüst, P piüst. 861 H tüüst, P tüüst. 862 H siüef, P siüf. 863 tjaf. 864 H bïkoo'z, P bïkæ'z. 865 H fœust, P falt. 866 H piïor.

E.. 874 H reen. 878 saleri. 879 P fem'l. 883 dandiléien. 884 P prentis. 887 klardi. 888 sartin. 892 nevi. 893 flüoor.

I.. and Y.. 897 H diléi,kjht. 898 H néis. 906 H véipor. 907 H tréis. 908 H advéis. 910 H dïüst, P dïüst. 912 H réis.

O.. 921 êkwent. 922 H bæ,sh'l. 928 nuus. 929 kôukemor. 932 æmuunt. 934 buunti. 941 H fiitel, P fiœ,l. 942 H bæ,tjor. 944 eluu. 945 vuu. 948 H buul. 949 H muuld, P móuld [?confusion with 537]. 952 kúuors. 954 H kœ,sh'n. 955 duut. U.. 969 siior.

VAR. V, WARKWORTH (5 se. Alnwick), NB., cwl.

representing m.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick; from a wl. written 1877 in io. by Mr. Th. D. Ridley, of Coutham, Redcar, native of Warkworth, and gone over vivâ voce with A.JE. in 1879 and 1887, whence it was pal. I am not quite sure whether some of the sounds marked (*ii*, *uu*, *u₁*) should not be (*i₁*, *u₁*, *æ₁*); those marked in this latter way are, however, correct.

Note.—(a¹)m a¹)z are both common, but the first is rather educated, after a plural *pronoun* the pl. form of the verb is used, but after a pl. *noun* the sg. as “the men is come, they are come.”

R A few words marked R were pal. vivâ voce by A.JE. from John Ramsay, a labourer at Rothbury, and belong to the same variety.

The (a¹, a) here correspond to JGG.'s (a, a₁) respectively.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biék. 4 tiék. 5 mîék. 6 mîéd. 7 siék. 8 hev, he [more commonly]. 9 biheev. 10 haa¹. 11 maa¹. 12 saa¹. 13 naa¹. 14 draa¹. 15 aa¹. 16 daa¹n. 17 laa¹. 18 kiék. 19 tiél. 20 liém. 21 niém. 22 tiém. 23 siém. 24 shém. 25 mîén. 27 níev. 28 heer. 33 reedhør. 34 la st. 35 aa¹. 36 thóu. 37 klaa¹.

A: 39 ka¹m. 40 kíem [(kíem) at Hexham]. 43 ha¹nd. 44 la¹nd. 46 ka¹n¹, ka nd¹. 47 wa¹ndør. 50 tîeqz. 51 ma¹n. 54 wa¹nt. 55 a¹s. 56 wêsh. 57 a¹s.

A: or O: 58 from, fre. 59 la¹m. 60 la¹q. 61 vma¹q. 62 stra¹q. 63 thra¹q. 64 ra¹q [(w¹ra¹q), heard years ago, in w.Nb. not in Warkworth]. 65 sa q. 66 thoq.

A'- 67 gan [going, R (góown)]. 69 noo. 70 tii. 71 wii. 72 whii. 73 sii. 74 twii. 76 tíéd. 77 lú,ørð [(leerd) small landed proprietor]. 78 aa¹ [(ówn) to own, possess]. 79 a¹n. 80 hallide. 81 lonen. 83 moon [evidently a modern form for (mîén)]. 84 meer. 85 seer. 86 jæt, oots. 87 kléevz. 88 klíid. 89 bîéth. 90 bla¹ [(blá,u) pt.] 91 ma¹ [(mà¹d) pt.]. 92 na¹ [(níu) pt.]. 93 sna¹ [(sníu) not so common as (snà¹d) snowed]. 94 krá¹. 95 thra¹. 96 soo. 97 sóud. 98 nà¹n. 99 thra¹n. 100 sà¹n.

A': 101 jæk, ook. 102 a¹ks, a¹sk. 104 rood, R róovd. 105 rid. 106 brood. 107 líef, loof. 108 dá,u. 109 laa¹. 110 i. nóut, ii. not. 111 óut. 113 híél. 115 híém, hú,m. 118 bíén. 121 gíén. 122 i. níén, ii. nii. 124 stíén. 126 oor. 127 híers. 128 [(dhor) used]. 129 gæst. 130 boot. 131 goot. 132 het. 133 root. 134 ooth. 136 óudhør.

Æ- 138 faa¹dher, feadhør. 139 dree. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 vgién. 145 sleen. 146 meen. 147 breeen. 148 feer. 149 bliiz. 150 liist. 152 waa¹tør, weeter.

Æ: 155 tha¹k. 157 reev¹n. 158 efter [no dental (t,r)]. 160 eg. 161 dee. 163 lee. 164 mee. 165 seed. 167 d¹el, R deel [wh. Mr. R. said is not used]. 168 ta¹lv. 170 harvist. 171 barli. 172 ga¹vs [(r) distinct]. 173 wa¹s. 174 êsh. 175 fa¹st. 178 na¹t. 179 wa¹t. 180 ba¹th. 181 peth.

Æ'- 182 sii. 183 tiiitj. 184 liid. 185 riid. 186 briith. 187 liiv. 188 [(níkør) used]. 189 wii wé¹i. 190 kii. 191 híil. 192 mîin. 193 klíin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 weer [(wa z) gen. used for pl.]. 197 tjiiz. 199 bliit. 200 whiit. 201 híidh¹n. 202 híit.

Æ': 203 spíitj. 204 diid. 205 thriid. 206 ræd. 207 níid¹. 210 klee. 211 gree. 216 díil. 217 [not used]. 218 shiip. 219 shiip. 221 fiir. 222 heer. 223 dheer. 224 wheer. 225 flêsh. 226 mîést. 227 wæt. 228 swat. 229 briith. 230 fa¹t.

E- 232 brik [(bræ,k, bræ k¹n) broke, broken]. 233 spíik. 234 níid. 235 wíiv. 236 fiivor. 237 bleen. 238 hêdj. 239 seel. 241 reen. 242 tveen. 243 plee. 246 kwí,in. 247 wiin [but (spíén) is more used, and

always for lambs]. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer. 251 miit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledhær. 255 wedhær.

E: 257 edj. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 stre'it. 268 eldest [occ. both forms used]. 270 i. belessez, ii. beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 bentj. 275 stentj. 276 theqk. 277 drentj. 278 wentj. 280 eliv'n. 281 lenth. 282 strent. 283 ma'ri [the refined sound is (mori)]. 284 thræsh. 285 kra's ka'rs. 286 ha'rv. 287 bu,z'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 j'i. 290 h'i. 291 dh'i. 293 w'i. 296 bil'i. 298 f'il. 299 gr'in. 300 k'i. 301 hiir. 302 m'i. 304 [(klok) always used]. E': 305 h'i. 306 h'e'it. 307 ná. 308 n'i. 309 sp'i. 310 h'i. 311 ten. 312 hiir. 314 hãrd. 315 f'i. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 [(flee) to frighten only]. 319 g'isp. 320 keer. EA: 321 sa'. 322 la'f. 323 f'out. 324 e'it. 325 wa'k. 326 a'd. oold. 327 b'ould. 328 ka'd. R k'ould. 330 ha'd. R óuld. 331 [(s'eld) used]. 332 [(t'eld) used]. 333 ka'f. 334 ha'f. 335 a'l. aa', R aal. 336 fa'l faa'. 337 wa'l waa'. 340 jard. 342 eerm. 343 warm. 345 dar. 346 gist, jæt, R géent.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 á. 349 fiu. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid. 355 diif. 356 liif. 357 dhoo. 359 næ'ber. 360 tiim. 361 biin. 363 t'riip. 366 griit, R gréet. 367 thriit. 368 diith. 369 slaa'. 370 raa'. 371 straa'. EI- 372 e'i. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 375 reez. 376 beet. EI: 377 stiek. 378 week. 379 heel. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hav'n. 385 biniidh. 386 róu. 387 níu. EO: 388 málk. 389 jook. 390 shu'd. 393 bæront. 396 wãrk. 397 sword [occ.]. 398 stãrv. 399 br'e'it. 401 ãrnest. 402 lãrn, léorn. 403 fãr. 404 stãr. 405 hãrth. 406 ãrth. 407 fãrd'n. 408 níu. EO'- 409 bí. 411 thri'. 412 sh'i. 413 div'l, diiv'l. 414 flii. 415 lii. 416 diir. 417 tjóu. 420 f'our. 421 fórti. EO': 423 th'i. 424 rœ'f. 425 le'it. 426 fe'it. 427 bí. 428 sí. 430 frind. 431 biir. 432 f'ourth. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 jú.u. 436 triu. 437 truth, trãuth. EY- 438 dí. EY: 439 trœ'st.

I- 440 wiik. 441 siv. 442 áivin. 443 frã'idæ. 444 st'e'il. 446 næ'in. 448 [(dhor) used, for both these and those]. 449 grt. 450 tiuzdæ. 451 síu [and (soo), the last probably modern]. I: 452 á [but generally (á)]. 454 witj. 457 me'it. 458 næ'it. 459 riit. 460 we'it. 462 se'it. 464 whitj. 465 sek. 466 t'æ'ld. 467 we'ld. 468 t'jãldæ [and (t'jãldræn)]. 471 timæ. 472 shriqk. 473 blind. 475 wínd. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 grind. 479 wãnd. 481 fiqer. 484 dhis. 485 this'l. 486 jæt. 487 jistærdæ. 488 jít. I'- 490 bæ'i. 491 sã. 493 drãiv. 494 t'e'im. 496 e'iræn. 497 vrãiz. 498 re'it. I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 fãiv. 503 le'if. 504 næ'if. 505 we'if. 506 wu,mæn. 507 wu,mæn [sg. and pl. alike]. 508 me'il. 509 whãil. 511 we'in. 513 we'ir. 514 e'is. 515 wãiz. 516 wizdem.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fool. 522 open. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526 kof. 527 b'out. 528 th'out. 529 br'out. 530 róut. 531 d'outæ. 532 kool. kwol. 533 dœ'l. 534 hool. 536 g'ould, guuld. 537 móuld. 538 wu.d. 539 bóuld. 540 holæn. 542 bóult. 545 hop. 548 ford. 550 word. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 horn. 554 kros. O'- 555 shú.u. 557 t'ú.u. 558 liuk. 559 mœ,dhær. 561 blu,m. 562 míun. 564 síun. 565 nooz. 566 u,dhær. O': 569 biuk. 570 tiuk. 571 gu,d. 572 blu,d. 573 flu,d. 574 brú,d. 575 stu,d. 579 vnce,f. 580 tœ,f. 581 sóut. 582 kiul. 584 stiul [(stiul) in Hexham]. 585 brú,m. 586 dú,u. 587 diun. 589 spiun. 590 f'oor. 591 moor. 592 swoor. 593 [(mu,n) used]. 594 biut. 595 fu,t. 596 rœ,t. 597 su,t.

U- 599 ebu,v. 601 fú.ul. 602 sú.u. 605 sæ.n. 606 door. 607 bu,ter. U: 608 œ,glí. 609 fœ,l. 610 wul. 611 bæ,læk. 612 su,m. 613 drœ,qk. 614 hu,nd. 615 pu,nd. 616 gru,nd. 617 su,nd. 618 u,nd. 619 fu,nd. 620 gru,nd. 622 œ,ndær. 625 tu,q. 626 hu,qær. 628 næ,u. 629 sæ,n. 631 dhorzdæ. 632 œ,p. 633 kœ,p. 634 thru,u. 635 worth. 636 fordhær. 637 tu,sk. 638 bu,sk. 639 du,st.

U'- 640 kú,u. [R (kuuz kóuz), probably (kú,uz)]. 641 hú,u. 642 dhú,u. 643 nú,u. 646 bú,u. 647 hu,let. 648 wor [both accented and unaccented]. 649 thuzend, R thóuzæn. 652 ku,d. 653 bu,t.

U: 654 shruud. 655 faul. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 dū,un dū,n.
659 tū,un tū,n. 660 bū,ur. 661 shū,ur. 662 u,z. 663 hū,s. 665 muus.
666 hu,zbund. 667 uut, R ū,ut. 668 pruud. 669 [(œ,ŋkət used]. 671
mynth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mœ,tj mu,tj, R mœ,k'l. 674 did. 675 drái. 676 lî,i. 678 dîn.
679 tjortj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig bridj. 685
rig [gen.]. 686 bái. 687 fl'e'it. 689 biild. 690 k'e'ind. 691 m'e'ind. 693
sîn. 694 wærk. 696 borth. 697 ba'ri. 698 morth. 699 r'e'it. 700 wars.
701 forst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 sk'e'i, R sk'e'i. 706 w'e'i. 707 thortin.
708 h'e'ir. Y': 709 f'e'ir. 711 l'e'is. 712 m'e'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 724 ba'ld. 737 meet. 740 weev. E. 744 mez'lz.
746 briidh. 747 indiver. 748 figd. 751 piirt. I. and Y. 758 gorl
[gen. (la's)]. O. 761 k'ed lood. 769 [(m'oudira't) used]. 772 boonf'e'ir.
774 p'ouni. 784 buuns. 787 suus. 789 rôu. 790 guun.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 fies. 812 lies. 814 mies'n. 817 redish. 818
redj. 843 br'entj. 846 tjanler. 854 barl. 856 peert. 860 piest. 861
t'iest. 864 bika's. 865 fa'lt. E.. 867 t'i,i. 874 riinz [always in pl.].
879 fiimel. 884 prentis. 887 klardji. 888 sartin. 892 nevi. 893 flū,ur.
I.. and Y.. 898 ne'is. 901 fe'in. 902 me'in. 903 de'in. 904 váikt.
906 ve'iper. 908 a'dve'is. 910 dpist. 912 re'is. O.. 921 ekwënt. 922
bishel. 926 spóil. 928 uuns. 929 kú,uku,mber. 930 luundj. 932 emuunt.
934 buunti. 935 kuuntri. 942 ftul. 944 elū,u. 945 vū,u. 947 bóil. 948
buul. 952 i. kuurs. 955 duut [?(d'í,ut)]. U.. 960 kii. 965 óil.

VI.

THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY
THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND.

The Lowland Dialects are commonly called Scotch, because they are spoken in a country which has acquired the name of Scotland, from the Scots, an Irish Gaelic tribe which gradually acquired the ascendancy. In the Highlands, as the Celtic Border shews [*supra* p. 14], Gaelic is still spoken; but in the Lowlands, English imported from England is the sole speech, and it was called Inglis up to the time of Barbour 1513. Dr. Murray (*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 1873, henceforth cited as DSS), p. 50, says: "The tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the xivth century as Scottish and English—during the xvth century as Yrisch or Ersch and English—and during the xvith century by some as Ersch and Inglisch; by others probably as Ersch and Scots." But although a mere offshoot of the language of Northumbria, which had its domain in e.Yo. and Nb., the language at the present day is remarkably different in pronunciation and intonation from that spoken s. of the L. line 10 (p. 21), so that even an educated Lowlander, who thinks he speaks English only, and certainly does not speak dialect, is as a general rule instantly detected among Southrons. As therefore I have, for convenience, denominated the first five Divisions S., W., E., M., N. English, as spoken in England, I call the present L. or Lowland, that is, English as spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland.

Of the intonation, with a rising inflection at the end of affirmative sentences, and a remarkable sing-song, I am, as usual, unable to give any proper explanation, and hence I pass it over. As to the pronunciation, of which details follow, the general characters are $\bar{U}=(\bar{a})$ and some (sam); $U'=(uu)$ quite pure with no tendency towards (\acute{u},u), the change in Cu. being quite sharp and sudden; vowels generally of medial length, and when prolonged much longer than in England, with little or no tendency to fractures; a strongly trilled tip-tongue *r*, even when not preceding a vowel, forming a most marked feature even in educated speech; and a constant use of (kh), sometimes in the forms (kjh, *kwh*). These are however only some of the most marked features, which distinguish the L. from the other five divisions.

There are four distinct groups of pronunciation, SL. = South Lowland in D 33, ML. = Mid Lowland in D 34 to 37, NL. = North Lowland in D 38 to 40, and IL. = Insular Lowland in

D 41, 42. The first is the subject of Dr. Murray's book, which furnishes mere indications of the next two, but not of the last. It must be remembered that I have taken all I possibly could from Dr. Murray's treatise, without which, and his personal kind assistance, I could not have attempted to give an account of L. My original intention was merely to supplement Dr. Murray's account of the other dialect districts by a few illustrations. I have been able to accomplish a little more than this, and to introduce the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41, 42, which Dr. M. had omitted. But the supplementary character of my illustrations remains. With a very slight exception I have adopted Dr. Murray's Districts, merely changing their names and numbering them in sequence to my dialect districts in England, and this at once marks the subordination of this part of my work to Dr. Murray's. Taking his bounding lines, I had no occasion to examine changes of pron. with such care as in England, nor, as a general rule, to enter upon a consideration of varieties. I hope that this may be accomplished by some well-qualified Lowlander, taking Dr. Murray, who is now absorbed by his New English Dictionary, as *dux et auspex*.

In order to obtain a bird's-eye view of the various L. pronunciations, and their difference from English, I place first eight interlinear comparative specimens, from different parts of Scotland, and Shetland, and five versions of the first chapter of Ruth, the first three of these being taken from Dr. Murray, the other two from the English M. and S. Div. in Cheshire, D 25, and West Somerset, D 10. These illustrate all the districts except D 37 and 41, and hence shew the nature of their difference from each other and the forms used in England in a most striking manner.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR CS.

1. D 33, V i, *Bewcastle* (16 n. Carlisle, Cu.) to *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle, Cu.). This specimen was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Sinclair, of Keilder, Nb. He resided in the Bewcastle district for the first 20 years of his life, and then 10 years in n. Tynedale. He says this mode of speech extends sw. to Longtown, but that se. of a line nearly passing through Bewcastle the dialect is somewhat different. He considers the Brampton dialect (D 32, V i) different. The Rev. R. D. Hope gave me a Longtown cs. in io., and where this spelling seems to confirm or oppose this version, attention is drawn to the fact in the notes.

2. D 33, V ii, *Hawick*, pal. by Dr. Murray from personal knowledge, about 1875-6. To this he subjoined the following important note, here placed first, with remarks of my own between []. The consideration of these points belongs to D 33, V ii, in especial, where the vowel system will be more fully considered.

"1. All the short vowels [that is, the vowels written as short] are *medial* in quantity, [hence they have, in this example only, been printed with the grave accent].

"2. What I have marked (*u*) seems to be really (*o*) with the lip closure for (*u*), [that is, (*ou*), for which I have here, as usual, written (*u*)].

"3. As to *i* I am not satisfied yet; it is something between (*i*, *e*), an attempt to say (*e*) in the (*i*) position or to say (*i*) in the (*e*) position, but the former by preference, [hence I have written (*ii*, *i*)].

"4. All the (*ee*) are *low*, tending towards (*EE*), query (*eeE*)? [These I have

written (*ee*), and they may be (*ee*), at any rate an Englishman will hardly get nearer].

"5. All the (e) in accented syllables are *high*, tending towards (*i*), query (*ei*)? [These are written (*e*).]

"6. I cannot distinguish unaccented (e, ə), and so have made all (e), it seemed to me on the whole better, but I have written (ə, v) over those that are specially obscure." [I should prefer using (v) in all these cases, but as in the Teviotdale sentences, see D 33, (ə) was used, and as Dr. Murray very rarely superscribed (v), I have adopted (ə) throughout all the last 7 of these 8 cs., without at all implying that I heard (ə) as distinct from (v), for in unaccented syllables this would be difficult and uncertain, but the sound was clearly *not* (e) to southern ears. The other special signs apply only to No. 2.]

3. D 34, *Edinburgh*, pal. by Dr. A. H. Murray from the dictation of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Charles A. Murray, native. Dr. Murray notes:

"1. (*ee*, *oo*) are very high [hence I have used (*e*¹, *o*¹)]. There is a great difference between Teviotdale (*dee*) and Lothian (*dee*¹) [for which I write (*dee*₁, *dee*¹) respectively].

"(e) is also high = (e^c) [for which then I write (*e*₁) as higher than (E)]. *till* is almost (*tel*), but very unlike (*tel*) as distinctly non-wide [I write (*te*₁) as distinct from (*tel*)].

"3. I take Melville Bell's authority for *a* in *twaa*, *blaa*, etc., being (AA), for myself I am not clear about it."

The difficulty Dr. Murray has felt in giving D 34, which is usually considered typical of Lowland Scotch, shews how much remained to be done in the minute analysis of L. pron. beyond D 33.

4. D 36, *Stranraer*, Wg., pal. in 1874 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Messrs. Boyd of Stranraer, Armstrong from near Dumfries, and Caddow from near to Kirkcudbright. As this was taken at an early period of my investigations, and by a Southron, and was also written rapidly, the Wick version, No. 7, having been taken down the same evening, and as I had no opportunity for revision, I am afraid it cannot be relied upon for very fine distinctions. The three gentlemen were collected by the Rev. R. Macbeth at Hammersmith, and the dictation was joint, each approving or suggesting differences, but the agreement was very close. I transcribe my notes literally without attempting to improve them conjecturally.

5. D 38, *Arbroath*, Fo. This was written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson of Arbroath, acquainted with the dialect from childhood, from which it was pal. by Dr. Murray, with considerable difficulty, as he was not personally acquainted with the pron.

6. D 39, *Keith* (:kith), Ba., written in Oct. 1873 by Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitsli'go) (34 ne.Keith, 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab.), native of Keith, and at that time 14 years at Pitsligo, author of the *Banffshire Glossary*; pal. from io. by Dr. Murray in 1875, and corrected by a cwl. pal. by A.J.E. in Feb. 1878 from Mr. W. Gregor's dict., which will be given under D 39. See also Buchan in the translations of *Ruth* chap. i. immediately following.

7. D 40, *Wick*, Cs., pal. in Feb. 1874 by A.J.E. from the dictation of Mr. A. Meiklejohn, who was 30 before he left Cs., Rev. J. Sinclair, who lived there till he was 20, and has been there since, and Rev. R. Macbeth of Wick, then at Hammersmith, who collected the others, and also those that gave me the Stranraer version, No. 4. In consequence of my taking down two cs. in one evening, I was rather hurried, and as it was also an early attempt, some of the finer shades probably escaped me.

8. D 42, *Dunrossness*, Sd. This parish, about 20 s-by-w. of Lerwick, includes Cunningsburg, Sandwick, and Fair Isle. This version was written io. in Nov. 1877 by Robert Cogle, an intelligent fisherman of Cunningsburg, Sd., from whom it was procured by Mr. W. C. Smith, advocate, Edinburgh. Although it was carefully written, and although RC. was kind enough to answer numerous questions, I should not have been able to make use of it, had not Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, Sd., a friend of Mr. Laurensen, of whom more under D 42, carefully read it to me, with other specimens, in Oct. 1878, and allowed me to pal. it from her dictation.

* * * The notes to the eight cs. follow them immediately.

0. 1	<i>Bewcastle</i> , D 33, V i, pp. 682, 693	| kwhat for	:dúuən
2	<i>Hawick</i> , D 33, V ii, pp. 682, 694.	kwhat foor	:dju, 'n
3	<i>Edinburgh</i> , D 34, pp. 683, 695.	dhÿ wee' et	:djo'k
4	<i>Stranraer</i> , D 36, pp. 683, 695.	huu it iz	:djon
5	<i>Arbroath</i> , D 38, pp. 683, 695.		
6	<i>Keith</i> , D 39, pp. 683, 695.	fat wáai	:djon
7	<i>Wick</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	whéi	:tjon
8	<i>Dunrossness</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	wha'i	:djo'ni

- 1 hez ni dùts.
- 2 hez ni' dùts.
- 3 hÿz nee' dùt.
- 4 hez nee duuts.
- 5
- 6 hÿz nee duts.
- 7 hez nii duuts.
- 8 hez nee dùts.

1.	1	wiil, né,e'i be ^o r	ÿuu	ən	hí,m	mə	bíi,É'th	lakwh	ət	dhi ₁ s
	2	wil, nibər,	ɟá'u	ən	həm	me	bí,th	lakwh	ət	dher
	3	wil, nibər,	juu	'n	həm	me	bee'th	laakh	a't	ma ¹
	4	wil, nibər,	juu	ən	hím	me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhər
	5	wil, nibər,	juu	ən	həm	me	beeth	laakh	ət	dhes
	6	wil, nipər,	juu	ən	hee'm	my	beth	lakh	at	dhes
	7	wil, nibər,	jii	ən	hii	me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhes
	8	wiil, bói,	du	ən	hii	mə	beeth	ljakh	ət	dəs

	1	niúuz	ə	mé'in,	| kwhii	keerz ?	dha,t)s	nóudhe ^o r	hié ^o r
	2	nə'uz	ə	mé'in.	kwhii,'	kee,rz ?	dhat)s	ne,dhər	hiir
	3	niúuz.			whaa	kee'rz ?	dhat)s	nee'dhər	hiir
	4	niúuz	ə	méin.	whaa	keerz ?	dhat)s	nedhər	hiir
	5	nuuz,	ə	mə'in.	faa	keerz ?	dhat)s	needhər	hiir
	6	niúuz	ə	méin.	faa	keerz ?	et)s	needhər	hiir
	7	niúuz	o	mainz.	faa	kjee'rz ?	at,s	nedhər	hiir
	8	niuz			wha	keerz ?	dat)s	nedər	hiir

- 1 nə dhíe^or.
- 2 nə dhii,'r.
- 3 nə dhee'r.
- 4 nə dheer.
- 5 nə dheer.
- 6 nə dheer.
- 7 nə eer.
- 8 or deer.

2.	1	dhe	fíu	fuu,k	dé'iz	wə	béiən	lakwht	a,t	wə
	2	dher)z	fə'u	fu,'k	déiz	kəz	dhe)r	lakwh'n	at	wéi
	3	noo ¹	moni	fə'uk	diiz	bikə'z	dhe)r	laakht	a't,	wi
	4		fíu	men	dii	bika'z	dhee)r	lakht	at,	wi
	5		fíau	men	diiz	bikəz	dhe)r	laakht	a't,	wi
	6		fíə'u	men	diiz	far	bii'n	lakht	yt,	wy
	7		fíáu	men	dii	koz	dhee)r	lakht	ət,	wi
	8		fíu	men	diiz	bika'z	də'r	ljakht	a't,	wi

1	kən	dha,t	dí,v)nt	wə?	[kwhət)s	tə	mí,Ek				
2	kə'n,		dèv)'n	wéi?	kwhət)s	tə	gàr)				
3	AA kə,n		dhat, jí	kə,n.	kwhət	shəd	mak				
4	kən,		doo)nt	wi?	what)l		maak				
5	kən,		de)nə	wi?	fat	səd	mak				
6	kən,		de)ny	wy?	fat	fər	səd				
7	ken,		dí)nə	wi?	fat	shed	mak				
8	ken,		dœ)nə	wi?	what	sud	mak				
<hr/>											
1	dhəm	dɛ'ii?	it)s	not	və,rə	lɛ'iklɛ́	izz)t nù?				
2	dhem?		et)s	noo	vərə	lè'kli	ès)t?				
3	dhym?		et)s	noo'	və,rɛ́	lè'iklɛ́	e's)t?				
4	dhəm?		et)s	noo	verə	léikli	es)t?				
5	dhəm?		et)s	noo	vərə	lèkli	es)t?				
6	dhym?		et)s	nœ	vərə	léikli	e's)t?				
7	əm?		hə'd)z	noo	vərə	léikli	e'z)d?				
8	dəm?		it)s	nə	veri	lèkli	iz)ət?				
<hr/>											
3.	1	ə'uze,və ^o r	dhí,ɛz	v)dhə	fə,ks	v)dhə	kí,ɛs, síi	dʒəst			
	2	hə'usəmɛ'vər,	dher)z	dhə	fəks	ə dhə	kí's, síi'	dəst			
	3	huuzivər,	hiir)z	dhɣ	fəks	ə dhə	kɛe's, see	dʒɪst			
	4	huue'vər,	dhat)s		fəks	ə dhe	kees, see	dʒɪst			
	5	huuzəme'vər,	dhər)z	dhə	fəks	ə dhə	kes, see	dʒɪst			
	6	nuu	dhɛ's)yz	dhɣ	fəks	ə dhɣ	kes, see	dʒɪst			
	7	fuu)ən)evər,	ez)e'z	e'	fəks	o e'	kees, so	dʒəst			
	8	whidər ə no,	dəs es	də	fəks	o də	kes, see				
<hr/>											
	1	hə,d jí,r	nóiz,	frɛn,	ən	bɛ́	kwá'ɪət	tɪ,l			
	2	həd	ir blə'dhər,	frɪnd,	ən	kəə	kəəni	kwhəl			
	3	həd jí,r	gəb,	my	mən,	ən	bɪ	kwá'ɪət	t'l		
	4	had	jər whisht,	frɪn,	ən	bɪ	kwé'ɪt	tɪl			
	5	had	jər nóiz,	frɪnd,	ən	bɪ	kwá'ɪət	t'l			
	6	had	jər dʒəə,	frɪn,	ɣn	bɪ	kwə'ɪət	təl			
	7	had	jər tɔq,	frɪn,	ən	bɪ	kwé'ɪt	fɛl			
	8	həd	dí nóis,	bóɪ,	ən	bɪ	whá'ɪət	tɪ,l			
<hr/>											
	1	a)z	dyy)n.								
	2	aa)m	də'n	wə	mə	stu,'ri.	hiir)i	dhen!			
	3	a')m	dyn.					whysht ɛn lɛs'n!			
	4	a)d	dɛ'n.					hiir tɔ dhɛs, lɛs'n ə wii!			
	5	a')m	dyn.					hark'n!			
	6	áái	hə	dɪn.				hark'n!			
	7	a)v	dɪn.					husht!			
	8	ə)m	dɣ)n.					lɛs'n [whisht].			
<hr/>											
4.	1	a)z	sárt'n	a	hɛrd	dhəm	see,	sə'm	v	dhə	
	2	aa)m	səər	a	hərd	dhəm	see,	səm	ə	dhí,'	
	3	aa)m	shyyr	a'	hərd	dhym	see'n,	səm	o	dhəm	
	4	a)m	shy'uur	a	hard	dhəm	see—	səm	ə	dhee	
	5	aa)m	sért'n	a'	hard	dhəm	see—	səm	ə	dhee	
	6	áái)m	shuur	a'	hard	dhym	see—	səm	ə	dhes	
	7	a)m	shuur	a	hard	əm	see—	səm	o	e'	
	8	a)m	shəər	ət	ə	hərd	dəm	see'ən—	səm	o	dat

1		fuu ₁ 'k	ət	gi ₁ 'ed	thruu	dhə	hi ₁ 'el	on)t		
2	vær ₁ ə	fu ₁ 'k	et	gi ₁ 'd	thra'u	dhə	hie'l	thèq		
3			ət	gee d	thruu	dhə	hee'l	thèq		
4		fook	what	gid	thruu	dhi	heel	thiq		
5		fa'uk	ət	gjeed	thruu	dhə	heel	theq		
6		fa'uk	yt	giid	thra'u	dhy	heel	theq		
7		fóuk	at	gid	thra'u	e'	heel	mètər		
8		fok	ət	gøed	tru	də	whool	thi ₁ q		
<hr/>										
1		frə	dhə	fee ^o rst	dhərsel'z	—	·ət	di ₁ (d)ə,		
2		thre	dhə	fərst(oo)d	dher səl'z	—	ət	dè'd)a,		
3	dhərsel ₁ z	fə	dhə	fərst(oo)t		—	ææ ₁	dè'd)a ¹ ,		
4		free	dhə	ferst	dhərselz	—	dhat	did)ə,		
5		fre	dhə	ferst	dhəmselz	—	dhat	ded)a ¹ ,		
6		fə	dhy	ferst	dhymse ₁ z	—	a't	a ded,		
7		fee	e'	fersht	dhəmselz	—	at	did)ə,		
8		fēe	də	fərst	dəmselz	—	·dət	did á'i,		
<hr/>										
1	wiil	ən'ukwəh.								
2	seer	ənəkwh.								
3	shyyr	ən'ākh.								
4	shy'uur	ən'ukh.								
5	sef	əniúkh.								
6	shuur	inúkh.								
7	seef	ən'fokh.								
8	see'f	ən'íokh.								
<hr/>										
5.	1	ət	dhə ₁	ɹə'qest	sə'n	hi ₁ zsel'	ə	grèt	búwi	ə
	2	ət	dhə	ɹəqest	sə'n	ez-səl'	ə	mək'l	kələnt	ə
	3	ət	dhə	ɹəqyst	sən	hɹzse ₁ l,	a'	mək'l	ládi	o
	4	dhat	dhə	ɹəqest	sən	həmsel,	ə	beg	bói	e
	5	ət	dhə	ɹəqest	sən	həmsel,	ə	mək'l	lədhi	o
	6	yt	dhy	ɹəqyst	sə'n	hymse ₁ l,	ə	mək'l	lun	ə
	7	ət	e'	ɹəqest	sə'n	həmsel,	ə	greet	bói	ə
	8	ət	də	ɹəqest	bói	həmsel,	ə	mək'l	shild	əbuut
<hr/>										
	1	nə'in	iie ^o rz	aal,	kent)iz	feedhe ^o rz	vóis	ət	ɹəns,	
	2	nə'in	ir	aald	kə'nd	ez	fə'dhərz	təq	ət	ɹə'nəns,
	3	nə'in	jir	aalld,	kə'nt	ɹz	fə'dhərz	və'is	a't	ɹəns,
	4	nə'in,			kent	his	fadhərs	təq	ət	ɹəns,
	5	nə'in,			kent	əz	fadhərz	wərd	a't	əns,
	6	nə'in			kent)s		fadhərz	wərd	a't	əns,
	7	náin,			kent	iz	feedhərz	wáis	ət	éins,
	8	ná'in			kent	his	feedhərz	vóis	ət	wans,
<hr/>										
	1	fe ^o r	aa	t)wəz)se	kwiir	ən	skwiikən,	ən)a)wəd		
	2	for	aa	et wəz	sé ₁	kwiir	ən	skwææki,	ən	aa wəd
	3	far	AA	et wɹz	sé ₁	kwiir	'n	skwiiki,	ən	a' wəd
	4	thoo		et wəz	se	kwiir	ən	skwilen,	ən	a wəd
	5	thoo		et wɹz	se	kwiir	'n	skwiik'n,	ən	ái wəd
	6	thoo		et wɹz	see	kwiir	ɹn	skwiik'n,	ɹn	a wɹd
	7	thoo		t)wəz	sə	kwiir	ən	skwiikən,	ən	a wəd
	8	altoo		it wəz	see	whiir	ən	skarlən,	ən	ə wí,d

1	trə'st)	i,m	tə	spik	dhə	try,'th	oni	dee',	á'i,
2	lè'p'n	hè'm	tə	spik	dhə	trə'th	oni	dee,	ət
3	trəst	hè'm	te	tə'l	dhə	try'th	oni	dee,	ææ',
4	trəst	hem	tə	tel	dhe	trəth	oni	dee,	did,
5	trəst	həm	t'l	spik	dhə	truth	oni	dee,	áái
6	trəst	he'm	ty	spéik	dhy	tróuth	oni	dee,	áái
7	trəst	he'm	tə	speek	e'	trə'uth	oni	dee,	ái,
8	trəst	h'm	tu	spék	də	trəəth	oni	dee,	'dat

1	a	wəd.
2	wil	wəd)ə.
3	wəd)	a'.
4	wud)	a.
5	wad)	a'.
6	wəd)	a'.
7	at	a wəd.
8	á'i	wi'd.

6.	1	ən	dhə	aal	wumən	he ^o rsəl'	wəl	təl	oni	o)ɾə
	2	en	dhə	aald	wé'if	hersəl'	'l	tə'l)i,	oni	o)j
	3	ən	dhə	Aald	wá'if	hərsəl	ɣl	tə,l	oni	o'juu
	4	ən	dhi	al	wéif	hərsəl	wəl	təl	oni	o)j
	5	ən	dhə	aald	wəmən	hərsəl	'l	təl	oni	ə)ɾə
	6	yn	dhy	aal	əmən	hɣrsəl	'l	təl	oni	ɣ)ɾi
	7	ən	e'		gíd wáif	hərsəl	əl	təl	oni	o)ji
	8	ən	da	aald	wá'if	hersəl	əl	təl	juu	or oni o

1	ət	lakwɰhs	na'u,	ən	təl)ɾə	s,t,ré,e'it	of	
2	ət	laakwɰhs	dhə	na'u,	ən	təl)i	strækjht	of
3	jenz	a't)s	laakh'n	nuu,	ən	təl)ɾi	re'kht	af
4		dhat	lakh	nuu,	ən	təl)i	street	of,
5		a't	laakhs	nuu,	ən	təl)ɾə	strekht	af
6		yt	lakhs	nuu,	yn	təl)ɾi	a't	əns
7		ət	lakh	nuu,	ə	təl)ɾi	streekht	af
8	juu	ət	ljaakhs	nuu,	ən	təl)juu	streekjht	af

1	tə ₁	wi,dhùt	mək'l'	bodhe ^o r	i,f	ɾə)l	nobət	às)e ^o r,
2	təə,	əthùt	mək'l'	bòdhər	e'f	i)l	onli	spiir
3	tyy,	wəthùt	mək'l'	a'dyy,	gen	ɾi)l	onli	aks)ər,
4	tì,	ədhu't	mək'l'	bòdhər,	ef	ɾi)l	onli	aks)ər,
5	tyy,	wəthu't	mək'l'	badhər,	ef	ɾə)l	onli	spiir
6	tii,	yn nee	mee'r	əbu't	ɣt,	gen	ɾi)l	spiir
7		widhuu't	mək'l'	bòdhər,	ge'f	ɾi	onli	aks
8	tə	əthuu't	mək'l'	bòdər,	if	ɾii)l	ònli	aks

1		oo!	wá'net	shyy,?
2	a't)ər,	æ'i,	wəl)shi?	
3		ee',	wəl	shy noo?
4		o,	wud)'nt	shi?
5	a't)ər,	oo,	wəl)shi	noo?
6	a't)ɣr,	aa',	wi)nə	shi?
7	hər,	o,	wəl	shi no?
8	hər,	o!	wil)nə	shə?

7. 1	oni ₁ wee	shy ₁	telt	·méii sii ₁ ə	↓ kwəhən)a	ast e ^o r
2	oni we	shə	tæ'ld	méi	kwəhən a	akst)ər
3	ət oni rət	shə	təlt	mii,	kwəhən aa	spiird a't)ər
4	liistwəz	shi	təlt	mi sii,	whən a	akst)ər
5	oni wáai	shi	təld)it	mii,	fən a ¹	spiird a't)ər
6	a't oni ret	shə	tal)ty	mii,	fyn a ¹	spiirt)a't)yr,
7	ət eni reet	shi	təlt it	mii	fan a	asket
8	ət lest	shə	taald	·mii ət	whi ₁ n á'i	akst her

1	twii ₁ əthréii	té'imz	óuə ₁ r	dá,d)shə,	ən	shyy ₁
2	twii ₁ ' or thréi	téimz	óur,	et dè'd shi,	ən	shəə
3	twaa)khrii	tá'imz	ə'ur,	shə ded,	ən	shii
4	twaar thrii	téimz	óur,	did)shi,	an	shii
5	twaə ər thrii	tə'imz	ə'ur,	ded shi,	ən	shii
6	twaə ər thrii	téimz	óur,	ded shə,	yn	shii
7	twaar thrii	táimz	óur,	shi did,	en	shii
8	twartri	tá'imz	óuər,	dat shə dè,d,	ən	shəə

1	óut'nt	tə	béi sə	və ₁ rə	fa'r rəq	on	si ₁ k)ə
2	súd(ne [səd)nə]		béi		w'rəq	on	sə ¹ k'n e
3	shud)ne		bi		rəq	on	sek'n a ¹
4	okht nət	tə	bi		raq	on	sekən ə
5	okht)nə	tə	bi		vraq	on	sek ə
6	səd)ny		by		vraq	on	sek ə
7	okht nə	tə	bi		r ₁ wəq	on	sek ə
8	ókht nə	tə	bi		wrə'q	əpə	sek ə

1	póint əz dhé's,	↓ kwəhət	dez	·dha'u	thi ₁ qk on)t?
2	point əz dhé's,	kwəhət			thèqk)i?
3	pə'int əz dhət,	di'i	noo		thèq?
4	theq əz dhəs,	what	d)i		theqk?
5	pə'int əz dhes,	fat	də ji		theqk?
6	péint)sz dhes,	fat	d _y ji		theqk?
7	metə _r əz is,	fat	dji		thiqk?
8	point əz dəs,	what			tèqkst du?

8. 1	wiil, əz)a wəz	tələn dhə,	shu)wud	təl)jə,	hə'u
2	əwil, əz aa wəz	see ₁ n,	shəə wəd	tə'l)i,	hə'u,
3	wil, əz aa	sé'd,	shii wəd	tə ₁)ji,	huu,
4	wil, əz a wəz	see'ən,	shii wəd	təl)i,	huu,
5	wil, əz aa wəz	see'n.	shii wəd	təl)jə	fuu,
6	wil, əz a ¹ wyz	see'n	she wəd	təl)ji,	fat wáai
7	wil, əz a wəz	se'ən,	shii wəd	təl ji,	huu,
8	wiil, əz á'i wiz	seeən,	shəə wəd	təl ju,	fuu

1	↓ kwheer	ən	↓ kwəhən	shy ₁	fə'n	dhə	d _r ək'n	bist	ət
2	kwheer	ən	kwəhən	shə	fənd	dhə	d _r əkən	bist	ət
3	·kwəhən	ən	kwheer	shi	fən	dhy	d _r ək'n	bry't	
4	whaar	ən	whən	shi	fən	dhi	d _r ək'n	biist	
5	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fənd	dhə	d _r ək'n	beest	
6	fan	yn	faar	shə	fan	dhat	d _r əq ¹ k'n	beest	ət
7	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fan	e ¹	d _r əqk'n	beest	fat
8	whaar	ən	whən	shə	fən	də	d _r ək'n	beest	ət

- 1 shy₁ kàz)e^or 'hà'zbənd.
 2 shə kaaz ər mən.
 3 shə kAAZ ər mən.
 4 shi kaaz hər gəd man.
 5 shi kaaz ər man.
 6 shə kaaz ər man.
 7 shi kaaz ər man.
 8 shə kEEZ hər mē'n.

9.	1 shy ₁ swœ'r	shy ₁ saa) _i m	widh	ə,r	aan	iin,
	2 shə swør	shə saa)'m	wə	ər)n)	een	in,
	3 shi tük ər ee'th et	shə saa)em	wy	ər	ee'n	in,
	4 shi suur	shi sa)m	wi	her	een	in,
	5 shi swoor	shi saa)m	wi	ər	een	in,
	6 shə swiir	shə saa)ym	wi	yrn	een	in,
	7 shi swoor	shi sa)m	wi)ər		een	in,
	8 shə swør	shə see him	wi	hər	ee'n	in,
	1 lá'ən st'rikt	út	et iz	fa'l	lenth	on dhə grā'n
	2 lá'ən strikit	út	ez	fa'l	læ'nth	onə dhə grānd
	3 strikət	út	yr	hee'l	læ'nth	on dhə grān,
	4 lá'ən striikit	ət		fuu	lenth	on dhə grān
	5 lá'ən strikýt	ət		fa'l	lenth	on dhə grānd
	6 lá'ən stréikýt	ut		aa)z	lenth	oo dhý grān
	7 lá'ən st'reetýt			aa iz	lenth	on e' grān
	8 lá'ən st'reetýt	ət	hiz	heel	lent	əpə də grānd
	1 əv)əz gy'd	sə'ndə	kliiz.	klú,əs	bí,	dhə dœə,r
	2 e'n əz gəd	səbdhədəz	ku,'t	klú,'s	bi	dhə hús
	3 yn yz gjyd	səndəz	bə'st,	dý,ist	fərnə,n't	dhə door
	4 in híz gəd	səbith	kleez,	dýst	bí	dhə door
	5 en əz gjyd	səndə	kot,	kləs	bi	dhə door
	6 wii)z gwid	səndý	kot	kləs	a't	dhý door
	7 in iz gid	sə'bith	kleez	klooz	at	e' door
	8 ənti'l hiz	gy'd	səndə	kot,	kləs	bí
	1 ə)dhə hús,	duun	ət	dhé,	korne ^o r	ə jon loné,n.
	2 door	dùn	ət	dhə	kornər	ə jon [dhon] lí,'n.
	3 o dhə hús,	dùn	dhə	kləs	jəndər	a't dhə kə'rnər.
	4 o dhə huus,	duun	ət	dhi	kornər	ə dhe loonin.
	5 ə dhə hus,	dun	a't	dhə	kornər	ə jon leən.
	6 y dhý hus,	dun	ýt	dhý	kornər	ə jon leən.
	7 o)e' huus,	duun	ət	ə	kornər	ə jen rodí.
	8 o də huus,	duun	ət	də	kornər	o jon rod.
10.	1 hí, wəz	[kə'həndjən	əwee	sez	shyy,	
	2 héi wəz	kə'hənzən	əwee,	kə)shə,		
	3 ən hi wyz	whəmp'rən	a'waa,	shə	diklee'rz,	
	4 hii wəz	whəndjən	əwaa,	sed	shii,	
	5 hi wəz	whə'inən	əwaa,	sez	shii,	
	6 hi wyz	meenən	əwaa,	sez	shə,	
	7 hii wəz kównən	ən	whéinən	əwaa,	sez	shii,
	8 hi wí,z	whəndjən	əwaa,	sez)	shə,	

1	fer	àl	dhə	wə'r'l	dhə	s _i əm)əz)ə	sik	beern,		
2	for	aa	dhə	wor'lt	léik	ə	noo-wil	bèrn,		
3	far	AA	dhə	warld	lə'ik	a ¹	noo ¹ -wil	be ¹ rn,		
4	fər	aa	dhi	wərl	léik	ə	sik	wəns ^h ,		
5	fər	aa	dhə	war'ld	lə'ik	ə	sik	wəen,		
6	djist	fər	aa	dhy	wor'd'l	léik	ə	sik	le'tl)ən,	
7	fər	aa	e ¹	wərl	le ¹ k	ə	sik	beern ⁱ ,		
8	fər	aa	de	wərl	lək	ə	sik	beern,		
<hr/>										
1	ər)el _i t'l	las	i _n)ə	fré'it.						
2	or ə	bè't	wè ⁿ sh	en ə	fr _i 't.					
3	or a ¹	bèt	lasək	y	dhy	pə't.				
4	ər ə	bet	las ⁱ	en ə	pət.					
5	ər ə	wii	las ⁱ	en ə	tæg.					
6	ər ə	bet	las ⁱ	yn ə	pət.					
7	ər ə	p _i r _i	wii	las ⁱ .						
8	ər ə	p _i r _i	las	i	də	dorts.				
<hr/>										
11.	1	ən	dha,t	həp'nt	əz	hœ ₁ 'r	ən)ə			
	2	ən	dhè's	həp'nt	də'st	əz	her	en ər gə'd		
	3	ən	dhat	wyz	djy'st	əz	her	'n ər gjyd		
	4	ən	dhat	hapənd	az	hər	ən	hər gəd		
	5	ən	dhat	hap'nt	əz	hər	'n	ər gyd		
	6	yn)t		hap ^y nt	əz	hər	'n	ər gwid		
	7	ən	at	hapənd	fan	hər	ən	hər gid		
	8	ən	dat	hap'nd	əz	shə	ən	hər gy ₁ d		
<hr/>										
	1	dóu,te ^o r)i _n)laa	kóm	thruu	dhə	bak	faal			
	2	dòkwhter	wəz	kamen	thrə'u	dhe ¹	bək	jeerd		
	3	dòkhtər		kàm	thruu	dhə	bək	jee'rd		
	4	dokhtər		kam	thruu	dhə	bak	jard		
	5	daakhtər		kam	thru	dhə	bak	jeerd		
	6	doothər		kam	throu	dhy	bak	jeerd		
	7	dokhtər		kam	fee	e ¹	bak	ev e ¹ hus		
	8	dáukhtər		kə'm	tro	də	bak	jeerd		
<hr/>										
	1	frə	h _i ,q _i ,n	dhə	wət	kl _i ,ez	uut	tə	drái	əv)ə
	2	thre	heq _i n	ùt	dhə	wət	kl _i ,z	tə	drái	on ə
	3	fə	hèq'n	ùt	dhy	klee ¹ ,z,				et wyz
	4	free	haqən	uut	dhə	wət	kleez	tə	drái	on ə
	5	fə	heq'n	ut	dhə	wit	kleez	t'l	dráai	on ə
	6	eftər	heq'n	ut	dhy	wit	kleez	ty	dráai	on ə
	7	fee	haqən	uut	e ¹	wit	klees	tə	drái	on ə
	8	fEE	heqən	də	wit	kleez	ut	tə	drá'i	wh _i ,n
<hr/>										
	1	wəshin	dee',							
	2	wə'shin	dee ₁ ,							
	3	wəsh'n	dee ¹	ji	kə,n,					
	4	wəshən	dee,							
	5	wəsh'n	dee,							
	6	wəsh'n	dee,							
	7	wəshən	dee,							
	8	dee	wər	biin	waash'n,					

12.	1	[kʷhɛ'ɪl	dhɛ	kɛt'l	wɛz	bóilɛn	fɔr	téii
	2	ɛz	dha	kæ't'l	wɛz	bóilɛn	fɔr	dhɛ téi
	3	ən	dhɣ	kɛt'l	wɣz	bə'il'n	fɔr	tii ɛn et wɣz
	4	whən	dhɛ	kɛt'l	wɛz	bóilɛn	fɔr	tii'
	5	fən	dhɛ	kɛt'l	wɣz	bəil'n	fɔr	dhɛ tii
	6	fɣn	dhɣ	kɛt'l	wɣz	béilɣn	fɔr	dhɣ tee
	7	fan	e'	kɛt'l	wɛz	bóilɛn	fa	tii
	8	i	də	tá'ím	ət	də	teeket'l	wɛz bóilɛn

1	ÿen	brɛ'it	sə'me'ɔr	a'fte'ɔrnyɣn,	onli,
2	jee féin	brɛkjht	sə'mər	æftərnən,	nii' meər dhən
3	a' braa 'n	brɛkht	səmər	æftərnyn,	ən nee' far'r
4	jee féin	brɛkht	səmər	æftərnin,	djest
5	ee fá'in	brɛkht	səmər	æftərnyn,	onli
6	ee féin	brɛkht	səmər	æftərnin,	onli
7	éi fáin	brɛkht	səmər	æftərnin,	onli
8	ii fá'in		səmərz	æftərnən,	onli

1		ɐ	wik		kam	thœ,rzde.
2	[ner ez]	ə	wik	óur	gi'n kam	nɪst fɔrzdə.
3		ge'n	dhɣn			lást thɔrzdə'.
4		ə	wik		kam	ferst dhɔrzdɛɛ.
5		ə	wik	sə'in	kam	nikst fyrrzde.
6		ə	wik	sə'in	kəm	fɪrzdɣ ferst.
7		ə	wik	sín	séin kam	fɔrsht fiurzdeɛ.
8		ə	wik	whi'n	də	nɪst fɔrzdə kəmz.

13.	1	ən	dijɔ	kɛn?	a	ni've'ɔr	lœrnd	oni	méir
	2	ən	déi	kæ'n?	aa)v	nə'vər	hård	nii'	meer dhən
	3	ən	di'i	kɛ,n?	a'		hård	ne'	mee'r dhɣn
	4	an	d)i	kɛn?	a	nevər	hård	oni	meer
	5	ən	dijɔ	kɛn?	ái	nevər	lœrnt	oni	meer dhən
	6	ɣn	dív)ji	kɛn?	a	nivər	kɛnt	oni	mee'r nar
	7	ən	d)i	kɛn?	a	nevər	hård	eni	meer dhən
	8	ən	də	ji	kɛn?	á'i	ni,vər	kɛnt	oni meer ɛs

1		ɐ	dhɛ's	bɛ'znɛs	tɪl	dhɛ		deɛ',	ɛz	
2	dhɛ's	ə	dhɛ	bɛ'znɛs	t'l	dhɛ's	gɔd	deɛ,	ɛs	
3	dhat	ə	dhɣ	bɛ'znɛs	t'l	dhɣ		deɛ',	ɛz	
4		o	dhi	biznis	ɛp	tel	dhɛ	deɛ,	az	
5	dhes	əf	dhat	beznɛs	ɛp	t'l	dhɛ	deɛ,	az	
6	dhes	ə	dhat	beznɣs	ɛp	tɣ	dhes	verə	deɛ,	ɛs
7	is	o	at	mɛtər	ɛp	tə	is	deɛ,	ɛz	
8	dɛs	o	dat	wark	tə	də	tá'ím	ət)s	kam, ɛz	

1	sœɔr	ɛz	mi,	ni'mz	:dʒu,ɛn	:shep'ɔrd	ɛn)ɐ
2	shɔr	ɛz	mə	ni'm)z	:dʒu'n	:she'pɔrd,	ɛn a
3	shyyr	ɛz	dhɛ	kAA mii	:dʒok	:she'pɔrd,	ɛn a'
4	shœr	ɛz	ma	neem)z	:dʒoni	:shipɔrd,	an a
5	syyr)z		mə	neem)z	:dʒoon	:shepɔrd,	ɛn a'
6	shuur)z		my	neem)z	:dʒon	:shepɔrt,	ɣn fat)s
7	shuur)z		ma	neem)z	:tʒok	:shipɔrd,	ɛn a
8	shœr	ɛz	má'i	nɛm ɛz	:dʒoni	:shɛpɔrd,	ɛn á'i

1	di,v'nt	want	tə	kən	áudhər,	dheər	na'u!			
2	de')nə	wánt	tə	ne,dhər,		dhii,'r	nə!			
3	de)nə	wánt	ty	nee'dhər,	sə	dhee'r!				
4	də)nə	wánt	tə	edhər,		dheer	nə!			
5	də)nə	want	t'l	eedhər,		dheer	nu!			
6	nee'r,	a'	də)nə	went	ty	kən.				
7	di)nə	want	tə	hiir	meer	edhər,	nuu dhen!			
8	do)nə	want	tə	də	it	ne'dər,	deer nuu!			
<hr/>										
14. 1	ən	si,i,ə,	à)z	gaan		hi,i,em	tə mi, sá'pe ^o r.			
2	na'u	dhe'n,	aa)m	gaan		hi'e'm	tə mə sá'pər.			
3	wil!		a')m	GAAN		hee'm	ty my sá'pər.			
4	an	see	a)m	gan	əwa'	hem	tə ma sá'pər.			
5	ən	see	a')m	gee'n	əwaa'	heem	tə mə sá'pər.			
6	yn	see	a)m	djaain	əwaa'	heem	tə mə sá'pər.			
7	ən	see	a)m	gjaan		heem	tə ma sá'pər.			
8	ən	see	a'i)m	gEEən		HEM	tə mi sá'pər.			
<hr/>										
1	gyy,d	ne'it,	ən	di,)nə	béi	sə	shárp	ət	krà'i)n	
2	gəd	ne'kjht,	ən	wé,t	ə	wii	əfuu,'r	i	kraa	
3	gyd	ne'kht,	ən	dè)nə	bi	yn	sè'k	a' həri	ty kraa	
4	gəd	nekht,	ən	di)nə	bii	djəst	se	fast	tə kraa	
5	gjyd	nekht,	ən	də)nə	bi	se	kwek	tə	kraa	
6	gwid	nekht,	yn	de)ny	bi	see	krus	ty	kraa	
7	gid	nekht,	ən	di)nə	bi	in	set	ə həri	tə kraa	
8	gy,d	ná'ikjht	ən	do)nə	bi	SEE	reedi	tə	kraa	
<hr/>										
1		oue ^o r	ə	bodi	əgeen,	{kwəhən}	i	táks	ə	
2	si,'	krùs	óur	ə	bu,'di	əgi,'n,	kwəhən	héi	kráks	ə
3	se'	krùs	á'ur	a'	bodi	a'ge'n,	wəhən	hii)z	spik'n	a'
4		óur	ə	bodi	əgen,	wən	hi	télz)i	ə	
5		á'ur	ə	bədi	əgen,	fən	i	kraks	o	
6		óur	ə	bədi	əgen,	fyn	i	spéiks		
7		óur	ə	bodi	əge'n,	fan	hi	speeks	o	
8		óur	oni	iin	əgen,	wh'i,n	hii)z	spekən	o	
<hr/>										
1	dh <i>i</i> ,s	dha,t	e ^o r	dhe	tá'dhe ^o r.					
2	dhè's	or	dhət,	or	dhe	t)ədher	thè'q.			
3	bù't	dhès,	dhàt,	or	dhy	ədher	thèq.			
4	dh <i>i</i> s		dhat	ər		ədher.				
5	dhes		dhat	or	dhe	idher.				
6	dhes		dhat	or	dhy	t)idher	theq.			
7	is		ər	at.						
8	dēs		dat	or	də	idə	thəq.			
<hr/>										
15. 1	its	ə	week	fyy,l	ət	klá,tte ^o rz	wi,dhùt	riiz'n.		
2	héi)z	ə	sè'li	fəl	et	blæ'dhərz	əwee ₁	wəthùt	rii,'z'n.	
3	hii)z	a'	sèli	gá'uk	yt	blæ'dhərz		wy'thùt	sə,ns.	
4	et)s	ə	si'li	fəl	dhat	klátərz		ədhu't	rez'n.	
5	et)s	ə	week	fyl	ət	blæ'dhərz		wəthu't	rez'n.	
6	et)s	ə	wéik	fiil	yt	gandjəz		wənt'n	rez'n.	
7	hed)z	ə	week	fil	ət	klá,tərz		withut	ə reez'n.	
8	et)s	ə	wEE'k	fəl	ət	shæ'eks		ədhu't	reez'n.	

1	ən dha:ts	mí ₁	last	wu ₁ rd.	gyy ₁ d	nɛ'ít.
2	dhát)s	maa	hè'n ₁ mest	wárd.	gəð	bái!
3	ən dhàt)s	AA	a'v ty see',	sə	ggyd	baa'!
4	an dhat)s	ma	last	word.	gəð	nekht, əgɛ'n.
5	ən dhat)s	ma'	henmøst	wárd.	ggyd	bə'i t)ə.
6	dhat)s	máa <i>i</i>	hínmyst	wárd.	gwíð	báa <i>i</i> .
7	ən at)s	ma	last	wárd.	gid	nekht, əgɛ'n,
8	ən dat)s	má'i	híd ₁ mest	wárd.	gy ₁ d	ná'i'kjht!

* * The above 8 cs. should be studied as part of the districts to which they have been referred on p. 684, and similarly for the 5 phonetic transcripts of the first chapter of the Book of Ruth on p. 698. They are inserted here, out of order, to render the comparison easier. The reader should observe, in No. 1, *Bewcastle*, the sudden cessation of (*u, u₁*) and its replacement by (*æ*), the cessation of (*u, u*) and appearance of pure (*uu*) before consonants or (*æ'u*) when no consonant follows, all strongly against Cu. habits. In No. 2, *Hawick*, the peculiar (*i₁, u₁*) vowels, and *U* = (*æ'u*) when not before a consonant not found in the rest of L. In Nos. 5, 6, 7, *Arbroath, Keith, and Wick*, the use of (*f*) for (*wh*), and especially in No. 7, *Wick*, the use of (*e¹, is*) for *the, this*, and (*h¹d*) for *it*, the old (*h*) being restored, not a new *h* inserted, but in No. 8, *Dunrossness*, the frequent use of (*t, d*) for (*th, dh*).

Notes to No. 1, *Bewcastle*, cs. pp. 682, 684.

The Longtown version is cited as LT., and the words are put in italics.

0. *what* (*kwh*) is almost (*wh*) when initial, not otherwise.—LT. *wey John hes nē doots*. No doubt *what for* would be the phrase used. Instead of *nē, nae* was first written.

1. *well neighbour*, so LT. JGG. considers (*é, e¹i*) to represent the received diphthongal long *a*, only with a longer glide. I should probably have simply written (*éi*). The (*e^o*) which occurs frequently in this version is an obscure (*e*), and in fact does not sensibly differ from (*ø*) or (*ə*), but JGG. wished to represent the impression he received.—*both*, both elements accented, LT. *bēaith*.—*mine*, LT. *meyne*. This thin (*æ'i*) diphthong, with a tendency towards (*æ'i*), is very characteristic of nw.Cu. See Holme Cultram, p. 562, No. 20.—*neither here nor there*, LT. *nayder hēer nor thēer*.

2. *dē*, LT. *dē*.—*we know, don't we*, LT. *we ken, div'nt we*.—*make*, LT. *māake*.—*very likely*, LT. *varra leykely*.

3. *howsoever*, etc., LT. *howsoever* or *huzsever*, *thē err the fācs o' the hēāse, sē just hod your noise, frēnd*. Observe Mr. Sinclair's (*ha₁d, frēn*). (*fri₁nz*) in the pl. at Milburn, We.—*I is done*, LT. *ā've dun*, both words perhaps literary. In (*dyy₁n*) JGG. considers the vowel to be (*uu*) with the tongue obliquely advanced towards the (*i*) position, and he writes it (*uu'*), but consents to (*y₁*) as merely a generic symbol representing 'something like'

French (*y*), and this was the effect to my ear when I heard him pronounce it. Observe (*a₁z*) = 'I is,' which runs quite into Liddesdale.

4. *I is*, LT. *I am*, which is educated.—*certain*, etc., LT. *certain ā heard*. The (*r*) is trilled throughout regularly as in Scotland.—*some*, JGG. considers this (*æ'*) to lie between (*o*) and the Teviotdale value of (*æ*), and might be (*o₁*) as well as (*æ'*), reminding him more of (*o, o*) than the Teviotdale (*æ*) does.—*the folks*, etc., LT. *thē fōōāks whē gēēid*.—*whole*, LT. *hēāl*.—*first*, the vowel is very difficult owing to the disturbance of (*r*). JGG. has tried many ways of symbolising it. But he finally admits (*e^o*) as an indistinct and indefinite (*e*). It sometimes reminds him of the Nb. sound, which he thinks is (*æ₂*) or (*æ*) pronounced with a widened pharynx, LT. *f'ērst*, where the ' are unexplained.—*well enough*, the (*i_u*), says JGG., is the same as in general NW. of England, but only occurs before (*kwh*) in this district, as in (*diūkwh, plūkwh, klūkwh, tiūkwh, sūkwh, unūkwh*) = dough, plough, cleugh, tough, sough, enough; LT. *sēāife enuff*.

5. *youngest*, etc., LT. *youngist son himsel, a greet bōōē o' neyne—knew*, etc., LT. *kent hēes fayder's voice at yince*; the *d* in *fayder* was probably dental, it is only occasionally marked in Mr. Sinclair's version, but JGG.

considers the omissions to be due to Mr. Sinclair's residence in Nb. Observe that 's of the possessive is used, it is omitted in D 31.—*queer*, the (ii) is quite pure throughout, never (i,i).—*truth*, LT. *trüth*, JGG. wrote (tr.ä'th), see par. 3.—*I is done*.

6. *old*, LT. *äl*.—*will*, LT. *wull*.—*now*, LT. *now*, this (ä'u) for (uu) occurs only in an open syllable, before a consonant it remains (uu, ü), as in Rx.—*too*, LT. *too*, with a 'guttural sound.' JGG. has attempted several ways of noting the sound, which in Rx. Dr. Murray assumes to be the French (ə)=*eu* in *peu*. JGG. says it is *not* labialised, but may lie between (ə, u), or among (ə, i, u) or (u, i, ə), but consents to writing (ə_i) frequently in D 31, p. 541, as a variant of (ə) produced without rounding the lips.—*without*, LT. *withoot muckle bodder*.—*won't she*, LT. *wunnet shoo*. JGG. writes (shy_i) here, describing it as "low (i_i), high-rounded," but writes (sh.ü¹) in par. 7. See note, par. 3, *I is done*.

7. *she*, LT. *shoo*, see par. 6, *won't she*.—*me*, LT. *mēe*, just as dialect writers use 'mee' in Cu. and Yo.—*when*, LT. *whōne*, on which Rev. Mr. Elwood, of Torver, Coniston, n.La., says in a letter of 20 March, 1874, "There is one word *whone*, the word for *when*, which occurs in his [Mr. Hope's] version, the sound of which (though I understood what sound he meant to convey the moment I saw it) I fear neither he nor I will be able to convey to you in the compass of a letter. It is pronounced something like *whāūn*, with a deep inflection." This may be (whoō'.n) with a fall of pitch on (oo) and then a rise. Mr. Sinclair seems to have used an altogether different sound.—*two*, etc., LT. *twō* or *three teymes ōur*, *dud she*, and *shoo*.—*wrong*, etc., LT. *rang on sic a*.—*dost thou think*, LT. *dēē yah think*.

8. *she would*, LT. *shoo wad*. JGG.

says the (u) was distinct in both words, we have seen in other parts, p. 596, par. 8, that *she* becomes (shu) before (wud).—*how*, etc., LT. *how*, *where*, and *whōne shoo fun the drucken*.—*she calls*, LT. *she cās*.

9. *she swore*, etc., LT. *shoo swore she saw him, with her āan e'en, lying streakit, at full length on the grun in his gud Sunday cōāt cōōs by the dūr* (guttural sound) *o' the hoose doon at the coorner o' yon tonning* (or *loo-ning*).—*lying*, observe not (līgā'n).—*good*, JGG. wrote (g.ū'd), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*door*, JGG. considers this a variant of the French *œu* in *sœur*.—*house down*, observe (hūs, duun), not (hæ'us dā'un), because the word is followed by a consonant.

10. *whingeing*, LT. *wehnying*.—*she*, etc., LT. *shoo*, for *a' the woorld*.—*sick*, LT. *seek cheyld*. Observe (sik) with short (i), not (si,k, sik).—*fright*, LT. *fret*, which is perhaps not dialectal, but Hawick (fri,'t) is 'fret.'

11. *her*, LT. *shoo*.—*daughter-in-law came*, LT. *doughter-in-lāw cam'*.—*fold*, LT. *yaird*.—*clothes out*, LT. *clēs oot*.—*washing*, LT. *weshing*.

12. *while*, LT. *wehyle*.—*one bright*, etc., LT. *yin feyne breet simmer efternūn*.—*Thursday*, LT. inserts *neist*=next before Thursday.

13. *and do you ken*, etc., LT. *a and dē ye ken? ā niver lairned ony mair*.—*till to-day*, LT. *up too* (guttural sound).—*as sure*, LT. *as sūr as my nēame*.—*and I don't want*, etc., LT. *and ā div'nt want too ader, thēer now*.

14. *and so I is going*, LT. *and sē ā'm gan hēāme ta sup*. *Gude nēet and div'nt be sē quick to-o* (guttural sound) *crāw ōur a body again whone he tāks o' this that or t' other*.

15. *weak fool*, LT. *weak fūl*, JGG. writes (f.ū¹), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*that clatters*, LT. *that prates withoot reason*.—*my last word*, LT. *my last word*. *gud b'oy*.

Notes to No. 2, *Hawick*, cs., pp. 682, 684.

2. *likely*, (léiklī) is also used, I have however heard (lè'klī) from Lowlanders myself.

3. *just*, Dr. M. says "commonly (dɛst) when unemphatic and gen. even if emphatic, though (dʒɛst) may then be heard from some. The vowel is the ordinary Scotch *u*, currently assumed = French *u*. When I learnt French at school, I was taught to

pronounce French *juste* with the same vowel."—*call canny*, that is, *drive gently* (or be still).

4. *first of it*, the (oo) was marked long by Dr. M.

5. *that well would I*.

8. *aweel*, (əwīl, əwīl) both given.

9. *Sabbath day's*.

13. *than*, (dʰən, ɛz, nɛr, bi) all used after the comparative.

Notes to No. 3, *Edinburgh* cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *the*, Dr. M. uses (*y*) rather vaguely where I should put (*i*) or (*i*₁), but I leave it.—*at*, I have changed Dr. M.'s (*ah*) into (*a*¹) as more suggestive.—*who cares*, etc., or better (*whaa ma'indz dhat? dhat's a' smaame'ter*.)"

2. *because*, I rather doubt the appreciation (*bikəz*).

3. *just*, the shade of (*y*) in (*djyst*) is doubtful here and elsewhere.

4. *sure enough*, or (*nee¹ dùt vùt yt*) no doubt about it.

6. *you yons*, apparently, you that are yonder.—*ask*, both (*aks*, *ask*) are used.

8. *when*, (*kwàn*) or (*whàn*).—*where* (*kwhee'r*) or (*whee'r*).

10. *no-well*, that is, unwell, or sick.

13. *the day*, that is, to-day.

Notes to No. 4, *Stranraer*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

5. *big*, (*greet*) is also used *deed would I*=indeed I would, as a variant (*ái, wed ə*) aye, would I.

6. *now*, (*ni*) is used at Kirkcudbright.

7. *leastways* or (*oni wez*) any ways. *wrong*, the *w* is not heard.

8. *found* (*fæn*) or (*fan*).—*beast* (*bé'st*) in Wigton.

9. *lane*, yonder (*ronər*) might be added.

10. *pet* or (*tef*) tiff.

14. *do not be* I had transcribed (*didnə*), a manifest error, and hence I adopt the reading of No. 7.

15. *silly* or (*wik*) weak.

Notes to No. 5, *Arbroath*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Mr. Anderson is referred to as A.

1. *you and him*, A. wrote *you an'he*.—*both*, A. *baith* with the sound *æ*, explained as "somewhat like English *ay* in *say*, but has a more shut sound," probably (*e*¹) is meant, but Dr. M. uses (*ee*) throughout. The words which A. specifies as having this *æ* or say (*ee*¹) sound are in his spelling: *baith, nather, hāill, ance, straicht, lane, bairn, yaird, fae, afternume, mair, aither, wake*: both, neither, whole, once, straight, lane, bairn, yard, from, afternoon, more, either, weak. He also uses *ēa* to express a sound "somewhat similar to *æ* or French *de* pro-

longed," which is a very different sound from (*ee*¹), and assigns it to: *learned, name, hame*.—*laugh*. A writes *lauch*.—*it*, this use of (*e*) for (*i*) is not recognised by A.

5. *laddy*, Dr. Murray notes the pron. (*ladhi*) as "authentic," A. merely writes *laddie*.

7. *wrong*, A. writes simply *wrang*, the (*vraq*) is M.'s insertion.

10. *tig*, "a pet, a fit of sullen humour," Jamieson's Dictionary.

12. *when*, A. has *fan*.—*boiling*, A. has *boilin'* not *bilin'*.

13. *don't*, A. has *dinna* not (*dənə*).

Notes to No. 6, *Keith*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Rev. Walter Gregor's spelling is cited as G; Dr. Murray's as M; vv. the vivā voce cwl. as heard by AJE.

2. *likely*, G. *līckly*. The *i* of Ab. writers and that neighbourhood is used in at least three manners, which will be discussed under D 39. Dr. M. has apparently in despair used (*y*) where Mr. Gregor wrote *i*, with the following explanation, which neither Dr. M. nor I succeeded in understanding: "*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill, mill*, another in *wint* (*wont*), and a third in *fin* (*when*) *hinmist*. The sound in *fill, will, him*, comes nearest to the sound of *yes, yet*; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of the *i* in

window. In *fin* the sound comes nearest the sound in *pin*." In English the last two are identical. In all cases Mr. Gregor probably refers to the pron. in more southern parts of Scotland. M (*lɛkly*), vv. (*léiklé*).

3. *quiet*, G. *quai't*, M. (*kwaa't*), vv. (*kwe'et*).—*done*, G. *dēn*, M. (*din dyyn*), vv. (*diin*).

4. *enough*, G. *ányuch*, M. (*ynɛkɛh*), vv. (*iniukh*).

5. *son*, G. *sin*, M. (*see'n*), vv. (*se'n*), and *sun* was absolutely the same.—*loun*, "a boy," Jam. Dict.—*word*,

G. *wird*, M. (*wyrd*), vv. (*wærd*), this is one of the three pron. of *i* in D 39, which sounds to me like (æ).—*was*, G. *wiz*, M. (*wyz*), vv. (*wez*), this is another of the three pron. of *i* in D 39.—*truth*, G. *trauth*, M. (*træ'uth*), vv. (*tróuth*).—*would*, G. *wid*, M. (*wyd*), vv. (*wæd*).

7. *told it*, G. *taul't*, M. (*taäl't*), vv. (*tal't*).

8. *found that*, G. *fan that* or *tat*, this is a case of assimilation of (dh) to (t) after (n), found elsewhere.

9. *her own eyes*, G. *ir nain een*, M. (*yr-n- een in*), I should have probably heard (ør ne'n in).

9. *in his good Sunday coat, close at the door*, G. *in's gweed Sunday quite close at tha door*, M. (*wii'z gwid sandy kwéit, klos a't dhy door*). Unfortunately the word *coat* was skipped in my vv. vl., but in a num. vl. which G. had previously sent me it was marked (*kot*), which I have adopted. But in *Johnny Gibb, quite* is used for *coat*.

10. *little one*, G. *littlön*, as well as I could read it, but the writing was indistinct, and M. gave it up.

11. *as her and her*, G. *iz hir än hir*, M. (*yz heer 'n yr*), probably (*öz har ön hør*) would be more correct, and I have introduced it.

14. *going*, G. *djahin*, M. (*djaan, dzshaan*), vv. the word *to go* was written both (*g'iaq, djan*), hence I adopt (*djaa'in*) as most probably what was intended; of course it is an alteration of (*gjaan*) heard at Wick, Cs.—*don't*, G. *dinnä*, which M. here represents by (*deny*), but just at end of par. 13 by (*denə*). The sound is perhaps (*də'nə*).—*crouse*, "brisk, apparently brave," Jam. Dict.

15. *ganjis*, as G. writes it here, is in his *Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, "GANNYIE, *n.* (1) much pert foolish talking, (2) a pert talker.—GANNYIE, *v.n.* to talk much in a foolish, pert fashion (*Gandy* is the form given by Jamieson). GANNYIEIN', *a.* given to pert, silly talking (Jamieson gives the noun, *ganien*)." —*reason*, G. *rizzin*, M. (*rizyn*), vv. (*rez'n*).

Notes to No. 7, Wick, cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *John*, (*t:ʃon*) is remarkable, because initial (tʃ) generally becomes (sh).—*no doubts*, (*nee duuts*) more common in Wick, according to Micklejohn and Sinclair.

1. *mine*, the form (*máinz*) is only occ. used, (*má'in*) is most frequent.

2. *should*, (*sed*) is an older form.—*it is*, observe the retention of the aspirate in *it*, Ws. *hit*.

3. *how and ever*, for *howsoever*, (*fuu*) is the regular form for *how* and *why*.—*these is the*, observe omission of (dh) in *these, the*, which is regular in Cs.—*till* (*fel*) is not a form of *till*, but of *while*, commonly used in the N. for *until*.

4. *some of the*, (*sim*) also used.—*that*, (*fa*) who, also used.—*from*, (*fre*) also used.—*enough*, (*əniókħ*) also used.

5. *voice*, the form (*wáis*) is archaic.

6. *straight off* or (*ət éins*) at once.—*if* or (*ge'n*) given.—*ask*, (*aks*) is common among the older people in Cs.

7. *any* or (*oni*).—*telled* or (*tóuld*)

told.—*ought* or (*shud*) should.—*matter* or (*póint*), the (*t,r*) occurs in this district.—*as this, what*, obs. (dh) omitted in *this*, and (f) used for (wh).

8. *tell you*, never (*təl*i), the (j) always inserted.—*how*, the (*huu*) is possibly an error for (*fuu*), as in No. 5.

9. *swore*, (*sweerd*) is rarely used.—*Sabbath* (*sændə*) is used, instead of *Sabbath clothes* they also say (*hiz hee'nd koot*) his hind or spare coat.—*close* or (*djest*).—*yon little road*, (*dhon*) is heard in Fi. and Ab.

10. *cowning and whining*, I don't find *to cown* in glossaries, (*fimpər*) *whimper* means to cry.—*or a little wee lassie*, (*piri*) is an old word for small, and occurs in D 42, (*ən el-netər'd lassigi*) an ill-natured small lass, is also used.

11. *from the back of the house*, or (*thróu e' jeerd*) through the yard.

13. *more than this*, or (*nər*) may be used for *than*.

Notes to No. 8, Dumrosness, cs., pp. 683, 684.

1. *why*, the (wh) is forcibly uttered, but the sound is not quite (*kwh*); the (*á'i*) is fine, very far from (*ái*) and

might be almost written (*æ'i*).—*Johnny*, the (ð) medial, as the vowels generally are, but the (n) not doubled;

final (i) pure, not (ɪ).—*has*, on account of the want of emphasis both (h) and (ɛ) were rather indistinct, and (ɛz) would perhaps be nearer, not (ɛz, əz). *doubts*, the vowel medial in length; in many cases where I have used short or long vowels from the feeling of the moment, probably medial vowels would have been more correct.

1. *both*, the (th) quite distinct, not (t, d, dh), but occasionally (dhth) in the pause.—*this*, the (dæs) was very distinct, though all Shetland writers use *dis*; this is probably the *i* of D 39, there explained.—*cares*, there, with distinct (ee) not (ɛɛ), no insertion of (v) before (r), which was quite trilled, though not so strongly trilled as before vowels, or as in L. speech.

2. *they are*, this is a common contraction.—*do not*? For the distinctions (ə, œ, y) which Shetlanders generally write as *ü*, I give whatever struck my ear at the time, but of course I may have often been wrong.

3. *facts, case*, neither word is in gen. use, hence Miss M.'s own pron. was conjectural.—*till I am done*, (til) almost (tel); (əm ʊm) unemphatic for I am; (dy'n), with a deeper (y), almost (ə), but with a difference difficult to determine.

4. *sure*, the vowel is very long.—*whole*, though not very long the vowel was not so short as medial.—*safe*, the fracture was very slight, but certain.—*enough*, the vowels were both marked and distinct, but the first is shorter and has the stress.

5. *father's*, the vowel might have been written (ee₁), it seemed to lie between (ee, ɛɛ).—*queer*, obs. the change of *qu* into (wh).—*skirling*, "crying with a shrill voice," *Jam. Dict.* R. Cogle also suggested (pesterin).—*him*, the aspirate never seems to disappear even in unemphatic syllables.

7. *two or three*, in the sense of a few, if strictly *two or else three* were meant an (or) would be inserted, thus (twartri) a few, (twaa or trii) two or else three.—*over, ought*, in these two words I recognised (ou), otherwise I generally heard (au, á'u).—*wrong*, the *w* with a distinct syllabic value, and the (æ) fully as fine as in s.England.

8. *how*, as far as I could ascertain this was the only word in which (h) was replaced by (f), and I do not under-

stand why (fuu) should have been used here and in No. 5, and not in No. 6 and No. 7. It is evident that (f) must arise from the older form *hwɪ*, which also = why, in which sense also (fuu) is used.—*calls*, Miss M. knew (kɛɛz) best, Mr. Laurensen (kaaz).—*man*, obs. (mɛ'n) sg. and (mɛn) pl., the word *husband* is not used.

9. *own*, a slight fracture as in *safe*, par. 4.—*eyes*, (in) not (ɪn), vowel short.—*stretched*, this was the only word in which I observed dental (t,r). *road*, the vowel decidedly short; *lane* is not used in the country, in towns it is called a (klɔ's) close.

10. *in the dorts*, in the dumps; "Dort, s. pet, commonly in pl." *Jam. Dict.* Miss M. considered this paragraph the best Shetlandish of the whole version as far as words go.

11. *daughter*, those who affect English say (dakhtər).—*they were been washing for they had been*, this is regular, the compound past tenses of *to be* are formed with *be* and not *have*, similarly *I am done* (əm dy'n) par. 3.

12. *kettle* or (bóiler) boiler.—*one*, (ii), RC. wrote *ae*, implying (ee); obs. also (iin) in par. 14. The numerals are: (iin, twa, tri, fóur, fá'iv, sæks, siiv'n, akht, ná'in, tɛ'n, eliiv'n, twæl, twanti, hãnder, thuuz'n).—*Thursday*, this seems to be the only word in which *th* becomes (f), compare Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, which make the same change.

13. *the time that is come*, the present time.—*do not*, (donə) here and in par. 14, but (dɔnə) in par. 2. These variations depend upon the position of the words in a sentence, but no rule could be given.

14. *night* (ná'ikjht), obs. both the diphthong and the palatal, which I do not recollect elsewhere.—*thing*, this is one of the words which generally retains (th), but in pitying a child people will often say (pəɔr tɛq) poor thing with a (t).

15. *shargs*, so Miss M. gave the word, saying that the *g* is generally preserved; here, however, she pron. (shɛrks), and interpreted: scold, prattle, chatter. I cannot find the word in glossaries.—*hindmost*, (hinmest) is also said.—*good-bye* is only said when parting for some time on a journey, but (sɛ læq) so long is a very usual farewell expression.

FIVE INTERLINEAR VERSIONS OF CHAP. I. OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.

Arranged to compare three characteristic Lowland Scotch with two characteristic English dialects, one M. and the other S.

1. D 33, *Teviotdale*, from the pal. version in Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. of Scotland*, p. 241, written by him from personal knowledge as a native. In this pal. Dr. M. introduces *e è, é è* in a sense different from that which I assign to these symbols, I have therefore replaced them by (*e' e₁, e' e₁*). The notation is however still slightly different from that adopted in the Hawick cs., *suprà*, pp. 682, 684, which was written subsequently by Dr. Murray. The medial vowels are here written short for convenience.

2. D 35, *Ayr*, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Messrs. Heron Duncan and W. Duncan, and revised by Mr. Giffen, of whom more under D 35, printed in Dr. M.'s DSS., p. 240, intended to represent the Central Group, D 34 to 37.

3. D 39, *Buchan*, ne.Ab., now called Deer and Ellon, beyond the rivers Dovert and Ythan, once a county by itself, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Forrest, and revised by his brother Mr. W. Forrest, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Melville Bell, by whom the sounds were written in Visible Speech characters. For further remarks on Buchan speech see under D 39.

4. D 25, *s.Ch.*, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington from personal knowledge as an illustration of his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, and here transliterated into pal. from p. 97 of that work. For the characters of D 25, see p. 409, and Beckley dt., p. 411. The (r) was probably (e), although (r) was written.

5. D 10, *w.Sm.*, written in glossic by Mr. F. T. Elworthy from personal knowledge for the purpose of comparison with Nos. 1, 2, 3, printed in his *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, p. 105, whence it was pal. by AJE., and finally corrected from Mr. Elworthy's dictation. See pp. 146 to 153.

1.	<i>Teviotdale</i> , D 33.	na'u,	et	kam	əbu't	e)dhe)dee'z
2.	<i>Ayr</i> , D 35.	nuu,	et	kam	əbu't,	'n)dhe)dee'z
3.	<i>Buchan</i> , D 39.	nuu,	et	hap'nt		y)dhe)dee'z
4.	<i>s.Cheshire</i> , D 25.	nái	it	apent		i)th diiz
5.	<i>w.Somerset</i> , D 10.	ne'u	et	vaald	e'ut	in dhee deez

1	kwhan	dhe	dʒədjiz	rə'uld,	et	dhe	wər	e	
2	kwhan	dhe	dʒədʒez	ruult,	dha't	dher	wəz	ə	
3	fyn	dhe	dʒɪdʒez	ruu'lt,	et	dher	wyz	ə	
4	wen)th	dʒu,dʒiz	wen	rə'ulɪn,	ɛz	dher	wəz	want	ɛ
5	han	dhə	dʒə'dʒez	wəz	ɛryy,'ɛlin,	in)s	dher	wəz	ɛ

1	dærth	e)dhe)laənd	en)e)sərt'n	mən	thrə	
2	dee'rth	y)dhe)laən	ən)ə)sert'n	mən	biləqən te	
3	fee'men	y)dhe)laan.	yn dher	wyz	e mən biləqən ty	
4	bred	i)th ku,ntri,	ɛn	ɛ	saartin mon	ɛ
5	dɪərth	in dhə kən'tri.	ɛn)ɛ)saartin	mɛ'ɛn	o	

1	:bæthlem	:dʒə'udə	gɪ'd	əwee ₁	te	bé'id	e	kwhé'il
2	:bethlēm	:dʒuudə,	gje'd	əwaa	te	stɛ'i	ə	kwhé'il
3	:bethlem	:dʒuudə ¹	gje'd		ty	bə'id	ə	fə'il
4	:be'thliem	:dʒæ'udə	went			lɪv		
5	:bæthlɛ'əm	:dʒyɪ,də,	i wɛən	vúusth	vɛr	tə	bá'id	

- 1 e)dhe)kən'tri ə :moob, he'm, en)ez)wé'if, en)ez)twá'í'
 2 y)dhe)kyntrah ə :moob, hem, en)ez)wá'if ən)ez)twAA
 3 y)dhe)kwíntre' ə :moob, hee'm yn)yz)wé'if yn)yz)twaa
 4 i)th kú'ntri ɐ :moob, im ɛn iz wé'if ɛn iz tæ'u
 5 in dhe kántri ɐ :moob, ii dæd, ɛn ez wá'í'f, ɛn ez tyi
- 1 sɛnz.
 2 sɛnz.
 3 see'nz.
 4 su'nz elu'qg wídh im.
 5 zə'nz lAAQ)wə)ɛn.
2. 1 en dhe mánz ne'm wəz :eli'melek, en)dhe)kaad
 2 ən dhe nəm ɐ dhe mæn wəz :ilə'melek, en ez gjyd
 3 yn dhe manz ne'm wəz :eli'melek, yn dhe kaad
 4 ɛn th)mon)z niim wəz :eli'melek, ɛn iz wé'ifs
 5 ɛn dhiki mɛ'ɛn wəz ɛkjaal :ələ'melik, ɛn ə'z wá'í'v
- 1 dhe gəd wé'if :naoo'mi en dhe twí'í' kalənts
 2 wá'í'f ne'm wəz :naoo'me, en dhe kAAD ez ladəz
 3 yz wé'if :neoo'mi, yn dhe twaa ladiz
 4 niim wəz :nee'oo'má'í, ɛn iz tæ'u ladz wɛn kAAD
 5 ɛr wəz ɛkjaal :neoo'má'í, ɛn ez tyi bwoiz wəz ɛkjaal
- 1 :maakwɛhlen en :kil'ien, :ii'frəthé'its
 2 :mækhlən ɛn :kil'n :ɛ'frəthə'its
 3 :meelen yn :kil'ien :ee'frəthə'its
 4 :maalen ɛn :tjəl'ren, ɛn dhi wɛn AA ɛn ɛm :iifrəthə'its
 5 :méelen ɛn :tjəl'ren, dhe wəz AAL o)'m :eefrəthə'its
- 1 thræ :bæthlem :djə'udə. en dhe kəm ɛntə dhe
 2 ə :bæthləm :djuudə. ɛn dhe kəm ɛnt'l dhe
 3 fi :bæthlem :djuudə'. yn dhe kəm ɛnt'l dhe
 4 áit ɐ :bæthl'əm :djə'udə ɛn dhi kə'um intə)th
 5 ɛ'ut o :bæthle'əm :djuudə ɛn dhe kəmd intə dhe
- 1 kəntri ə :moob, en bəd dhí'í'r.
 2 kyntrah ə :moob, en stá'it dheer.
 3 kwíntre' ə :moob, yn bəd dheer.
 4 kú'ntri ɐ :moob, ɛn dhí'ier dhí' meed'n dhər wəm.
 5 kántri ɐ :moob ɛn dhéer dhe bá'id.
3. 1 en :əli'melek, :naoo'miz gədmən déid, ɛn shə wəz
 2 ɛn :ilə'melek, :naoo'məz gjydman diit, ɛn shy wəz
 3 yn :eli'melek, :neoo'miz man diit, yn shi wəz
 4 ɛn :eli'melek, im ez wəz u'zbənd tɛ :nee'oo'má'í déid,
 5 ɛn :ələ'melik, dhat)s dh)azbən ɐ :nee'oo'má'í zo tɛ

- 1 læft wə dhe twi' laadz.
 2 left hær'n ɛr twaa kæl'nz.
 3 left yn ɛr twaa see'nz.
 4 ɛn soo æ'u wɛz left bi ɛrse'l, ɛr ɛn ɛr tæ'u la dz.
 5 speak ii dá'id; ɛn ɛr wɛz ɛlɑ:f, ɛr waa z, ɛn ɛr
 tyy₁ zə'nz lAAQ)wɛ)ɛr.
4. 1 en dhe₁ tək dherselz wéivz thræ maq dhe wəmin
 2 ɛn dhe₁ tək dhərselz wə'ivz ɛ)dhe wimen
 3 yn dhe məret wymen bilaqen ty dhe kwəntre'
 4 ɛn dhe tæ'uk'n éitɿ ɛn ɛm ɛ :moob wu_omən fər dher
 5 ɛn dhe tək,t dhərsalz ɛ wá'iv ɛ piis, ɛ'ut ɛ dhe wəmin
- 1 ɔ :moob, dhe nɛ'm ɔ)dhe)ti'n wɛz :orpə, ɛn dhe nɛ'm
 2 ɔ :moob, dhe nɛm ɔ)dhe)ɛn wɛz :orpə, ɛn dhe nɛm
 3 ɔ :moob, dhe nɛ'm ɔ)dhe)tin wɛz :orpə', ɛn dhe nɛ'm
 4 wéif; t)ɔnz niim wɛz :AARpə ɛn t)u_odherz wɛz :ræ'uth;
 5 ɛ :moob, waaɛ ɛ dhe wɛz ekjaal :AARpə, ɛn dhe t)adhər
- 1 ɔ)dhe)tadhər :rəth, ɛn dhe bəd dhii'r dhe fæək ɔ
 2 ɔ)dhe ydhər :ruth; ɛn dhe stə'it dheer dhe fæək ɛ
 3 ɔ)dhe tidher wɛz :ruth, ɛn dhe dwalt dheer niir ɔbət
 4 ɛn dhi livd i dhat ku_ontri ɛbáit ten fier.
 5 ɔ)m wɛz ɛkjaal :Rə,th, ɛn dhe liivd in dhiki plɛs
- 1 tən iir.
 2 tən iir.
 3 tən iir.
 4
 5 bɛ'ud ɛ tən jɛr.
5. 1 dhan :maakwhlen ɛn :kil'ɛn déid tə, bi'th dhe
 2 ɛn :makhlən ɛn :kil'n diit tee', bee'th
 3 yn :meelen yn :kil'ɛn bee'dh diit tii',
 4 ɛn :maalen ɛn :tɿ'lɛn déid ɛz wel,
 5 ɛn :mɛ'ɛlən ɛn :tɿ'lɛn dhee dá'id tyy₁ dhe
- 1 twi' ɔ dhem; ɛn dhe wəmen wɛz læft ɛr li'n,
 2 ɔ dhem; ɛn dhe wəməɛn wɛz left ɔlɛ'n,
 3 yn dhe wə'if wɛz left ɛr lii'n,
 4 bə'usth ɛn ɛm; soo dhe wu_omən wɛz left AA ɛlɛ'in,
 5 búədh ɔ)m; ɛn so dh')amən wɛz ɛlɑ:f ɛdhe'ut
- 1 wə nədher bɛrn nɛr mən bilɑ'qen ɛr.
 2 wy nəe'dher mən nɛr ween.
 3 wythut ee'dher bɛ'rn ɔr mən.
 4 nái ɛr tæ'u su_onz ɛn ɛr ɔ'ud mən wən gən dɛd.
 5 adɛr wən ɛv ɛr tyy₁ zə'nz ɛr it ɛr ɛzben.

6. 1 dhan shə ræ₁z əp, her en er twiⁱ' gəd dokəhterz,
 2 dhen shy ræⁱ'z wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz,
 3 dhen shi got əp wiⁱ er gwid daatherz,
 4 dhen æ'u got u_op wi ər də'utər in laaz
 5 dhan ər gaa^t əp we ər daarər₁laaz

1 tə gaq hiem əgi'n thræ dhe laand
 2 fər tə gjæq əwaa hem fe dhe kyntrah
 3 ty gjæq he'm əgje'n fi dhe kwintreⁱ
 4 fər goo bak áit v)th ku_ntri
 5 in)s ər mə'd gə₁ bak egien vřem dhiki kəntri

1 ə :moob, for shə ed hard e dhe kəntri ə :moob,
 2 ə :moob, fər shyy)d hãrd tɛl y dhe kyntrah ə :moob,
 3 ə :moob, fər shii)d hard tɛl y dhe kwintreⁱ ə :moob,
 4 v :moob, fər æ'u)d hiãrd wɛl æ'u wɛz dhiiãr, ət
 5 v :moob, vřem ər)d vřãrd

1 hæu ət dhe :loord hed ləkit æfter ez
 2 dha't dhe :loord hæd tɛn thookht tɛ ez
 3 ət dhe :loord hɔd luket ɛtr)yz
 4 ái dhv :laard ɛd tɛn éid ɛn iz oon
 5 æ'u dhv dhv :la'ãrd ɛd tɛd ɛmá'inded ə'z oon

1 fu'k, en gin dhem brid.
 2 fək, ɛn gin dhem brid.
 3 fək, yn gin dhem brid.
 4 fooks, ɛn ɛd gjɛn ɛm bred.
 5 vɔks, in gi)in o)m brɛd.

7. 1 siⁱ' shə gi'd əwe₁ ut thræ dhe pli's ət shə
 2 see' shy gjed əwaa fe dhe ple's kwaa^r shy
 3 yn shii gjed ut ə dhe ple's faar shi
 4 ɛn soo æ'u staartid of áit v)th pliis wéiãr æ'u
 5 zo ər ween vúvth ɛ'ut v dhiki ple'es wřer ər

1 wãz at, ɛn dhe twiⁱ' gəd dokəhterz əlãq wə)r;
 2 wãz stop'n, wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz əlãq wyy)r;
 3 wyz, her 'n ər twaa gwid daatherz wi)er;
 4 wɔz, ɛn ər tæ'u də'utər in laaz ɛlu_ogg widh ər;
 5 wãz, ɛn ər ty₁ daarər₁laaz laq)wɛ) ər

1 ɛn dhe tək dhe gi't tɛ gaq bak tɛ dhe
 2 ɛn dhə tək dhe wã'i tɛ gjæq əwaa bak hem tɛ dhe
 3 yn dhe tuk dhe gje't bak ɛgje'n t'l dhe
 4 ɛn dhi got'n ɛp)vth rood fər ku_m bak tɛ)th
 5 ɛn dhe wɛnt laan pɛn dhv rhoovd vřer tɛ gə₁ bak tɛ dhv

- 1 laand ə :dʒə'udə.
 2 laand ə :dʒuudə.
 3 laan ə :dʒuudə¹.
 4 land ɐ :dʒə'udə.
 5 læn ɐ :dʒy₁də.

8. 1 dhæn kwə :naoo'mi tə er twii' gəd dokwhterz :
 2 dhæn :naoo'mə sed tə ɛr twaa gjyd dookhterz :
 3 yn :neo'ms sed t'l er twaa gwid daatherz :
 4 ɛn :neo'oa'mdi sed tə ɛr tə'u də'uter-in-laaZ :
 5 ɛn :neo'má'i zɛd ty₁ ɛr ty₁ daartɛrlaaZ :

- 1 "gəq əwee₁! gi' bək elk jən o)i tɛ ir ee₁n
 2 "gʲæq əwaa! bək elk ɛn ɛ)jə tɛ jər
 3 "gʲeq əwaa! ɛn gʲɛ bək bee'dh ɛ)jɪ ty jir ee'n
 4 "kuₒm, goo jər wiiz bək, bæ'ueth ɔn)jɪ tɛ jər
 5 "gə₁! gə₁ bək eetj wan o)i tɛ jər

- 1 mædherz hus! dhe :loord béi gəd tɛ)i ez ii)v
 2 mydherz hus! ɛn dhe :loord bi gjyd tɛ)jə ɛz jɪ he
 3 mɪdherz hus! dhe :loord bi gwid ty)jə ɛz jɪ he
 4 muₒdherz áis, dhɛ :laard dé'el kéndli wi jɪ ɛz jee)n
 5 madherz ɛ'uz! dhɛ :la'ɛrd dɛ'el ká'inli laaq)wee)i,

- 1 bin gəd tɛ méi, ɛn tɛ dhɛm ɛt)s gi'n.
 2 bin gjyd tɛ mii, ɛn tɛ dhɛm dhaht)s əwaa.
 3 bin ty mii, yn ty dhe'm ɛt)s əwaa.
 4 delt wi dhɛm ɛz bin dʲed, ɛn wi méi.
 5 sɛ'ɛm)s jyy₁)v ɛdɛ'ɛlɛd laq wɛ dhɛe dhɛt bi deed, ɛn
 laq)wɛ)mii.

9. 1 dhe :loord grant ɛt ii mæ fend ræst, elk in o)i
 2 dhe :loord gii jə tɛ fɛn rɛst bee'th ɛ)jə
 3 dhe :loord grant jɛ, ɛt jɪ mɛ fɛn rɛst, elkɛ in y)jə
 4 dhɛ :laard grant jɪ tɛ fáind rest bæ'ueth ɔn jɪ
 5 dhɛ :la'ɛrd grant)i, in)s i mɛ'd vá'in ras, eetj wan)o)i

- 1 e ir ee₁n hus, wəə e mɔn ɛ ir ee₁n." dhæn
 2 wy ɛ hus ɛn ɛ mɔn ɛ jɛr aaɛ." dhæn
 3 wy ɛ man yn ɛ hus y jir ee'n." sɛ'in
 4 i jɛr u₁zɛndz áis." dhæn
 5 in dh)ɛ'uz ɐ jɛr ɛzɛn." dhæn

- 1 shə kest dhɛm, ɛn dhɛ bigə'd ə-gri'tin lud ɛn see,r.
 2 shy kest dhym, ɛn dhɛ bigu'd ə-gri'tin ɛn grat seer seer.
 3 shi kest dhɛm, yn dhɛ roort yn grat.
 4 ɛ'u kist ɛm, ɛn dhi oop'nt áit ɛn skráikt.
 5 ɛr kiist ɛn, ɛn dhɛ leftɛd ap dhɛr vɛ'is ɛn weepɛd.

10. 1 en dhe sed tel)er: "æ·bət, wéi)l gaq hĕem
 2 ən dhe sed tē)er: "naa! naa! wi)l gjæq
 3 yn dhe sed t'l)er: "ee·byt! wii)l gjæq he'm
 4 ən. dhe sed'n, "wéi)n saartinlé goo wí)jə bak
 5 ən dhe zed tē ær: "shíivrlá'i wi wul gə₁ bak

1 wə jə'u tē ir ee,n fu'k!"
 2 wə jə bak tē jər frinz!"
 3 wy jə ty juur fək!"
 4 tē juur ku_ontri'fooks."
 5 laq)wə)i tē jiiiv voksl!"

11. 1 bat :naoo'mi sed: "tərn əg'i'n mə dokwhterz!
 2 ən :naoo'mi sed: "jə man tərn mə dookhterz!
 3 yn :neoo'mi sed: "gjæq bak əgje'n my dakhterz!
 4 ən :nee)oo'má'i sed: "tərn jə bak əgjen mi də'uterz, ən
 5 ən :neoo'mi zed: "tərn jərzalz bak əgjen, mi daartərz;

1 kwhat wad ii gaq wə méi for?
 2 kwhat fər wad jə gjæq wy mii?
 3 fat wyd jə dii', gjaan wy mii?
 4 goo jər wiiz; wət)'n jə want goo əlu_oqg wi méi fər?
 5 wə)d)i wish vər gə₁ laq)ə)mii vər?

1 em aa gaan tē hææ oni mi' bərnz tē béi mæn
 2 dyy jə theqk aa)'l hee one mee'r wee'nz tē bii laadz
 3 ym áai gjaan ty hee' oni mee'r be'rnz ty bi mæn
 4 iz dher ani mə'ubr su_onz i)mi wu_om jet tē béi jər
 5 ə'z vər ə'ni mə'vər zə'nz in má'i ə,m nə'u in)s dhe mə'd

1 for i?
 2 tē jə?
 3 t'l jə?
 4 u_ozbəndz?
 5 kaam vər tē bi jər əzbənz?

12. 1 tərn bak, mə dokwhterz, gaq ir
 2 gjæq əwaa, mə dookhterz, gjæq jər aan
 3 gjæq bak, my dakhterz, gjæq jər
 4 tərn jə bak əgjen, mi də'uterz, goo jər
 5 tərn jərzalz bak əgjen, má'i daartərz, gə₁ jər óovn

1 wee,z, for aa)m our aald tē hææ v
 2 gjet, fər aa)m faar ə'ur aal tē hee ənydher gjyd
 3 waa'z, fər aa)m ə'ur aal ty hee' ənádher
 4 wiiz, fər ái)m tē'u ə'ud tē av v
 5 weez, vər ái' bi ty₁ ool vər t)ee'v v

1 man. ef aa wəz te see, "aa)v
 2 man. ən gɪn aa shyd see, "aa hee
 3 man. -gɪn áai syd see', "áai he'
 4 u_ozbənd. iv ái wəz tɛ sii, "ai)m i gu_od
 5 əzben. nif á'i wəz vɛr zee, E'u "á'i)v ɛgə't

1 hūap," æ'i, en ef aa)d e mən
 2 hoop," ææ, ən gɪn áa' həd ə mən
 3 hā'ups," áai, gɪn áai syd hee' ənɪdher mən
 4 bi)oops," iv a wəz tɛ av ɛ u_ozbənd
 5 oops," nif á'i wɛs t)E'ɛ ɛ əzben,

1 dhe vɛrə nekht, en wəz tɛ hæ bɔrnz əs wil,
 2 dhe nekht, ən həd sɛnz tee',
 3 dhe nekht, yn syd he' be'rnz əs wil,
 4 dhɪs vɛrɪ néit, ən beer su_onz ən aa,
 5 tyy, dhíez vɛrɪ neet, ən if á'i wəz vɛr tɛ béer zə'nz,

13. 1 wad)i wɛt on dhɛm kʷhəl dhe grə'u əp?
 2 wad)ɔ wɛt fər dhɛm tɛl dhe həd grə'uən əp?
 3 wɔd)ɪ wə'it fər dhɛm t'l dhe wɔr grə'uən əp?
 4 wu_od ɪ wiit on ɛm dhɛn dhɪ wɛn groon u_op?
 5 wə'd ɪ₁ wə'it vɛr)ən gə'n dhe wəz ɛgrɔəd əp?

1 wad)i sté,i thrə hææ'in mən for
 2 wad)ɪ kip fɛ taak'n mən fər wɛ't'n
 3 wɔd)ɪ bə'id fɪ tak'n ɪdher mən ty wə'it
 4 wu_od ɪ stɔp fɔr)ɛm ən béi báit u_ozbəndz?
 5 wə'd ɪ₁ staap vɛr dhe vɛrɛm ee'in ɛ əzbənz?

1 dhɛm? naa! naa! mɛ dokwhterz, fɔr aa)m see'r
 2 ən dhɛm? naa! naa! mɛ dookhterz, fər aa'm
 3 fər dhɛm? naa! naa! mɔ dakhterɪ, fər aa'm see'r
 4 nii, mɪ də'uterz, fər aa)m teerb'l
 5 noo! má'i daærtɛrz, vɛr ɛt

1 vəkst for ɪ'ur sɪ'ks, et dhe haand
 2 gə'i ən pət əbut fər juur seks, dha't dhe haan
 3 vekst on juur əkunts, et dhe haan
 4 gréivd fər jeeer siiks ɛz dh)ənd
 5 griivth mi tərɛb'l vɛr jiver sɛ'eks, E'u dhɛt dhɛ)ən

1 ə dhe :loord hez gɪ'n sii' ɛgɪ'n ez."
 2 ə dhe :loord hyz gjən se see'r ɛgjenst mi."
 3 y dhe :loord hyz gje'n ɛgje'n my se' mək'l."
 4 ɛ dhe :laard)z gɔn áit ɛgen mi."
 5 ɛ)dhɛ :la'ɛrd)z ɛgə' E'ut ɛgə'n mi."

14. 1 en dhe kráid ut lud, en grát ægvi'n, ən
 2 sá'in dhe bigu'd æ-grit'n ægjen, ən
 3 yn dhe bigu'd v-grit'n ægje'n, yn
 4 ən dhi liftid u_op dhær váis ən skráikt vgen, ən
 5 ən dhe lefted ap dhær vA'is, ən weeped vgiæn, ən

1 :orpə kest er gəd mædher, bæt
 2 :orpə kest ær gjyd mydher, ən gjəd əwAA, bæt
 3 :orpə kest ær gwid mædher, byt
 4 :AARpə kæst ər mu_odhær-in-lAA, bæ
 5 :ARpə kiist ər mædhærlAA, bæt

1 :rəth hæq béi)er.
 2 :ruth hæq tee)ər.
 3 :ruth wjd)ne gjæq əwaa fi)ər.
 4 :ræ'uth u_oq tæ'u ər.
 5 :rə,th ər klæevəd tyy₁ ər.

15. 1 en shə sed: "séi, ir gəd sester)z gi'n əwe₁
 2 ən shy sed: "lək-sii, jær gjyd syster hys gjæn əwAA
 3 yn shi sed: "luk, jær gwid sester hys gj'e'n
 4 ən æ'u sed: "si)dhí, dhí sistær-in-lAA)z gən
 5 ən æR zEs: "lə₁k)i, zii, f'u dhi zə'stærlAA)z vge₁

1 hiem tə)er ee₁n fu'k, ən tə)er goodz;
 2 bak tə)er fək, ən tə)er goodz,
 3 bak t'l)er ee'n fək, yn t'l er goodz,
 4 bak tə ər oon ku_ontri fooks ən ər oon godz;
 5 bak ty₁ ər vəks, ən ty₁ ər gadz;

1 gi' wee₁ jæ'u tæ æfter)ir gəd sester."
 2 gjæq juu əwAA æftr)ər.
 3 gjæq ii bak æftr)er.
 4 goo dhi wiiz bak vgen æfter dhi sistær-in-lAA."
 5 dyy₁)i ne'u gə₁ bak aadæR dhi zə'stærlAA.

16. 1 en :rəth sed: "oo, de)nə trit on)əs te
 2 ən :ruth sed: " de)nə aask mə tæ gjæq əwAA
 3 ən :ruth sed: " de)nə sik my ty gjæq əwAA
 4 ən :ræ'uth sed: " du_o)nə beg v mi tæ
 5 ən :rə,th zed: " doo)ni bæg)o)mi væR tæ

1 liiv)i, or te gaq bak thre kəmin æfter)i, for
 2 fe)jə, or te tærn bak ən noo gjæq wy)jə, fæR
 3 fi)jə, or ty gjæq bak fi folə)en)jə, for
 4 liiv jə ər tæ goo bak frəm folə)in æfter jə; fæR
 5 ləf)i, ər væR tæ gə₁ bak vrəm vAali)in aadæR)i; væR

1 *kwær* ever 'ii *gaq* *aa*)l *gaq*, en *kwæe*,r'ii
 2 *kwær* *yver* juu *gjæq* *aa*)l *gjæq*, en *kwær* juu
 3 faar ii *gjæq* *aa*)l *gjæq* tii', *yn* faar ii
 4 *wiær* *jo* *gøn* *ái*)l *goo*, en *wiær* *jo*
 5 *wæ*r)ə'væ *ɣy*, *də* *gəə*, *aa*)l *gə*, *tyy*; en *wæ*r *ɣy*, *də*

1 *bé*,id *aa*)l *bé*,id; juur *fu*'k)'l *béi* *maa* *fu*'k en
 2 *bá*'id *aa*)l *bá*'id; juur *fok* əl *bii* *maa*' *fok* en
 3 *bə*'id *aa*'l *bə*'id; juur *fok*'l *bii* *máai* *fok* *yn*
 4 *lɔd*'n, *ái* *lɔd*; juur *fok*s's'n *bí* *mái* *fok*s, en
 5 *lɔd*ɣi *aa*)l *lɔd*ɣi *tyy*; *ɣó*er *vok*s)shəl *bii* *mái* *vok*s, en

1 juur :good *maa* :good.
 2 juur :good *maa*' :good.
 3 juur :good *máai* :good.
 4 juur :god *mái* :god.
 5 *ɣó*er :gad *mái*' :gad.

17. 1 *kwæe*,r 'ii *déi* *aa*)l *déi*, en *béi* *led* e *dhe*
 2 *kwær* juu *dii* *aa*'l *dii*, en *bi* *led* y *dhe*
 3 faar ii *dii* *aa*)l *dii*, *yn* *bi* *byrət* *dhe*'r
 4 *wiær* *jo* *déin*, *ái*)l *déi*, en *dh*'iær
 5 *wæ*r *ɣy*, *də* *dái*' a)l *dái*' en *dh*'æ

1 *grí*'v *dh*'i'r *ə*sé'id)i: *dhe* :loord *də* *sii*' te *méi*
 2 *ɣər*th *ə*sá'id)ə. en *dhe* :loord *dyy* *ty* *mii* əs
 3 *tii*' *dhe* :loord *dii* *see*' *ty* *mii*,
 4 a)l *bi* *bé*id; *dh*ə :lAARD *də*'u *soo* tə *méi*,
 5 *aa*)l *bi* *ə*bæ'id, *dh*ə :lA'ERD *dɣ*, *zo* tə *mi*

1 en *mee*,r ef *okw*ht *bat*
 2 *mak*'l, *æə*', en *mee*'r *tee*', ef *one* *theq* *bat*
 3 *dai*, *yn* *mee*'r *tii*', *gjin* *ək*ht *by*t
 4 en *mæ*'uær en *AA*, *iv* *óut* *bə*
 5 en *mó*uær *tyy*, *nif* *ó*uær *bəd*

1 *dé*'th *kam* *ət*win *ɣə*'u en *méi*!"
 2 *dé*'th *pə*'rts *əs*!"
 3 *dé*'th *pə*rt juu *yn* *mii*."
 4 *dj*eth *pa*arts *jo* en *méi*."
 5 *dæ*th *də* *pə*'ert *ɣy*, en *mii*!"

18. 1 *kwæn* *shə* *saa* *ət* *shə* *wəz* *sət* on *ə*-*gə*qin
 2 *kwæn* *shy* *saa* *dha*'t *shy*)d *feerli* *məd* *əp* *ər* *mə*'in *tə* *g*ɣæq
 3 *fyn* *shi* *saa* *ət* *shi* *wyz* *bent* on *g*jaan
 4 *wen* *ə*'u *sé*id *ət* *ái*' *ə*'u *wəz* *set* *əp* *gə*'u)in
 5 *hAN* *ər* *ziid* *ə*'u *ər* *wəz* *vəl* *má*'indəd *vær*

1 wə)er, shə gə óur spi'kin tel)er.
 2 wyy ər, shy left af spik'n tee)er.
 3 wi)er, dhen shi gje á'u'ər spi'k'n t'l er əbut it.
 4 widh ər, dhen ə'u gen oor tAAkin tæ'u ər.
 5 gə, lAAQ)wee)ər, dhoo ər læf oof speekin ty, ər

19. 1 sii' dhe twii'sam gi'd, t'l dhe kam te :bæthlem,
 2 see' dhe twAA gjed on, tel dhe kam te :bæthlēm,
 3 see' dhe gjē'd on dhegidher, t'l dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 soo dhi went'n bæ'ueth ən əm tægjedher tən dhi kə'umin
 5 zoo dhe tyy, weent ɅlAAQ, gín dhe kAAM tæ :bæthléem,

1 en kwhən dhe wən te :bæthlem, kwhat bat
 2 ən kwhən dhe wən te :bethlēm,
 3 yn fyn dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 tæ :bethléem. ən soo it kə'um Ʌbət Ʌz wən dhi wən
 5 ən Ʌt apt in)s dhe wəz ɅkAAM tæ :bæthléem, dhət

1 dhe hiel tun wəz en)e stiir əbut dhem; en kwə dhee,
 2 dhe hee'l tun wəz en)ə stiir əbut dhem; en dhe sed te
 3 dhe hee'l tun wyz yn)ə stiir əbut dhem; yn dhe sed
 4 ku)m'n tæ :bethléem, dher wəz Ʌ stər i)dh ə'urəl táin Ʌbáit
 5 dhə wool sət'i wəz ɅZAAT ap ɅbɅ'ud)əm, ən dhe zed,

1 "ez dhes :naoo'mi, theqk we?"
 2 Ʌen ənydher, "es dhat :naoo'me?"
 3 "kyn dhes bi :neeo'mi?"
 4 Ʌm, Ʌn fooks wən sii)in: "iz dhis :nee)oo'mdi?"
 5 "ə'z dhə'shɅ'Ʌ :neoo'má'i?"

20. 1 en shə sez te dhem: "de)nə kaa méi :naoo'mi,
 2 ən shyy sed ty dhem: "de)nə kAA mii :naoo'me,
 3 yn shi sed ty dhem: "de)ne kaa mii :neoo'mi,
 4 ən ə'u sed tæ'u Ʌm: "du)ne kAA mi :nee)oomá'i,
 5 ən ɅɅ zed ty)Ʌm "doo)n)i kjaal mi :neoo'má'i,

1 kaa)me :maarə, for dhe :alme'kjhti hez
 2 byt kAA)mi :maarə, fər dhe :alme'khti həs
 3 kaa)my :maare', fər wil)awə'it dhe :alme'khti hɅz
 4 kAA mi :mee'ɅɅ :fər :gød :AAmdáti Ʌz
 5 kjaal mi :me'ɅɅ, kɅz dh) :AAlmá'iti)th

1 di'lt wə)me være beteri.
 2 delt wi)mi gá'i ən beteri.
 3 delt wy)my beteri ynɅukh.
 4 delt veri bitər wi mi.
 5 ɅdɅ'Ʌled tæɅɅ'l bətɅɅ lAAQ wə)mi.

21. 1 *aa* gid ut fə'u en dhe :loord hez brokʷht
 2 *aa* gjəd ut fuu, en dhe :loord hez brəq
 3 *aa* gjə'd ut fuu, yn dhe :loord)z brokht
 4 *a* went áit fu_ol, ɐn dhə :lAARD)z brə'ut
 5 á'i weent E'ut və_l ɐn wool ɐn dhə :lA'ERD)dh ɐbraat

- 1 me hĭem təm: hə'u wəd i kaa)me
 2 mi hĕm ɛgjen tɔm: kʷhat wə'i wəd jə kAA 'mi
 3 my he'm tɔym: fuu kaa mi
 4 mi wəm ɛgen emp. wət)n ji kAA mi
 5 mi A'm ɛgĭen ɛempti ændəd: wá'i)d)i kjaal mi

- 1 :naoo'mi, sen dhe :loord hez
 2 naoo'me dhym, sɔn dhe :loord hɔz
 3 :neoo'mi, sen dhe :loord)z
 4 :nee)oo'mdi fer, kensi'derĭn ái dhə :lAARD)z gen
 5 :neoo'má'i dhæn? VAAR i dɐ zii E'u dhə :lA'ERD)dh

- 1 wətnest ɛgi'n me, en dhe :almekjhti hez gin
 2 tɛstifit ɛgjenst mi, en dhe :alme'khti hɛz bin
 3 wətnest ɛgje'n my, yn dhe :alme'khti hɔz bin
 4 wĭt'ns ɛge'n mi, ɐn ái :gəd :AAMdi'ti)z
 5 ɛtɛstifá'id ɛgin mi, ɐn dh) :AALmá'iti)th

- 1 me see'r trəb'l."
 2 see'r ɔn mi?"
 3 se' see'r ɛpo'mi?"
 4 a'mĭd [= 'ill-treated, abused, overworked,' *Glossary*] mi.
 5 ɛfɛ'ktəd mi.

22. 1 *si*' :naoo'mi kəm hĭem, en :rəth dhe
 2 *see*' :naoo'mə kəm bak, ɐn :ruth dhe
 3 *see*' :neoo'mi kam he'm, yn :ruth dhe
 4 ɐn soo :nee)oo'mdi kə'um bak, ɐn :rə'uth dhə
 5 zoo :neoo'má'i ween bak, ɐn rə,th dhə

- 1 :mooəbé'ites, her gəd dokʷhter wəə)r,
 2 :mooəbə'ites, ɛr gjyd dookhter əlɑ'q wɔy)r,
 3 :mooəb la's, her gwĭd dAather wii)er,
 4 :moo'ɛb wu_omən, ɛr dɛ'utər-ĭn-lAA wĭdɪ ɛr,
 5 :moo'ɛbá'i'tis, ɛR DAARTƏRLAA lɑq wee)er,

- 1 her ɛt kəm ut e dhe kəntri ə :moob;
 2 h.ər ɛt kəm ut ə dhe kɔntrəh ə :moob;
 3 her ɔt kam fi dhe kwĭntre' y :moob;
 4 ɛr wət kə'um bak áit ɛ)th :moo'ɛb ku_ontri.
 5 wət ɛd ɛkam bak E'ut o dhə kəntri o :moo'ɛb;

1 en kəhən dhe kām te :bæthlem, et wæz ʊbut
 2 ən kəhən dhe kām te :bæthləm et wæz niir baa'
 3 yn dhe kām t'l :bethlem 'n
 4 ən dhi kə'um tæ :bethliəm dʒu_ost ʊt)th fəst
 5 ən dhe kām tæ :bæthléu'm dʒə's tæ

1 dhe fuu'r ænd ə dhe baarli hærst.
 2 dhe foor EEN ə dhe baarle hee'rst.
 3 dhe bige'nen ə dhe baarli hee'rst.
 4 staart ʊ)th baarli aarvist.
 5 dhə bigii'nin ʊ baarli ar'əs.

D 33. = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties.*

Boundary. Begin on the Tweed by Carham near Coldstream on the nw. angle of Nb. Follow the Tweed by Kelso, Rx., and Melrose, to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb. Then turn sw. along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, Se. Continue along the border of Pb. and Lk. to Queensberry Hill, Df., at the s. of Lk. Then go s. and se. to e. of Dumfries, to Caerlaverock on the Solway Frith. Continue along the s. coast of Df., to join the s.L. line 10 (p. 21), and continue along that line to the starting-place, Carham.

The s. boundary here differs from that assigned by Dr. Murray, which at Gretna, Df., turns n., and goes w. of Langholm, Df., when it turns e. along the Cheviots to Peel Fell, and then crosses into Nb. almost as far as Otterburn, Nb., whence it turns n. to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then follows the Nb. b. to Carham. The part of D 33 which is thus excluded by Dr. M. as part of England lying between his s. b. and mine, I will distinguish as Var. i, the rest of the district being Var. ii. Dr. Murray's exclusion of V. i makes Canobie (6 s. Langholm), and Liddesdale, together with Bewcastle to Longtown, Cu., English and not L. It seems that the inhabitants regard these s. parts as English in character, just as the speech about Carlisle and Brampton, Cu., is called Scotch by the natives. Both conceptions are incorrect as will be seen. To keep my division distinct from Dr. M.'s, I have, as just stated, erected two varieties, his English L. being V. i, and his Scotch L. being V. ii. But so far as I have been able to obtain information, there seems to be no real difference in speech between these two varieties.

Area. In England a strip of the n. of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviots. In Scotland, Rx., Se. and e. and m. Df. Or, as Dr. M. expresses it (DSS. p. 80), "the dales of the Teviot, the Esk, and the Anna, the Ettrick and the Yarrow," to which I add that of the Liddle, which he excludes. The n. b. separating D 33 from D 34 is indistinct. The w. b. dividing Df. is very sharp.

Authorities. Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," 1873 (abbreviated to DSS.), with the pron. in systematic spelling or palaeotype, is the principal authority, and he has given me much additional information by word of mouth. This is one of the very few books which conveys trustworthy accounts of pron.

Mr. A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech contains several sentences in this dialect, dictated by Dr. M., and afterwards transliterated into pal. by me, and corrected for this work by Mr. A. Melville Bell, his son, Prof. A. Graham Bell (now of telephonic celebrity), and Dr. Murray, by word of mouth in conclave, 13 June,

1868. Similar sentences from other dialects inserted in Visible Speech were corrected in the same way by the same persons, at the same time, and will be referred to hereafter.

See also the Alphabetical County Lists for Scotland, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per JGG., ‖ per Dr. Murray, ° io.

Cu. † Bewcastle to Longtown, ° Longtown.

Se. † Selkirk town.

Rx. ‖ Hawick, † Liddlesdale Head, † Roxburgh town, † Teviotdale Head, * Yetholm.

Characters. The vowel system is described by Dr. M. in DSS. pp. 103-117. See Introd. to Hawick cs., p. 682. He considers it to be (1*i*, 2*i*, 3*i'*, 4*e*, 5*e*, 6*æ*, 7*a*, 8*ɛ*, 9*o*, 10*u'*, 11*u*, 12*ə*), and those are the vowel signs which are used in his Hawick cs. [except that in the cs. (*i'*, *u'*) are used for (*i'*, *u'*)], the Ruth chap. i., and the cwl., p. 716. In unaccented syllables, however, he employs (ə), for which in the cwl. (ɐ) has been used. This analysis is rather rough, and he has supplemented it by additional observations, here abstracted. The vowels are generally medial in length, and should therefore be written (i i') etc., as in the Hawick cs., but this grave accent is generally dispensed with. Occasionally they are long, and are then much longer than in English, and should be written (ii, ii') etc., but this grave accent indicating the drawl is also usually omitted.

1. (i), the pure Fr. and It. sound, even when short (medial) in closed syllables, in which case it sounds as (ii) to an English ear. Stopped and medial in length (sik, fit, dip, lin, fist) seek, feet, deep, lean, feast, before voiceless consonants and (l, m, n). Brief, and generally really short, in prefixes, as (bil*æ*q, dimi'n, rig*ə*'rd) belong, demean, regard. Long, when final accented, as (wii, ii) wee, ye, or before (r, z, dh, v), as (wiir, liiz, miidhz, diiv, weir, leeze, meethes, deeve (in Dr. M.'s spelling). The medial (i) case is the only one which offers difficulty to an Englishman. It seems also to occur final, see (i).

2. (i), Dr. M., in deference to the opinions of Mr. Melville Bell and myself, admits (i) in final accented syllables, but Dr. M. himself inclines to (i) in such cases. I think in my own case the (i) arose from a misapprehension, and a confusion of D 33 with D 34. JGG. used (i') in such cases for D 33, which is practically not easily separable from (i). If this latter view is correct, (i) does not exist in D 33, except as part of the next vowel.

3. (i'), this is a decided fracture, the same as (iɛ) in D 30, but the second element is far more fugitive in D 33, and hence I reduce it to (') in writing. The fracture is so rapidly pron. that the (') is scarcely heard in closed syllables as *beat* (bi't), so that the effect is almost like (i, e'). At Liddlesdale Head JGG. used (i*ɛ*y, ee'v, ii'v), and finally (i*ɛ*e') for this fracture. I had often great difficulty in separating the sound from (ii, ee') in Dr. M.'s own pron. At the beginning of a word the (i') develops into (iɛ, ié, iɛ'), the latter being more recent forms, as (i'n, jɛn) one, written ane. D 33 differentiates many words as (i, i'), thus (mil, mi'l) meal flour, and meal repast; (sin, si'n) seen, scene, (hil, hi'l) heel, heal, (bit, bi't) beet, beat, (fit, fi't) feet, feat.

4. (e), this is rather (e) to my ear, Dr. M. considers it an opener sound than Fr. *é*. It is perfectly simple and has no tendency to fall into (ee'j) with a vanish, as in English. It occurs both long and stopped (medial) in D 33, as (*weer, beedh, wee; wét, tɛl*) were, bathe, way; wait tail, these last two words being quite different from Engl. wet, tell.

5. (e). Here there is considerable difficulty. The sound is not (ɛ), but Dr. M. considers it to be the received (e) as used in London (net, men) as distinguished from (nɛt, mɛn). It is at any rate a degradation of (i), passing to (i, i', e'), and as I heard it in L. *fill pit* was rather (fe'l pe't) than (fel pet). But then Dr. M. identifies it when final unaccented with (ə); "in emphasizing

and prolonging the final vowel in such words as *America*, *dynna*, *weido*," *America*, do not, widow, "the sound I hear," says he, "is the same as that in *hyll*, *bynd*," where he uses *y* for this sound. I must own that his pron. did not strike my ear in the same way. To Dr. M. also the (ə, ah) or (a¹) are all "so near when brief and unaccented that it is difficult to distinguish them." This vowel replaces written *i* frequently, written *y* in old books, and it seems the beginning of an obscuration of *i* which is more developed in D 39, where it will be specially considered; it occasionally sounded to me as (i, e, ə, æ). After (w) this sound regularly develops (x), as (wal, wāt, wæn, kwān) will, wit, win, whin.

6. (æ), here again when I heard Dr. M. pron. I did not recognise my own (æ), or any trace of that quality. I rather heard (ɛ, ɛ₁), or a very deep form of (ɛ). The quality of sound seems to belong to my *men* as different from my *man*. But I have judged it right to retain Dr. M.'s (æ).

7. (a) is the deeper French form of *ā*, it is decidedly broader than (a), and is sometimes identified with German (a) in *Mann*. It is constantly confused with (o) by Londoners, who hear (mæn) as (mōn) and write it *mon*, which conveys the very different sound (mon) to L. ears.

8. (ɑ). This occurs only as a stopped vowel, it is the deep form common in England, but sometimes appears to be somewhat higher (ɑ¹).

9. (o). This is fully identified with Italian *o aperto* by Dr. Murray; it is always pure, and never vanished into (oo'w).

10. (u'). This is another fracture, of which the first element seems to be rather (u₁), while the second is as hurried and obscure, as in the third vowel (i'). The result is very like Italian *o chiuso*, a sort of (oo¹) or (uuh). It distinguishes pairs of words in L., as (boor, buu'r), boar, bore, (room, :ru'm) room, Rome.

11. (u). The long and short (medial) forms have the same quality in L., where (u) is never heard. Compare English *pool*, Fr. *poule*, Eng. *pull* (puul, pul, pul), but as the L. makes the vowel rather medial in length, it seems to an Englishman to have no short (u) at all. And certainly Scotch writers on English pron. (as the late Prof. Clarke, of Aberdeen) do not use a mark to differentiate either the length or quality of the vowels in *foot*, *food* (fūt, fuud).

12. (ə). This identification did not seem quite correct to my ears, and (y₁) or (ə¹) seemed nearer, but (ə) will be retained. This replacement of O' in L. varies much in the different dialects, ranging from (r) to (œ) or deeper.

The diphthongs in D 33 are heard by Dr. M. with final (i, u) and not (i, u) as in England, doubtless from the absence of these vowels. He recognises the following forms.

The (i) series: 1. (ēi) nearly (e'j), and hence resembling the vanishing received *ā*. 2. (ēi) having the vowel No. 5 for the first element, so that the distinction (ēi, ēi) is delicate; this is however common. 3. (æi) is rare except in contractions (hæ'i, mæ'i) have you, may you. 4. (āi), the regular "broad i," as distinguished from (ēi), the "thin i." 6. (ōi), distinct from Engl. (o'i, a'i).

The (u) series: 1. (ōu). 2. (ɑ'u). 3. (āu). 4. (æ'u) occurring in (mæ'u) to mew. 5. (ə'u).

Of the consonants only *h*, *ch*, *r* need be noticed. The aspirate is never omitted, except, as almost universally, in *it*, but even here it is found occasionally in D 39, 40, and regularly in D 41. In one word *us*, when emphatic, it is inserted as (haz). This also happens in the N. div.

The guttural (kh) appears in three forms (kh, kjh, kwk), but does not follow the usual German rule. Thus:

1. faugh! ugh! = (fikh, hukh).

2. high, eight = (hekjh, ækjht).

3. laugh, lock, rough, laughed, low, dough = (lakwh, lokwh, rakwh, ləkwh, lii'kwk, dii'kwk).

and (kwk) frequently occurs initial. In ML. dialects, D 34 to 37, (kjh, kwk) appear not to occur.

The trill of *r* is always strong, whether before or not before a vowel, but a sound of (ʁ) is generally developed before the (r) in the latter case, which, however, Dr. M. does not write in.

The general characters of the D 33 are these :

- A- = (i') as (ni'm, ti'l) name, tale, as in D 30, p. 496.
 A: = (a) as (lænd) land, peculiar.
 A' frequently = (i') as (ti', ti'd) toe, toad, as in D 30.
 E'-, EO'- = (éi), this is also frequent in N. div.
 I generally (i), or at most (i').
 I' = (di) when open accented, or before voiced consonants, otherwise generally (éi) or perhaps (ɛ'i).
 O = (u') frequently, especially before (r), the (') being slightly heard, but also often (o).
 O' frequently (ø), occ. (oo).
 U: regularly (ɔ), even in cases when (u) is heard in rec. sp. as (fal) full.
 U' when final and open is regularly (ɔ'u), which is a special feature in D 33; it is occ. met with in D 32, V vi; but when a consonant follows, it is (ù), as a brown cow=(ɔ brùn kɔ'u), and never (ú'u).

It is by all these characters together that D 33 must be defined, and comparing the subsequent Liddesdale Head cwl. with Dr. Murray's, it will be found that they both agree in these characters.

The essential characters which distinguish the L. from N. are the regular use of (ɔ) for U, the regular use of (uu, ù) for U' before a consonant, and absence of (ú'u, ó'u) from U' words, the regular use of the guttural (kh), the strong trill of the (r).

The difference of D 33 from D 34 is shewn by the fractures (i', u'), the use of (éi), which JGG. writes (éii), for E' EO', and of (ɔ'u) for U' when final, and the three forms of the guttural (kh, kjh, kwh).

TREATMENT OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

The examples given by Dr. M., DSS. p. 135, are here transcribed in his order and groups without comment.

1. (viizəb'l, fi:zəb'l) visible, feasible; (əbi:ləti) ability.
2. (stəmək, məzik) stomach, music.
3. (pələs, :forbəs, notis, haggis) palace, Forbes, notice, haggis; (paltəs) poultice.
4. (pri:ləsi, poləsi, frənsi) prelacy, policy, phrenesy.
5. (mənɪdʒ, məriʒ, kolidʒ) manage, marriage, college; (kəbitʒ, poritʒ) cabbage, porridge; (bɒndɪdʒər) bondager.
6. (hə:lən, sərtən, bæərən, gertən, :lətin, seɟin, bé:in) hallan [a screen], certain, baron, garter, Latin, singing, being [as verbal noun]; (həme:nəti, devinəti) humanity, divinity; (mə:teni, hə:rnəni) mutiny, harmony; (gərdin, tʃeldrin, lenin, ulin, flənin) garden, children, linen, woollen, flannel; (setən, bé:ən, kəmən) sitting, being, coming [as participle]; (w'ret'n, stəd'n, həd'n, ɒp'n, weək'n, kwəit'n) written, stoođen, holden, open, weaken, whiten.
7. (ɔ:rəns, ɛmpidəns, səpiəns) ɔwerance [=superiority], impudence, sapience.
8. (kələnt, pəərənt) callant, parent.
9. (-ər) -ar, -yr; (əri) -ary, -ery, -ory; (hɛstəri) history.
10. (kə'wərd, ɡe:zərt) coward, gulsart.
11. old (m'rit, :dʒəkəbit) merit, Jacobite; new (pupət, vomət, rəbət, hərmət) pulpit, vomit, rabbit, hermit.

12. (fedher, redher, kuntas, weekest) father, rather, countess, weakest.
13. (muthfe, thokwhtfe) mouthful, thoughtful.
14. old (tærfi), new (tærféi) or (-féi) terrify.
15. old (man)hid, meeden)hid) manhood, maidenhead; new often (-hæd).
16. older (rapid) rapid; newer (viivæd, tipæd) vivid, tepid.
17. (wi'krif, kaaldrif) wakerife [= watchful], cauldrite [= causing the sensation of cold, cool = indifferent].
18. (komæniæn) communion.
19. (perish, finish) parish, finish.
20. (ol'iv) olive.
21. accented (baptii'z, siiveli'z, eksersii'z) baptise, civilise, to exercise; unaccented (e'ksersiz) an exercise sb.
22. new (teeb'l, han'l, mor'l, bær'l, diiv'l dil) table, handle, moral, barrel, devil deil; old with (-æl).
23. (thóulæs) thowless [= inactive].
24. (fe'tlenth) foot-length.
25. purposely accented (træ'u'lái) truly; unaccented (-li).
26. (-mæn) both -man and -men.
27. (djædgment) judgment.
28. (hermæni, a'grimæ'ni) harmony, agrimony.
29. (bænmæst, hænæst) boonmost [= above most, uppermost], hindmost.
30. (switnæs) sweetness.
31. (aamæs) almous = alms; (-iæs) -ious, -eous gen. but (rekjhtwæs, pitwæs) righteous, piteous.
32. (frindshæp) friendship; old retained (hæ'ziskæp, æerskæp) housewifeship, heirship.
33. (disii'ziv) decisive, and so often (-ziv) for -sive.
34. (tæirsæm, -sæm) tiresome.
35. old (:galaa'shænz) Galatians; new (neeshæn, neeshænæl) nation, national; (-ashæn, -iizhæn, -oozhæn, æzhæn) -assion, -ession, -ition, -otion, -ution, but (okæeshæn, tranzishæn) occasion, transition; (peeshænz) patience.
36. (preeshiæs, glooriæs) precious, glorious; (-tiæs, -djiæs) -teous, -geous, -gious, as (plentiæs, prodidiæs) plenteous, prodigious.
37. (ofishiæl, parshia'let) official, partiality.
38. (kanti, kantæli) cauty [= cheerful], cantily; old remaining (buntæth, pærtæth, dentæth) bounty, poverty, dainty.
39. (neetær, leezær, meezær) nature, leisure, measure.
40. (dunwært) downward.
41. (léikwæz lekwez, séidwæz) likewise, sidewise.

Illustrations.

1. *Bewcastle* cs., in the 8 interlinear cs. in the introduction to the L. div., No. 1, pp. 682, 684.
2. *Hawick* cs., in the same 8 cs., No. 2, pp. 682, 684.
3. *Teviotdale* version of Ruth, chap. i., in the 5 versions of this chap. in the introduction to L. div., No. 1, p. 698.
4. Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences as written in his *Visible Speech*, and corrected in the manner already detailed, see bottom of p. 709. These sentences are given on the next page.
5. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, p. 715.
6. Dr. Murray's wl. from his DSS. rearranged as a cwl. and augmented by many new words supplied by himself, p. 716.
7. JGG.'s Liddlesdale cwl., shewing the essential similarity between V i and V ii, p. 721.

MELVILLE BELL'S TEVIOTDALE SENTENCES AS CORRECTED,
p. 713, No. 4.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. dhæ beernz wæz laakwʰən
ən skraakwʰən a'ma'q dhæ saakwʰs
dun e)dhæ haakwʰ.</p> <p>2. dhe)r tækwʰh saakwʰs gróuən
e)dhæ :rækwʰh :hækwʰh :haakwʰh.</p> <p>3. whæt ɛr i oond əm ? ɛ)m
oond əm nokwʰt.</p> <p>4. héi lækwʰh ɛt dhæ lɪi'kwʰh door-
hid.</p> <p>5. hæ i enækwʰh ɛ dii'kwʰh.</p> <p>6. ee whóu, beernz, ɛt)s a'
rakwʰh nekjht. hæ'u dhe wand)z
sá'ukwʰh'ən e)dhæ tʃímle hid.</p> <p>7. héi)l béi óur dhæ nóu ná'u</p> <p>8. já'u ɛn méi)l gæq óur dhæ
déik ɛn pæ'u ɛ péi.</p> <p>9. kəm tə méi e)dhæ manth ɛ
méi.</p> <p>10. pæ'u ir tʃéi'r foret tæ dhæ
féi'r.</p> <p>11. əz ir feedhɛr ɛt hɛm dhæ
hɛl dæe loq ?</p> <p>12. héi gi'd tæ dhæ w'ra'q séid
ɛ dhæ gi't fɛr dhæ w'rekjht's
shop.</p> <p>13. elkə blɪ'd ɛ gærs kee)ps
əts ee'n drop ɛ dæ'u.</p> <p>14. mii' beernz ɛn mæer tæ gi
dhəm.</p> <p>15. ii)v enə'u ə putʃez, ɛf ii)d
enækwʰh tæ fel dhəm.</p> <p>16. dhæ wækjht garz dhæ streq
heq strækjht.</p> <p>17. dhæ kat mæ'uz ɛn dhæ ketlen
wæ'uz.</p> <p>18. uur :kersti wæz wæshən ɛt
dhæ wæshən ɛ dhæ blaquets.</p> <p>19. kwheer)i gaan ?</p> <p>20. ɛ dəl mærk nekjht ɛn ni'
mən.</p> | <p>1. The bairns were laughing
and scratching among the willows
down in the haugh [=meadow].</p> <p>2. There are tough willows grow-
ing in the Reugh Heugh Haugh
[name of a meadow near Hawick].</p> <p>3. What are you owing him? I'm
owing him nought.</p> <p>4. He laughed at the low door-
head [=lintel].</p> <p>5. Have you enough of dough?</p> <p>6. Ah woe! bairns, it is a
rough night. How the wind is
soughing in the chimney head [=top].</p> <p>7. He will be over the knoll now.</p> <p>8. You and me [I] will go over the
dyke [wall] and pull a pea.</p> <p>9. Come to me in the month of
May.</p> <p>10. Pull your chair forward to the
fire.</p> <p>11. Is your father at home the
whole day long?</p> <p>12. He went to the wrong side
of the gate [street] for the wright's
[carpenter's] shop.</p> <p>13. Each blade of grass keeps
[=catches] its own drop of dew.</p> <p>14. Mo [more pl.] bairns and more
[sg.] to give them.</p> <p>15. You have enow [pl.] of
pouches if you'd enough [sg.] to
fill them.</p> <p>16. The weight gars [makes] the
string hang straight.</p> <p>17. The cat mews and the kitten
wews.</p> <p>18. Our Christie was washing
[participle] at the washing [verbal
noun] of the blankets.</p> <p>19. Where are you going?</p> <p>20. A sad [devil, Fr.] mirky night
and no moon.</p> |
|--|---|

THE SCOTCH HUNDRETH PSALM

in Liturgical or Scotch English, Genuine SL., pron., and Vernacular SL.
From Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 138-140.

This Scotch-English is mainly liturgical, or used for the language of the Bible: "It is English read with a northern [or L.] conception of the southern [or received] vowels. As a specimen I [Dr. M.] give the Hundredth Psalm as it was read in school and from the pulpit, within my own recollection, and may still [1873] be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale." The versions are here printed interlinearly, omitting the received English pron.

1. Liturgical Scotch-English.
2. SL. pron. of the word, leaving the English idioms.
3. Idiomatic SL. rendering, from DSS. p. 140, transliterated from Dr. Murray's peculiar spelling.

1. 1 *Liturgical.* aal piip'l dhat on ærth du dwæl,
2 *Local Pron.* aa fu'k ət on jærth dez dwal,
3 *Idiomatic.* aa fu'k ət liivz [dwalz, wonz] ons dhæ jærth,

1 siq tu dhæ :loord with tjiirful vóis;
2 seq tæ dhæ :luu'rd wə tjiirfæ vóis;
3 seq tæ dhæ :lu'rd wə ɐ tjiirfæ vóis;

1 him særv with merth, hiz preez forth tæl,
2 hem sæær wə merth, hez preez farth tæl,
3 sær ɛm wə merth, tæl farth ez preez,

1 kam ii bifoor him and ridjóis.
2 kam ii ɛfuu'r ɛm ɛn ridjóis.
3 kam ii ɛfu'r ɛm ɛn ridjóis.

2. 1 noo dhat dhæ :loord is :good indi'd,
2 kæn ɛt dhæ :luu'rd ɛz :good ɛndi'd,
3 kæn ii dhæ :lu'rd ɛz :good en tróuth,

1 witha'ut ɛ'ur ɛd hi dæd ɛs meek;
2 wæthuu't uur hælp héi dæd ɛs mæek;
3 héi mæ'd ɛs wæthuu't ooni hælp o uurz;

1 wi aar hiz flok, hi doth ɛs fid,
2 wéi er hez hers'l, héi dez ɛs fid,
3 wéi)r hez hers'l, ɛt héi fidz,

1 ænd foor hiz ship hi doth ɛs teek.
2 ɛn foor hez ship héi dez ɛs tæek.
3 ɛn héi tæ'ks ɛs for ez ship.

3. 1 oo! ɛnter dhæn hiz geets with preez,
2 oo! kam en dhæn ɛt ɛz jææts wə preez,
3 oo! kam en, dhæn, at ez jææts wə preez,

1 vpro'tɿ with dʒói hiz korts antuu!
 2 gaq foret wə dʒói hez kurts təə,
 3 gaq foret tə ez koorts wə dʒói,

1 preez, laad, vnd bles hiz nem aalwee'z,
 2 preez, láud, vñ bles ez nívm éi,
 3 éi preez vñ láud vñ bles ez ní'm,

1 for it iz simli soo tu duu.
 2 for et ez farent si' tə dəə.
 3 for et)s farent tə dəə síə.

4. 1 for whái? dhə :loord a'ur :good iz gud,
 2 for kwái? dhə :lu'rd uur :good ez gəd,
 3 kwat for? dhə :lu'rd uur :good'z gəd,

1 hiz gudnəs iz for ever shə'ur,
 2 hez gədnəs ez for ever səər,
 3 hez gədnəs ez səər for éi,

1 hiz trə'uth at aal táimz fermli stud,
 2 hez trəth vñ aa téimz fermli stəd,
 3 hez trəth stəd sekər vñ aa téimz,

1 ænd shal from edɿ tu edɿ vndə'ur!
 2 vñ sal fræ íedɿ tə íedɿ vndə'r!
 3 vñ et)'l læst fræ í'dɿ tə í'dɿ.

SOUTH LOWLAND cwl.

Hawick, Rx. This contains the words excerpted from Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. Scotland*, pp. 142-149, being the wl. there given, rearranged and placed in order of the cwl., with many additions given to me by Dr. Murray. All words in Dr. Murray's list belonging to "Central Scotch" are given in a separate cwl. under D 34. All Dr. M.'s indications of pron. are transliterated into pal. As this was not constructed from my original wl., many words are omitted, and large additions are made, especially in the English and Romance sections. In this list I have used (v) instead of (ə) for the unaccented "obscure" vowel. The medial length has not generally been marked, all vowels marked short should probably be read as medial.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — ti'n [taken]. — kræd'l [cradle]. — sed'l [saddle]. 8 hæv. 10 haakvch [a haugh or low lying enclosure]. 17 laa. 19 t'p'l. 25 mi'n. — íep íep [old people, (ap) ape]. — kepan [capon]. 28 her. — fer [fare]. — wer [ware]. 32 bedh. 33 redher [emphatic (ree-)]. 34 last.

A: — kran [crane]. — baand [band]. 43 haand. 44 laand. — staand [stand]. — geener [gander]. 50 taqz [old], teqz [new]. — maqer [monger] 51 man. — erk [an ark]. 55 as. 56 wæsh.

A: or O: 60 laq. 61 amaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 65 saq. 66 thwaq, whaq [old], whaq whésq whéiq [new].

A'- 67 gi'. — slí' [a sloe]. 70 ti'. 71 wi'. 72 kwí'. 73 si'. 74 twí'. — krook [croak]. 75 strook. 76 t'p'd. 77 lu'rd. 78 duun. 79

daun aan [later (een)]. — *poop* [pope]. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. — *sori* [sorry]. — *roor* [roar]. — *uuz* [ooze]. 92 *k'naa*. 93 *snaa*. 94 *kraa*. 95 *thraa*. 96 *saa*. — *blaa'n* [blown]. — *maa'n* [mown]. 100 *saa'n*. — *leevrek* [the lark, bird].

A': 104 *rood*. 105 *red*. 106 *brī'd*. — *lædi* [lady]. — *groov* [grove]. — *druu'v* [a drove]. 108 *deekjh di'kwh*. 109 *laa leekh li'kwh*. 113 *hi'i*. — *pol* [pole]. — *fi'm* [foam]. — *loom* [loom]. 117 *i'n æn*. 118 *bi'n*. — *hu'n* [hone]. 122 *i. n'n, ii. ni'*. — *shen* [shone]. 124 *sti'n*. 126 *oor*. — *boor* [a boar]. — *garlek* [garlic]. 129 *gi'st*. — *reez* [rose, pt.]. — *blæster* [bluster]. 135 *klī'th*. — *raa rôu* [a row or rank]. 136 *ii. or*.

Æ- 138 *fædher*. — *lædher* [ladder]. — *blædher* [bladder]. 144 *agi'n*. 148 *fer*. — *ant* [an ant]. 149 *bliiz*. 150 *list*. 152 *weter*.

Æ: — *wi'k'n we'- waa-* [waken]. 156 *glææd*. — *ædher* [adder]. — *hæd* [had]. — *gædher* [gather]. 158 *æfter*. 159 *hæz*. 160 *æg*. 161 *dee*. — *slekjht* [sleight]. — *hælth* [health]. 169 *kæhan*. — *ep'l* [apple]. 171 *barl*. 172 *gærs græs*. — *list* [lest]. 174 *æsh*. — *læs* [less]. — *glæs* [glass]. — *fæs'n* [fasten]. — *kært* [cart].

Æ'- 182 *séi* [(sui-shoor) sea-shore]. — *blitj* [bleach]. 185 *rid*. 187 *hiiv*. 189 *wéi*. 191 *hi'l*. 192 *min*. — *lin* [lean]. — *wapen* [weapon]. — *tiiz* [tease]. — *tiiz'l* [tease].

Æ': — *spræd* [spread, pt.]. 206 *ræd*. 210 *kléi*. 211 *græe*. 213 *edher*. 214 *nædher*. — *f'ud* [feud]. 216 *di'l*. — *mi'l* [meal, food]. 222 *hær*. 223 *dhi'r*. 224 *kæheer*. — *læst* [to last]. 227 *wit* [v. and sb.], *wat* [adj.]. 229 *breth*. — *slooth* [sloth]. — *w'reeth* [wrath].

E- 232 *bræk*. 233 *spik*. — *brækfest* [breakfast]. 234 *næd*, [older form (k'næd)]. — *træd* [to tread]. — *wædher* [weather]. 235 *wiiv*. — *hevi* [heavy]. 239 *sel*. 243 *plee*. 244 *wil*. 245 *mil*. 247 *wi'n*. — *biir* [to bear]. — *piir* [a pear]. — *tiir* [to tear]. 248 *mir*. 249 *wiir*. — *weezel* [weasel]. — *it* [to eat]. — *bit* [beet]. — *fædher* [feather]. 254 *læther*.

E: — *w'ratj* [wretch]. — *wæb wob* [web]. 256 *strik* [stretch]. — *hiiv* [to heave]. 259 *wadj*. 260 *lee*. 261 *see*. — *bæd* [bed]. — *bid* [a bead]. — *wad wadin* [to wed, a wedding]. 262 *wéi*. — *wælkæm* [welcome]. — *fild* [field]. — *sæl* [to sell]. — *wæl* [a well]. — *hæm* [a hem]. — *w'rensh* [wrench]. — *kwensh* [quench]. 278 *wensh*. — *sænd* [send]. — *pæn* [a pen]. 284 *thraesh*. — *wæst* [west]. — *sæt'l* [settle]. 288 *læt*. — *bæst* [best]. E'- 290 *héi*. 292 *méi*. 293 *wéi*. — *sik* [to seek]. 301 *hiir*.

E': 305 *héikjh héi hái*, [(hii) in (hilant) highland]. 306 *héikjht*. — *sin* [seen, pp.]. 312 *hiir*. — *brriir* [a briar]. 313 *hærk*. 316 *nikst nist*.

EA- — *haak* [hawk]. 320 *ker*. — *nerw* [narrow]. EA: — *djoul* [jowl]. 322 *lakwh*. 324 *ækjht*. — *lakwhter* [laughter]. 325 *waak*. 327 *baald*. 328 *kaald*. 329 *faald*. 330 *haald*. 331 *saald* [(sæld) sold]. 332 *taald* [(tæld) telled]. — *hæpni* [halfpenny]. 337 *waa*. 338 *kaa*. — *maat* [malt]. — *saat* [salt]. — *biærd* [beard]. — *mærk* [mark]. — *spærk* [spark]. 340 *jeerd*. — *hard* [hard]. — *wærd* [a ward]. 342 *ærm*. — *hèrm* [harm]. 343 *wærm*. — *swèrm* [swarm]. — *fèrn* [fern]. — *shèrp* [sharp]. — *wèrp* [warp]. — *jern* [yarn]. — *wèrn* [warn]. 345 *daar*. — *pèrk* [park]. — *shaa* [to shew]. — *eks* [an axe].

EA'- 347 *hid*. 348 *éi*. — *dái* [to dye]. — *dáir* [dyer]. 349 *f'u*.

EA': 350 *did*. 351 *lid*. 352 *rid*. 355 *dif*. 356 *lif*. — *tái* [tie]. 357 *thoo*. — *hip* [heap]. — *lous* [loose]. 366 *gret*. 367 *thri't*. 368 *di'th*. 369 *slaa*. EI- 372 *æ'i*. 375 *ræz*. 376 *bet*. EI: 378 *week*. 379 *hel*. 380 *dhem*. 382 *dheer*.

EO- — *tær* [tar]. 387 *n'u*. EO: — *rook* [yoke]. — *wik* [candle wick]. 389 *jók*. 390 *sæd*. 395 *jax*. — *dærk* [dark]. 396 *wark*. — *bærk* [to bark]. 397 *su'rd*. — *kærv* [carve]. 398 *stærv*. — *færm* [farm]. — *æ'r'l* [earl]. — *kærl* [churl]. 402 *lærn*. 403 *fær*. 404 *stær*. — *shu'rt* [short]. — *hært* [heart]. — *smært* [to smart]. 405 *hærth*. 406 *færth*. 407 *færdin*. — *straa* [to strew].

EO'- 409 *béi*. — *k'néi* [knee]. — *fréi* [free]. — *tréi* [tree]. — *fléi* [to flee and fly]. 415 *léi*. — *jæl* [yule]. 416 *i. ii. diir*. — *tjóz* [to choose]. — *friiz* [to freeze]. — *siidh* [to seethe]. — *rø'u* [to rue]. 420 *fóur*.

EO': 422 sik [sick]. — krùd [crowd]. — thif [thief]. 423 théi. 426 fækjht. 427 béi. 429 fint. 430 frind. 432 fúurt. 433 brist. 434 bi't. 435 ja'u. — trôu [to throw]. 437 trə'uth. EY- 438 déi.

I- — stærn [stern]. 447 her [neither (hær) nor (hær)]. — jes [yes]. 449 get gi't. I: 455 lāi. — med'l [middle]. 458 néikjht. 459 réikjht. 460 wækjht. — skil [skill]. — geid [to guild]. 469 wal [to will]. — suum [to swim]. — steqk [stink]. — sweqk [swink]. 473 blend. 475 wānd. — wānde [window]. 476 bend. 477 fend. 478 grend. — hent [hind]. — a-hént [behind]. — kern [to churn]. — ren [run]. — ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 thres'l. 488 jet. — brə [bree broth]. — set [sit]. — wat [wit]. — watnes [witness].

I'- 490 bái [of place], béi [of agency]. 491 séikjh sái. — stái [sty]. — páp. 497 ráz. 498 w'reit. Y': 500 lek [(leki) likely]. 502 fáiv. 505 wéif wéivz. 506 waman. — héi [hay]. 508 méil. — réim. 511 wáin. — bléidh. 517 ja'u.

O- — brók'n [broken]. 518 bu'di [(bu'dis) bodice, properly pl.]. — ən [oven]. 520 bóu. — su'l [sole of foot]. 522 u'p'n. 523 hu'p. — pápi [poppy]. — fuu'r [fore]. — buu'r [to bore]. — tu'rn [to turn]. — snuu'r [to snore]. — bu'rn [born]. — shu'rn [shorn]. — forlu'rn [forlorn]. 524 wor'ld wārd. — hooz [hose]. — ku't [cot]. — rot'n [rotten]. — sməz [smother].

O: — trokwh [trough]. 527 bokwt. 528 thokwht. 529 brokwh. 531 dokwhter. 532 kuu'l. 533 dæl. 535 fu'k. 536 guuld. 538 wāld wād. — k'nóu [knoll]. — tol [toll]. 542 bolt. — kóut [colt]. 544 dhan. — su'p [sop]. 546 for. — goor [gore]. 548 fərd. 549 hərd. 550 wārd. — boro [borrow]. — soro [sorrow]. 551 stu'rn. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. — mu'rn [morn]. — thu'rn [thorn]. — pu'rt [port]. — nu'rth [north]. — fru'st [forst]. — boks [box]. — foks [fox]. — post [post]. — bodəm [bottom].

O'- 555 shə. 556 tə. — foder [fodder]. 559 mædhər. — uu [to woo]. — gəm [gum of teeth]. 562 mæn. — manth [month]. 564 sən. 566 ædhər. 568 bradhər. — glóu [to glow]. — glóur [to glower]. — gróun [groan]. O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 573 fləd. 575 stəd. — koov [a cove of the sea]. 578 pləkwh [sb.], plə'u [vb.]. 579 anəkwh [sg.], anə'u [pl.]. — flóun [flown]. 584 stəl. — dəm [doom]. — buun [boon]. 586 də. 587 dən. 590 flər. 592 swər. — bu's'm [bosom]. 595 fət [in some dialects (fat)]. — stóu [a stow or store place].

U- 599 abə'n. — wād [wood]. 600 ləv. 602 sə'u. 603 kam. — maqk [monk]. — heni [honey]. 605 sən. 606 dər. — net [nut].

U: — snəb [to snub]. — waf ulf [wolf]. 609 fal fə'u. — pal [to pull]. 610 ul. — fuler [a fuller]. 612 sam. 612 hand hund. 615 pənd. 616 grənd. 617 sünd. 618 wund. — ban [bound]. 619 fand [pp.], fand [pt.]. 620 grān [ground, pt.]. 621 wən. — wānder [wonder]. 625 təq. — tan [ton]. 630 wən. — brəkwh [broch brough borough]. — fer [fir]. 634 thrau thruu. — marn [mourn].

U'- 640 ka'u. 643 na'u. 644 suk [to suck]. 646 bə'u. — thum [thumb]. 648 uur. — plum [plum]. 650 abüt. 652 kəd. 653 bat.

U': — kləd [cloud]. 657 brən. 660 buur. 663 hüs. 665 müs. 667 üt.

Y- 673 mak'l. Y: 686 bái. — rəth [ruth]. 688 bəld [(bəlt) built]. — gelt [guilt]. — hel [hill]. — kəmli [comely]. 695 hærk'n. — wəri [worry]. — wärm [worm]. 700 wars [(warst) worst]. 701 ferst. — wärt [wort]. — kest [a chest]. Y'- 705 skái. — héid [hide]. — fourtin [fourteen]. — drip [drip]. Y': 709 fáir. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. :izaa'k [Isaac]. :belaam [Balaam]. :kənaa'n [Canaan]. bab [babe]. :bab'l [Babel]. kebin [cabin]. dəb'l [dabble]. bə'bi [baby]. heek [hack]. kækək'l [cackle]. teek'l tak'l [tackle]. :i'dəm [Adam]. dedi [daddy]. dəd'l [daddle, a pinafore]. ped'l [paddle]. 717 dɪəd. 718 trəd. ləd'l [ladle]. nəeg [a nag]. kreeg [a crag]. deeg'l [daggle]. heg'l [haggle]. weg'l [waggle].

maak [maggot]. pleed [plaid]. dreg'l [draggle]. vi'grønt vagrønt [vagrant]. :abrahā'm [Abraham]. bæld [bald]. :pada'n-:araa'm [Padan-Aram]. glæns [glance]. waand [wand]. mæner [manure, formerly spelled 'mainer']. :pi's [Pasch = Easter]. berd [bard]. skær [scare]. særk [sark]. snarl [snarl]. dærn [darn]. nesti [nasty]. :sat'n :saathen [Satan]. pūta'tez [potatoes]. ræv'l [ravel]. si'vin [savin or willow]. kreez [craze].

E. træd'l [a treadle]. wælt [wealth]. pit [peat]. breedth [breathe]. hædher [heather]. ende'vær [endeavour]. walt [welt]. jærk [yerk, jerk]. bles [bles]. pæt [pet].

I. and Y. váil [phial]. tráil [trial]. weked [wicket]. pái [pie]. vái [vie]. wheg [whig]. rig [rig]. kwhim [whim]. whan [whin]. prin [pin]. weq [wing]. whap [whip]. kwhisht [whisht]. wasp [wisp]. dril [to drill]. split [split]. spái [spy]. prái [pry]. trái [try]. w'rái [wry].

O. ad' [ado]. 76i li'd. sook [soak]. room [roam]. roon [roan]. bost [boast]. flot [float]. tokwær [tocher, dower]. klok [clock]. kod [cod]. su'd [sod]. sode [soda]. sofa [sofa]. bu'g [bog]. ku'g [cog]. flog [flog]. bu'g'l buug'l [bogle]. kok [coke]. bóu [boll of a plant]. skoold [scold]. dælfæ [doleful]. góuf [golf]. dol [doll]. pol [poll]. strol [stroll]. ku'lier [collier]. kron [crown]. drw'n [drone]. maqrel [mongrel]. maqki [monkey]. want [wont]. pouni [pony]. luup [loop]. gruuv [groove]. kop [cope]. skop [scope]. ku'rd [cord]. bu'rder [border]. kork [cork]. wærn [worn]. warsæt [worsted]. snort [snort]. spu'rt [sport]. pu'rtili [portly]. toori [tory]. tos [toss]. lu'st [lost]. pu'si [posy]. troth [troth]. bódhær bóder [bother]. sekwh [to sough]. pæltæ [poultice]. flans flæ'uns [flounce]. pæns pa'uns [pounce]. buunderi [boundary]. ma'ntibaqk [mountebank]. spræt [sprout]. roov [rove]. sla'u'en [sloven]. tóu [tow]. dróun [drown]. gróul [growl]. próul [prowl]. bóu bóu [boy].

U. ræbush [rubbish]. dæk [duck]. kæd [cud]. pædin [pudding]. hæd'l [huddle]. blæ'u [blue]. gi'ni [guinea]. buk [bulk]. buldʒ [bulge]. bælwerk [bulwark]. tæp [tap]. bloor [blur]. kærl [curl]. besh [bush]. pusi [pussy]. flæster [fluster]. 808 pet. stæt [stutter]. bez [buzz].

III. ROMANCE.

A. ebi [abbey]. laaber leber [labour]. labrær lebrær [labourer]. iste'blish [establish]. febrik [fabric]. vi'kenz vi'grønz [vacance]. plekærd [placard]. sæk [sack]. 810 fi's. sugaa'shies [sagacious]. :dʒaa'kæbit [Jacobite]. sekris [sacrifice]. vi'gabæn [vagabond]. a'dʒent [agent]. pædʒent [pageant]. :speen'værd [Spaniard]. dreegon [dragon]. tri'z'n [treason]. géi [gay]. mái [May]. 824 tjeir tjeir [chair]. ti'liær [tailor]. fi'l [fail]. tjin [chain]. sant [saint]. èr [air]. kliir [clear]. pliz [please]. fi'z'n [pheasant]. si'sin [seisin]. plizer [pleasure]. di'zert [desert]. 835 ri'z'n. 836 si'z'n. fi't [feat]. fi'ter [feature]. pis [pease]. pi'lin [paling]. baa [ball]. aam [alum]. veli [valley]. hælæ [halo]. velæ [value]. demish [damage of fruit, other damage (da'midʒ)]. kæmbrik [cambric]. keem'l [camel]. fem'li [family]. feemin [famine]. feemish [famish]. enflæ'mæb'l [inflammable]. demson [damson]. tjaamer [chamber]. hensh [haunch, to jerk from the hanch]. bræns [branch]. mænder [manger]. tensh [tench]. stensh [to staunch]. enzh'l [angel]. graand [grand]. demaand [demand]. komæand [command]. 847 dendʒer. 848 tjeindʒ. rændʒ [range]. mæner [manner]. 851 ænt. tjeant [chant]. dænt [daunt]. dræper [draper]. tjeplæt [chaplet]. mæri [marry]. hænt [haunt]. vænt [vaunt]. tjepl [chapel]. sapient [sapient]. kæri [to carry]. 852 epræn. bar [bar]. par [par]. fars [farce]. ærtʒ [arch]. gærdin [garden]. dert [dart]. mærtjant [merchant]. merket [market]. lerdʒ [large]. wæran [warrant]. 854 bærel. mærl [marl]. :tjeerli [Charley]. ælærm [alarm]. hærmøni [harmony]. ærmi [army]. sku'rn [scorn]. perish [parish]. næretiv [narrative]. skærsh [scarce]. gærtæn [garter]. kærd [card]. ært [art]. pært [part]. tjeærtær [charter]. :mærtinmæs [Martinmas]. mæs [mass]. pæs [pass]. pæst [past]. sti't [state]. bat'l [battle]. pi'st [paste]. kas'l [castle]. stræate [strata]. fat'l [fatal]. :lætín [Latin]. setin [satin]. næshæn [nation]. næshænæl [national]. raashænæl [rational]. raashænæl [rations]. lænd [land]. lændnem

[laudanum]. *dúdiens* [audience]. *paatriark* [patriarch]. *maatren* [matron]. *paatren* [patron]. *metar* [matter]. *steets* [statue]. *steetar* [statue]. *si v* [save]. *hakóhti* [haughty]. *stéi* [stay]. *páuper* [pauper]. *áutograf* [autograph]. *graa'vot* [cravat]. *teevren* [tavern]. *hezerd* [hazard].

E.. *i-di-pri-ri-si-* [e-de-pre-re-se-unaccented]. *i'-ri'-pri'* [e-re-pre-accented]. *di'-* [de-accented, except when followed by two consonants, when it is (dæ)]. *si'-* [se-accented]. *idiiv* [idea]. *ríel* [real]. *djáient* [giant]. *thi'eter* [theatre]. *kríeter* [creature]. *sil* [seal]. *pil* [peel]. *ri'konsil* [reconcile]. *presheis* [precious]. *dísent* [decent]. *si'kent* [second]. *si'kret* [secret]. *deræ'k* [direct]. *pén* [pain]. 872 *tjif*. 874 *rin*. *ven* [vein]. *strind* [strained]. 877 *eer*. *dii'ist* [deist]. *plæt* [plait]. *di'eti* [deity]. *i'ligunt* [elegant]. *i'limút* [element]. *i'lifent*. *pælæt* [pellet]. *sk'ím* [scheme]. *thi'm* [theme]. *konti'n* [contain]. *menti'n* [maintain]. *fi'menin* [feminine]. *dems'l* [damsel]. *mænd* [mend]. *si'n* [scene]. *avendj* [avenge]. *vendjans* [vengeance]. *dji'nus* [genius]. *i'fi'mere* [ephemera]. *sænt* [scent]. *vænt* [vent]. *tænt* [tent]. *plenti* [plenty]. *vænter* [venture]. *survee'* [survey]. *ditæ'r* [deter]. *:vi'nus* [Venus]. *i'rb* [herb]. *pi'rtj* [perch]. *si'rtj* [search]. *mærsi* [mercy]. *pi'trik* [partridge]. *revi'r* [revere]. *friir* [friar]. *sens'r* [sincere]. *pi'rs* [pierce]. *prifæ'r* [prefer]. *erbær* [arbour]. *nærv* [nerve]. *si'rdjunt* [sergeant]. *træik'l* [treacle]. *pi'riød* [period]. *klærk* [clerk]. *mærl* [merle, blackbird]. *pi'ær'l* [pearl]. *færm* [firm]. *konzæ'rn* [concern]. *særpent* [serpent]. *ær* [err]. *hi'rs* [hearse]. *særtén* [certain]. *alæ'rt* [alert]. *dizi'rt* [to desert]. *ensi'rt* [to insert]. *asi'rt* [assert]. *deskonsi'rt* [disconcert]. *divæ'rt* [divert]. *ensi'rshen* [insertion]. *sær* [serve]. *pri'zent* [a present]. *dæ'sporet* [desperate]. *æm* [aim]. *ru'set* [resin]. *træ'zær* [treasure]. *pæst* [pest]. *mezer* [measure]. *rist* [to rest = be restive]. *ræst* [to rest = be quiet]. *krist* [crest]. *tæst* [test]. *ræstles* [restless]. *net* [neat]. *djit* [jet of water]. *komplít* [complete]. *bist* [beast]. *fist* [feast]. *diz'ert* [desert]. *deskreshen* [discretion]. *dæ'stitút* [destitute]. *ari'st* [arrest]. 893 *fluur* [flower and flour]. *flærish* [flourish]. *:s'urop* [Europe]. *konsi'v* [conceive]. *konsi't* [conceit]. 894 *disi'v*. 895 *risi'v*. *læv'n* [leaven]. *tækst* [text].

I.. and Y.. *dináivl* [denial]. *poli't* [polite]. *libræri* [library]. *fizi'shen* [physician, and so on for -ition, -ician]. *benefit* [benefit]. *difáient* [defiant]. *pláivnt* [pliant]. *plái* [ply]. *spái* [spy]. *krái* [to cry]. *kráivær* [a crier]. *griiv* [grieve]. *oblidj* [oblidge]. *konde'q* [condign]. *fi'rs* [fierce]. *piir* [pier]. *djig* [jig]. *pil* [pill]. *pin'ien* [pinion]. *finish* [finish]. *lái'en* [lion]. *rái'vnt* [riot]. *tip* [type]. *frii* [fry]. *si'lendær* [cylinder]. *mæle'q* [malign]. *bine'q* [benign]. *saspi'sheis* [suspicious, and so generally for final -icious, -itious]. *séiv'l* [civil]. *kritik* [critic]. *sáiz* [size]. *tjæstii'z* [chastise]. *adværtii'z* [advertise]. *buptii'z* [baptise]. *siiveliiz* [civilise]. *adværtii zment* [advertisement]. *mii'zer* [miser]. *siti* [city]. *sit* [cite]. *envi't* [invite]. *piti* [pity]. *posi'shen* [position, and so for all -ition].

O.. *rab* [rob]. *rabær* [robber]. *proob* [probe]. *goblet* [goblet]. *kootj* [coach]. *krokus* [crocus]. *bru'tj* [brooch]. *ood* [ode]. *kod* [code]. *mòdern* [modern]. *ladj* [lodge]. *koor* [core]. 916 *eqen*. 917 *roog*. *droog* [drug]. *fèth* [faith]. *stæ'ik* [stoic]. *buund* [to bound]. 920 *póint*. *djook* [joke]. *stú'ri* [story]. *leezær* [leisure]. 922 *bæshel*. *su'djær* [soldier]. *kòloni* [colony]. *dramederi* [dromedary]. *pæmel* [pommel]. *kæmpæni* [company]. *toon* [tone]. *æns* [ounce]. *fuund* [to found]. *koon* [cone]. *dipoon* [depone]. *spændj* [sponge]. *onær* [honour]. *mæni* [money]. *bu'ni* [bonny]. *mænt* [mount]. *frant* [front]. *kæntri* [country]. *fænten* [fountain]. 936 *fænt* [font]. *mu'nimènt* [monument]. *stoor* [store]. *fu'rs* [force]. *ordær* [order]. *stork* [stork]. *skardj* [scourge]. *soor* [soar]. *fu'rdj* [forge]. *bærn* [bourn]. 938 *kornær*. *kornet* [cornet]. *skorpiæn* [scorpion]. *korps* [corpse]. *horid* [horrid]. *ripu'rt* [report]. *su'rt* [sort]. *pu'rtent* [portent]. *pu'rtær* [porter]. *pu'rshen* [portion]. *kæ'æl* [coral]. *færm* [form, seat]. *form* [form, shape]. *fu'rtin* [fortune]. *duu'z* [a dose]. *klú's* [close, adj.]. *kluu'z* [to close]. *prooz* [prose]. *kompuu'z* [compose]. *sæpuu'z* [suppose]. *ruu'z* [rose, flower]. *klú'set* [closet]. *pu'setiv* [positive]. *kru'zier* [crozier]. *koot* [quote]. *kost* [coast]. *host* [host]. *oslær* [ostler]. *nu't* [note]. *ru'st* [roast]. *tu'st* [toast]. *ku't* [coat]. *vu't* [vote]. *kloov* [clove]. *tau'el* [towel].

ka'uerd [coward]. trəb'l [trouble]. 942 butjər. ku'kuu [cuckoo]. tatʃ [touch]. sɔʊdər [solder]. hɔʊ [hoe]. fə'u-el [fuel]. 947 bɔɪl. 943 bɔʊl. rɔʊ [roll]. kələr [colour]. truup [troop]. sʊp [soup]. 951 kəp'l. fəridʒ [forage]. tɔrmənt [torment]. dʒərnəl [journal]. fər [fur]. nəriʃh [nourish]. tuur [tower]. pəʃh [push]. gəʃhət [gusset]. 953 kəzɪn. 954 kəʃhən. bɔt'l [bottle]. kətʃər [cutler]. kʊ'st [cost]. gətər [gutter]. ku'vi [covey]. mɔv [move]. puur [power]. prɔv [prove]. kevr [cover]. kɔvet [covey]. dezn [dozen]. dʒə'u-el [jewel]. emplɔi [employ]. bə'u-el [bowel]. frɛ [to fray]. U.. dʊ [due]. trə'u-an-d [truant, the (d) sometimes added]. grə'u-el [gruel]. wɪg [wig]. skɪ'lɪtən [skeleton]. də'u-el [duel]. krə'u-el [cruel]. trə'u-el [trowel]. embrʊ'u [imbrue]. wɛt [wait]. kwɛstɪn [question]. kwɛst [quest]. 965 ɔɪl. kwel [quill]. brɔz [bruise]. 966 frɛt. dʒɔdʒ [judge]. mɔl [mule]. kʊm [culm]. kɔnsəm [consume]. tʊn [tune]. pupət [pulpit]. skrɔp'l [scruple]. kɔr [cure]. endɔr [endure]. 969 sɔr. dʒɔɪs [juice]. əs [the use]. əz [to use]. rɛfəz [refuse]. dʒɔst [just]. fɛstɪ [fusty]. rɪkrɪt [recruit]. lɛt [lute].

LIDDESDALE HEAD cwl.

Near Thorlishope (12 sse.Hawick), pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Jackson, of Catcleugh, Keilder (27 nw.Hexham, Nb.), then 75 years acquainted with the dialect. This was gone over by A.J.E. with JGG. It was not originally intended for publication. It is here reproduced to shew that Liddesdale is distinctly L. and not N. Only the Wessex and Norse section was written.

To facilitate comparison with Dr. Murray's cwl. several of his pal. signs have been adopted, but JGG. analysed the sounds differently. Thus (i') became to JGG. (i,e'), which was very closely compressed so as to feel like a single vowel, the glide being extremely short, the (i₁) being a deep form of (i), and (e') being some indistinct form of (e) not sensibly different from (') or (v). The (ə), which I retain, JGG. preferred to write (ə') between (u₁) and (e) or (i₁), but "distinctly not rounded." There was a variety of this which was a 'rounded' form of (e¹) or (i₁), which I write (æ₁); it seemed to be due to the influence of (r), see Nos. 547, 590. The (u'), also retained, was written (u,ə) very close, and resembling (oo), the last element "brief, but very distinct (ə)." These are all clearly slight varieties of Dr. Murray's sounds, (e¹) is used for Dr. M.'s (e) or y as he writes it.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bi'k. 4 ti'k. 5 mi'k. 6 mi'd. 7 si'k. 8 æv. 9 bihi'v. 10 haa [(aa) very slightly broader than (aa) throughout]. 12 saa. 15 aa₁ [intermediate between (aa, AA)]. 16 daan. 19 ti'l. 20 li'm. 21 ni'm. 23 seem. 24 shi'm. 25 mi'n. 26 wi'n. 27 ni'v. 28 heer. 30 keer. 33 reedher. 34 laet. 35 [(elsyn) used]. 36 thou. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kəm. 40 ki'm. 41 tha'qk. 43 haan. 44 laan. 46 kən'l. 48 saaq. 50 ti'qz. 51 man. 55 as. 56 wæsh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thræ'. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 e'məq. 62 s,t,rəq [this (t,r) was not acknowledged by Dr. Murray]. 64 wrəq. 65 səq. 66 kwhi'q.

A'- 67 gəq. 70 ti'. 71 woo. 72 whi'. 73 soo. 74 twi'. 75 s,t,rook. 76 ti'd. 77 luu,rd. 78 aan. 80 ho,lydɔ. 81 loonyn. 83 mi'n. 84 meer. 85 seer. 86 iets. 87 kliz. 88 klidh. 89 bi'th. 90 blaə [(bliú) pt.]. 91 maə [(miú) pt.]. 92 [(ken) used]. 93 snaə [(sniú) pt.]. 94 kraə [(kriú) pt.]. 95 thraə [(thriú) pt.]. 96 saa [(siú) pt.]. 97 sool.

A': 101 i'k. 104 rɔd. 105 ri'd. 106 bri'd. 107 li'f. 108 diukw. 109 liukw. 111 oo,kwht. 112 hi'l. 115 hi'm. 118 bi'n. 121 gi'n. 122 ni'n. 124 sti'n. 125 onli. 127 hi'rsh. 129 goost. 130 bɔvt. 132 het. 133 wri't. 134 ooth. 135 klith.

Æ: 138 fe'dher. 140 hɛl. 142 snɛl. 144 egɛn. 145 slɛn. 146 mɛn. 147 brɛn. 148 feer. 150 list. 152 wətv.r. Æ: 155 tha'k. 157 rɛv'n. 158 əftə.r. 160 ææg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sɛd. 166 mɛd. 167 di'l. 168 talɛ. 169 kwɛn. 170 ha'rst. 171 baarlɛ. 172 gærs. 173 waz. 174

- æst. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 kwæt. 180 bàth. 181 pæ'th. **Æ'**- 182
 sée.i. 183 titj. 184 ld. 185 rid. 186 brēith. 187 liiv. 190 kée.i. 191
 hi'l. 192 min. 193 klin. 194 oni. 195 mo,ni. 196 war wær. 197 tþjz.
 199 [(bleer) used]. 200 kwhit. 201 hi'dh'n. 202 hit.
Æ': 203 spitj. 204 did. 205 thrid. 206 ræd. 207 mid'l. 210 klée.i.
 211 gree. 213 ædher. 215 takwht. 216 di'l. 217 [not used]. 218 ship.
 219 slip. 221 fi'r. 222 heer. 223 dhi'r. 224 kwheer wheer. 226 mi'st.
 228 swi't. 229 breth. 230 fa't.
E- 232 bræk. 233 spik. 234 nē,d. 235 weev wiiv. 236 fevēr. 237
 bleen. 238 hæadj. 239 seel. 241 reen. 243 plee. 246 kuin. 248 mi'r.
 249 wi'r. 250 swi'r. 251 mit. 252 kæt'l [almost (kæt'l)]. 253 næt'l.
 254 lædher. 255 wadhur.
E: 257 sædj. 259 wadj. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 eel. 267 iild. 268
 [(aalde'st)=oldest, used]. 270 i. bēli,z. ii. bēle'. 272 æl'm. 273 mæn.
 274 bēsh. 276 the'qk. 277 drensht. 278 wensht. 280 eli'v'n. 281 lenth.
 282 s'trenth. 283 mære'. 284 thræsh. 285 krësh. 286 hære. 287 bæzem.
 288 lēt.
E'- 289 ii. 290 héii. 292 méii. 293 wéii. 294 fid. 296 beliiv. 299
 grin. 300 kip. 301 hi'r. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bit'l. **E'**: 306
 hæ'kh. 308 mid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 311 tææn. 312 hijjēr. 314 hæærd.
 315 fit. 316 nekst.
EA- 319 gi'p. 320 keer. **EA**: 322 lækwh. 323 fukwht. 324 ækjht.
 325 waak. 326 aald. 327 bō'l'd. 328 kaal'd. 329 faal'd. 330 hod. 331
 [(sæl'd) selled, used]. 332 [(tæl'd) telled, used]. 333 káf. 334 hæf. 335 aa.
 336 faa. 337 waa. 340 iærd. 342 eerm. 345 daar. 346 iæt.
EA'- 347 hid. 348 xi. 349 fiú. **EA'**: 350 did. 351 lid. 352
 rid. 353 brid. 354 shi'f. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 thoo. 359 nibēr. 360
 t.m. 361 bin. 363 tþj. 365 ni'r. 366 greet. 367 thri't. 368 di'th.
 369 slaa. 379 raa. 371 stri'.
EI- 372 ææ'i. 373 dhee. 375 riz. 376 beet. **EI**: 377 sti'k. 378
 week. 382 dheer. **EO**- 383 siv'n. 384 hev'n. 385 enæe th. 386 iou.
EO: 388 me'lk. 389 look. 390 shud. 393 iont. 396 wæ,rk. 397 sw'rd.
 398 stæerv. 402 la'rn. 403 fæær. 404 stærn. 405 haarth. 406 ierth.
 407 faardi,n. 408 niuu. **EO'**- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 412 shéii. 413
 div'l. 414 flæ'i. 415 lē'i. 417 tþw. 418 briuu. 420 foor. 421 forte'.
EO': 423 théii. 424 rakwh. 425 lækjht. 426 fækjht. 427 béii. 428
 séii. 430 frin'd. 431 biier. 432 fōrth. 433 bree'st. 434 bæst. 435 iau.
 436 tþriuu. 437 tþriunth. **EY**- 438 dæ'i. **EY**: 439 tþrast.
I- 440 wik. 441 siiv. 442 aive'. 446 nē'in. 448 dh'. 449 grt. 450
 tiuuzde'. 451 siuu. **I**: 452 dai. 454 watj. 455 lāi. 457 mækjht.
 458 nækjht. 459 rækjht. 460 wækjht. 462 sækjht. 464 kwatj. 465
 sek. 466 [(bæern) used]. 467 wæ'il'd. 471 te'mær. 472 shre'qk. 473 ble'n'd.
 474 rē'in'd. 475 wan. 476 be'n'd. 477 fe'n'd. 478 gre'n'd. 479 wan'd.
 481 fe'qær. 485 thre's'l. 486 iæst. 487 iæs,tærde'. 488 iæt.
I'- 490 baai. 491 sækjh. 493 dráiv. 494 tē'im. 496 æren. 497 ere'iz.
 498 wre'it. 499 bit'l. **I'**: 500 lē'ik. 501 wæ'id. 502 fáiv. 503 lē'if.
 504 nē'if. 505 wæ'if. 506 wome'n. 507 wime'n. 508 mē'il. 509 kwhe'il.
 511 wē'in. 513 wæiwer. 514 e'is. 515 wæ'is. 516 we'sdem. 517 iuu.
O- 520 bōu. 521 fu'l. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524 war'l'd. **O**: 526
 kokwh. 527 bokwht. 528 thokwht. 530 wrokwht. 531 dokwhter. 532
 ku'l. 533 dæl. 534 hu'l. 536 gool'd. 538 úd wad. 539 bōul. 540 hole'.
 542 bolt. 545 hop. 547 bææ,rd. 548 fææ,rd. 550 ward. 551 stu'rm.
 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. 554 kros. **O'**- 555 shæ. 557 tæ. 558 læk lük.
 559 madher. 561 blæm. 562 mæn. 563 mænde'. 564 sæn. 566 ædher.
O': 569 bæk. 570 tæk. 571 gæd. 572 blæd. 573 flæd. 574 bræd. 575
 stæd. 576 wæd'nzde'. 577 bōu. 578 plukwht. 579 eniukwh. 580 tiukwh.
 581 sokwht. 582 kuul. 584 stæl. 585 bræm. 586 dæ. 587 dæn. 588
 næn. 589 spæn. 590 flææ,r. 591 mææ,r. 592 swææ,r. 593 mast. 594
 bæst. 595 fe't. 596 ræt. 597 sæt.
U- 599 eba'n. 600 læv. 601 fuul. 602 sau. 603 kam. 605 sæn.
 606 door. 607 bættær. **U**: 608 ægle'. 609 fæl. 610 uu. 611 bælek.

D 33, 34.] THE SOUTH AND THE EASTERN MID LOWLAND. 723

612 sam. 613 draqk. 614 hand. 615 pan. 616 gran. 617 sá'und [Dr. Murray gives (sund), but JGG. got (sá,und) from Selkirk town, and (se₂'ún'd) from Roxburgh town, where (e₂) is nearly (æ), but these seem town pron.]. 618 uund. 622 ander. 625 taq. 626 haqur. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 tharzde'. 632 ap. 633 darp. 634 thra'u. 636 [(fæærer) is used for both farther and further]. 637 tæk. 639 dæst.

U- 640 ka'u. 641 ha'u. 642 dha'u. 643 na'u. 645 da'u. 648 uur. 649 thüzent. 652 kud. 653 bat. U': 654 sh'rud. 656 rüm. 657 brün. 658 dön. 661 shuur. 662 æz [never (hæz) as in Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 188, but this may have been an individuality]. 663 hüs. 664 lüs. 665 müs. 666 hazbent. 667 üt. 668 prüt. 669 a'nkuuth. 670 bütth.

Y- 673 mak'l. 674 læ'i. 675 d'rdai. 678 de'n. 679 kark. 680 be'ze'. 682 le't'l. Y: 683 me'dj. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 b'ai. 687 flækjht. 689 bə'd. 690 kə'in'd. 691 mæ'in'd. 693 se'n. 696 bæ'rh. 697 bæ'e'. 698 mæ'rh. 699 wrækjht. 700 w'ær. 701 fæ'rst. 703 pe't. Y'- 705 sk'ai. 706 [replaced by (k'what fæ'r) what for]. 707 thæ'tin. 708 h'aiær. Y': 709 f'aiær. 711 læ'is. 712 mæ'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 breedh. 750 bææg. O. 761 li'd. 769 m'ude'. U. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 rin.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Lothian and Fife.

Boundary. Begin just n. of the Liberties of the town of Berwick, and, joining the Tweed, follow it to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb., then turn along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, and continue along first the e. b. of Pb. and then the e.b. of Lk. to Kirkintillock, Dm. (18 e. Dumbarton), and to the head of Carron Water. Then suddenly back to ne. and pass just s. of Stirling and n. of Allod, Cc., and Kinross and w. of Cupar, Fi., to fall into the Firth of Tay a little w. of Newport, Fi. (opposite Dundee, Fo.). Of course this boundary is merely approximative, and means that the ne. part divides Sg. and Fi., so that the whole country for some miles on each side of the Firth of Forth is included.

Area. Most of Bw., Cc., Ed., Hd., Kr., Ll., and Pb., or in Scotch parlance the Lothians (Ll., Ed., Hd.) and Fife, whence Dr. Murray's name *Lothian and Fife*. The country included was the seat of government under the Scotch Kings, and was hence the centre of its English Literature.

Authorities. Dr. M.'s DSS. is very scanty on this dialect, because it furnishes "received Scotch," and is hence as well known to a Lowlander as "received English" to an Englishman. But I have made the best use I could of his scattered hints. Next I had 18 sentences for the Lothians and 4 for Fife from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709, at bottom. For the rest see Alphabetical County List under.

Bw. °Chirnside.

Ed. ||Edinburgh.

Hd. °Haddington.

Illustrations.

1. The cs.-for Edinburgh pal. by JAHM. from dictation of Mrs. C. Murray, a native, p. 683, No. 3. The Hd. cs., which was in io., is almost exactly the same word for word as the Ed. cs., and hence is not given.

2. Melville Bell's Lothian and Fife sentences.
3. The numerals 1 to 12 with 20 from Pb., Ed., Fi., compared with those from Rx. and Ab. from Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*.
4. The Chirnside dt.
5. A cwl. made up of the words thus obtained, and a wl. from Chirnside.

Characters. From these illustrations, especially the last, the following have been deduced.

A- generally (e, è, ee) or according to JAHM. (e') as (te'l, ne'm) tale, name. This is quite distinct from the (i') of D 33. There is no fracture in D 34.

A: regularly (a, à) and not (a) as in D 33, nor (AA).

A' regularly (e, ee) the same as A-, though (a, AA, o) are also heard, as (whz, whAA, tood, rôd) who, toad, road.

Æ- tends the same way as A-, as (fedhur, weeter dee') father, water day.

Æ' is usually (ii), but there are many exceptions.

E' is normally (ii), as *he, me*, and not (éi) as in D 33.

EAL is usually (AA) as (AA, Aald, sAAat) all, old, salt.

EA', EO' normally (ii) with a few exceptions.

I' has two sounds (ái, éi) or (g'í, ɛ'í), informants differ. (éi) or (ɛ'í) is used before voiceless consonants and mutes.

O' is regularly (yy) inclining to (y, ø), and varying as (iu, i) as (skø, sy, n, uíukh, fit) school, soon, enough, foot.

U: closed, is regularly (a) as (gran, ap) ground, up.

U' is always (uu, à) even in open syllables, and at the end of a word as (kuu, hús) cow, house, thus differing from D 33.

Among the consonants there is only one form of (kh) used in all positions, (kjh, kwk) are unknown. At Chirnside initial *ch* is pron. (sh), as (dher)z ez gy'd shiiz i :shirset az waz ever shóud wi shafts) there is as good cheese in Chirnside as ever was chewed with jawbones. We have a similar usage at Chillingham, Nb., D 32, V v, p. 641.

Mr. Collette, a Fifeman, in Oct. 1880, informed me that he had often heard (aa)z for *I am* from Fife lads. But possibly it was only for *I shall*, which is common. It has however been heard as far north as Dumfries.

LOTHIAN SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH,
CORRECTED AS THOSE IN D 33, p. 709.

Here (i, a', ø) are used for (y, ah) and unaccented (ø).

LOTHIAN.

TRANSLATION.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. hers'l i ₁ n ba' jər kripi
[kriipi], i ₁ n bers'l jər teez i ₁ t dhi
eq'l. | 1. Hustle in by [push forward]
your creepy [stool] and warm your
toes at the ingle [fire]. |
| 2. ee fikh ! kle'pshuurz 'n
golakhs ! | 2. Ah faugh ! earwigs and clocks
[beetles]. |
| 3. djəst a' rek'l ø stənz. | 3. Just a loose heap of stones. |
| 4. hooht, men ! whəm'l)t əp ! | 4. Hout, man ! turn)it up ! |
| 5. sek neer ₁ li ₁ ne'pi ₁ tni ₁ s bəts
AA dh ₁ t i ₁ ver ø hard ø ! | 5. Such narrowly niggardness beats
all that ever I heard of ? |
| 6. niver ky'li)z neə kenni ₁ s. | 6. Never coax is no kindness. |
| 7. shø)z noo skrem ₁ t ø kynzi
[kynzi] bi ₁ t kana' bi fasht ! | 7. She)s not stingy of coin [money],
but cannot be bothered. |

8. v)l noo fekht ji beeth et Jens,
bi,t a)l tak ji bi Jensi,z.

9. whar i i₁ GAAN?

10. shə)z v siv'l widi wəməŋ.

11. ee! sek a' pit'i! t*1i sii dh*1i,
wii bi,t laami steket.**

12. fre :demideks, dh*1i idhər dee,
t*1i :djin*1i :diinz v ben't mi w*1ei,
bat dil)hed kəhd á'i dəə, ohr see,
bat—whes'l ə'ur dhi leəv oh)t.****

13. kanti karl [kərl] kəm prii
mi, muu.

14. hee, mən! kaa dh*1i jə'uz
t*1i dh*1i nə'uz.***

15. wha whə'pet dh*1i laadh*1i?
hiz fedhər did wəz)d, tə mak i,m
gaq t*1i dh*1i skəl.****

16. huu)z AA wi i et heem?
gəiliz', thaqk ji fər spiir'n.

17. gaq vwaə', ladi, gee tə dh*1i
hohrs, see ʌ! ʌ! vən shuu i,m bak
vgi'n.*

18. v braa shərt-gun AA djə'upet
wi glaar.

8. I'll not fight you both at once, but
I'll take you by ones [one at a time].

9. Where are you going?

10. She's a civil widow woman.

11. Ah! such a pity! to see the
wee bit lambkin stuck.

12. From Dumbiedykes the other
day

To Jeanie Dean's I bent my way,
But devil)head [devil a bit] could
I do or say,

But—whistle over the leave [re-
mainder] of it.

13. Lively fellow, come prove
[make trial of] my mouth [= kiss me].

14. Heh, man! call thy ewes to
the knolls.

15. Who whipped the laddy? His
father indeed was)it, to make him
go to the school.

16. How is all with you at home?
Gaily [very well], thank you for
speering [asking].

17. Go away, laddy, go to the
horse, say, cl'ck, cl'ck! and shoo
[scare] him back again.

18. A brave [smart] shirt-gown
[bodice] all besprinkled with mud.

FIFE SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH, CORRECTED
AS THOSE IN D 33.

1. od, dh*1i,r)z twaa :wəli
:wəlis'nz, vən twaa :robi :robis'nz,
vən twaa :djim*1i :djimis'nz, vən
twaa kəet ləgət suuz.**

2. ər ji en, :djin*1i :wəl'ms'n?
—whət vər ji wan;n? di i no ken
et's dh*1i saabi,th dee? —v)m
wan;n a' baabi wərth v saat vən
a' peniwərth v məstərht, a' len i
vər [jər] ket'l, vən a' blaa i vər
[jər] beles, vən hiir)z mi, mādherz
matj t'l mən*1i,ndee!***

3. dh*1i,r)kəntri kəz'nz jə ki,n.*

4. od)iv)i)kəri)mii! sek v
blədher'n tjil!

1. 'Od, there's two Willy Will-
son's, and two Robby Robisons,
and two Jamie Jamiesons, and two
cut-lugged [crop-eared] sows.

2. Are you in, Jeanie Williamson?
What are you wanting? do you not
know it)s the sabbath day? I'm
wanting a bawbeeworth of salt, and
a pennyworth of mustard, a loan of
your kettle, and a blow of your
bellows, and here's my mother's cap
till Monday.

3. They are country cousins you
know.

5. 'Od-have-a-care-of-me! such
a blethering chiel [fellow].

NUMERALS.

Mid L. compared with south and north L. numerals from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, where they had been written from the dictation of natives, 1, Peebles, D 34, from Mr. G. Elphinstone; 2, Midlothian, D 34, from Mr. Archibald Bell; 3, Fife, D 34, from Rev. D. S. Drysdale; 4, Teviotdale, D 33, from Dr. Murray; 5, Aberdeen, D 39, from Mr. J. Forrest.

	<i>one</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>seven</i>
1 <i>Peebles.</i>	Jen	twee	thrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks	siv'n
2 <i>Midlothian.</i>	Jen en	twoo	khrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks saks	siv'n
3 <i>Fife.</i>	e'n	twaa	thrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks	siv'n
4 <i>Teviotdale.</i>	Jen	twee'	thréi	fóour	fa'iv	seks	siv'n
5 <i>Aberdeen.</i>	in	twaa	thrii	fa'u'r	fa'v	sa'ks	seiv'n

	<i>eight</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>eleven</i>	<i>twelve</i>	<i>twenty</i>
1	aa'kht	néin	TEEN	i,li'v'n	twohl	twi,nti.
2	ekht	néin	ten'	i,li'v'n	twel	twi,nti.
3	ekht	ne'in	TEEN	eli'v'n	twel	twinti.
4	aakjht	néin	tæn'	i,li'v'n	twohl	tunti.
5	akht	ne'in	ten	i,leiv'n	twal	twi,nti.

CHIRNSIDE (8 W.W. Berwick) dt.

Written by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, or Old Luce (15 w-by-n. Wigton), and palaeotyped by A.J.E. from his explanations and notes. The dialect is "broad and slow."

1. See a see, nibærz, i sii náu at a)m rikht abùt dhat lat'l wansh kamín thre [frè] dhè skyl dhoner.
2. shy)z gaq'n dùn dhè ròd dheer thruu dhè rid jeet on dhè w'raq séid o dhè geet (rood).
3. shyyr eníukh dhè beern)z geen strekht ap te dhè door o dhè w'raq hús,
4. wheer shy)l jib'lz [me)bi] find dhat drak'n dif waz'nd fái at)s kAAD [at dhè kAA] :tam.
5. u AA kèn him vérs wil.
6. wə)na dhè Aald sha'p syn lern er noo te dy)d egen, pyyr theq!
7. sii! iz)na dhat truu? [iz dhat noo truu?].

e.MID LOWLAND cwl.

This is made up from the following sources:

- E Edinburgh es. in introduction to L., No. 3, p. 683.
 L Lothian sentences from A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected. The Lothians are the counties of Ll., Ed., Hd., respectively, w., m., and e.
 F Fife, ditto.
 C Chirnside wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson.

M Words marked Central Scottish in Dr. Murray's wl., in his DSS., of which the parts for D 33 are given on p. 716. Possibly many of these words belong properly to D 35. Probably all the words in Dr. M.'s D 33 list, not here specially marked as different, have the same sound in D 33 and D 34.

The pron. of all these places is presumed to be practically identical, and as I have no means of discriminating them, I put them all together in one list, distinguishing the sources.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 L tak. 5 LE mak. — M te'n [taken]. 19 M te'l. 21 C neem. 25 M me'n. — C geet [roadway]. A: 39 E kàm. 41 L thaqk. — C fan [fand, pt. of find]. 49 E hëq'n [hanging]. — L kəna' [can't]. 51 E mən. 54 E wənt, F wən;in [wanting]. 56 C wAAsh, E wəsh'n [washing]. A: or O: 58 E fe, C thre fe. 59 L laami. 60 M laq. 61 M ama'q. 62 M straq. 63 M thraq. 64 E rəq, MC w'raq. 65 M saq. A'- 67 L gaq, [(gee) imper.], LE gAAAN, C gaq'n [going]. 70 LC tee. 72 E whAA, L wha. 73 EC see, C soo. 74 EF twAA, C twee. 76 C tood. 77 M leerd [lord of the soil]. 79 E ee'n. 82 E jəns. 86 C jits. 87 EC kleez. 88 C klid. 89 E bee'th, L beeth. 90 FC blAA. A': 102 E aks, C AASK. 104 C rōd. 110 E noo'. 111 C ookht. 113 E hee l. 115 EL hæm. 122 ii. E nee, L noo. 124 L sten. 125 E onli. 133 M w'ret. 134 E ee'th. Æ- 138 ELC fedher. 144 L ęgy'n. 152 C weetar. Æ: 154 E bāk. 160 M ęg. 161 E dee', FC dee. 164 E me. — M slekht [sleight]. 169 EC whan, E kwēn, C whan. 173 E wyz. 174 C eesh. — M les [less]. 177 E dhat, L dhyt. 179 E kwht. Æ'- 182 M sii. 187 L leev. 189 C wii. 194 E oni. 195 E moni, C manī. 197 C shiiz. 200 C whiit. Æ': 204 L did [indeed]. 205 C thrid. 208 L iver. 214 E nee'dher. — F lēn [a loan]. 223 E dhee'r, C dheer. 224 E kwheer, EC wheer, L whar. 227 C wa't. 228 C swiit. E- 232 C brik. 233 C spik, E spik'n [speaking]. 234 nē'd. 235 wiiv. 244 E wil. 248 E mee'r, C miir. 252 EF ket'l. — M sət'l [settle]. E: 256 striket [stretcht]. 261 E see', LC see. — M bēd [bed]. 262 E wee', C wēi. 263 L ęwaa', C a'wAA. 265 C strekht. 270 F i. bels. — M səl [sell]. 271 E tēl. — M hēm [hem]. 276 E the'qk. 278 C wānsh. — M sēnd [send]. 281 E lēnth. 287 C biz'm. 288 M lēt. — M bēst [best]. E'- 289 C ii. 290 M hii. 292 EM mii. 293 EM wii, C uu. E': 305 C hāi, M hekh hii [M (hiilan) highland]. 306 hekht. 312 E hiir, F hir. 314 EL hard. EA- — L neeryly [narrowly]. 320 E kee'r. EA: 321 E sAA. 322 EM laakh, C laakh. 324 M ækht. 326 EC Aald. 330 E hād. 335 L AA. 338 ELC kAA. — F sAA. 340 E jee'rd. 345 C daAR. 346 C jēt jēet. EA'- 347 C hiid. 348 M ii, E in [eyes]. — L bet. EA': 350 C diid. 352 C rād. 355 C diif. 357 C thoo. 359 E nibər. 364 C sha'p. 366 C grit. 367 C thret. 368 C dēeth. EI- 372 E ææ. EĪ: 378 C week. EO- 386 L ęa'u, C jāu. 387 E níuu. EO: 390 shəd. 394 E jōnder, C dhonər. 395 E jaq. 399 E brekht. 402 C lern. 409 M bii. — M frii [free]. — M k'nii. 411 E khrii [in the phrase (twaakhrii) two or three, i.e. a few], C thrii. — M trii [tree]. 412 C shii shy, L she. 413 L dil. 414 M fiū. — M fiū [to flee]. 415 M lii. EO': 423 MC thii. 424 C rakh. 425 C likht. 426 MLC fakh. 427 M bii. 428 C sii. 435 EM juu [E (jir) your]. 436 C truu. 437 EC try'th. EY- 438 MEC dii. EY: 439 E trast. I- 446 E nā'n. I: 452 E a', C a. 454 C watj. — L widi [widow]. 458 E ne'kht, M nekht. 459 C rikht, M rekht. 460 C wəkht, M wəkht. 465 E sək'n, L sek. 466 C shé'id. — L ęn, F en [in]. 477 C find. 480 EC theq. 482 E e's. 484 E dhe's. — L whas'l [whistle]. I'- 490 L ba'v. M bii [by, agent]. 491 M sá'ikh sái. 492 C séid. 494 E ts'im. — M ps'ip [pipe]. 497 M rā'iz. 498 M w'ra'it. — M blá'idh [blithe]. I': — M dā'ik. 500 E lə'ikli. 502 C fáiv. 503 léif. 505

[M (wa'ivz) wives]. 506 LC wamən. 508 M ma'il. — M ra'im [rhyme].
 510 ii. ma'. 511 M wa'in.
 O- 519 E a'ur. 520 C ba'u. 524 C warldt, E warld. O: 531 C
 dōkhter, E dookhter. 535 E fa'uk. 536 M goud. 538 E wad wad. — M
 hóu [hollow]. — L na'uz [knolls]. — L hōhrs [horse]. O'- 555 C shy.
 557 E tyg. 559 E midher. 560 L skəl, C skyl. 563 L manyndee. 564
 C syn. 566 E adher, L idher. O': 570 C tyk. 571 E gjyd, EC gyd.
 577 C buu. 578 C plakh. 579 E eniakh, C eniukh. 580 C tiukh. 586
 EF di, L dæ, [C (dy)d do it]. 587 E dyn. 588 E ætternyn. 594 C
 byt. 595 C fit.
 U- 602 MFC suu. 603 L kam. 604 E se'mer. 605 C ssn. 606 EC
 door. U: 616 E gran. 629 E san. 631 E tharzdē. 632 C ap. 634
 EC thruu. 635 F warth. U'- 640 MC kuu. 641 EL huu. 643 ME
 nuu. 645 C duu. 646 M buu. 650 E a'bu't, C ebūt. 651 E wathūt.
 652 L kahd, C kyd. 653 C bit. U': 658 EC dūn. 663 EC hūs. 667
 E ūt. 671 L muu.
 Y- 673 E māk'l. 674 E ded. 681 E be'znus. 682 C līt'l lāt'l. Y:
 — L kennys [kindness]. 697 C byri. 700 C waar. 701 C fārst fērst.
 Y'- 705 C skāi. — M hā'id. Y': 709 M fa'ir, C féir. 712 M ma'is,
 C méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L laadhi. 736 M las. E. — M pēt [pet]. I. and Y. — L
 eq'l [ingle, fire]. — L whō'pēt [whipped]. O. — M pōu [poll, head].
 790 L gun. U. 797 E skweekin. 798 E kwir. 804 EC drak'n. — E
 hāri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 M fe's. 815 E faks. 820 [L (gā'iliz) gaily]. — M pe'l'in
 [paling]. 857 E kee's. 860 M pe'st. — rē't [rate]. 862 M se'f. 864 E
 bikəz. — M haakhti. 866 C pyyr. E.. 867 E tii. — M derek
 [direct]. — M pōlet [pellet]. — M pēn [pen]. — M mēnd [mend].
 — M sent [scent]. — M tēnt [tent]. — M vēnt [vent]. — M vēnter
 [venture]. 885 E vēri. — pēst [pest]. — M tēst [test]. — M rēstles
 [restless]. — M tēkst [text]. I.. and Y.. — L sivil' [civil]. O..
 920 E pe'nt, M pē'nt. 925 E vē's. 935 M kyntre. 938 E kōrnēr. — M
 kuuērd [coward]. 947 M bē'il. 950 E sēpēr. 953 F kəz'n. — F mastarht
 [mustard]. 955 E dūt. — L priiv [prove, try]. — M buel [bowl].
 — M tuuel [towel]. U.. 961 M gruuel. — M truuel [trowel]. 963 E
 kwāist. 969 EC shyyr. 970 E djyst, L d̄jast. — E bry't [brute].

D 35 = wML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Clydesdale.

Boundaries. Begin at the s. extremity of the CB. or Celtic Border in Scotland, and proceed along it as far as Glendouglas, between Lochs Long and Lomond. Then skirting first the w. and then the se. side of Loch Lomond to the b. of Sg., run e. across Sg. over the Campsie Hills to join the sharp angle at the w. of D 34, about 12 w. of the se. angle of Loch Lomond. Then go sse. to b. of Lk. near Kirkintilloch, Sg. Pursue the border of Lk. till it reaches Ay., and then cross Ay. to the w., s. of Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Ayr to the sea, separating the Ayrshire district of Kyle on the n. from that of Carrick in the s. Then by the sea coast to Bute again. Of course the b. across Ay. is not very distinct, and the pron. of the n. of this extensive district may be in several respects different from that in the s., which has most literary interest as the land of Burns.

Area. A narrow slip to se. of Ar., the s. of Bt., the n. of Ay., the e. and s. of Dm., Lk. and Rf.

Authorities. Mr. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences in his *Visible Speech*, corrected as for D 33 and 34, p. 709. Dr. Murray's notes and Ayrshire Ruth, p. 698, No. 2. Account of pron. in Kyle by Wm. Simson, schoolmaster in Cumnock, given on pp. 681-693 of Wm. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Air," Glasgow, 1811. The above are from printed books. The following are special communications. See Alphabetical County Index under the following names, where || indicates systematic and ° informants' orthography.

Ay. °Coylton, ||Kilmarnock, °Ochiltree.

Lk. °Glasgow.

Rf. °Lochwinnoch.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "1. The Clydesdale dialect [D 35] is distinguished from that of Lothian [D 34] chiefly by its broader vowels. 2. The long (aa) especially is almost, if not quite, (AA) in (twAA, awAA, wAAk) two, away, wake. 3. It is heard also in the combination *-and*, where the *d* is regularly dropped, as (lAAAn, hAAAn) land, hand; so 4. (een, méin, fen) end, mind, find. 5. Long *i* becomes broad (á'i), (wá'ivz, bá'id, stá'i) wives, bide, stay. 6. The (yy, øø) is scarcely labial (døø, tæø, wøø), etc., being undistinguishable from (dee, tee, wee) or (dii, tii, wii). 7. Short *o* before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by (a, a), as in (pat, tap, stap, paritj, drap, banet, af, aft, hap, warlt) pot, top, stop, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft, hop, world. This change does not appear in the Early or Middle Scotch, and is probably of Celtic origin. In modern times it has gained a wide currency from being used by Burns in this dialect."

These characters shew the salient points of difference between the n. forms of D 35 and those of D 34. But a comparison of the cwl. already given for D 34 with that given below for D 35 will shew that they do not quite agree for the s. parts of D 35. To take each point separately, as I have numbered them, we find 1. that it is not quite possible to attach a meaning to 'broader vowels' generally; 2. that in the particular instances given, although they all occur in Dr. M.'s Ruth, yet at any rate (twa) is repudiated at Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), where (twæø) is used, and that this form is also found at Coylton (5 e.Ayr), though (twaa) seems to have been also heard, as well as at Glasgow. I think the (AA) was due to Mr. Giffen, who represents s.Rf. The (wAAk) wake was heard by Dr. M. (DSS. p. 77, note) from some "Wast Cuintrie folk," when travelling, but the precise locality of the speaker is not given, and was probably not known. 3. (lAAAn, hAAAn) land, hand, occur at Coylton and Ochiltree, but Dr. M. gives (laan, haan) in D 33, which is nearly the same. I have not got the words for D 34, nor can I compare for *end*, *mind*, but *find* has the *d* at Chirnside, Bw. The omission of *d* after *n*, as in the pp., is so common that it scarcely becomes a character. 5. Long *i* = (á'i) I have continually as "central Scottish" from Dr. M.'s lw., but perhaps he meant D 35 rather than D 34. My own accounts from s.D 35, as Coylton and Ochiltree, give (éi) or (é'i) generally, and (ái) before voiced

consonants, in fact the prevalence of (éi) is very conspicuous; my examples of (æ'i) are from Dr. M. 6. As to the pron. of (yy, æə) as (ii, ee), this seems to belong to w.Lk. or Rf., that is, to Mr. Giffen, see notes to Tam o' Shanter below, especially v. 89, 122, 143, 183, but on the contrary (yy, æə) are constantly given from Coylton and Ochiltree. 7. Here I have from Simson, quite independently of Dr. M. or Mr. Giffen, (drap, hap, stap, lapstør) drop, hop, stop, lobster, but this use of (a) for O: does not seem to be the rule, on the contrary (o) is more frequent, as (hól, fók, bolt, stórn, kórñ, hórñ, krós) hole, folk, bolt, storm, corn, horn, cross. And Simson gives (a'u) which I cannot further analyse, but which may be (óu, æ'u) in (ha'up, fa'uk, ga'ud, ta'ul, ba'ul, ha'u, ha'um, ka'ult) hope, folk, gold, toll, bowl, hollow, holm, colt, where the diphthong is mainly due to a suppressed (l). For myself, I have not been able to ascertain any certain characters by which D 35 as a whole can be separated from D 34 as a whole. But then in these extensive districts there must be much local variety, some notion of which may be obtained from Mr. D. Patrick's Lochwinnoch, Rf., below, and also from the differences given in the cwl. below for the places there named.

Illustrations.

1. Dr. Murray's Ruth, chap. i., for Ay., has been already given in Introduction to Lowland, p. 698
2. Mr. Melville Bell's few Clydesdale sentences, immediately below.
3. Rev. Neil Livingston's dialect test from Coylton (5 e.Ayr) on next page.
4. Tam o' Shanter, from several sources, see the Introduction to it on next page.
5. Cwl. for all D 35, compiled from Dr. Murray's Ruth, and notes, Rev. Neil Livingston's Coylton wl., Mr. J. Alexander's Glasgow wl., Simson's Kyle, and Mr. David Patrick's valuable and complete wl. for Ochiltree.
6. Mr. D. Patrick's notes on Lochwinnoch, Rf.

The three principal wl. by Messrs. Livingston, Alexander, and Patrick, have been of great service to me. Mr. Patrick, who had special opportunities when young of becoming perfectly familiar with the dialects of Ochiltree and Lochwinnoch, took the greatest pains, by long notes and illustrations, to convey the sounds to me. The version of Tam o' Shanter has been executed with much care from several sources, and probably represents Burns's district as well as can be hoped. The notes explain the varieties.

MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S CLYDESDALE SENTENCES, CORRECTED AS IN D 33, p. 709, at bottom.

CLYDESDALE.

1. a)m gən əp dh_i :gal'əgi,t
tə kəə ɛp_i,n :san_i :makfə'rs'n.
2. wə'l ət wɛr brəd 'n bə;ɛr
dun dhə wə;ɛr.
3. maa' kənshəns! haq ɛ bə'ili!

TRANSLATION.

1. I am going up the Gallowgate
to call upon Sandy (Alexander)
Macpherson.
2. Wi'll eat our bread and butter
down the water.
3. My conscience! hang a Baillie!

DISTRICT OF KYLE, Ayrshire, dt.,

Written in io. by Rev. Neil Livingston, Free Church Manse, Coylton (5 e.Ayr),
pal. by AJE. from the indications furnished.

1. see a see, meets, ji sii nuu dhat a)m re'kht ebù't dhàt wii
ge'rl kāmən fre dhe' skyył jonər.
2. shii)z gAAAN dùn dhe' rood dheer thruu dhe' rid jet on dhe'
left hAAAN séid o dhe' wéi.
3. shyyr ɛnɪkxh [ɛnɪkxh] dhe' ween he'z geen strakht ɛp te
dhe' door o dhe' raq hùs.
4. whAAAR shi)l me)bi fe'n dhàt drak'n diif we'z'nt falò o dhe'
neem o :tɛmɛs.
5. wi AA ken)əm vera wìl.
6. wɛ)ne dhe' ʌʌł tɔp shyyr leern ɛr noo tɛ dee)t ɛgeen,
pyr the'q!
7. lak, e'z)ne it truu?

TAM O' SHANTER.

In this land of Burns (b. 25 January, 1759, in a small cottage near Ayr,
d. 21 July, 1796), an attempt must be made to give the pron. of one of Burns's
poems. But Burns is a very difficult writer to deal with. He is the typical
modern Scotch poet, yet his writings are generally much more than half ordinary
English. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 76) gives the following figures:—

has different words,		of which the un-English are only	
1. A man's a man for a' that	115	.....	18
2. Duncan Gray	117	.....	30
3. Auld Lang Syne	80	.....	24
4. Scots wha hae	100	.....	9
5. The Death of Poor Mailie	461	.....	71
	873		152 = 17·88 p. cent.

"And yet," says Dr. M., "if a countryman of the poet were to recite these poems
to a Southern audience, it is not too much to say that 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."

And not only are the words chiefly English, but the construction is often merely
English. "Scots wha hae," remarks Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 71 note), "is *fancy*
Scotch—that is, it is merely the English 'Scots who have' spelled as Scotch.
Barbour (1489) would have written 'Scottis at hes,' Dunbar (1475) or Douglas
(1474–1522) 'Scottis quhilkis hes,' and even Henry Chatteris, in the end of the
xvi th century, 'Scottis quha hes.' . . . The vernacular is still 'Scots at hæ,'
which Burns apparently considered ungrammatical, and therefore shaped the
words after an English model. Much of the contemporary Scotch is of this
character; it is Scotch in spelling, English in everything else."

Now what was to be done with this English, in the disguise of Scotch or L.
In 1848 Mr. Thomas Lang, now of Melbourne, Australia, but then resident at
Kilmarnock, where Burns's poems were first published in 1786, and in a house
built by one of Burns's heroes, Tom Samson, in sending me a phonetic transcript
in the alphabet I then used (explained above in Part IV. p. 1183), adopted the
principle of giving the English words in English Scotch (see D 33, p. 715), and
the L. words in the local pron. Subsequently on the suggestion of the late

Mr. Carstairs Douglas (then a student at Glasgow, and subsequently a missionary in China), who, with a committee of six other Ayrshire students, carefully reviewed the version, he adopted local pronunciation throughout. The version was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848, with a glossary and observations on pron. (pp. 145-152, and 227-229). It was submitted to several other Scotch gentlemen, and finally was pal. with corrections. Afterwards, in November, 1883, Mr. R. Giffen (the well-known statistician), a native of Strathavon (:streeth'n), Avondale (12 w. Lanark), who had revised Dr. Murray's Ayrshire Ruth, chap. i. DSS. p. 239, note 1, had the kindness to go over the whole with me, though he feared that long residence in the s. of England had taken off the edge of his memory of the pron. As thus revised and corrected I now present it as the best I have been able to accomplish. But I am still not satisfied, especially with the treatment of the English portion of the poem. In fact the poem would have to be rewritten to reduce it to vernacular L. of D 35. I have considered it best to follow "the original MS., reproduced by the Photo-Chromolith Process, with an Introduction by Moy Thomas, Esq.," and published by Adams & Francis, 59, Fleet Street, no date (but the MS. was written in 1790), with the exception of four lines following v. 142, here and usually omitted, and not given by Mr. Lang. This original has been printed by side of the pronunciation in smaller type, following its usage of spelling, capitals, and punctuation. The small capitals represent larger handwriting. The words in [] are alternatives written over the preceding word in the MS. The italic *o'*, verse 55, was accidentally omitted in the MS., when making an alteration of *laden wi'* into *wi lades o'*. In the following notes referring to the numbers of the lines, I have endeavoured to explain the varieties of pron. and the difficulties of meaning.

:tam o :shanter.

when tɔpmen bɛlɛz liiv dhɛ strit,
 ɛn druthɛ nɪbɛrɪz nɪbɛrɪz mɪt.
 az market deez er wi:jrɛn let
 ɛn fɔk bɪgɪn tɛ tak dhɛ get :
 whɛil wi sɪt buuzɛn at dhɛ napɪ,
 ɛn getɛn fuu ɛn ɛqkɛ hapi,
 wi thɪqk)ɛn on dhɛ laq :skɔts mɛilz,
 dhɛ mosɪz, watɛrɪz, slaps, ɛn stɛilz,
 dhɛt lɛi bitwin ɛs an ur hɛm,
 whar sɪts ur sɛlkɪ sɛlɛn dɛm,
 gedhrɛn hɛr bruuz lɛik gedhrɛn storm,
 nɛrsɛn hɛr rath tɛ kip ɪt warm.

dhɛ's truth fɛn onest :tam o :shanter
 az hii frɛ :ɛɛr jɛɛ nɛ'kht dɪd kanter,
 (Aal :ɛɛr wham niir ɛ tun sɛrpa'sɛz.
 fɛr onest mɛn, ɛn bɔnɪ la'sɛz).
 o :tam ! hadst dhuu bɛt bin se wɛis
 az teen dhɛi ɛɛn wɛif :keets advɛis !
 shi tAal dhi wil dhu wɛz a skɛ'lɛm
 a blɛdhrɛn, blɛstrɛn, drɛk'n blɛ'lɛm,
 dhɛt frɛ :nɔvɛmbɛr tɪl :ɔktɔɔbɛr
 jɛɛ market deɛ dhu wɛz)ɛn soɔbɛr ;
 dhɛt ɪlkɛ mɛldɛr wi dhɛ mɛlɛr,
 dhu sat az laq az dhuu had sɛlɛr ;
 dhɛt ɛvri nɛg wɛz kAAd a shyy on,
 dhɛ smɛth ɛn dhii gat roorɪn fuu on ;
 dhɛt at dhɛ :lɔordz hus in on :sɛndɛ,
 dhu draɔk wi :kert'n :dʒɪn tɪl mɛndɛ.

TAM O' SHANTER—A tale.

WHEN chapmen billies leave the street,
 And drouthy neebors, neebors meet ; 2
 As market-days are wearing late,
 And folk begin to take the gate ; 4
 While we sit bousing at the nappy,
 And getting fou, & unco happy, 6
 We think na on the lang Scots miles,
 The mosses, waters, slaps & styles, 8
 That lie between us & our hame,
 Where sits our sulky, sullen dame, 10
 Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
 Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.— 12
 This truth fand honest TAM O' SHANTER,
 As he frae Ayr ae night did canter : 14
 (Auld Ayr whom ne'er a town surpasses,
 For honest Men, & bonnie lasses). 16
 O Tam ! hadst thou but been sae wise,
 As taen thy ain wife KATE's advice 18
 She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum ;
 A bletherin, blusterin, drunken blellum : 20
 That frae November till October,
 Ae market day thou was na sober : 22
 That ilka melder, wi' the Miller
 Thou sat as lang as thou had siller : 24
 That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,
 The Smith & thee gat roarin fou on 26
 That at the L—d's house, even on Sunday,
 Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday.—

shi pr'ofesáid, dhat leet ar shyn
 dhu wad bi fan dip drund in :dyn,
 ar katjt wi WAARLEKS íi dhe merk
 bi :a'lowez AAL hantíd kerk.
 aa! djent'l demz! ít garz mi grit
 tæ tháqk hu mani kuns'lz swit,
 huu mani lenth'nd seedy advéi'sez
 dhe hæzbæn fre dhe wéif despáizez!
 bat tyy₁ wær teel:—Jee market
 ne'kht,
 :tam had got planted ænke re'kht,
 fast báí an íq'l, bliizin féinli,
 wí riimæn swats, dhat draqk divéinli;
 and at hiz elbe, suter :djoní,
 hiz anshent, træsti, druthi kroni:—
 :tam lyyd him léik a væra brídhær;
 dheæ had bæn fuu far wiks dhigi'dher!
 dhe ne'kht dreew on wi saqz an
 klater,
 en éi dhé jæl wæz grá'uæn bætær:
 dhi la'nládí en :tam gru greeshæs,
 wí siikret fæevæz, swit en preshæs,
 dhe suter tAald hiz kwiirest storez,
 dhe lanlerdz lakh wæz redí koræs:
 dhe storm ædhu't me'kht reer en ræs'l—
 :tam didjæn méin dhe storm a whæs'l.
 :keer mad tæ sii a man se hapí,
 in drund hæmse'l ama'q dhe napí!
 az biiz fi heem wí leedz o trezhær,
 dhe miníts wiqd dher wéi wí plezhær.
 kíqz me bi blest, bat :tam wæz gló'riæs
 or AA dhi ílz o léif víktó'riæs.
 bat plezhær ar léik popiz spræd,
 ju siiz dhe fluur, íts bluum íz shæd;
 ar léik dhe snAA, fA'z ín dhe rivær,
 a móment whéit—dhen melts far
 EVÆR;
 ar léik dhe borià:læs rees
 dhat flít iir juu kan péint dher plæs,
 ar léik dhe reenbooz lavlí form,
 iva'nishin amé'd dhe storm.
 ne man kan tædher téim ar téid.
 dhe uur aprotæz :tam men réid.
 dhat uur, o ne'khts blak eertj dhe kii-
 steen,
 dhat drii'ri uur hi mants héz biist ín.
 an sæk a ne'kht hi tuk dhe rood ín.
 az niir pyy,r sínær wæz abrood ín.
 dhe wan bluu az t)wæd bla'n íts last;
 dhe ratlín shuurz rooz on dhe blast;

She prophesied, that, late or soon,
 Thou wad befound, deep drown'd in Doon; 30
 Or catch'd wi' warlocks in the mirk,
 By Alloway's auld, haunted Kirk.— 32
 Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet,
 To think how many counsels sweet, 34
 How many lengthen'd, æge advices,
 The husband frae the wife despises! 36
 But to our Tale: æ market night,
 Tam had got planted unco right; 38
 Fast by an ingle, bleezin finely,
 Wi' reaming swats that drank divinely: 40
 And at his elbow, Souter Johnie,
 His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony; 42
 Tam lo'ed him like a very brither,
 They had been fou for weeks thegither.— 44
 The night drave on wi' sangs & clatter,
 And ay the ale was growing better: 46
 The landlady & Tam grew gracious,
 Wi' secret favors, sweet & precious: 48
 The Souter tauld his queerest stories;
 The Landlord's laugh was ready chorus 50
 The storm without might rair & rustle,
 Tam didna mind the storm a whistle.— 52
 Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
 E'en drown'd himsel among the nappy: 54
 As bees flee hame, wi' lades o' treasure,
 The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure:
 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
 O'er a' the ills o' life victorious! 58
 But Pleasures are like poppies spread,
 You sieze the flower, its bloom is shed; 60
 Or like the snow, falls in the river,
 A moment white, then melts for ever; 62
 Or like the Borealis' race,
 That flit ere you can point their place; 64
 Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
 Evanishing amid the storm: 66
 Nae man can tether Time or Tide,
 The hour approaches Tam maun ride; 68
 That hour, o' Night's black arch the key-
 stane,
 That dreary hour Tam mounts his beast in;
 And sic a night he took the road in,
 As ne'er poor Sinner was abroad in.— 72
 The wind blew as 'twould blawn its last,
 The rattling showers rose on the blast, 74

dhø spidi glimz dhø daarknes swaled, luud, dip, an l'q dhø thæner belød. dhæt ne'kht a tjeild me'kht ænrstaaen dhø dil had biznes on hiz haan ! wil wanted on hiz greë miir, :meg, ø betør never leftid leg, :tam skelpit on thruu dab an máir, dispái zæn wan, an reen, an fáir, whéilz hadén fast hiz gyd bluu banet, whéilz kryynén a'ur én aal :skots sonet ; whéilz gla'urin run wi aqshes keerz, lest bog'lz katj hím anawæerz ; :ke'rk :alowe wæz draaén náí, whar geests an hulets ne'khtli krái. bái dhe's téim hii wæz kros dhø fyyrd, whaar ín dhø snaa dhø tjamæn smyyrd ; an past dhø be'rks an mik'l steen, whaar dræk'n :tjeerli brak)s nek been ; an thruu dhø whænz, an bái dhø keern, whaar hæntørs fan dhø mærdærd beern ; an niir dhø thorn abyn dhø wæl, whaar :mæ'qoz mîdher haqd herse'l. bifoor hím :dyn poorz aa hiz fladz, dhø dæblæn storm roorz thruu dhø wadz ; dhø lekhtinz flash fre pool tæ pool, niir an moor niir dhø thænerz rool, whan glæmræn thruu dhø groonæn triiz :ke'rk :alowe simd ín a bliiz, thru ilke boor dhø bimz wær glansen, an lud risu'nit me'rth an dansæn ! inspáirén baal :djon :barli korn ! what deendjerz dhuu kanst mak øs skorn ! wi tîpeni wi fiir nee iivil, wi a'skwibee wi'l fees dhø diivil ! dhi swats se riimd ín :tamiz nod'l, feer pleë, hi keerd)ne dîlz a bod'l. bat :magi styd re'kht seer asto'nisht, tel bái dhø hiil an haan admo'nisht shé venterd farwærd on dhø le'kht : an, wæ'u ! :tam saa an æqke se'kht ! waarløks an watjiz ín a dans— ne kotiljøn brent níuu fre :frans, bat haarpéips, djæz, straspéi-z an riilz, pat léif an mæt'l ín dhe'r hiilz.	The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed, Loud, deep, & lang, the thunder bellowed: 76 That night a child might understand The deil had business on his hand.— 78 Weel mounted on his grey meare, Meg, A better never lifted leg, 80 Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire, Despising wind, & rain, & fire ; 82 Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet ; Whiles crooning o'er an auld Scots sonnet, 84 Whiles glowing round wi' anxious cares, Lest bogles catch him unawares : 86 Kirk-Alloway was drawing nigh, Where ghaists & houlets nightly cry.— 88 By this time he was cross the ford, Where in the snaw the chapman smoor'd ; 90 And past the birks, & meikle stane, Where drunken Charlie braks neck-bane, 92 And thro' the whins, & by the cairn, Where hunters fand the murder'd bairn ; 94 And near the thorn, aboon the well, Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel.— 96 Before him Doon pours all his floods ; The doubling storm roars thro' the woods ; 98 The lightnings flash frae pole to pole ; Near, & more near, the thunders roll : 100 When, glimmering thro' the groaning trees, Kirk-Alloway seem'd in a bleeze, 102 Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing, And loud resounded mirth and dancing.—104 Inspiring, bold John Barleycorn ! What dangers thou canst make us scorn ! 106 Wi' tippeny, we fear nae evil ; Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil ! 108 The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle, Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle ; 110 But Maggy stood, right sair astonish'd, Till, by the heel & hand admonish'd, 112 She ventur'd forward on the light, And, wow ! Tam saw an unco sight. 114 Warlocks & witches in a dance, Nae cotillon brent new frae France, 116 But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, & reels, Put life and mettle in their heels.— 118
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a wænək bæqkər in dhi ist
 dhē'r sat ʌʌl :nɪk, in sheep o bist ;
 a tuuzi tɛik, blak, grɪm ən leerdʒ,
 tɔ ɡɪi dhəm myyzɪk wɔz hiz tʃɛerdʒ,
 hi skruud dhə pɛips ən gert dhəm
 skɛ'rl,

tɪl ryf ən rɔftɔrz ʌʌ dɛ'd dɛ'rl.
 kofɪnz styd run, léik op'n presɪz,
 dhat shaʌd dhə did in dhē'r last dresɪz.
 an bái sɔm diivlɪsh kantrɪp sle'kht,
 itʃ in its kaʌld haan haʌd a le'kht.
 bái whatʃ hiroo'ɪk :tam wɔz eeb'l
 tɔ noot əpɔ'n dhə heeli teeb'l,
 a mɔrdɔrz beenz in dʒɪbet ɛərnz ;
 tweɛ span-laɔ, wii, ʌnkris'nd beernz ;
 a thif niu-katɪd frɛ a reep,
 wii hiz last gasp hiz gab dɛ'd geep ;
 fáiiv tomahaa'ks, wi bly'd rɪd rɛstɪd,
 fáiiv simitarz, wi mɔrdɔr krɛstɪd ;
 a geertɔr whatʃ a beeb had straq'lt ;
 a nɪf, a feedherz throot had maq'lt,
 wham hiz een sɔn o léif birɛ'ft,
 dhə greɛ heerz ʒet stak tyy dhə heft,
 wi meer o horɪb'l an ʌʌfɛ,
 whatʃ in tɔ neem wad bii ʌnʌʌ'fɛ.

az :tami glá'urd ameezd an kyyriɛs,
 dhə mɛ'rth an fan gru fast an fyyriɛs :
 dhə pɛíper lud an ludɔr bluu,
 dhə dansɔrz kwɪk an kwɪkɔr fluu,
 dhə riilt, dhə set, dhə krost, dhə klikɪt,
 tɪl ilkɛ keerlɪn swat an rikɪt,
 an kyst hɔr dɔdɪz on dhə wark !
 an léqkɪt at it in hɔr seerk !

nu :tam, oo :tam ! had dhɛɛ bin
 kwɪnz,

ʌʌ plɔmp an strapɪn in dhē'r tɪnz,
 dhē'r seerks, instɪd o kriishi flɔn'n
 bin snʌʌ-whéit siiv'ntɪn hɔnɔr lɪn'n !
 dhē'r briks o méin, mái onli peer,
 dhat jɪns wɔr plɔsh, o gyd blu heer,
 ái wad he ɡɪn dhəm af mái hɔrdɪz,
 fɔr ʒɛɛ bliqk o dhə bɔni bɔrdɪz !

bət wɪdherd beldɛnz, ʌʌl an drol,
 rɪɡwɔr'di hagz, wad spɛn a fol,
 lɔ'upɛn an flɪɔɡɛn on a krɔmɛk
 ái wɔnɔr, dɛ'd)ne tɔrn dhái stɔmɛk.

bət :tam kent what wɔz what fu
 brɔʌʌli,
 dhē'r wɔz ʒɛɛ wɔnsəm wɛnsh an
 wɔʌʌli,

A winnock-bunker in the east,
 There sat auld Nick in shape o' beast : 120

A towzie tyke, black, grim, & large,
 To give them music was his charge : 122

He screw'd the pipes & gart them skirl,
 Till roof & rafters a' did dirl.— 124

Coffins stood round, like open presses,
 That shaw'd the Dead in their last dresses ;

And by some devilish cantraip slight,
 Each in its cauld hand held a light.— 128

By which heroic Tam was able
 To note upon the haly table ; 130

A murderer's banes, in gibbet-airns ;
 Twa span-lang, wee, unchristen'd bairns ; 132

A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
 Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape ; 134

Five tomahawks wi' blude red-rusted ;
 Five scymitars wi' murder crusted ; 136

A garter which a babe had strangled ;
 A knife a father's throat had mangled, 138

Whom his ain son of life bereft,
 The gray-hairs yet stack to the heft : 140

Wi' mair of horrible & awfu',
 Which even to name wad be unlawfu'.—142

As Tammie glowr'd, amaz'd & curious,
 The mirth & fun grew fast & furious ; 144

The Piper loud & louder blew,
 The Dancers quick, & quicker flew, 146

They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit,
 Till ilka Carlin swat & reekit, 148

And coost her duddies on the wark,
 And linket at it in her sark.— 150

Now Tam ! O Tam ! had thae been queans,
 A' plump & strappin in their teens ! 152

Their sarks, instead o' creeshie flainen,
 Been snaw-white, seventeen-hunder linen ;

Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,
 That ance were plush o' gude blue hair, 156

I wad hae gien them off my hurdies,
 For ae blink o' the bonie burdies, 158

But wither'd beldams, auld & droll,
 Rigwoodie hags, wad spean a foal, 160

Loupin & flingin on a crummock,
 I wonder did na turn thy stomach.— 162

But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie ;
 There was ae winsome wench & walie, 164

dhat ne'kht enli'sted in dhe koor, (laq efter kent on :karik shoor! far mani a biist te did shi shot, an perisht mani a boni bot, an shuk beeth mik'l korn an biir, an kept dhe k'ontra séid in fiir). her kati seerk, o :peesli harn, dhát whéil a lasi shii had worn, in londpityd thoo seerli skanti, it waz her bast, an shii waz vanti.— aa! lit'l thokht dhái reevrend grant, dhát seerk shi koft far her wii :nani, wi twee pan :skots (t-waz aa her rätjiz)	That night enlisted in the core, (Lang after kend on Carrick-shore, 166 For mony a beast to dead she shot, And perish'd mony a bonie boat, 168 And shook baith meikle corn & bear, And kept [held] the Country-side in fear :) Her cutty-sark o' Paisly harn, That while a lassie she had worn, 172 In longitude tho' sorely scanty, It was her best, & she was vaunty.— 174 Ah, little thought thy reverend grannie, That sark she coft for her wee Nannie, 176 Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches,) Should ever grac'd a dance o' witches! 178
shud ever greest a dans o watjiz! bat hiir mái myyz her wiq man kuur, sik fle'khts ar far bivont her puur, te siq huu :nani lap an flaq (a sup'l djaad shi waz an straq), an huu :tam styd, léik jen biwatjt an thokht híz vari in enri'tjt, in :saatan gla'urd an fidjd fu feen, an hotjt an blyy wi me'kht an meen, tíl farst jee keeper, séin ani'dher, :tam tint híz riiz'n aa dhigj'dher, an roorz ut: "wil dyn, :kati :seerk!" an in an instent aa waz daark: an skeersli had hi :magi ralid, whén ut dhe hel'sh liidjen salid. az biiz be'z út wi aqrí féik, whan planren herdz aseel dhe'r béik, az op'n pusiz mortal fozz whan, pop! shi steerts bifoor dhe'r nooz, az iiger rinz dhe market krud whan "katj dhe thif" risuunz alud; see :magi rinz, dhe watjiz fale wi mani an eldritj skriitj an hola. aa :tam! aa :tam! dhuu)l get dhái feerín! in hæl dhee)l rost dhii léik a herín! in veen dhái :keet awets dhái kaman! :keet shyn wil bii a weefe wamen! nuu, dy dhái spidi atmost, :mæg, an wan dhe kii-sten o dhe bre'g; dheer at dhém dhuu dhái teel mee tos, a rinén striim dhe daarné kros! bat iir dhe kii-sten shii kéd mak, dhe fint a teel shi had te sheek!	But here my Muse her wing maun cour, Sic flights are far beyond her power; 180 To sing, how Nannie lap & flang, (A souple jad she was, & strang;) 182 And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd, And thought his very een enrich'd; 184 Even Satan glowr'd, & fidg'd fu' fain, And hotch'd, & blew wi' might & main: 186 Till, first ae caper, syne anither, Tam lost his reason a' thegither, 188 And roars out—"Weel done, Cutty-sark!" And in an instant all was dark: 190 And scarcely had he Maggie rallied, When out the hellish legion sallied.— 192 As bees bizz out, wi' angry fyke, When plundering herds assail their byke; 194 As open Pussie's mortal foes, When, pop, she starts before their nose; 196 As eager runs the market-croud, When, "catch the thief!" resounds aloud; So Maggy runs, the witches follow, Wi' mony an eldritch skrieck & hollo.— 200 Ah, Tam! Ah, Tam! thou'll get thy fairin! In hell they'll roast thee like a' herrin! 202 In vain, thy Kate awaits thy comin! Kate soon will be a woefu' woman! 204 Now, do thy speedy utmost, Meg, And win the key-stane o' the brig; 206 There, at them thou thy tail may toss, A running stream they dare na cross; 208 But ere the key-stane she could make, The fient a tail she had to shake! 210

far :naní, far bifoor dhi rēst, hard apə noob'l :magí prest, an flu at :tam wi fyriəs et'l, bat lit'l wast shi :magiz mət'l— jee spriq brokht af her meestər heel, bat left bih'nt—her een gree teel ! dhi keerlin klaakht hēr bái dhē ramp, an left pyyr :magí skeers a stəmp. nuu, whee dhe's teel o tryth shəl rid, ilk man an mīdherz sən, tak hid : whānii·r tē driqk ji er inklei'nt, ar kati-seerks rin in juur méin, thiqk, ji me bái dhē dyóiz 'ur diir— rimē'mber :tam o :shanterz miir !	For Nannie, far before the rest, Hard upon noble Maggie prest, 212 And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle, But little kend [wist] she Maggie's mettle; 214 Ae spring brought off her master hale, But left behind her ain grey tail: 216 The Carlin claught her by the rump, And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.— Now, wha this Tale o' truth shall read, Each Man, and Mother's son take heed. 220 Whene'er to Drink you are inclin'd Or Cutty-sarks rin in your mind, 222 Think, ye may buy the joys o'er dear, Remember Tam-o'-Shanter's meare.
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Notes to Tam o' Shanter.

The references are to the lines. For brevity TL means Mr. T. Lang, and RG Mr. R. Giffen.

1. *when* (whən) acc., (whən) unacc. RG.—*chapman billies*, pedlars; 'chapman' is like the German *Kaufmann*, a trader of any sort, 'billies' used for young fellows, in a good sense.—RG. pron. all his close *a* as (a¹) or even (æ). This was probably due to English habits, and I have not followed it.—*street*, RG. pron. (strit) quite short, not medial, and this was his general habit before voiceless consonants, and as this could not be an English infection, I follow it.

2. *droughty*, thirsty, *neighbours*. RG. pron. something like (dry,thi), but I leave the (u).

3. *wearing*, RG. kept (ii, r) quite pure, with no glide between. The *-ing* of the part. and vb. noun he did not distinguish, but made (-ən) in both cases, compare 103–104 (glansen, dansen), the first a part., the second a verbal noun. It will be observed that Burns himself constantly wrote *-ing* for both participle and noun.

4. *take the gate*, that is, take the street, or leave their shops, *gate* as a doorway is (jæt).

5. *while*, RG. objected that this is not L., though *whiles* 83, 84, 85, is so, perhaps (əz) as would be L.—

drinking or tipping at the ale, 'nappy' is said to be ale with a head, *nap*.

6. *unco*, very, according to Jamieson, properly 'uncouth,' *i.e.* unknown.

7. *Scots* always, not (:skotj).—*miles*, RG. did not pron. (éi), but rather (á'i, ó'i), and, except in the one word *knife*, which he called (náif), always used this sound even before voiced letters, as in *five*. This may have been acquired in England. On the other hand TL. always distinguished (éi, ái) as he wrote them; just as in English Greek we distinguish *ei*, *ai*, the first as the London *i* long, and the second as the Midland or German *ei*.

8. *slap*, a narrow pass between two hills.—*stile*, which RG. did not know, is used as a gap or gangway between walls in the n. of England.

10. *gathering*, or knitting, *her brows*, RG. thought that the original was (nitən her bry,z), but it is not so in the facsimile of the MS.; as to (bry₁) as in (dry,th) v. 2, I may have mistaken RG.'s intention, as he did not use (y) where it was expressed, see v. 29; and here (y₁) seems improbable, so that I have preserved TL.'s (uu).

12. *wrath* is a school or Bible word only.

13. *this*, RG. said (dhis), not (dhe's), see cwl. p. 744, No. 484, but I retain (e') here and elsewhere.—*truth*, I think RG. said (try,th), but it may have been (trith), see cwl. p. 744, No. 437.

14. *night*, TL. wrote (néikht) in all these words, but I think he merely implied, with Mr. Carstairs Douglas, that the vowel was between (e) and (i) as in Mr. Patrick's (e') in the cwl. p. 744, No. 458, which I retain.

15. *whom*, an Anglicism, the (wham) being like (wha) in *Scots wha hae*; (dhet, ez) would be vernacular, p. 731c.

16. *benny*, RG. used full medial (ò), almost long (oo), TL. wrote and said (booni) like our English *bony*, which however would have been (bœni) to a Lowlander.

17. *hadst thou*, this was a mere poetic fancy, *thou* is not used at all in the district, and RG. corrected to (had juu), but as *thou* occurs in the MS. I keep it here and elsewhere; it must however be remembered that it was not vernacular.—*wise*, observe final (s), not (z), see p. 744, No. 515.

19. *well* (wil) as the adv. in both senses, (wæl) as the noun.—*skellum*, a worthless fellow.

20. *a blethering*, boasting, *blustering*, *drunken idler*.

22. *one*, thou wast not sober a single market day.

23. *each*.—*melder*, properly the quantity of corn sent at one time for grinding, here used for the grinding time.

25. *every nag that was driven a shoe on*, that had a shoe driven (kAAD) on it. *shoe* is so written by Burns, who makes it rhyme with *fou*, and hence meant it for (shuu), and so Mr. Livingston gives it at Coylton, but Mr. Patrick at Ochiltree has (shæ, shee), the latter being common and given by RG., see p. 744, No. 555.

26. *roaring*, (roo-ræn) is more common, but (reeren) was known to RG. Burns writes *roarin* here, but *rair* v. 51.—*fou*, spelled *fow* in Jamieson, = full, drunk, not connected with Fr. *fou*, mad.

28. *Kirkton Jane* is supposed to be the landlady—Jane of Kirkton, the church town, name of a village in parish of Kilmaurs, near Kilmarnock.—*Monday*, RG. had heard (mænendè), but it was not common.

29. *soon*, Burns evidently meant (sun :dun), as he writes *soon*, *Doon*, but

TL. and others gave (shyn). RG. had (sin), Ochiltree gave (shə'n), but often (shin), and Coylton had (syyn), see p. 745, No. 564. RG. continually uses (i, ee) for (y, yy) or (e, æ) of others, apparently a local peculiarity, see DSS. p. 239, l. 5.

30. The Doon rises in Loch Enoch, Kb., and passes thirty miles to nw. through Loch Doon, Ay., then along the Carrick b. by Dalmellington, Alloway Kirk, the Old Bridge, and Burns's Monument to the sea, 2 s. Ayr.

31. *warlocks*, wizards or male witches.—*mirk*, darkness. TL. used (er) in this and similar words, C. Douglas used (ir), perhaps (e') is best.

33. *it makes me weep*.

35. *lengthened*, TL. (læqth'nd), all the rest (lenth'nd).

36. *husband*, without the (d) if used at all, but RG. had not heard it.

37. *but to our tale*, RG. as usual said (tee), but (tyy, tæ, tuu) may be heard; (wæ) *our*, is used only when unaccented.

39. *ingle*, the fire itself, *ingle nook* is the fireside.

40. *reaming*, creaming, frothy, Ws. reám, cream.—*swats*, newly-brewed ale.

41. *souter*, cobbler, Latin *sutor*.

42. *ancient*, TL. wrote (eenshent).

46. *ale*, the (j) is not prefixed to Ailsa Craig.—*better*, (bæ;er), with the catch (i) for (t), is also heard. Compare (wan;'n) wanting, p. 725, No. 2, and (bæ;er) butter, p. 730, No. 2, also p. 743, Nos. 152, 154.

47. *landlady*, though (lAAn) land, is said, in landlord, landlady, which are not L. words, (lan) is used.

49. *told*, (d) not to be omitted, RG.

51. *storm*, generally applied to a snow storm, hence RG. thinks (wan) wind, here and in 52, would be better.—*without*, not (widhu-t), but (ædhu-t), RG.—*roar*, here Burns wrote *rair*, and TL. (reer), but none of the C. Douglas committee had heard anything but (roor), and *oar*, Ws. *dr*, is called (oor). The storm without might roar and rustle.

52. *Tom didn't mind the storm a farthing*; a *quhissel*, whistle, *wissel*, German *Wechsel*, change, small change, any coin, however small; 'gone to pigs and whistles' means gone to potsherds and small change, *pig* being the common word for an earthen pot.

54. *among*, RG. says (æma'q) is

emphatic, and (smæꝝq) would be used here.

55. *As bees fly home with loads of treasure*; the *of* was accidentally omitted in the MS. when the first writing *laden wi' treasure* was intended to be altered to *wi' lades o' treasure*. The (trezher, plizher) are suspicious to me, but RG. was certain the last was right, and thought the first was also, and none of the others objected, though the forms must be very modern, compare (plizær, træzær) in D 33, pp. 719c, 720b. The whole passage 53-66 is quite English.

54, 55. *glorious victorious*, English words, the vowel modern.

56. *way*, TL. (*wee*), in Dr. M.'s Ruth (wæ'i), in the cwl. (wéi), p. 743, No. 262.

60. *flower*, TL. gave (flæ'ur), the cwl. has (fluur), p. 746, No. 893.

61. *river* as a foreign word is apt to be quite (rii'vær).

62. *or like the snow*, [which] *falls* in the river, a moment white, then melts for ever. The editions read:

Or like the snow-falls in the river
A moment white, then melts for ever,

in which case the plural subject *snow-falls* relates to the singular verb *melts*, which cannot be right. Also if the *snow-falls* were already *in the river*, they would not be white at all. In the MS. a comma, not a hyphen, is placed between *snow* and *falls*. The sense is then perfect, though the construction is rather harsh; compare a similar one in v. 160.

64. *point*, like my *pint*, never like *point*.

66. *evanishing*, an ultra-foreign word.

68. the hour approaches Tom *must* ride, (maan) emphatic.

70. *mounts*, TL. wrote (mæ'unts), C. Douglas corrected.

72. *poor sinner*, RG. pron. (peær sennær). Ochiltree gave (pœær), Coylton (pyær), and both had (sæn), p. 746, No. 866.

73. The wind blew as [if] it would [have] blown its last, see v. 178.

77. *child*, as this is not L., RG. suggested (weæn) wean.

79. *grey mare*, (miir) is regular N. and L. form, the (ee) in the s. seems to be a remnant of Ws. *mere*.

81. Tom jogged on at a shaking pace through pool (dab) and mire.

83. holding.

84. *an old Scotch sonnet*, so the MS.,

the editions read *some*, etc., perhaps a later correction; *crooning* is singing over in a low humming tone, properly applied to the hollow moaning of a bull.

85. *anxious*, so the MS., the editions have *prudent*.

88. *howlet* for *owlet*, this is also found in English, the (h) is adventitious.

88, 90. *ford smored*, TL. gave (fyyrd smyyrd), and the cwl. agrees, but RG. read (feerd smeerd) as he generally replaces (æ, yy) by (ee). This seems to be peculiar to his own locality, 10 w. Lanark, see note on v. 29.—*smored* is smothered.

93. *whins*, greenstones, the name given to trap, etc., ragstones or loadstones.—*cairn*, heap of stones.

95. *thorn*, 'tree' simply was first written.—above the well.

96. *Mungo*, a common Scotch first name, after St. Mungo. Compare the living of St. Mungo at Glasgow, and Mungo Park, the African traveller.

97. *before*, RG. prefers *afore*.—*floods*, so RG., the cwl. p. 745, No. 573, has (flyyd).

98. *woods*, TL. had (wudz), which can hardly be right. Dr. Murray's cwl. p. 718, after No. 599, has (wadz), which is true to analogy.

102. *seemed* is not Scotch, RG. preferred *looked* (lakt).

103. *bore*, hole, crack.

104. *loud*, *resounded*, that is, if the words follow analogy.

105. *bold*, without the (d).

106. *twopenny*, ale at 2d. a pint.—*civil* and *devil* have the last (i) distinct.

107. *usquebaugh* or *whiskey* (whaskø), from Gaelic *uis ge-beathar* (ushge-bi'a) water of life, *eau de vie*, distilled from malt, and hence one of the products of John Barleycorn.

110. *devil a farthing*, the *boddle* was a Scotch coin value 2d. Scotch, or ½d. English, and is said to derive its name from a mintmaster called Bothwell (:bødh'l). RG. said (nød'l bød'l), which are English corruptions.

113. *forward*, RG. said (forit).

114. *wow!* in the MS., an exclamation, not related to *vow*, which I find in the printed copies.

117. *strathspeys*, quick highland dances. I take TL.'s pronunciation, RG. had not heard the word in L.

119. *windowseat*, (wanøk) window, (bæqkær) large box used for a seat in the window.

121. *towzie tyke*, a shaggy touselled dog.
122. *music*, RG. says (*meezik*), using (*ee*) for (*yy*) as before.

123. *he screwed the pipes and made them scream; skirl* "to cry with a shrill voice" (Jamieson) is usually applied to the scream of the bagpipe.

124. *roof and rafters all did dirle*, tingle, vibrate, thrill.—*roof*, RG. pron. (*rif*). Here was inserted originally in the MS.:

The torches climb around the wa',
Infernal fires, blue bleezing a',

but these were struck out and the four lines 125-128 written in the margin to be inserted in their place.

125. *like open presses* or cupboards, a very common word in Scotland.

127. *cantraip, cantrap*, juggle, charm, spell.—*sleight*, trick, by some magical trick.

128. *each in its cold hand held a light*.

129. *which, heroic*, neither word is L.

130. *holy table*, communion table, altar.

131. *a murderer's bones in gibbet irons*.

132. *two*, RG. (*twAA*), see *cwl*. p. 742, No. 74.

133. *a thief newly cut down from a rope*.

134. *gab*, mouth.

135. *with blood red rusted*.

136. Here Burns had originally inserted the lines—

Seven gallows pins three hangman's
whi

A raw of weel seal'd Doctors' bottles,
which are scratched out in the MS. The word *whi* . . . was left incomplete.

137. *which* and *babe* not being Scotch, RG. read *that* and *wean* (*dhat*, *wiin*).

138. *knife*, here RG. said (*náif*) contrary to analogy.

139. *wham*, a Scottishly written Anglicism.

140. *to*, RG. reads (*tee*).

142. *which*, not L. After this line, which appropriately ends the par., the original MS. contains the following lines which have been cut out in the printed copies, and hence were not phonetically transcribed by TL.:

Three Lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside
out,

Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout,
Three Priests' hearts, rotten black as
muck,

Lay stinking vile, in every neuk.

143, 144. *curious, furious*, RG. pron. (*keerius, feerius*), see v. 29.

145, 146. *blew, flew*, RG. pron. (*bluu, fluu*), and said he remembered these words by a rhyme on the Glasgow coat of arms, which apparently has a bird sitting on a tree (a trii dhat never gruu, en e bard dhat never fluu). TL. gives the same pron., but it looks as if it should be (*blyy, flyy*). Instead of 'loud and louder,' Burns first wrote 'quick and quicker.'

147. *they reeled, they set, they crossed, they caught hold of each other; to cleik, clek, cleek* (*tə klik*), is to catch or lay hold of, after the manner of a hook.

148-150. *till every old woman sweated and reeked* = smoked, and *cast off her duds* = ragged clothes, on the work, and *linked* = tripped at it in her sark = shift. RG. felt quite sure of the pron. (*seerk*). The editions read *to the wark*.

149. *cast*, RG. (*kist*).

151. *now*, so MS. and printed copies. RG. reads (*oo*).

153. *greasy flannel*, the original Welsh is *gwlanen*, made of *gwlan* wool, so the L. form is more correct than the received.

154. *snow white 1700 linen*, linen with 1700 threads to a yard, and hence very fine.

155-158:

*these breeches of mine, my only pair,
that once were plush of good blue hair,
I would have given them off my buttocks,
for one blink of the bonny birds.*

159-160:

*but withered beldames, old and droll,
shaft-horsey hags, would wean a foal,
—rigwoodie.* According to Jamieson *rigwoodie* (which he considers to be a wrong spelling for *rigwiddie*, both would be pronounced in the same way), literally ridge or back withy or willow, meant originally the rope made of willow withs crossing the back of the horse to keep up the shafts; the word was then applied to the horse itself, which was necessarily thick-set, strong, "one of a durable frame, that can bear much fatigue," also used metaphorically for one of a stubborn disposition as a "rigwiddie body" or person. Also *widdie* was used as a halter, and hence for the gallows, so that "a rigwiddie carlin" is stated to be used in Ab. as "an old wife who deserves to be hanged." Here, how-

ever, it seems to be "possessed of shafthorse properties," as opposite to the light figures of Burns's *queans*, v. 151, and the following phrase, *would spean* or *wean a foal*, seems to carry on the metaphor. The glossary to the Globe edition of Burns explains the word as "withered, sapless," for which there is no authority in Jamieson.

161. *leaping and flinging* (as in the Highland fling) *on a crook-stick*; the MS. has *crummock*, some printed copies *cummock*, Jamieson gives both forms.

162. *I wonder didn't turn thy stomach*, make you sick.

163. *bravely* = well.

164. *there was one winsom* = comely *wench*, not Scotch, *and handsome*.— "*walie*, excellent, large, ample; *a waly bairn*, a fine child," Jamieson.

165. *corps*, which Burns spells *core*.

166. *long after known on Carrick shore*; popularly the n. of Ay. is called Cunningham, the middle Kyle, and the s. Carrick.

167-169:

for many a beast to death she shot and perished = wrecked many a bonny boat.

and shook (the grains from) *both much corn* = wheat and barley.

TL.'s (shuk) seems an Anglicism, but see cwl. p. 745, Nos. 569, 570.

171. *Faisley harden*, the refuse of the coarser parts of flax and hemp.

172-3. *scanty*, *vaunty* = fond of shew. TL. had (skanti, vaanti), and perhaps on the analogy of (haan, laan) hand, land, (AA) would be used in both words, but neither of them is L.— *while* is here English, RG. read (whan).

175. *thought*, so in the MS., usually have *kent*.

176. *coft* bought, or *coped*.

177. *two*, RG. says (twaa), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74; two pounds Scotch are two shillings English.

178. *should*, so the MS., *wad* is usual, the *have* is omitted before *graced*, as in v. 73.

179. *muse*, not L., pron. uncertain, RG. (miuz); *her wing must droop*, *cover* not L.

180. RG. reads (aront), but *beyond* is in MS.

181. *leapt and flang*, as in v. 161.

182. *supple jade*, TL. (sup'l djaad), RG. (sup'l djeed), (sup'l) follows the

French, and (sap'l) is English; on *jade*, see cwl. p. 745, No. 717.

183. *stood*, RG. (stid).

184. *very*, the last vowel doubtful, TL. (vera), RG. (veri).

185-7. *Satan*, RG. (:seetan), *glowered and fidgetted full fain* = very pleased, *and hitched his body from side to side*, *and blew with might and main, till first one caper, then* = afterwards another.

188. *tint* = lost, from *tine* to lose.

189. *done*, RG. (din).

191. *rallied*, recovered.

193. *buzz*, RG. (biz).—*fike*, restlessness; *bike*, hive.

196-197. *before*, RG. (afoor).—*eager*, RG. (iiger), Coylton gives (*eegar*), see cwl. p. 746, No. 827.

199-200. *follow*, RG. (fale), TL. (falo).—*eldritch*, so MS., TL. had (eldritj) at first, and then accepted Carstairs Douglas's (eldrikh). Jamieson says: "*elrishe*, *elriche*, *elraige*, *elrick*, *alrisch*, *alry*, expressing relation to evil spirits, preternatural, as regarding sound; hideous, respecting appearance; frightful, respecting place; uncouth, in relation to dress; surly, austere, fretted applied to a sore."

201. *fairing*, properly, a present from a fair or market; here, rewarded for your doings after the market.

204. *Kate soon will be a woeful woman* = a widow. RG. reads (sin) and (wumen), yet (wamen) occurs in Ruth, see cwl. p. 744, No. 506.

205. *do*, RG. (dee).

206. *win* or gain; *bridge*, RG. (brig).

210. *the devil a tail she had to shake*. Burns rhymes as if *make* had its English pron.

213. *furious*, RG. (feerius); *ettle*, aim, purpose, design, intention.

214. *knew she*, the MS. has *kend* with *wist* written over, printed copies have *wist*.

215-216. *whole*, safe, untouched; RG. (ahin't), her own gray tail.

217-218. *the carlin* = witch, *clutched*, compare v. 147 (klikit); RG. (peer), see cwl. p. 746, No. 866.

219. *who*, RG. (whaa), which Mr. Patrick, of Ochiltree, especially prohibits.

221-222. *you are inclined*, RG. uses (ji er), and puts (t) at end of (inkleint), and omits (d) in (meind), though it spoils the rhyme.

223-224. *over dear*, *mare*.

WESTERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

Compiled from

- A Dr. Murray's first chapter of Ruth, given above in Introduction to L., 5 versions, No. 2, p. 698.
 C Coynton (5 e.Ayr), Rev. Neil Livingston's wl. and dt.
 Cl Clydesdale, Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences from his Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 714.
 G Glasgow, Mr. John Alexander's wl., omitting those words said to have rec. pron. as shown in C. and O.
 K Kyle, words from W. Simson, schoolmaster, of Cumnock, Kyle (15 e.Ayr), given in W. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr," Glasgow, 1811, pp. 681-693.
 M Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 239.
 O Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), Mr. David Patrick's wl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 CO bèk. 4 CO tak. — A tee'n [taken]. 5 CO mak. 6 O mèd, A mèd. 7 CO sèk [acc.], O sèk [unacc.]. — M wAAk [wake]. 8 A he, C heev hiv, O he hi. 9 CO biheev. — K graf [to grave]. 10 CO hAA. 11 C mAA. 12 CO sAA. 13 C nAA. 14 CO draa. 15 C AA [O (AAfu) awful]. 16 C daan. 17 CO lAA. 18 CO keek [applied to oat-cake]. 19 C teel. 20 CO lèm. 21 A nem, CO nèm. 22 CO tèm. 23 CO sèm. 24 CO shèm. 25 O mèn. 26 C ween. 27 C nèv. 28 CO heer, G her. — A gjet [gate=road]. 31 CO lèt. 32 C [often] beeth. 33 CO rèdher. 35 C aal. 36 C thaa, KGO tha'u. 37 C klAA.
 A: 39 A kam, CGO kam. 40 CGO kèm. — K weem [womb]. 41 CO thaqk. 43 CO haan. 44 ACO laan. — O wan [did wind]. 46 C kan'l, GO kan'l. 47 C wanur, O wanur. 48 CO saq. 49 CO haq. 50 CGKO taqz. 51 AC man, O man. 52 CO wan [adj.], O wan [did win]. 54 GO want, C want. 56 CGO wash. 57 O AAZ, C ashez.
 A: or O: 58 A fe, CG free, O free fri. 59 CO lam. 60 CKO laq, G lAAq, [A (elaq) along]. — bila'q [belong]. 61 CO amaq. 62 CO stroq, O [occ.] sraq. 63 CGKO thraq. 64 CGO raq. 65 CO saq. 66 CO whaq.
 A'- 67 A gjeq, CO gaq [not (giaq)] gee, [Cl (gun) going, A (gje'd) goed = went]. — K sleez [sloes]. 70 CGKO tee. 71 CKO wee. 72 C whAA, KO whee [not (wha)]. 73 A see', CG [often], see, CO soo. 74 CK twee twaa, G twaa, O twee [not (twa)], A twaa twaa. 75 C strook, O [rare] streak. 76 CGO teed. 77 ACO loord. 78 CGO AA, C oo. 79 A AAN, CO een. — K heeli [holy]. 80 C holdu. 81 C leen. 83 CGO meen. 84 A mee'r, CGO meer. 85 A see'r, CO seer. 86 CO eets, [occ.] oots. 87 CGO kleez. 88 CO kliid. 89 A bee'th, CGO beeth. 90 CGKO blAA. 91 CGKO mAA, G máu. 93 CGKO snAA. 94 CGKO kraa. 95 CO throo, C thraa. 96 CGKO sAA. 97 K saal, O sool [rarely (saal)], CG saul. 99 O thraa, C thraan, [occ.] throon. 100 GO saan.
 A': 101 CGO eek [oftener (ook)]. 102 A aash, K aks. 104 CO rood. 105 CO reed. 106 CGO breed. 107 CO loof, G leef. 108 CGO deekh, C doo. 109 GO leekh, C loo. — K fee [foe]. 110 O nu ni, C [oftenest] nat. 111 CGO okht [if used, rather (sud)]. 112 C heel. 113 A hee'l, CGO hel. 115 A hem, CGKO heem. 116 C hum. 117 O jin jee [not (een, ee)], [(A vlen, K vleen) alone]. 118 CKO been. 121 CGKO geen. 122 i. CGKO neen, ii. A naa, CKO nee. 123 CGKO neethen. 124 CGKO steen. 125 CO oonli [if used]. — K reep [rope]. 126 CO oor. 127 CGO heers. — ree'z [rose, did rise]. 128 [CGO (dhee) used]. 129 CO geest. 130 CO boot. 131 O goot, C [often] geet. 132 CGO hæt. 133 CO reet. 134 CO eeth. 135 CGO kleeth.
 Æ- 138 CGO fedhur. 141 CO neel. 142 CO sneel. 143 CO teel. 144 A'vgjen, C vgen, O agin. 145 C sleen. 146 C meen. 147 C vgen, O agin

[again]. — A feerli. 149 O bliiz, C bleez. 150 CO liist. 152 CGO watur, Cl wa;ur. 153 CGO se;ardi [very common].

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 CGO thak thik. — K rak [wreck]. 158 CGO efter. — K haft [haft, handle]. 161 A dee', CO dee. 163 CO lee. 165 A sed, CO seed, O sid. 166 C meed. 167 C deel. — K smaa [small]. 168 C tals. 169 A kwān, CGKO whan [interrog.], O whān [relative]. 170 CO herst, O heerst, G hervest. 171 A baarle, CG -i. 172 GO gress, CO [occ.] gers. 173 A waz, O wez, C [often] waz. 174 CO əsh. 175 CO fast. 176 O a heem [at home]. 177 A dha't, O [as a conjunction only, never as a relative], at, et. 178 C nat. — K rat'n. 179 CG what, O whit. 180 C bath. 181 C path, O pəth.

Æ'- 182 CO sii. 183 CO tiitj. 184 CO liid. 186 CGO briidth. 187 C liiv, O lii. 188 [CO (ne'kər) used]. 189 CGO wii. 190 O kee, C kii. 191 CO heel. 192 CO miin. 193 CO kliin. 194 CKO oni. 195 K moni, CO māni. 196 CO war wər, C weer. 197 CO tjiiz. 199 C bliit. 200 CO whiit. 201 CO heedh'n. 202 CO hiit.

Æ': 203 CO spiitj. 204 CO diid. 205 CGO thrid. 206 CO rəd. 207 CO niid'l. 210 CGO klēi. 211 CO gree. 212 CGO whēi. 213 CGO eedher. 214 A nee'dher. 215 O tokht [in school reading only], C takht. 216 CO deel, [A (delt) dealt]. 217 A elk, C iitj. 218 CO shiip. 219 CO sliip. 221 CO fir. 222 CO heer, G her. 223 A dheer dher. 224 A kwāaar, O whāar, C wheer. 225 CO flesh. 226 CGO meest. — K wars'l [wrestle]. 227 CGKO wat. 228 CGO swiit. 229 CO breeth. 230 CGO fat.

E- 232 CGO brek. 233 CO spiik, A spik. 234 CG ne'd. — K wadher [weather]. 235 CO wiiv. 236 CGO fiivər. 237 C tjiibleen. 238 C hedj. 239 CKO seel. 240 O leen, C lēin. 241 CO reen. 242 C tween. 243 O plee. — K wal [a well]. 246 i. ii. CO kwiin. 247 CO ween. 248 CGO miir. 249 CGO wiir. 250 CGO swiir. — Cl et [eat]. 251 CO miit. 252 CO ket'l. 253 CO net'l. 254 CO ledher. 255 O wadher, C wədher. — O be;ur [better].

E: — K wab [web]. 257 C edj, O eedj. 258 C sedj. 260 CO lee. 261 CO see. — K wadin [wedding]. 262 A wa'i, CGO wēi. 263 A wāaa. 264 CO eel. 265 CO streekt, GO strakht, O strakht. 267 C iild, O il. — K twal [twelve]. 270 i. CO belis, ii. O belē. 272 CO el'm. — K whalp [whelp]. 273 ACO mēn. 274 O binsh, C bintj. 276 A theqk, C thiqk, O theiqk. 277 C drintj. 278 C wintj. — A BEN. 280 CKO sliiv'n. 281 CGO lenth. 282 CGO strenth. — K penurth [pennyworth]. — K ran [a wren]. — O ken [ken, know]. — K grin [grin]. 283 CO mēri. 284 GO thresh, C thrash. 285 C [often] krās kars. 286 O hero herb, C haro. 287 C bez'm, GO biz'm. — K wast [west]. — K whatsten [whetstone].

E'- 289 A jī, CO jii. 290 O hii hi. 292 ACO miī. 293 CO wii [O never (u)]. 294 CO fiid. 295 CO bred. 296 CO bliiv. 297 K falo. 298 O fiil [but gen. (fin) find], C fiil. 299 CO griin. 300 A kip, CO kiip. 301 CO hiir. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit.

E': 305 CO hiikh. 306 CGO he'kht. 308 CO niid. 309 CO spiid. 310 CO hiil. 311 AC ten. 312 CO hiir. 313 CO hark'n. 314 A hard, CO hard. 315 C fiit. 316 CO nekst, O [rarely] niist.

EA- 317 C fiái. 319 CO geep. 320 CO keer, G ker. — K shaa [to shew].

EA: 321 A saa, O saa. 322 CO lakh. 323 CGO fokht. 324 O eekht ikht [never (akht)], C akht, G eekht. — K kaaak [chalk]. 325 CO waaak. 326 AC aal, C aald, O aad. 327 CO baald, C baal. 328 C kaald kaal, O kaad. 329 CG faald faal, O faad. 330 CO haad. 331 K saald, CO [use (selt) sold]. 332 CGO [use (telt) telled], O [rarely] taal. 333 CGO kaaaf. 334 CGO haaaf. 335 CGO aa. 336 CGKO faa. 337 CGO waa. 338 Cl koo, AK kaa. — K sa'ut [salt]. 340 CO jeerd. 342 CO eerm, G erm. 343 CGO warm. 345 CO daar, G der. — O w'raat [a wart]. 346 O jēt [not (jeet)], C geet.

EA'- 347 CO hiid. 348 CGO ii. 349 C fiuu. — O skruumùs [shrew-mouse]. EA': — K rak [rick], O re'k. 350 CGO diid. 351 CO liid. 352 C riid, O rid. 353 A brid, CO briid, Cl bred. 354 CO sheef. 355 CGO diif. 356 CO liif. 357 CO thoo [not (dhoo)], O ths. 359 CGO niiber.

360 C tiim. 361 CO biin. — A v̄gjenst [against]. 362 C slee. 363 CO tjeep. — A iir [year]. 365 AC niir, O ner'. — K na'ut [neat cattle]. 366 CO greet. 367 O threet. 368 A deth, CGO deeth. 369 CO sloo. 370 CO fAA. 371 CO stree.

EI- 372 G éi. 373 ACO dhee. 374 C nee, O na. 375 C reez, O réiz. 376 CO beet. EI: 377 CGO steek. 378 CGO week. 379 C heel. 381 C sween. 382 CO dheer, dhær, G dher.

EO- 383 CGO siiv'n. 384 CGO hiiv'n, C hiv'n. 385 C biniith bineeth, O vnooth. 386 CGO ja'u. 387 CO niu. EO: 388 C me'lk, O [rarely] malk. 389 CO jok. — K siler [silver]. 393 CO v̄ont. 396 K wark. 397 C sword, O sward soord. 398 CGO sterv. 399 CGO brèkht. — CO fardhur [farther]. 400 CO eernest. 402 CO leern. 403 CGO fAA. 404 CGO stAA. 405 CO hærth [only in (hærthsteen) hearthstone]. 406 A jørth, O je'rth je'rd, C eærth. — A si,ster [sister]. 407 CGO fAard'n.

EO'- 409 CO bii. 411 CO thrii. 412 A shii, CO shii. 413 CO diiv'l diil, G diivil. 414 CG flii. 415 CGO lii. 416 CO diir. 417 CGO tja'u. 418 CO bruu. 420 CO fa'ur. 421 CO forti.

EO': 422 O sik [only feverish, not ill in general, nor nauseated]. 423 CGO thii. 424 CGO ra'ukh. 425 CGO le'kht. 426 CGO fekht. 427 CO bii bi. 428 CO sii. 429 O fint [only in such phrases as (fint v̄ heet) devil a bit, *haat*=atom]. 430 CGO friin, O frend [A (frinz) friends]. 431 CO biir [when used, generally (jæl) ale]. 432 CO fort. 433 CGO briist. 434 CGO beet [meaning excelled, only]. 435 CO juu ji [not (jo)]. 436 CO truu. 437 O trèth [often nearly or precisely (trèth)], C [often] tryyth.

EY- 438 CGO dii [A (diit) died]. EY: 439 CO trast [O gen. (lip'n)]. I- 440 CO wik. 441 C siiv, O si [in composition as (me'ls) milksieve]. — A gin [given]. 442 C éivi. 443 O fréidi. 446 O náin. 448 C thrii. 449 CO grt. 450 O [old] teezdi [giving way to (tíuzdi)]. 451 CGO shuu.

I: 452 CIKO a, C ai. 454 CO watj. 455 C lái, O léi. 457 CGO me'kht. 458 A nekht, CGO ne'kht. 459 CGO re'kht. 460 wakht. 462 CGO se'kht. 463 A tel. 465 CO sik, CG sitj. 467 CO wéil. 468 CO tjilder [but rare now]. 470 A hem, O him. — O sklím [climb]. 471 CGO timer. 472 C shriqk. 473 CO blin. 476 CO bin. 477 A føn, CGKO fin. 478 CO gran. 479 CO wæn, G wæn, C wáind. 480 O théiq. — O réiq [ring]. — O bréiq [bring]. — O séiq [sing]. — OK rin [run]. — O le'p [lip]. — K kirn [churn]. 484 CO dhe's, G dhee. — A kest [kissed]. — K rashez [rushes sb.]. 485 G this'l, O thras'l. — K girs'l [gristle]. 487 C je'sterdi, O jesterdi. 488 CO ret. 489 A et. — O wat [wit].

I'- 490 O béi [acc.], bi [unacc. of place], baa [of agent]. 491 CGO se'kh. — A ba'id [abide]. 492 A sa'id. 493 CO dréiv. 494 CO téim. 496 CO eern ern, G ern. 498 CO réit.

I': 500 CO léik [like]. 501 CO wéid. 502 CO fáiv. 503 CO léif. 504 CO néif. 505 A wa'if, CO wéif. 506 A wæmen, CGO women. 507 CO wimæn. 509 A kvøhg'íl, CO whéil. 510 ii. máa'. 511 CO wéin. 513 CO weer, G wer. 514 CO éis. 515 CO wéis [not (wéiz), see *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 17]. 516 O whéit. 517 C jiuu.

O- 519 A a'ur. 520 CGO ba'u. 521 CO fól. — K stAA [stolen]. 522 CO op'n, K eep'n. 523 A hoop, O ha'up. — K smoor [smother]. 524 CGO worl [occ. (warlt)], M warlt.

O: 526 CG kokh. 527 CGO bokht. 528 CGO thokht, A thookht. 529 CGO brokht. 531 A dookhter, CGO dokhter, K dokhter. 532 CO kól. 533 CO dæl. 534 CO hòl. 535 A fok, K fa'uk. 536 CGO guuld, K ga'ud. 537 O mùlz mAALZ [earth, especially grave], C ma'uld. 538 O wad wid, C wud, A wad. — K ta'ul [told]. — K ha'u [hollow]. 539 CGO ba'ul. 540 C holi. — K ha'um [holm]. 542 CO bolt. — K ka'ult [colt]. 544 A dhen, K dhan. — KM drap [drop]. — M krap [crop]. — M tap [top]. 545 MO hap, C hop. — A stop, KM stap. — K lapster [lobster]. 547 O bærd, C byyrd buurd. 548 O færd, C fyrd. 549 C hord. 550 O ward. 551 CGO storm. 552 CGO korn. 553 CGO horn. 554 C kros.

O'- 555 O shæ [often nearly (shee)], C shuu shee. 557 O tæ, C tuu, A tee'. 558 CO lak. 559 A mi,dhur, CO midher. 561 O blæ'm, C blyym. 562 O

mə'n mìn, C myyn. 563 CO mändi, O [rarely] mənəndi. 564 O shə'n [often] shìn, C syyn. 565 CO nooz. 566 A i, dhur, CGO idhur.

O': 569 O buk biak. 570 AC tak, O tuk, [very rarely] tiak. 571 A gji'd, OG gə'd, O gid, C gyyd. 572 OG blə'd, KO blid, C blyyd. 573 C flyyd. 574 C bryyd. 575 O stə'd, C styyd. 576 KO wanzdi, C wənzdi, G wenzde. 577 C ba'u bakh. 578 C pla'u plakh, O pluu píu piakh. 579 CO ənzakh, C ənokh. 580 CO tiakh, CG takh. 581 CGO sokht. 582 OG kə'l, O [often] nearly (kəl)], C kyył. 583 O təl [often nearly (təl)], C tyyl. 584 GO stəəl, C styyl. 585 O brəm, C bryym. 586 GO dəə [and when emphatic (d'v)], C duu. 587 O dən dìn, C dən. 588 C nyyn, K nín. 589 O spə'n spín, C spyyn. 590 GO fləər, C flyyr. 591 GO məər, C myyr. 592 O swəər, C swoor. 594 GO bət, C byyt. 595 GO fət, C fit fat. 596 GO rət, C ryyt. 597 GO sət, C syyt.

U- 599 O əbən əbín, C əbyyn. 600 O :lə'v [as a family name, otherwise (ləv)]. 601 CG fuul. 602 O su, CG suu. 603 CO kam. 604 K simər. — K hini [honey]. 605 AO sən. 606 CO door. 607 CO bəər, OCl [slovenly] bə;ər. — K nit [a nut].

U: 608 O əgli. 609 O fu, C fuu. 610 O u [w sometimes sounded]. 611 C bələk. 612 CO səm. 613 O drəqk. 614 CO ha'un. 615 CO pən, G pand. 616 CO grən, G grənd. 617 CGO sùn. 618 C wuund. 619 CO fan, G fənd. 620 CO grən. 621 O wən. 622 O əner, C [often] unər. 625 O təq. 626 O ha'uqər [not (huqər)]. 628 O nən. 629 O sən, K sìn. 631 CO thazdi, O [formerly (fərzdi)]. 632 CCIO əp. — əpə [upon]. 633 CO kəp, K kap. 634 CO thruu. 635 CO warth. 637 C task. 638 CO bask [applied to fish-hooks]. 639 C dəst.

U'- 640 CGO kuu. 641 CGO huu. 642 CO dhuu [seldom used]. 643 ACGO nuu. 644 CO duu. 646 CGO buu. 647 CG uul. — O huulet [owlet]. 648 OCl wər, CGO uur. 649 CGO thuzən. 650 A əbət. 652 CO kud. 653 ACO bət.

U': 654 O skruud. 655 OC fəl. 656 OC ruum. 657 CGO brùn. 658 CCIO dún. 659 CGO tùn. 660 CGO buur bür. 661 CGO shuur shür. 662 AO əs, C [often] əz. 663 CGO hüs. 664 CGO lüs. 665 CGO müs. 666 C [often] həzbent. 667 CGO ùt. 668 CGO prūd. 669 O a'uqkə, C ankuuth. 670 O [rare] bəəth, C buudh. 671 CGO muuth. 672 CGO suuth.

Y- 673 ACO mak'l, C mik'l. 674 O did. 676 CGO lli. 677 CO drái. 678 CO dín. — O kiq [not (kiq kéiq)]. 679 CO ke'rk, K kirk. 680 C bizi, O [(thraq) used]. 681 O biznes. 682 CGO lət.

Y': 683 CO midj. 684 GO bre'g, C bridj. 685 CO re'g. 686 CO báí. — CO be'g [to big=build]. 687 CGO fləkht. 690 O kin. 691 CO méin, A mə'in. 693 CO sìn. 694 CO wərk. 696 C barth. 697 O biri, C byri. 698 C marth. 699 CGO re'kht. 700 CGO wəər. 701 CO fərst. 702 A wy. 703 CO pət. 704 C viks'n.

Y'- 705 CO skái. 706 O whéi [when used, but ordinarily (whit wéi) what way]. 707 O thertin. 708 CO háir. Y': 709 CO fáir. 711 CO léis. 712 CO méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — O skréib [crab apple]. — K krabit [crabbed]. — K sabəth [sabbath]. 713 CO bad. 714 CO la'd, A lad laad. 715 C pad. 716 C ad'l. 717 CO djaad. 718 CO tred. 719 C tadpol. 720 C fag. 722 CO dreen. 723 O déiri, C deeri. 724 O belt [in (belt-hiidit) bald-headed], C baal. 725 C seel. 727 CO djam. 728 C sham. 729 CO freem. 730 CO kanter. 731 CG wantən. 733 C skeer. 734 CGO dern. — O bərs [barrow]. — O sklaash [clash]. 735 CO smash. 737 C mət. — A grat [did greet, wept]. 738 C preet. 740 CO weev. — K baa [bawl]. 741 C meez. 742 CO leezi.

E. 743 C skriim. — A ween [a wean, child]. — A deerth [dearth]. 744 CO miiz'lz. 745 CO tjiit. 746 CO breeth. 747 O endeevər [but consciously a 'lang-nebbit' word, if used]. — A gritin [greeting, weeping]. 749 A left. 750 CO beg. 751 C pərt.

I. and Y. — O pe'k [pick]. 754 CO pe'g. — O whəp [whip]. 756 C

shre'mp. — O pin, K prin [pin]. — O réiqk [rink for curling]. — K tiqklér [tinker]. 758 C gerl. — O pe'shmol [pismire]. 759 CO fe't.
 O. 761 CO leed. 762 CO ookem. 763 C room. — K lokh [loch=lake].
 767 CO néiz. 769 O ma'udi, ma'udiwarp, C modiwort. — K pa'u [poll, head].
 — K skra'u [scroll]. 771 CO fond. 772 CO bənfeír. 773 C daqki. — M
 banet [bonnet]. 774 CGO pa'uni. 775 C buubi. — O nřak [not (niuk)
 nook]. 777 CO shop. 778 G afærd, C afyyrd. — M paritj [porridge].
 — KM pat [pot]. 781 CO bodher. — O klřakh [not (klřukh) clough]. —
 K ma'ult [moult]. 783 C puultri. 784 CO ba'uns. 785 C luundy. 786 C
 duus. 787 C suus. 789 C ra'u. 790 CGO guun.
 U. 792 C skwab'l. — C kwéi, G kéi [quey, quy, quoy, quyach, quoyach,
 quevek, quyok, a cow 2 years old]. 793 O hag. 794 O dřag, G dřug. — O
 ba'l [bull]. 799 O skál. 803 CO dřamp. 805 CO kradz. 806 C řas. 807
 CG pus. 808 ACGO pat, CK pit.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 CO eeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 A ple's, CO pless. 812 O lees —
 K klaat [caught]. 813 CO beek'n [rare]. 814 CO mees'n. 815 CO faks.
 816 CO fed. 817 C radish. — CO peel [pail]. 818 CO eedj. 819 CO reedj.
 821 C dilei. 822 CO méi. 823 C bee, G béi. 824 O tjéir, CG tjeer. 825
 C waf. 826 CO iig'l. 827 C eegrer. 828 C eegre. — Cl b'ili [baillie].
 829 C geen. 830 CO treen. 831 C distreen. 832 C [rare] meer. 833 CGO
 peer. 834 C sheez. 835 CGO reez'n. 836 CO seez'n. 837 C lash. 838
 CGO treet. 839 C beel. — K haat [halt]. 840 CO [rare] tjaamer, G tjamer.
 841 CO tjans. 842 C plaqk. 843 O bréinsh, CG breensh. 844 O trensh,
 C trentj. 845 O aanshent, C onshunt. 847 O déindjér, C deendjér. 848
 CGO tjéindj. 849 O stréindj. 850 CO dans. 851 C aant aanti. — K
 kabten [captain]. 852 O eepren [not (eepern)]. — K babtist [baptist]. 853
 O bargin, C -en. 854 CO barl. 855 CGO karet. 856 CO peert, G part.
 857 CO kees. 859 CO tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 CO teest. 862 CO seef.
 863 C tjeef. 864 C bikaaz. 865 CO faat. 866 GO pœr, C pyyr.
 E.. 867 CO tii. 868 C djee. 869 CO viil. 870 CO biuté [O said only
 of a handsome woman]. 871 CO egrii. 872 CO tjiif. 874 O réin, C reen.
 875 GO fent, C feent. 876 CGO denti. 877 CO eer. 878 C seleri. 879 O
 feemel. 880 CO eksamp'l. — Cl konshens [conscience]. 881 CO sens. 882
 CO panzi. 883 CO dandilá'ën. 884 O prentis. 886 C fréir. 887 C
 klerdji. — CO feer [a fair]. 888 AC sart'n. 889 C siis. 890 CO biist.
 891 CO fist. 892 CO neefs. 893 CGO fluur. 894 CO [rare] diseev. 895
 CO [rare] riseev.

I.. and Y.. 898 O náis. 899 CO niis. 900 CO pree. — O pil [not (pil)
 pill]. 901 O fáin féin. 902 O máin, C méin. 903 O dáin déin. — K
 opam'řen. 904 O vái'olet. 906 O viiper véiper. 907 C tréis. 910 CGO
 djist. 912 O ráis.

O.. 913 CO kootj. 914 CO brootj, G brotj. 915 CO staf. 916 iq'n.
 917 CO roog. 918 C fib'l. 919 CGO eintment. 920 CGO péint. 921 GO
 akwa-nt, C akwee-nt. 922 CGO bāsh'l [not (bush'l)]. 923 O móist. 924
 O tjéis. 925 CO véis. 926 CGO spéil. 927 CO traqk. 928 CGO ans.
 929 C kiukember. 930 CO léin [if used]. 931 O dřagler, CG dřugler.
 932 C ema'unt. 933 CO frant. 934 C buunti. 935 A ki'ntra', CO kintre
 kintra. 936 C font. 937 CO kok. 938 CO kornér. 939 CO kloos. 940
 CO koot. 941 GO řæl, C fyyl. — K stib'l [stubble]. 942 CO batjér [not
 (butjér), usually řashur]. 943 O tatj, C tjtj. 944 CGO eluur. 945 CO
 vuu. 946 C méil. 947 CGO béil. 948 CGO búl [in case of carpet balls in
 use at teaparties, but (ba'ul) for a bowl at a (ba'ulen grin) bowling green].
 950 CO sapor. 951 CO kap'l. — A tarn [turn]. 952 i. CGO kuurs. 953
 CO kizin. 954 CGO kashen. 955 CGO duut. — K va'ut [vault]. 956 CO
 kaver. 957 O emplói. 958 C fréi. 959 O kenvee kenvéi.

U.. 960 CO kii. 961 O gruu'el. 962 C míuuz. — A wet [wait]. — A
 dřadř [judge]. 963 O kweet. 964 CGO shuu'et. 965 CGO éil. 966 O řrēt
 řrēt, C řryyt. 967 O shēt shēt, C shyyt. 968 CGO éister. — A ruult [ruled].
 969 GO shœr, C shyyr. 970 O dřyst djist, C djyst. 971 O řat řit, C řyyt.

LOCHWINNOCH (:lɔk'h'enɪɔk), 6 sw. Renfrew, Rf.

From Mr. David Patrick, old spelling Lochquinzeoch.

The whole intonation is different from 30 miles s., but agrees with adjoining n. Ay. parishes. "More modulation passing from high to low, tone stronger, sounder, coarser, more vulgar, yet fuller and pithier than in Ochiltree. Pron. broader."

Vocabulary different from Ochiltree :

- O (bɛnféir), L (tʌʌn'l) bonfire.
- O (mɪnɛnz), L (gʌtiz) minnows.
- O (gʌd'l), L (gɪn'l) dip for trout with the hands below stones and cavities of rock.
- O (huusifs, déikis), L (spɪʌgz, sprʌgz) house and hedge sparrow.
- O (kɔkwiid), L (kaluuri) a kind of weed.
- O (piin), L (lɔz'n) pane or lozenge of glass.
- O (séibɔz), L (ɪqɛnz) onions.
- O (lɔupit), L [flap] leaped.

Old forms used at L (hant'l, laqsem, tʌʌl, kʌʌ), many, late, told, quoth. Use of (tuu, dhɔ) thou in L, unknown, at O. L (what's at?) what's that, L (duun i gɛt) down the street. L (ɛnoth athoort), O (abloo, ɛkros) below, across. L (hʌʌf θrii) half-past two o'clock, etc. L (twal, twal uurz) twelve o'clock, German usage. L (dhɛ sɛl ɔ)t, dhɛ hid ɔ er, dhɛ beenz ɔ)m, the self of it, the head of her, the bones of him. L (je, jin) one, never (ee, en). They find the e. dialect strange.

A few words follow.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 43 hʌʌn. 44 lʌʌn. A'- 72 whʌʌ. 74 twʌʌ [tendency to (kwʌʌ)].
 Æ: 179 what. E: — twal [tendency to (kwʌl) twelve]. EO': 435
 ʌ, jʌ [not (ji), as (heest ʌ, bigʌʌn) haste you, begone]. I: — saks [six].
 O: 538 wad.

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Galloway and Carrick.

Boundary. On the n. the s. b. of D 35, on the e. the w. b. of D 33, elsewhere the sea-coast.

Area. The s. of Ay. or Carrick, w. Df., Kb., and Wg. or Galloway.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 239) and Alphabetical County List under * vv. AJE., || systematic, ° informants' orthography.

Ay. ° New Cumnock.

Df. ° Tynron.

Kb. ° Kirkpatrick Durham.

Wg. * Stranraer, || Glenluce.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 239) mentions that *the* is contracted into (ii) especially after (*i*) for *in*, as (*i*)ii in the, as in Cs. Also that final consonants are lengthened, or doubled "even more strikingly than in Cs.," so that *gang* becomes (gan'), and that *his*, *her* are contracted to simple *s*, *r*, as (hi kan gan'tel)z feedhɛr) he can go to his father. In taking down the cs.

from Stranraer, already given (No. 4, p. 684), I observed none of these points. Having been hurried, I might easily have failed to observe all but the omission of *th* in *the*. This, however, was not the case, and as I had my Cs. specimen the same evening, I think I should have been struck by this similarity.

I have been able to get a tolerably extensive wl. from Glenluce, Wg., and Kirkpatrick Durham, Kb., but I find that there is no decided point in which D 36 differs from D 35 and D 34. While therefore accepting Dr. M.'s district, I must express my own feeling that D 36 is a mere variety of D 34, closer indeed than D 35. In fact this district was conquered by the English language at a much later period than the others. The names of places in Df., where the b. of D 33 and D 36 occurs, are sharply Gaelic on the w. and English on the e. Hence it was to be expected that the mode of speech adopted would be in fact the language of the L. literature.

Under these circumstances I do not draw up a brief set of characters for D 36, but refer to the following wl. as containing, however defectively, all that I have been able to collect.

Illustrations.

1. The cs. from Stranraer already given, *suprà* p. 684, No. 4.
2. The pronunciation of Burns's *Duncan Grey* as taken from the lips of a New Cumnock man, but it is perhaps not a characteristic specimen of Carrick, D 36, as distinct from Kyle, D 35.
3. Two wl. from Glenluce and Kirkpatrick Durham, which however I have had to interpret with considerable difficulty at times, and the words extracted from No. 1, above.

BURNS'S SONG OF DUNCAN GREY,

written by A.J.E. in his extended Phonotypic Alphabet of 1847, from the dictation of John Love, of New Cumnock, Ay. (18 ese.Ayr), and published in the *Essentials of Phonetics* that year, pp. 171-177, and now transcribed in palaeotype. This was my first attempt to write dialect from dictation, long before this book was thought of; the first for this book are given on pp. 275, 276, 277. It can certainly be only approximatively correct, but I leave it unaltered. I have been told *Ailsa* should be (:èl'sə) without prefixed (s).

:dɔqkan :grœ kam hiir tɔ wuu on bláith jyl nekht when wii wer fuu.	Duncan Grey came here to woo, On blythe yule night when we were 2 fou, Maggie coost her head fu' high,
:magi kjœst her hid fu hikh, lœkt asklent an æqke skjikh, gert pœœr :dɔqkan staaN abikh.	Look'd asklent and unco skeigh, Gart poor Duncan stand abeigh. 5
:dɔqkan flitɪt an :dɔqkan prœed, :meg wɔz dif az :jelza :kreeg.	Duncan fleech'd, and Duncan pray'd; Meg was deaf as Ailsa Craig, 7
:dɔqkan sœkht bæeth uut an en, graat hez iin bæeth bliirt an blen, spaaK o loopen áur a len.	Duncan sigh'd baith out and in, Grat his een baith bleer't and blin', Spak a lowpin o'er a linn. 10

tə'im an tjaans aar bət a tə'id, sləkhted ləv ez seer tə bə'id. shal ái, lə'ik a fyl, kwo hii, fər a haakhti hezi dii ? shii mee gee tə—:fraans fər mii !	Time and chance are but a tide, Slighted love is sair to bide, 12 Shall I, like a fool, quoth he, For a haughty hizzie die ? She may gae to—France for me ! 15
huu et kəmz let dəktərz tel, :meg gréuu sik—az hii gréuu heel səmtheq ən her booz'm reqz, fər riliif a sekh shii brəqz, and oo, her iin, dhee spaak sek theqz !	How it comes let doctors tell, Meg grew sick—as he grew well, 17 Something in her bosom wrings, For relief a sigh she brings ; And O, her een, they spak sic things ! 20
:dəqkan wəz a laad o grees, :magiz wəz a pitios kees, :dəqkan kud na bii her deeth, swelin piti smœœrd hez reeth nuu dhee)r kruus an kanti beeth.	Duncan was a lad o' græ, Maggie's was a piteous case, 22 Duncan could na be her death, Swelling pity smoor'd his wrath ; Now they're crouse and canty baith ! 25

Notes to Duncan Grey.

1. (wu) should, I think, be (uu), compare (uu) for *wool*.
2. *fou* were full, had had our supper, not *drunk*, see *Tam o' Shanter*, p. 732, v. 6 and note.
4. *looked askant and very shy*.
5. *made poor Duncan stand aside*.
6. (flitjt) *begged in a flattering cajoling manner*.
7. Ailsa Crag, a basalt rock in the Firth of Clyde, 10 w. Girvan, Ay., 1098 ft. high, 2 m. in circuit, inaccessible except on w. side, abounds in sea-fowl, goats, and rabbits, has a ruined castle at the top. This should not have prefixed (j) I believe, see D 35, but be pron. (:èlsə).
8. *Duncan sighed both out aloud and silently, wept his eyes both bleared and blind, spoke of leaping over a waterfall*.
17. *hale*, spelled *heal*, in the copy I then used, the Globe ed. of Burns, printed in the right hand col., has *well*, which comes to the same thing.
24. *smothered his wrath now they are brisk and jolly both*.

SOUTHERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

From the following sources.

- G Glénluce (:glenlyy,s) (15 w. Wg.), from the numbered wl. by Rev. G. Wilson, for Glénluce and the Rhinns, or Rhytns, of Galloway, the long and narrow peninsula w. of Luce Bay, Wx.
- K ne.Kb., by Rev. W. A. Stark, Kirkpatrick Durham (4 n. Castle Durham), numbered wl.
- S Stranraer, Wg., words from the cs. pal. by A.J.E. from dict., printed on p. 684.
- T Tynron, Df. (5 wsw. Thornhill), notes and lw. by Mr. James Shaw, schoolmaster, Aug. 1868, but the words he principally gave belong to Lk., Rf., Ay., and Df., that is, principally D 35, where they agree with what is there said.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 G beek. 4 GK tak. 5 S maak, GK mak. 17 G laa. 21 S neem.
34 S last. 36 G tha'u. A: 39 G ka'm, K kæm. 40 G kæm. 41 G thanqk, K theqk. 43 G han, K haan. 44 G lan, K laan. 49 S haq. 54

S wont [P (want)]. 56 GK wesh. A: or O: 58 GKS free. 60 S laq.
 64 S raq, K waraq raq. 65 GK saq. A'- 67 S gan [going]. 72 S whee.
 73 K see, GS see. 74 S twaa, K twee twaa, G twaa tiu. 78 SK een,
 G AAN. 79 G een. 81 ii. S loonin. 82 jens. 84 S meer. 85 GK seer.
 87 SGK klees. 88 GK kliid. 89 S beeth. 94 S kraa. 97 GK SAAL.
 A': 101 GK eek. 102 S aks. 106 GK breed. 109 GK leekh. 110 ii. S
 noo. 111 S okht, GK akht. 113 GKS heel. 115 S hem, GK heem. 117
 S jee. 118 GK been. 122 ii. S nez. 124 GK steen.
 Æ- 138 S fadher, G fedher, K feedher. 141 GK neel. 144 S ege'n.
 150 S liist. 152 GK water. Æ: 154 S bak. 158 S etter. 161 GKS
 dee. 165 S sed. 169 GKS whan. 170 GK heerst. 172 G gres gres [with
 strong (s)], K gres. 173 G waz, K waz. 175 S fast. 177 S dhat. 179 S what.
 Æ'- 182 G sii. 186 G briith. 187 G leev lee. 191 G heel. 192 G miin.
 193 G kleen. 194 S oni. 200 G whit. 202 G hæt. Æ': 204 S did
 [indeed]. 205 GK thriid. 209 S never. 212 GK whéi. 213 S edher. 214
 S needher. 215 GK takht. 218 GK shiip. 223 S dheer. 224 GS whar,
 K whaar. 226 GK meest. 227 GKS wat. 228 G swit. 230 G fat.
 E- 236 GK fivær. 240 G lain leen, K léin. 243 G plee. 244 S wil.
 248 GK miir. 249 GK wiir. 250 GK swiir. 251 G miit, K [occ.]
 meet. 252 S ket'l. E: 256 S strikyt [stretched]. 261 SGK see. 262
 GK wéi. 263 S waa. 265 G straaht, K straaht, S street. 271 S tel.
 276 S theqk. 278 S wensh. 281 GKS lenth. 282 GK stranth. 283 K
 miri. E'- 290 G hii, K he. 292 G mii, K me. 293 SG wii. 301 S
 hiir. E': 312 S hiir. 314 S hard. 316 G nãkst, K nãst.
 EA- 317 GT fléi [frighten]. 320 S keer. EA: 321 S sa. 322 S lakh.
 326 S al. 330 SG had, K hãd. 333 GK kaf. 335 GS aa, K AA. 337 G
 waa, K waa. 338 S kaa. 340 S jard. 342 GK er'm. 343 GK war'm. 345
 GK dar. EA'- 347 G heed, K hid. 348 GK ii, GS iin [eyes]. 349 S fiu.
 EA': 350 G diid, K did. 352 G riid, K rid. 355 G diif, K dif. 357 S
 thoo, G thoo. 359 S nibur. 368 GK deeth. 371 GK stree. EL- 372 G
 nji, K éi. 373 S dhee. EO- 383 G seev'n, K siiv'n. 384 GK hiiv'n.
 386 GK ja'u. 387 S niu. EO: 388 G me'lk, K malk. 394 S joner.
 395 S jaq. 396 GK wark. 398 G stærv, K stærv. 399 S brekht. 402
 GK lern. 405 GK herth. 406 GK erth, G je'rh. EO'- 411 GS
 thrii. 412 G shee, KG shii. 413 G diiv'l, K diiv'l. 414 G fiui. 415 GK
 lii. 417 GK tja'u. EO': 422 S sik. 423 G thii. 424 G rakh. 425
 G le'kht, K lekht. 426 GK fekht. 428 GK sii. 430 S frin, G friin,
 K frind. 433 G briist, K brist. 434 S bet. 435 S juu. 437 S trãth.
 EY- 438 GKS dii. EY: 439 S trast.
 I- 440 S wik. 443 GK fréide. 446 S néin. 448 [(G dhe'r, K dhee)
 used]. 450 GK [occ.] téizde. I: 452 ST a. 454 G watr. 455 ST
 lái. 457 S nekht. 459 G rikht, K rekht. 460 GK wekht. 465 S seken.
 467 GK wéil. 469 S wal. 475 GK wand. 477 GK fin. 480 S thiq theq.
 481 GK fiqr. 484 [S (dhe) used]. 485 G this'l, K thras'l. I'- 490 GK
 bái. 494 S téim. 496 G er'n, K eer'n. 498 G [gen.] w'rëit, K vrëit.
 I': 500 S léik. 502 G fáiv. 504 GK néif. 505 GKS wéif. 506 GK
 wãmen. 507 GK wiimen. 510 ST méin. 511 T wéin. 515 GK wéis.
 O- 519 S óur. 520 GK ba'u. 524 S warl. O: — T la'u [low, a
 flame]. 529 G brókht, K braakht. 531 S dokhtær. 535 S fook. 536 G
 guuld, K ga'uld. 537 G ma'ul. 538 S wud wed. 550 S word. — T ta'u
 [tow from hemp]. O'- 557 S ti. 559 GK midher. 562 GK myn [the
 (y) was probably not pure here and elsewhere, but rather (y)]. 563 GK
 manende. 564 GK syn. 566 S edher. — T gróu [to grow]. O': 571
 S gød gad, GK gyd. 572 GK blyd. 578 GK pliuu. 579 S eniukh, G enja'ukh,
 K eniukh. 580 GK tiukh. 581 G sóukht, K saakht. 582 G kyyl. 583
 G tyyl. 586 S doo)nt [don't]. 587 S dãn. 588 S nãn. 589 GK spyn.
 590 G flyyr, K fluur. 592 GKS suur. 594 G byt, K bit. 595 GK fit.
 596 G ryt. 597 G syt, K sat.
 U- 601 G fiuul. 602 GK suu. 604 S samær. 605 S san. 606 S door.
 U: 609 S fuu, G fu, K fal. 610 G uu. 612 S sam. 614 G ha'und. 616
 S gran. 617 GK suun. 619 S fan [pt. (fan)]. 625 S taq. 626 GK haqær.

D 36, 37.] THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN MID LOWLAND. 751

— G a'un [to own=grant, confess]. 631 S dharzde. 632 S ap. 634 S thruu. U'. 640 GK kuu. 641 GKS huu. 643 GK nuu. 646 G buu, K ba'u. 651 S ødhu't 652 GK krad. U': 658 S dun. 659 GK tun. 663 S hus. 667 S uut. 671 GK muth.
 Y- 673 S mak'l. 674 S did, G de'd. 677 S drái. 679 GK kirk. 680 K bæi. Y: 684 G brig. 686 G báí. — GK big [to big, build]. 687 GK fískht. 690 GK kéind. 691 GK méind. 694 GK wark. 701 S ferst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 GK lad. 717 G djaad. 724 G beld, K baal. 727 G djaam. 736 S lasi. E. — S pēt [pet]. I. and Y. — S tef [tiff]. — S beg [big]. — S whandj [whinge]. O. 778 G afyyrd, K afuurd. 781 S bodhær. 783 G pa'ultri, K puutri. 790 GK gun. 791 S bóí. U. 798 S kwóir. 804 S drak'n. 805 GK kradz. 808 GK pit.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 S faks. 822 K méi. 823 K béi. 835 S rez'n. 845 G aanshent, K ansh'nt. 848 G tjeindy. 857 S kees. 864 S bika-z. E.. 867 S tii. 874 G ræ'in, K réin. 885 S vera. 887 G klærdji, K kleerdji. 890 S biist be'st, G beest, K bist. 895 GK riseev. I.. and Y.. — T krái [to cry]. 901 ST féin. 910 G djeest, K djiist. O.. 916 GK iqin. 926 G spóil, K spéil. 928 GK ans. 939 GK klos. 941 S fæl, G fyl, K fil. 942 G botjær, K batjær. 947 SG bóil, K béil. 950 S sapor. 952 i. GK kuurs. 953 G kyzin, K kiz'n. 954 GK kashin. 955 S duut, GK dut. U.. 960 K kii. 963 S kwéit, G kweejit. 965 G óil, K éil. 966 GK fryt. 968 G óister, K éister. 969 S shæer shé'uur, G syyr. 970 S djist djæst, GK djyst. 971 GK flyt.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Highland Border.

Boundaries. On the w. and nw. the CB. or Celtic Border, on the s. the n. b. of D 35 and D 34, to the Firth of Tay. Afterwards through Fo. to the Grampians. In his Map Dr. Murray took the b. to lie to the w. of Dundee, and e. of Forfar, and afterwards to be indeterminate to the Grampians. But he subsequently informed me that he considered the line to lie too much to the e., and that the town of Forfar properly belongs to the NL. or D 38. I therefore draw the b. between D 37 and D 38 from just a little w. of Dundee northward, just e. of Glammis and Kirriemuir, and w. of Clova, by the valley of the Esk to where the CB. strikes the s. b. of Ab. To determine the b. accurately would require much more examination than has hitherto been made, or is likely to be made.

Area. A small portion of nw. Fi., of w. Fo. and of w. Sg., and a strip on the e. and se. of Pr. It is a district in which English is asserting itself against Gaelic to such an extent that the CB. has receded westward within living memory.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 239; Dr. Alexander Laing's dt. for Newburgh-on-Tay, a *vivâ voce* dt. from three students of Whitelands from the neighbourhood of Perth, and a wl. written from their pron. of words in the novel *Enga*, constitute all I could collect.

Characters. The small amount of information which I have obtained is clearly insufficient to determine the characters of this extensive region, which would require minute examination. Dr. Murray merely says (DSS. p. 239): "In the Highland border,

along the se. of Pr., we find (1) z regularly pron. as (æ) in (hæl , mæl , malk , salk) hill, mill, milk, silk. (2) *Ea*, which in more Southern dialects is (*i*), here remains (*ee*) as (*breed*, *heed*, *meal*) for (*brid*, *hid*, *mil*) bread, head, meal. (3) The article *the* is commonly contracted into (*ii*), especially after *in*, as in (*i*)*ii* in the." I presume (1) relates to these particular words only, and as such they were confirmed, see following cwl. No. 469, by the Whitelands students, but *kill* is not (kæl), and *silk*, *milk* are EO words, while *hill*, *mill* are Y words. Of course after *w* we get (wæl , whæp) will, whip, but that is general. As regards (2) there is also a mixture of classes, *bread* and *head* being EA' words, the first was not given by my students, and the second, though they pron. it (héd), was written *heid*=(*hid*) in *Enga*. *Meal*, when it means an 'eating time,' is an Æ' word, and when it means 'flour,' an E word, and I have not the pron. of these words in other districts, nor do I know which of the two is here meant. (3) The Whitelands students and Dr. Laing did not leave out *th* in *the*.

The cwl. I am able to give is so brief and imperfect, and relates to such a small e. portion of the whole district, that I do not feel justified in drawing any conclusions from it as to the characters of the whole district, and refer to the wl. itself.

Illustrations. Dr. Laing's and the Whitelands students dt., and the cwl. from Enga.

NORTH-WEST FIFESHIRE dt.

Test by Rev. Dr. Alexander Laing, Newburg-on-Tay (8 wnw.Cupar), Fi., in io., pal. from his notes by A.J.E.

1. soo v *sái*, $\text{l}^{\text{a}}\text{dz}$, i sii nuu dhæt a) m $\text{r}^{\text{k}}\text{ht}$ $\text{v}^{\text{b}}\text{ùt}$ dhàt lasi $\text{kæm}^{\text{i}}\text{n}$ fe dhv sky^{l} dhond^{r} .
2. shy) z $\text{g}^{\text{a}}\text{n}$ dheer thruu dhv $\text{r}^{\text{i}}\text{d}$ $\text{g}^{\text{èt}}$ on dhv left $\text{h}^{\text{a}}\text{nd}$ séid o) dhv rood .
3. shyyr enakh dhv beern) z $\text{g}^{\text{èn}}$ strekht æp tæ dhv door v) dhv raq hùs ,
4. whaar shi^{l} $\text{lé}^{\text{i}}\text{klé}$ $\text{f}^{\text{i}}\text{nd}$ dhat drak^{n} def wiz^{nd} felé v) dhv niim v : tam^{es} .
5. wi a ken) 'm veré wil .
6. $\text{wæ}^{\text{n}}\text{v}$ dhv Aald tjap shy^{n} leern) er noo tæ dyy it v^{gen} , pyyr $\text{thiq}^{\text{!}}$
7. luk , i sii it) s $\text{truu}^{\text{!}}$

Notes.

1. *say*, especially marked as Greek a , English aye .
2. *way*, called (wéi), implies diction only.
3. *straight*, the alveolar (t^{r}) were specially noted, but it seemed to me that there was a misconception, so I merely note the fact here.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH dt.

palaeotyped 21, 22, 23 June, 1881, by A.J.E., from the dict. of Miss Miles, native of Manchester, but 13 years in Perth, Miss Pollar, of town of Perth, and Miss Kidd, native of Crieff, who had lived 18 years at Errol, all three students at Whitelands Training College.

1. *soo* ái séi, mèn, juu sii nuu dhàt à)m røkht abuu't dhàt wii làsi kàmen fee dhø shy, l dhondø.
2. shii)z gee'en [g^{AA}an K.] dun dhø rood dheer thrù dhø rød gíet [jæt] on dhø left hænd séid o dhø wèi.
3. shøer ønøk [ønokh, K.] dhi beern hez gèn [geen K] strøkht øp ti)dhø doøer o dhø ràq hùs,
4. whaar shi)l mæ)bi fend dhàt dræk'n dèf wíz'nd fæli o dhø nèm o :tomø.
5. wi ^{AA} ken)øm verì wil.
6. wæl dhø aald)'n noo sy,n leern er noo tæ dèi)t øgèn, ppy, r theq!
7. lùk íz)t no truu?

Notes to Perth dt.

1. *so* (*soo*) in this sense, but (see mèk'l) so much.—*I* (háí téid) high tide, distinguished as in Edinburgh.—*say*, *way*, and *side* in (2) seem to have the same diphthong differing very slightly from received *i* in *wide*, but shading more towards (èi). Never heard *narrow* or *mate*; but (màn, mæ'n) man, *men*, are used.—*thou* for *you* is never used.—*that* (at) is never used for (dhàt).—*wee*, when (little) is used, it is called (lat'l).—*lass*, but (kwèen) is still used for woman in a good sense, heard at Methven (5 wnw. Perth).—*coming*, the participle ends in (-en), verbal sb. (-øn), (wøshen on ø wøshøn dèi), thus (lòupen) leaping is used.—*from*, a grandfather of Miss K. used (free), not (three) for *from*.—*school* (skilì) is a slate pencil.—*yonder*, but they say (jonderz dhø màn, jon màn øuøer dheer).

2. *red* (rød) has a tendency towards (ø), almost (rød), but not (ræd).—*hand*, the (d) remains in the sg., but is lost in the pl. (hànz).—*side*, see *say*, par. 1.—*way*, see *say*, par. 1.

3. *enough* (ønøk, ønfu) are used as sg. and pl.—*burn*, (wi'n) is also used for little child.—*wrong*, (w'r-) has been heard from old people, but not (vr-) in *write*, *wright*, *wrong*. This makes a decided difference between D 37 and D 39, if not D 38.—*house*, (h) is never omitted; (hæz, hëz) are both used for us.

4. *where*, (wh) always clear, not (kwh); and still less (f), and this is another difference between D 37 and D 39.—*find* (fend, fand), pr. and pret.—*deaf* sounded very like (di,f).—*wizened*, although *shrivelled* is not used, (shrab) shrub is said, so there's no difficulty about (shr-).—*name*, (nèm, neem, ni'm) all used.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH cwl.,

from "Enga, a Novel," by the author of Harbour Bar, 1880, in which the scene is apparently laid at Essie, Essey, or Eassie, Fo. (7 wsw. Forfar), just within the b. of D 37. I extracted the following words, and then got the three students of Whitelands (see Perth dt. above) to pronounce them to me. The writer was evidently well acquainted with the dialect, and I have thought it best to give the words first as printed in the novel, but in italics, and then as pronounced by the students, prefixing a † to the latter when it apparently differed considerably in pron. These words from *Enga* are not otherwise marked.

P words from the Perth dt.

N words from the Newburgh dt. introduced for comparison.

S words given by the students, but not found in 'Enga.'

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *tak* ták. 5 *mak* màk. 21 *neme*, †neem, P nèm, N niim. A: — *fand* fand [pt. of find]. 43 *hans* hànz [pl.], P hând, N hâ'nd. A or O: 58 *frae*, †fee, PN free. 60 *lang* lãq. 64 *wrang* vrag, PN [w'] ràq. A'- 67 *gane* gèn, *gyaun* gieng, hi gãz hiz leen [he goes alone], P gee'en, PN GAAR, PN gèn, P geen [gone]. 73 PN soo. 74 *twa* twaa. 79 *ain* een. 82 *anes*, †rens ens. 84 *mar* meer. 85 *sair* seer. 86 *aits* eets. 87 S kleez. 88 *claidh* kléd. 89 *baith* beeth. 93 *sna* snaa. 97 *sowl* soo'l. A': 104 PN rood. 111 *ocht* okht [owned], ood [owed]. 113 *hale* heel. 115 *hame* heem. 117 [(ren) is not used, only (en), see No. 82]. — *alane* vlã'n [alone]. 122 i. *none*, †nen [nòne has not been heard], ii. *nae* nee. 134 *aith* eeth. Æ- 138 *fayther* feether. Æ: 156 *gled* glè'd. — *gither* gedher [gather]. 158 *after* æfter. 161 *day* déi. 169 *fan* fan [vulgar but common], whan. 170 *ha'est* hee'st. 173 *wast* wast [wast]. 177 *that* dhàt, PN dhat. Æ'- 194 *ony* oni. 200 *fte*, †whéit. Æ': 209 *niver* niver neer. 221 *afeerd* feerd [afraid]. 224 P WHAAR, N whaar. 226 *maist* meest. E- 244 *weel* wil. E: 261 P sêi, N sái. 263 *awa* vwa: [compare P (wêi)]. 265 P strékht, N s,t,rekht [p dentals]. — *twal* twæl. 273 P mèn. 280 *elieven* tvelv'n. E'- — *kep* kep [used for catch, or catch in the hands, applied in Enga to a catch water among rocks]. E': 305 *haich* hái hilondz [highlands]. 306 *heicht* kikht hékht. 314 *heerd*, †hard, †hæ'rd. 315 *fit* fit. EA: 322 *lach* lãk. 326 PN AALD. 328 *cauld* kaald. 330 *hoald* haald hãd hã'd. 335 PN AA. 336 *fa'* faa. 341 *marrow* mari. 342 *airm* eerm. — *hairm* heerm [harm]. 345 *daur* daar. 346 *gate*, †gæt, P jæt, N gèt. EA'- 347 *heid* [implying (hid)], †hèd. EA': 352 P rëd, N rid. 355 PN dëf. 359 *neebor* niiber. — *löse* lös [loose]. — *naut* [cattle, not heard], 368 *deith* [implying (dith)], †dèth. EO- 383 *sieben* [implying (siv'n)], †sev'n. 384 *hieven* [implying (hiv'v)], †hèv'n [(hiv'n) not common, but heard]. EO: 394 PN dhondër. 396 *wark* wark. — *fermer* feermër [farmer]. — *hert* hært [heart]. EO'- 415 *lee* lii. EO': 425 *licht* lèkht. 426 *fecht* fecht [pt. (fokht)]. 428 PN sii. 429 *fient* fint. 430 *freend* frënd. 435 P juu, N i. I: 462 P ai. — *wedow* widi [widow]. — *dicht* dekht [dight, common in the sense of wiped up, cleaned up]. 458 *nicht* nekht. 459 P rekht, N rikht. 460 *wecht* wèkht. 462 *sicht* sekht. 469 *ull* al [il is generally (al), as (silk malk mal) silk milk mill, of which the first two belong to EO and the last to Y]. 471 *timmertuned* tim'erty'nd [“having a harsh, unmusical voice,” Jamieson, (timertjerd) is also used]. 477 P fend, N find. 487 *yestreen* dhestrein [yesterday evening]. I'- — *forbye* forba'i. 492 PN séid. — *wite* [to blame, ? (wàit) not heard]. 498 *vritin'* ráiten. I: 500 *lichy*, †láiklî. 506 *wumman* wamen. 507 S wimën. O- 519 *ower* óuer. — *thole* thool [suffer, endure, a common word]. 523 *houp* hóup [has been heard, but (hop) is more common]. O: 528 *thocht* thokht. 535 *fouk* fók. 538 *wud* wəd [not (wäd)]. 541 S wani [and similarly] shani dani [won't shan't don't]. 550 *woord* †ward. O'- 555 S shy' [pl. (shy'n)]. 557 *tae* tee tii. 559 *mither* mädher. 560 PN sky'i. 564 *sune* shy'n, P sy'n, N shy'n. O': 571 *gude* gy,d. 572 S bly,d. 574 S bry,d. 578 *pleugh* plãkh [sb.], plu [yb.]. 579 P enokh, N enakh. 586 P dii [div ye ken (di i ken)]. 587 *döne* dü'n †dy'n. 591 *muir* myy,r. 595 *fat* fat [not a fit further (noo v fat far)]. 596 S ry,t. 597 S sy,t. U- — *wud* wad [wood]. 603 P kãmën, N kãmín [coming]. 605 *sön* †sæn. 606 P duuer, N door. U: 614 *hound* hóund. 619 S fand. — *wunner* †wy'ndær. 629 S san. 632 PN æp. U'- 640 *coo* ku [pl. (kái)]. 643 *noo*, PN nuu. 645 *doo* duu. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *aboot* ebù't. U': 658 *doon*, PN dün. 659 *toun* tün. 663 *hoose*, PN hüs. 667 *oot* üt. Y- 673 *muckie* mak'l. 679 *kirkyerd* kerkyèrd [churtyard]. 682 P lat'l. Y: — *freit* [implying (frèt)], †frekht. 699 *vricht* rekht [(w) old]. — *speer* spiür [to inquire]. 700 *waur* waar. Y': 709 *feier* fáir [(féir) highland].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 N la'd. — *caller* kaler [fresh, applied to fish, vegetables, and the morning air]. — *saumon* samen [salmon]. — *hantle* hant'l [many, applied to peas, called (piiz) from the garden, and (peeze) from the field]. — *ger gert* gar gærd [make made]. — *shawlie* shaali [meaning not noted]. — *dawtie* daati [dearie]. E. 749 PN left. O. 774 *powney* pouni. — *dowie* doui [dull]. — *cknowledge* †noledʒ [(kn) occurs as an old form in (knéif) knife]. 804 PN drak'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 820 *gey* gèi [in the sense of rather considerably]. 833 *pairt* peert [paired]. — *maister* mæ'stær. — *me'em* me'm [ma'am]. — *dambrod* dambrød [draught board, *dames* draughts]. — *marry* mèri [marry]. — *gyarden* gjeerd'n. — *heeste* hist [haste, vb.]. 866 *puir* py,r. — *ill-favored* el-faard [ill-favored, bad-looking]. E. — *trevell* træv'l [meaning only to walk, not to go on a journey]. — *tremmle* †tram'l. 885 *verra* †væri. — *hoor* ùr [hour]. I. — *and* Y. — *envy* envái [vb. but (en'vi) sb.]. 903 *dinner* dener. — *minute* minit [minute of time, old]. — *speeritless* spiritlet. O. — *roond* rùnd [round]. — *bonnie* boni [bonny]. — *coont* kùnt [count]. 935 S *kæntri* [students]. — *positeef* positive. — *coort* kùrt [court]. 952 i. ii. *coorse* kùrs. U. 963 *quete* kweet. 969 P *shæz*, N *shyyr*.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland,

constituting Dr. Murray's North-Eastern Group (DSS. p. 237).

The peculiarities are most fully developed in D 39. The one character of (f) for (wh), runs with more or less completeness through all of them. They form the whole mainland of Scotland that lies e. of the CB., and from the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, to Cs.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland, = Dr.
Murray's *Angus*.

Boundaries. On the w. the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, p. 751. For the n. b. begin where the CB. intersects the Grampians and go e. along the b. of Fo. and Ab. to Mt. Battock on the w. b. of Kc. (19 w. Stonehaven), and then sweep to the e. to about Skateraw on the coast (5 ne. Stonehaven), running from 4 to 6 m. south of the Dee. This line I take from Dr. M.'s map, and I have had no means of verifying it.

Area. The greater part of Fo. to the e., and of Kc. to the sw., from the Forth of Tay to the Grampians, the ancient Angus and Mearns, the ancient names for Fo. and Kc.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 238, and see Alphabetical County List under

Fo. ° Arbroath, ° Brechin, *° Dundee.

Kc. ° Glenfarquhar.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says with regard to D 38 :

“In the dialect of Angus, s. of the Grampians, (1) the consonantal peculiarities of the *North-Eastern* group are still found, but (2) the vowel system is more like that of the Central Scottish (D 34–37), English *oo* being (y) as in *good* (gyd).

(3) The \ddot{y} or y (i, e) of other dialects is often widened into \ddot{y} (α) as (ham, tal, hær, malk), etc., for him, till, her, milk. (4) D between vowels is sometimes softened into (dh) as (*ladhiz*) laddies."

This is all the information he gives. On this we may observe:

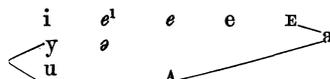
1. That the great consonantal peculiarity of (f) for (wh) is, according to Mr. Ross, native of Glenfarquhar, confined to the following words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how used for why, (fa, fe'n, faar, fat, fus, fæl, fodhær, fuu), with the substantives 'weasel wheel,' or rather 'quhitred or -et, whorl' (fatøret, foorl), and, so far as Mr. Ross knows, in no other sb. or in any vb. Hence the dialect is distinctly separable from D 39, where no such limitation occurs.

2. That *good* according to Mr. Ross is not (gy,d), but (gød gjød), as in (blød, flød, stød, stal, flar) blood, flood, stood, stool, floor, but that the D 39 (*gwid*) is also heard. These (α) were very distinctly given in two different manners, and I get (flød) from Ba.

3. Seems to be the appreciation of the (i_{11}) as (α), and the people in D 38 distinguish the two sounds, or believe they do so; thus in the Glenfarquhar wl. we have (m*i*,lk), but the Brechin wl. has (mælk); they are no doubt identical sounds, of which more hereafter.

4. Of this I have no other example.

The phonesis of this D 38, which is certainly transitional between D 34 and 39, presents some peculiar points of difficulty. Mr. Ross, who has taken great pains to indoctrinate me with them, uses a vowel triangle, which I give as a trigram and represent thus:



He says that (ϵ) "is the English long *a* in *same* only without the vanish; (e') is nearer (*i*) in quality; (*e*) as in *there*, (ϵ) a shade broader." One of the most peculiar vowels is here not placed, he says of it, "½ is my mark for *sit*, *fit*, *pin*, etc., an ugly thick sound compared with the English, but very extensively used in Scotland," that is, in NL. only. "An Englishman says *süt*, *füt*, *pün* (*sat*, *fat*, *pæn*) as his nearest approximation. \dot{a} on the other hand I must have used for an obscure unaccented vowel, I should think, as in *äliven* eleven. *Perhaps the difference is more in accent than in quality.*" This vowel in transliterating Mr. Ross's wl. I shall represent by (i_{11}) to distinguish it from (i_1), and to retain the NL. appreciation of it, as a kind of (i). Mr. Ross says it is nearly the English *u* in *pun*, *but*, and "lies between *i* in *pity*, *a* in *gnat*, and *u* in *nut*," by which he probably means (i , a , α), "and there is a sort of jerked drop of the jaw in producing it." Dr. M. in transliterating Mr. Anderson's Arbroath es., p. 684, has generally represented this sound by (e), which he also uses for his own *y* in D 33, but occ. by (ϵ , y , ϵ). In the two dt. given below I find I use (e) in *right*, *comìng*, *going*, (fe)=*from*, *fìnd*, *thìng*, *is*, but (e')—which cannot be right, as fractures do not seem to be

recognised—in *gate*, and used (ɐ) in *enough*, *him*, but I have (ɛ) in *wizent*. I cannot think that the vowel is the same in all positions, and when unaccented as in (*wi₁ra'q*), it is rather (ɐ). More upon this difficult vowel in D 39, p. 767.

Another difficulty arises for (e¹ e e). Mr. Ross was kind enough to classify a number of words, and I give the classification.

1. (e) English *there*, “only it seems to me that an Englishman begins his *there* with a slender sound, and then makes a broad vanish towards *r*. In Scotch the sound is uniform from beginning to end.” I add the numbers in the cwl. Long in 3 *bake*, 7 *sake*, 8 *have*, 9 *behave*, 23 *same*, 32 *rather*, 108 *dough*=*daigh*, 140 *hail*, 146 *main*, 163 *lay*, 166 *maid*, 170 *harvest*=*hairst*, 210 *clay*, 222 *hair*, 243 *play*, 248 *mare*, 260 *lay*, 722 *drain*, 729 *frame*.

2. (e¹) “The sound is slenderer than the English *ā* and shorter with no vanish.” In 19 *tale*, 40 *comb*=*kaim*, 73 *so*, 115 *home*=*hame*, 121 *gone*=*gane*, after 151 *seat*, after 348 *beat*, 500 *like*, 838 *treat*, etc.

3. (e¹) “Same sound as 2, but long.” In 71 *wae*, 161 *day*, 211 *gray*, 221 *feard*=*afraid*, 261 *say*, before 340 *beard*, 402 *learn*, after 825 *pay*, etc. “But in *Arbroath day*, *say*, are pron. even broader than No. 1” (DEX, SEX).

4. (i) “The sound is *ee* short.” In 118 *bone*, 315 *feet*, 571 *good*=*gweed*.

5. (æ) “Sound of *u* in *but*.” In 464 *which*=*fūl*, 571 *good*=*gyūd*, *flood*, 616 *ground*, 805 *curds*=*cruds*, 928 *ounce*, 935 *country*, 954 *cushion*, 956 *cover*.

6. (ə) “Sound, the well-known Scotch sound, nearly *eu* in the French *peu*.” Although to my ear it is more like (y₁), I give (ə) as in D 33. In 594 *boot*, 596 *root*, 597 *soot*, 966 *fruit*, 970 *just*.

7. (æ) “Same sound, but long.” In 557 *too*, 586 *do*, 591 *muir*, 969 *sure*=*sheur*, before 969 *cure*.

8. (éi) “almost as in English, but it does not please a fastidious English ear; it seems to be *ây*, *a* being as in *man*,” this would make it (æ'i) or (ɛ'i), but I retain the (éi) to harmonise with Mr. Clarke's indications, below. In 246 *ii*. *quean*, 690 *kind*, 691 *mind*.

9. (ái) “The sound is *ay* where *a* is the short of *a* in *father*.” In 677 *dry*, 686 *buy*, 705 *sky*, after 760 *try*, before 900 *cry*, etc.

10. (áai) “The sound, very long, is *ây*, *á* as in *father*, not as in *fall* as you will sometimes hear it elsewhere.” In 212 *whey*, 262 *way*, 502 *five*, after 505 *thrive*, after 911 *strive*.

11. (éi) “This is an Aberdeen sound, found with us in a few words. It seems to be *ey*, *e* as in *met* or slenderer. It is likest the English *a* in *wave*, etc., when there is a vanishing glide (*ee'*), but is not the same.” Hence I use (éi) as in D 33. In 235 *weave*, 450 *Tuesday*, 708 *hire*, 709 *fire*.

“The series of sounds I [Mr. Ross] think is this :

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. (ee'j) <i>wave</i> , <i>same</i> , etc., as in English with <i>vanish</i> . | |
| 2. (éi) <i>weave</i> , <i>fire</i> , <i>tire</i> , see No. 11 | } First Group. |
| 3. (éi) <i>kind</i> , <i>mind</i> , No. 8 | |
| 4. (ái) <i>sky</i> , <i>dry</i> , No. 9 | } Second Group.” |
| 5. (áai) <i>five</i> , <i>whey</i> , etc., No. 10 | |

I have left the second element of these diphthongs as pure (i) as in D 33, but Mr. Ross says, “The second component of the diphthong is not so clear in Scotch as in English. It is a duller sound, except in [the last] No. 3, of which we have only a few words.” If this is correct, we should read (éi, éi, ái, áai), or something like it. These four (a'i) sounds are very curious and peculiar. But the marked features are (e¹, i₁), the former being heard by Englishmen as (i), and the latter often as (e, æ). The absence of (AA) in contrast with ML. usage is also conspicuous. The Brechin wl. apparently gave (AA) in some cases, writing *aw*, but this seems to be only the NL. fashion of symbolising (*baa*).

For the consonants both (kh, k^h) occur according to the preceding vowel, but I do not find (*kwh*) except as an occasional initial. Mr. Ross indicates (t, d) in some cases, and says that (t, d) also occur independently of (r),

but he gives no instances. As regards the use of (f) for (wh) in provincial words, Mr. Melville Bell thinks that the real sound is (fh), that is, (f) complicated by the raising of the back of the tongue nearly into the position for (kh). In that case the difference between (wh, fh) or (kwh, fh) would be slight, consisting almost entirely in interposing the action of the teeth. The initial (wr-) is used with the help of an auxiliary vowel written (i₁₁), but sounding (e). But in the Arbroath cs. it is (vr-).

Illustrations.

1. Arbroath. A cs. written by Mr. Anderson and pal. with some hesitation by Dr. Murray, given in the Introduction to L., No. 5, p. 684.
2. Dundee. A dt. written from dict. by A.J.E.
3. Glenfarquhar. A dt. pal. by A.J.E. from the indications furnished by Mr. Ross.
4. A wl. chiefly from Mr. Ross, of Glenfarquhar, with some words by Mr. Guthrie of Brechin, and, for comparison, the words from the Arbroath cs. as interpreted by Dr. Murray.

TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

D Dundee, pal. June, 1881, by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Begge, student at Whitelands Training College, but 16 years (almost all her life) at Dundee.

G Glenfarquhar pal. by A.J.E. from the writing and description of John Ross, Esq., native, who gave the following wl. for the same place.

These are placed in juxtaposition to shew how the indications agree with the vv. Observe particularly the different appreciations of (i₁₁) in (1) right coming from, (2) going gate, (3) enough to, (4) find wizened, (5) him, (6) will her, (7) is.

1. *Dundee.* soo e see, nibørz, ji sii nu dha't a)m rekht
Glenfarquhar. soo e see¹, si₁₁rs, jø sii nuu et ái)m r₁₁kjht

D vbuut dha't wi lãsi kãmen fe dhi sky₁l dhonder.
G vbut dhat l₁₁t'l lasi kãmi₁₁n fi₁₁)dhø skjøel jãnder.

2. D shi)z ge'en diin dhø ròd dheer thru dhø rid ge't on dhø
G shø)z ge'i₁₁n dun dhø wãi dheer thrãu dhø rid j₁₁t o)dhø

D læft han séid dhø wãi.
G left haand se'id i₁₁)dhø rod.

3. sher ønukh dhø bèrn)z gen strækht æp ti dhø dòr
shøer i₁₁njukh dhø l₁₁(t)l₁₁n)z gee'n strakht æp t₁₁)dhø door

D e dhø ràq hùs,
G i₁₁)dhø wi₁₁ra'q hus,

4. D fãr shi)l léikli fen dha't dræk'n dif wiz'nd feli
G faar shø)l me)be¹ fi₁₁nd dhat dræk'q de'f wi₁₁z'nt felø

D kãd :tomes.
G i₁₁)dhø ne'm e :tam.

5. D wi à kɛn)ɛm re'vɛl wil.
G we aa kɛn hɛ₁₁m vera wil.
6. D wɛl)ni dh)àld tʃap sy₁n lɛ'rn)ɛr noo ti di)t ɛgɛn,
G wɛ₁₁)nɛ dhɛ aald tʃap shɔ̀ɛn le'rn)ɛ₁₁r nee' tɛ dii)d ɛgɛ'n,

D pɛr theq!
G pɛər thɛ₁₁q!
7. D lùk, es)t no truu?
G luk, ɛ₁₁z)'n)t truu?

Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases by Miss Begge.

1. (ju dhɛt kɛnz) you that know, always so used as in Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 212 and p. 71, note 1.
2. (ái)v dɛnd) I have done, never heard dône. *thou* not used, (a)m hi)z wi)r ji)r dhɛɛr).
3. (à)z dhɛɛr) never used.
4. (lá) not (lig), fowls (lee), but fowls are called (hɛnz) of both sexes. (pət dhɛ hɛnz, tʃik'nz, dùn pliiz) put the hens, chickens, down please.
5. (gɪ)t ti hez), not (hɛz), give it to us.
6. (àld ɛn leem) old and lame.
7. (tak)s heem wi ji) take us home with you.
8. (ái see, làdiz, rɛn ɔ̀wà ɛn plè jɔ̀sɛlz) I say, lads, run away and play yourselves, reflective verb.
9. (wi hà)nɛ oni ɛ dhɛm) we have not any of them. (wi)v tɛ gàq) we have to go.
10. Verbal noun and participle, are not distinguished (-en) is used in both.
11. (a)m den, dy₁n) I have done.
12. (shan)t) not much used, (shanɛ) might be used, but is not so generally, (dɛ)nɛ méind) don't mind=remember.
13. (hi)z tɛ dii dhɛ dee) he's to die to-day. (dhɛ nuu) just now, (dhɛ dee, dhɛ morning) this day, this morning.
14. (get) gate not heard.
15. (fan fàr) when where, commonly used even by children.
16. *find* is sometimes heard without (d), as (ái fan) or (fand), but (ái)v fənd).
17. *shr*- initial presents no difficulty, (shrimp)s is said.
18. (vɛri) not (vɛra) very.

Notes by Mr. Ross to the Glenfarquhar dt.

1. *sirs*, final (s) not (z).—*you* (juu) emphatic.—*lassy*, wench is (wi₁₁ntɪ).
—*from*, (fɛɛ', frɛɛ') emphatic, (bi₁) unemphatic.—*school*, some old people said (skwɪl).—*yonder* is not (dhonder), though *yon* is (dhon).
2. *she* is emphatic; conjugation of the vb. *to be*, (ái am, jɛ ar, e' iz, wɛ ar, jɛ ar, dhɛ ar).—*going*, pres. (gɛ'), inf. (gɛq), pret. (gɛd), pp. (gɛ'n), go away (gɛ' waa).—*hand*, the (d) pronounced, but not towards Aberdeen.—

side, the *i* in fire is (*éi*), slenderer than in *side*. "I have heard (*sé'id*) for *scythe*."—road, "we have just one sound of *o* long and short, intermediate between English *o* in *toll* and *a* in *tall*."

3. *sure*, this is referred to French *eu*, and I merely conjecture that it is (*æ*) rather than (*œ*), but it is perhaps more probably (*y*), compare D 33.—*enough*, plural (*enjuu*).—*little one has*; usual conjugation of *have*, (*ái*)v, (*æ*)v, (*hii*)z, (*wæ*)v, (*æ*)v, (*dhæ*)v, emphasised (*æ* *hii*v, *æ* *hii*v, *e* *hii*z, *wæ* *æ* *dhæ* *hii*v), negative (*æ* *hii*)næ, *e* *hii*z)na, *wæ* *hii*)næ), etc.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (*æ* *wi*l, *æ* *wi*l)næ).—*maybe*, the word *chance* is not used; they call *lance* (*lans*).—*find* pp. (*fán*) without *d*.—*drunken*, this assimilation of final *-en* to the preceding consonant is also found in (*oop*'m, *li*p'm,

reek'qhid) = open, lippen, Aikenhead, etc.—*wizened*, no words beginning with *shr-* exist in the locality, *shriek*, *shred*, *shrill* become (*skritj*, *skrid*, *ski*rl).

5. *we*, they say (*i*l)t's mii, *i*l)t's juo, *i*l)t's *hi*l)m, *i*l)t's *hi*l)z or (*i*l)t's os), but this "I think was an attempt at fine speaking. When a Scotchman wants to be emphatic, or gets angry, he tries to speak English."—*ken*, (*k*) is pronounced before (*n*) sometimes with the interposition of (*i*l) as (*ki*l)néif), and sometimes with a change of (*n*) to (*q*) as (*kqok*).

6. *won't*, (*æ* *di*l)næ, *æ* *di*l)v, *dii* *æ* *ken* *dhat*? *éi* *di*l)v); *fat*'s *æ* *dæ*? = I don't, I do, do I know that? *aye*, do I; what shall I do?—*learn* they use *teacher* (*tii*t*i*l,r), but *master*, *domine* (*mæ*'*sti*l,r, *domi*l)ni) are the L. words.

Notes by Mr. G. Clarke, M.A., of the West End Academy, Dundee, in June, 1876.

i not before a consonant is (*ái*) as (*ái* mái), before a consonant is (*éi*) as (*méin*); five (*fáiv*) is an exception, but (*néin*) is correct; bible (*béib*'l) confirms the rule, though the consonant is not in the same syllable. Observe *hire* = (*héir*), but *higher* = (*háir*).

Dundee school boys have a lazy negative formed by an inspired *f*, as (*if*), but sometimes the tongue is raised

into the position of an imperfect *n* or (*t*), that is, about (*rh*), and the suction takes place through the whole passage, quasi (*r*h).

The region of (*f*) for (*wh*) begins in the country region about Dundee, and extends beyond the town of Aberdeen. [He should say beyond the county of Ab., for I have it in Arbroath, Fo., and Wick, Ct.]

GLENFARQUHAR cwl.

(11 w-by-s.Stonehaven, Kc.), from wl. by John Ross, Esq., M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native. "The inhabitants have till lately (1877) been subject to very little change and intermixture. My (Mr. Ross's) own ancestors had been in the glen for 300 years at least. The glen is divided from Deeside, Ab., by a mountain range taking 3 or 4 hours to cross. The language in the main, both in words and pron., is the same as prevails both in Angus and Mearns," old names for Fo. and Kc. Thus the Angus and Mearns Synod contains the presbyteries of Meigle (e.Pr., 5 ne.Cupar Angus), Forfar, Dundee, Brechin (all three Fo.), and Fordoun (10 sw.Stonehaven, m.Kc.). Mr. Ross has taken great pains with this wl. and with the explanations appended and the correspondence which ensued. He considers the difference between Glenfarquhar and Errol (e.Pe.) less than between the former and Deeside.

B is prefixed to a few words given by Mr. James Guthrie, of Brechin (ne.Fo.), and added to words pron. in the same way as at Glenfarquhar.

A is prefixed to words from the Arbroath cs., and added to words in the other lists which have the same pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tak. 5 mak A. 7 seek. 8 heev [or (*hi*) when written *hæ*]. 9 biheev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 gnaa [(*g*) pronounced]. 15 aa [the

- vowel (AA) is not used]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 keek. 19 te'l. 20 le'm. 21 ne'm, A neem. 22 te'm. 23 seem. 24 she'm. 25 men. 28 heer. 30 keer. 31 le't. 32 beedh, B baadh. 33 reeder ree-. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa. A: 39 kam. 40 ke'm. 41 thaqk. 43 haand. 44 laand. 46 kan'l. 48 saq. 49 heq. 50 teqz. 51 man A. 53 kan. 54 wi₁₁nt, A want. 55 e'sh. 56 we'sh, AB wash. 57 as. A: or O: 58 foo fi₁₁, A fre fe. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 emo'n. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 wi₁₁ra'q, A vraq. 65 saq. A'- 67 ga ge¹ [A (gjeed) goed, went; (gee'n) going]. 69 naa. 70 taa te¹. 71 wee¹. 72 faa, A faa. 73 soo si₁₁ se¹ su, A see. 74 twaa A. 75 strook. 76 ted. 77 leerd [as owner of the soil]. 78 en, A een. 80 hooled'i. 81 le'n, A leen. 82 A ens. 83 meen min. 84 moor, A meer. 85 soor. 86 ee'ts. 87 kle'z, A kleez. 88 kliid. 89 be'th, A beeth. 90 blaa. 91 máu. 92 [(ken) used]. 93 snaa. 94 kraa A. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sául. 98 knoon [(k) pron.]. 99 throon. 100 saan. A: 101 eek ook. 104 rood. 105 red. 106 bred. 107 loof. 108 deekh. 109 leekh. 110 A noo. 111 okht, A okht. 112 hee'l. 113 hool, A heel. 114 mool. 115 hæ'm, A heem. 118 bin. 121 ge'n. 122 i. min. 123 nothiq ne'thiq. 124 stiin. 125 onli, A onli. 126 oor. 127 he'rs. 128 dhe's. 129 ge'st. 130 bot. 132 het. 133 wi₁₁ro't [(wæro't) would perhaps better convey the sound to an Englishman]. 134 oth e'th. 135 kloth kle'th. Æ- 138 faadi₁₁r faadher, A fadhër. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 144 ege'n, A egen. 146 meen. 147 [(harnz) used]. 148 feer. 149 blee'z. 150 best. — se't [seat]. 152 wa'te'r. 153 se'te'rde¹. Æ: 154 A bak. 155 thak, B thik. 157 [(korbi) used]. 158 eftar, A eftar. 160 eg. 161 dee¹ [(dæx) in Arbroath], A dee. 163 lee. 164 meel, A me. 165 sed. 166 meed. 167 dee'l. 168 talv. 169 kwéhi₁₁n [“the (kh) quite marked,” yet in a later list (fi₁₁n) and afterwards (fan) was admitted with (f)], A fan fan. 170 heerst. 171 bee'r. 172 gi₁₁rs. 173 wi₁₁z, A wvz. 174 ash. 175 fest. 177 A dhat a't. 179 fat A. 180 baath. Æ'- 182 sii. 184 led. 187 lee'v. 188 [(ni₁₁kjhër) nicker, used]. 189 wéi. 190 kéi. 191 he'l. 192 miin. 193 kliin. 194 oni, A oni. 195 mani. 196 wi₁₁r. 197 tjiiz. 200 kwéhit. 201 heedh'n. 202 he't. Æ': 203 spiik. 204 did. 205 thrid. 207 nid'l. 210 klee. 211 gree¹. 212 kwéhai, B whéi. 213 A eedher. 214 A needher. 215 takht. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 220 A shepard. 221 fee'r [(fee'rd) feared afraid]. 222 heer. 223 dheer, A dheer. 224 faar A. 226 me'st. 227 wat, A wit. 228 swéit. 229 bre'th. 230 fat. E- 232 brak. 233 spiik, A spik. 235 wéiv. 236 fi₁₁vur. 238 hedy. 239 se'l. 241 re'n. 243 plee. 244 A wil. 246 i. kwéin, ii. kwéin. 248 mee'r. 249 wee'r. 250 swee'r. 251 miit. 252 ket'l, A kst'l. 253 ni₁₁t'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher. E: 256 A strikyt [stretched]. 257 edj. 258 seg. 259 wadj. 260 lee. 261 see¹ [in Arbroath see, A (see'n) saying], A see. 262 wáai. 263 A ewaa. 264 e'l. 265 strakht, B streekht, A strekht. 267 iild. 270 i. beles, ii. beli. 271 A tæl. 272 elm. 273 men, A men. 274 bi₁₁ntj. 275 [(sti₁₁qk) used]. 276 thi₁₁qk, A theqk. 277 [(druk) used]. 280 ele'v'n. 281 li₁₁nth, A lenth. 282 stri₁₁nth. 283 mi₁₁ri. 284 thrash. 286 hare. 287 bi₁₁z'm. 288 lat. E'- 289 i. 290 hi. 292 mi. 293 wi, A wi. 294 fiid. 296 biliiv. 298 fil. 299 griin. 300 kiip. 301 hiir. 302 miit. 303 swiit. E: 305 hiikjh. 306 hi₁₁kjht. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 hiil. 311 ten. 312 hiir A. 314 hard A. 315 fit [pl., for sg. see 595]. 315 niist, A nikst. EA- 319 [(gaaf) used]. 320 keer, A keer. EA: 321 saa, A saa. 322 lakh, A laakh. 323 fokht. 324 akht. 325 waak. 326 ald, A aald. 327 baald. 328 kaald. 329 faald. 330 had A. 331 sat. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 334 haf. 335 aa [very long], A aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaa. — bee'rd [beard]. 340 jeerd, A jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 daar. 346 gi₁₁t. EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii A. — be't [to beat]. 349 fáu A. EA': 350 diid. 351 led. 352 red. 353 briid. 354 she'f. 355 de'f. 356 le'f. 357 thoo, A thoo. 359 niiper, A niber. 361 biin. 363 tje'p. 365 niir naar. 366 gréit. 367 thre't. 368 de'th. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 stree¹.

- EI- 372 éi, A áai. 373 dhu. 375 reez ree'z. 376 bæ't. EI: 378 we'k, A week. 380 A dhom.
- EO- 383 se'v'n. 384 he'v'n. — t'ir [to tire]. 385 uneth. 386 jáu B. 387 A nuu. EO: 388 m_ilk, B malk. 390 sad A. 392 A jon. 393 v_æ'nt. 395 A _æq. 396 w_irk. 397 suurd. 398 sterv. 399 A brekht. 402 lee'rn, A leern. 403 far. 404 star. 405 herth B. 406 verd. 407 fardi_in. 408 niu.
- EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii A. 412 shii A. 413 diiv'l. 414 fiii. 415 lii. 416 diir. 417 t'áu. 418 bruu. 420 faur. 421 forti.
- EO': 422 A sik. 424 rokh. 425 li_ikjht. 426 fekjht. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 friind, A frind. 431 biir. 432 foort. 433 briist B. 434 bet. 435 juu A. 436 truu. 437 truth, A truth. EY- 438 dii A. EY: 439 t'rast, A trast.
- I- 440 wiik, A wik. 441 s_iv. 442 évi. 444 stéil. 446 néin, A n_o'in. 448 [(dhee') used]. 449 g_it. 450 téizde'. 451 shuu.
- I: 452 éi. 453 A kwek. 454 w_itj, B watj. 455 léi, A lái. 457 m_ikjht. 458 n_ikjht, A nekht. 459 r_ikjht. 462 s_ikjht. 463 A tál. 464 fál [which, as an interrogative only]. 465 s_ik, A sek. 467 wéild. 470 A ham. 471 t_imer. 473 bl_ind. 474 rand. 475 w_ind. 476 b_ind. 477 f_ind. 478 gr_ind. 479 wéind. 480 A theq. 481 f_iqer. 484 A dhes. 485 th_is'l. 487 j_istérde'. 488 j_it. 489 A et.
- I'- [for the 4 sets of sounds here concerned, see Introduction to D 38, p. 757]. 491 s_ikjh. 492 séid. 493 dráiv. 494 táim, A t_o'im. 495 A who'man. 496 éiren. 498 w_ir_ei't [the (w_i) strikes an Englishman as (we)]. 499 biit'l.
- I': 500 le'k, A lek. 501 wéid. 502 faaiv. 503 léif. 504 knéif [(k) sounded]. 505 wéif. — thráaiv [thrive]. 506 _æmen. 507 wiimen, B wamen. 508 méil. 510 A méin. 511 wéin. 514 éis. 515 wéiz. 516 w_izdem.
- O- 519 A _our. 521 fool. 522 oop'n. 523 háup. 524 waarld.
- O: 527 bokht. 528 thokht B. 530 w_ir_okht. 531 dokhter, A daakhter. 532 kool. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 A fa'uk. 536 gáuld. 537 muuld. 538 A wéd wad. 539 bául. 541 A wél noo. 542 bolt. 545 hap. 548 fard. 550 w_ird, A wórd. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 hoorn. 554 kros.
- O'- 555 shæ. 556 tæ. 557 tæ, A tyy. 558 luk. 559 m_idhur. 561 blóm. 562 mæn. 563 mænende'. 564 shæen. 565 nooz. 566 A idher.
- O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gad gvad gwid, A gjyd. 572 bléd. 573 fíad. 575 stad. 577 buu. 578 plu plukh. 579 enjukh A [sg.], enju' [pl.]. 580 tiukh B. 581 sokht. 583 tul. 584 stál. 585 bræm. 586 dæ, A denə [don't]. 587 dæn, A dyn. 588 næn, A nyn. 589 spæn. 590 flar. 591 mæer, B miur. 592 A swøor. 594 bæt. 595 f_it [sg., for pl. see 315]. 596 ræt. 597 sət, B sat.
- U- 601 fül. 602 suu B. 603 kam A. 604 A semær. 605 son [distinctly stated to have (o)], A ssn. 606 door, A door. 607 bæ'ter.
- U: 601 agli. 609 fuu, A fál. 610 uu. 612 sæm, BA. 615 B pand. 616 grand, A gran. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 A fænd. 622 andur. 625 taq. 627 A sande. 629 sæn [and hence differing from 605]. 630 wan. 631 tharzde', A fyrrzde. 632 æp A. 633 kæp. 634 thráu, A thruu. 637 task. 639 d_ist.
- U'- 640 kuu B. 641 fuu [used also for why] A. 642 [not used]. 643 nuu A. 646 B buu. 647 ul. 648 uur. 651 A wethuut. 652 kad.
- U': 655 fül. 656 rüm. 657 brün. 658 dùn A. 660 buur. 661 shuur B. 662 B h_is. 663 hüs BA. 664 lüs. 665 müs. 667 üt A. 668 prüd. 669 ankü-thi. 671 muu. 672 sùth.
- Y- 673 mak'l [(æ) but with lips more protruding, not (i_i) as in some parts] A. 674 A ded. 676 lii. 677 drái, A dráai. 678 d_in. 679 k_irk. 681 A beznes. 682 li_it'l. Y: 683 m_idj. 684 br_ig. 685 r_ig. 686 bái. 687 f_ikjht. 689 [(big) used]. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 693 s_in. 695 hark'n A. 696 b_irth. 697 bæri. 698 m_irth. 699 w_ir_ikjht. — spiir [speer]. 700 waar. 701 f_irst, A ferst. 703 p_it. Y'- 705 skái. 707 thertii'n. 708 héir. Y': 709 fáir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad, B laad, A ladhí. 715 pad. 717 djad B. 719 [(páui,t) pow-head, used]. 720 fag. 722 dreem. 723 déiri B. 724 bald. 725 se'l. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 freem. 730 kanter. 731 wanten B. 734 daarn. 735 smash. 737 mee't. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 B læzi. E. 743 B skreem. — ween [wean, little one]. 744 [(ni,r)lz used]. 745 tje't. 746 'bree'th. 747 endee'ver. 750 beg. I. and Y. 754 pi₁₁g. 759 fi₁₁t. — trái [try]. O. 761 lood. 764 B kəd'l. 767 nóis Á. 771 foond. 772 B boonféir. 774 páumi B. 777 shop. 778 afærd. 780 B djois'l. 781 AB badher. 783 puultri B. 785 B luundj. 789 ráu. 790 gun. U. 792 skwab'l. 793 hæg. 794 djæg. 797 A skwiik'n. 798 A kwéir. — bal [bull]. 800 skal. 801 ram. 803 djæmp. 804 A drak'n. 805 kradz B. 806 fas. 807 pus. 808 pet, B pi₁₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 e'b'l. 810 fè's. 811 plè's. 812 le's. 814 me's'n. 815 BA faks. 816 fèd. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 diléi. 822 méi B. 823 béi. — pee' [to pay]. 824 tje'r, B tjéur. 825 wef. 826 eg'l B. 827 e'gær. 828 eege, B eegiu. 830 B t'reen [p]. 833 B péur. 835 ri₁₁z'n, A rez'n. 836 si₁₁z'n, B seesi,n. 838 tre't, B treet. 840 tjamær. 841 tjans, B tjAANS. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj, B brentj. 844 tri₁₁ntj. 845 anshent, B AANSHENT. 847 deendjær. 848 B tjindj. 849 streendjær B. 850 dans, B dAANS. 851 B anti. 852 apren. 853 bargi₁₁n. 855 kari₁₁t. 856 peert B. 857 ke's, A kes. 859 tje's. 860 B pèst. 861 te'st. 862 sef, A sef. 864 bika's B, A bikaz. 865 faat B. 866 pær, B peer.

E.. 867 tii BA. 869 ve'l, B veel. 870 bíanti. 871 egrii. 872 tjiif. 874 re'n. 875 fi₁₁nt fant, B fènt. 876 di₁₁nti. 877 eer. 879 B feemeel. 880 eksamp'l, B eksAAMPL. 881 si₁₁ns. 882 B pAANSI. 883 B dandiláin. 885 A verø. 888 A sèrt'n. 890 be'st, A bæst. 891 fe'st, B feest. 892 niife, B neve. 893 fluur B. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I. and Y.. 897 dil₁₁kjht B. 898 néis. 899 niis. — krái [cry]. 900 pree. 901 féin, A fa'in. 902 méin. 903 déin. 904 véilet. 905 réi'et. 906 véipær B. 910 djoist, B dja'ist. — stráaiv [strive]. 912 réis.

O.. 913 kotj. 914 brotj. 916 i₁₁qi₁₁n B. 917 roog. 918 fib'l. 919 óintm₁₁nt, B éint-. 920 B péint póint, A pe'int. 921 akwa'nt B. 922 bæsh'l. 923 móist. 924 tjóis, B tjéis. 925 vóis, B véis. 926 spóil, B spéil. 927 træk. 928 ans B. 930 B léin. 932 ømuu'nt. 933 frant. 934 buunti. 935 kantre'. 938 A korner. 939 klos, A klos. 940 kot, A kot. 941 fæøl, B ful, A fyl. 942 bautéjær. 943 tatj. 944 eluu'. 945 vuu. 946 móil. 947 bóil, B béil, A be'il. 948 bul. 949 muuld. 950 sæpær A. 951 kap'l. 952 i. kurs B. 953 kazi₁₁n, B kyzi₁₁n. 954 kashi₁₁n, B kíushi₁₁n. 955 dùt. 956 kaver. 957 emplóoi. 959 konvói.

U.. 961 gruul, B gruul. 963 kwéit, A kwa'iat. 964 sæt, B shuust. 965 óil, B éil. 966 fræt. 967 B shuut. 968 óisti₁₁r, B eistær. — kæør [cure]. 969 shæør, A syyr. 970 djæst, A djyst. 971 fæt.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Moray and Aberdeen.

Boundaries. On the s., the n. b. of D 38. On the w., the CB. or Celtic border as far as the town of Cromarty. On the e. and n. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ab., Ba., El. (or Moray) and Na. except the sw. portions (which are w. of the CB.), with the extreme e. of Cr.

Authorities. Printed sources: Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 237 and 241, Rev. Walter Gregor's Glossary to Ba. in Trans. of Philol. Soc. 1866, Mr. Melville Bell's sentences from *Visible Speech*, the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gashetneuk*, and the same author's *Sketches of Life among my ain Folk*. The last two are

admirable specimens of dialect writing, and should be read by every one who wishes to understand the nature of the dialect and its speakers. Cheap editions are published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The site of Gashetneuk is in the fictitious parish of Pyketillim, but we find that it was only half a day's journey from Turriff on the Doveran; that Culsalmond, m.Ab. (8 se.Huntly), was familiar to the characters, as also the Strathbogie district containing Huntly, and that it was about halfway between Marnock, Ba. (on the Doveran, 11 e.Keith), and Kintore, Ab., which would bring it near to Rayne (12 se.Huntly). At any rate the dialect perfectly corresponds to this neighbourhood.

In Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 396-7, art. Parish of Duffus, county of Moray (otherwise Elgin), "by a friend to statistical inquiries," there is an account of the pron. of the east coast of Moray, shewing that, except in intonation, it is the same as that of Ab.

Manuscript sources: Keith, Ba., the Rev. W. Gregor's es. as pal. by Dr. Murray, and his wl. with notes and phrases as pal. by A.J.E. from his dict.

Buchan, Ab., or the district n. of the Ythan and e. of the Doveran, a complete num. wl. by Dr. Findlater, formerly editor of Chambers's Cyclopædia, native, where he lived to 20 years old, and which he has frequently visited since.

Cromár, or the low part of the Marr district, containing Coull, Migvie, Logie, Coldstone, Tarland (5 nw.Aboyne, 30 w.Aberdeen), and part of Tulloch, about 12 m. long and 4 m. wide. A careful alphabet of sounds by the late Mr. Innes, of Tarland, who was acquainted with phonetics, and wrote the pron. in a modification of my Ethnical Alphabet (read before the British Association in 1849), with explanations written according to the 9th ed. of Mr. Isaac Pitman's *Phonography*, with which I am familiar, was accompanied by very carefully written examples. The MS. was kindly given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge, for whom it had been written about 1864, as a contribution to a phonographic magazine, to give an idea of the language and pron. of that district. The whole of the examples are given and fully considered below, together with Mr. Innes's explanation of his alphabet. I had also the advantage of hearing a great part of this read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison (a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, mentioned to me by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, brother-in-law to Sir P. L.), who had arrived four days previously from her native place, Tarland, never having been previously in London.

For such an extensive and remarkable district these sources of information are very few, but so far as they go they are first-rate. No doubt there are many varieties, some of which are pointed out by Rev. W. Gregor in the preface to his Ba. Glossary, and I have no information for El., Na., and Cr., but the examples and cwl. given must convey a tolerably complete idea of the dialect.

Characters. The following is Dr. Murray's account (DSS. p. 237):

"(1) The most prominent distinction of the North-eastern dialects [my NL.] is the use of *f* for *wh*, and of *vr* for *wr*, as in "fat's vrang," what's wrong? (2) This peculiarity is current from the Pentland Firth [n. of Cs.] to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Ab. and the district to the nw. toward the Murray Firth. (3) Here the 12th vowel (*a*, *y*) of the Central and Southern dialects [p. 711] loses its labialisation, so that long English *oo* (in centre and s. of Scotland *ui*) is represented by *ee*, as in *do*, *boot*, *roof*, here *dee*, *beet*, *reef*; short *oo* by *i*, or the high mixed wide vowels (*x*, *y*) *moon*, *stool* (*min*, *myn*, *stil*, *styl*). (4) The back consonants *k*, *g*, affect a preceding or following *oo*, changing *koo*, *ook* into *kwee kwí*, and *yook*, as in *good*, *coal*, *school*, *book*, general Scottish *guid*, *cuil*, *scuil*, *buik*, here *gweed*, *queel*, *squeal*, *byook*. (5) The sound of *oo*, in the s. *cuo* (*ku'*), is often changed to *cwey* (*kwa'i*) as *cweyte*, *cweyle* (*kwa'it*, *kwa'il*) for *coat*, *cool*. (6) As the *ai* (*ee*) of the other dialects corresponding to Eng. *o*, also often sinks into *ee*, thus *bone*, *stone*, Central Sc. *baene*, *staene* (*been*, *steen*), here *been*, *steen* (*biin*, *stiin*), the long *ee* is a prominent feature of the dialect. (7) But this latter change is not found all over the district; and the Rev. Walter Gregor, in the preface to his "Dialect of Ba.," distinguishes *three* dialectal varieties within the area, in the lower or coast variety of which *stone* and *bone* are *steen*, *been*, while in the middle they are *stéhn*, *béhn* (*sten*, *ben*) and *meal*, *peats*, *fear*, *bear*, etc., *mail*, *paits*, *fehr*,

behr (mel, pets, feer, beer). (8) The short u (æ) of the other dialects often becomes i (e, y) as in mother, son, bull, full, here *myther, syn, byll, fyll*, often with the vowel long. (9) The long aa (aa) of the South of Scotland is often replaced by ai as *gayn, aicht* for *gaan, aawcht* (gaan, aakwht) going, ought. (10) The hard g is strongly palatalised, so much so that I have often found it difficult to distinguish the pronunciation of *geng* or *gyang*, go (gɛŋ, dʒŋ) from *jeng* (dʒŋ). (11) In the coast districts there is also a strong tendency to substitute d for th in *fadder, mudder, widdar*, etc., for *father, mother, weather*."

On this we may remark :

(1, 2) That the use of (f) for (wh) is limited in D 38, and that in D 38, *wrong* is rather (w'raq), while in D 40 it sounded to me like (rwaq) or labialised (r), and in neither as (vraq). (3) In *moon, stool*, the oo is not short, and I do not find the peculiar (ɣ, y) referred to in any of my authorities. Also, it is not absolutely correct to consider (ii) as merely delabialised L. (ø, y₁); it is something different, and it is doubtful whether the sound was thus obtained. (4) The (kw, gw) certainly occur, and so does (b'uk, t'uk, b'ukh, t'ukh) book, took, bough, tough, but the phenomena seem to be entirely different. (6) These refer to the treatment of A':, the corresponding treatment of A- has been overlooked, and the reduction to (biin, stiin) is by no means general, although it is an old joke to say that in Aberdeen people fall on the *steens* and break their *beens*. (7) The last words, *meal*, etc., are none of them of the same category as *stone, bone*; Mr. G.'s words are, "*meal* becomes *mehl*; *peat, peht*; *beast, behst*; *beat, beht*, etc., in the middle district [of Ba.], while these words retain their English pron. in the lower. The inhabitants of the lower district [or coast of Ba.] twit those of the middle on their pron., and throw in their teeth the words *meal, peats*, and *kail*, as if pron. *maile, paites*, and *kaille*." The last word seems to be a mistake, it is (kjel) in Cromár. But taking Dr. M.'s words *meal*, flour, is Ws. *melu*, *peat* is of unknown origin, *fear* is Ws. *fær*, and to *bear* is Ws. *beran*, so that they have no connection with *stone, bone*, Ws. *stán, bán*. (8) Here again the analogy is imperfect, *mother* is an O' word, *son* an U- word, *bull* unknown, and *full* an U: word; I also do not understand the long vowel. (9) These indications are imperfect, see Nos. 67 and 78 in the following cwl. (10) I found (dʒan) going was admitted by Mr. G. (11) Observe that (d) is the original letter in all these words, Ws. *fæder, módor, wedar*. Hence it is the ordinary pron. which has substituted (dh) for (d), and not the dialectal, which has replaced (dh) by (d).

The most striking points to a stranger in the *vowels* are, the absence of (AA), which is familiar in ML., so that Dr. M.'s (daatherz) p. 701, l. 3, is an error; the use of (ii, i) for O'; the strange way in which (e¹, e, æ) are treated and written as one vowel *i*, fully considered below, p. 767; and the singular substitution of (ái) where we use (ee) in many words without perceptible rule or principle. As this seems to have escaped Dr. Murray, I give all the instances I have found referring them to the original vowels. The italics indicate words from *Johnny Gibb* in the original spelling.

PECULIAR USE OF (ái, á'i, e'i).

A: *wyme*, wame, womb. (wə'it) I wot.

Æ: (déi) day.

Æ' (kéi) key, (táitjər) teacher, who however does not 'teach' but (liirnz). (wháit) wheat, with an exceptional use of (wh) about Keith, but some say (fáit). (swáit) sweat. (wái, wáit) weigh, weighed.

E. (spáik) speak, but Æ' (spitj) speech. (wáiv) weave. (plái) play, as used by old people. (kwáin) quean, used for a woman without offensiveness. (séi) say, old people. (wái) way, the usual pron. (á'ljər) a church elder, of which (eljər) is the more common pron.

EA' *gryte* (gréit) great.

EI (wáik) *wykness*, weak, weakness.

EO' (*thái*) thigh, rec. pron., but many dialects have the more regular (thii).

I (stéil) stile, for which several other dialects have the more regular (stiil). (tə'izdɛ) Tuesday. (áivi, grándii-vi) ivy, ground-ivy, but J.M. used (á'i) in both cases.

O *quile*, coal.

O' *hive*, hoof.

ENGLISH—*swye*, sway.

ROMANCE—*chyne*, chain. (tjáindj) *cheenge*, change. (konváiv) convey. (gjá'ilii) gaily, quite. (wə'it) *wyte*, wait. *viakle*, vehicle. (ráin) *ryne*, the rein of a horse. *kwite*, coat. *jilein*, sending to gaol.

To these I have not added Johnny Gibb's *deykn*, *seyvn*, deacon, seven, because J.M. pronounced them with (deek'n, sev'n), but perhaps (déik'n, séiv'n) may also be said.

Among *consonants* the use of (f, vr-) for (wh-, wr-), and the variation of the guttural, as (kh, kjh), according to the preceding vowel, are most striking.

PRONUNCIATION IN CROMAR.

As the pron. in Ab. is very peculiar, and Mr. Innes has analysed it with great care, I give his elements numbered, and with brief observations, or none when my transcription from his characters to pal. appears certain, as confirmed vv. by Rev. Walter Gregor and Jane Morrison, reserving the observations on Nos. 19 and 20 till the end.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. 1, 2 (ii, i). 3, 4 (ee', e'). 5, 6 (ee, e). 7, 8 (aa', a'). No. 7 heard only from old people, No. 8 always before (q), and generally, not always, before (b, d, g). 9, 10 (aa, a). 11, 12 (oo, o) "between English *au* in *caught*, and *o* in *note*." 13, 14 (oo', o') "it lies as to quality between English *goat* or *good*." 15, 16 (uu, u). 17 (æ). 18 (y₁) seems to be deeper than (y). 19, 20 (i₁, y) considered hereafter. 21 (ái) in *sighed*, *tied*, the second element in these L. diphthongs appears to be (i, u) rather than (i, w), which do not occur. 22 (á'i) *side*, *tide*, generally conceived as (éi, e'i). 23 (áe) "deep open diphthong, composed of Nos. 9 and 5, used in *aye* yes, and *I* pronoun." 24 (iu, iuu). 25 (á'u) "composed of Nos. 8 and 16, or perhaps in some people's mouths of Nos. 8 and 18," (á'y₁), which would resemble the Dv. (æ'y₁) in its second element.

CONSONANTS. 26 (v). 27 (w). 28 (h) "before *w*, as in when=(hwen), it is almost the same as the guttural No. 37," but in fact (wh) does not occur in the dialect. 29, 30 (p, b). 31, 32 (t, d). 33, 34 (tʃ, dʃ) assumed as =(tsh, dzh). 35, 36 (k, g). 37 (kh), "when it takes the higher sharp palatal sound in the *y* position, (j) is attached (kjh)." The voiced (gh) is not heard. 38, 39 (f, v).

40, 41 (th, dh). 42, 43 (s, z). 44, 45 (sh, zh). 46 (l). 47 (r) "always trilled, whether initial or final." 48, 49 (m, n), which when vocal are marked ('m, 'n). 50 (q). After (k) Mr. Innes always writes (q) in place of (n), as (kqif) for *kneef*=active, alert. 51 (j), in (tj dj, kj gj, lj nj). "The (lj) is now very rare, and (tj, dj) I have heard only from people who themselves or their parents have come from Gaelic-speaking districts. The pron. of this district has nothing of the Gaelic intonation, but 15 miles west of us, about Balmoral," which is 16 sw. Tarland, and 18 wsw. Aboyne, "Gaelic is still spoken by old people, and the English spoken is very different from ours," *i.e.* rec. sp.

The crux of the D 39 pron. consists in Nos. 19, 20, here transcribed (i_{11} , y) and both usually written *i*. We have already encountered the difficulty in D 38, but there they had not been distinguished as they are by Mr. Innes. The following are his explanations: 19. (i_{11}) "Obscure sound in *sir, her, fit*, not the English *i* in *fit*, but a deeper sound, something between *net* and *nut*. It is the vocal heard in *butt'n* prolonged into a vowel." 20. (y) "This is near to but distinct from No. 19. The final *a* in *idea* is this sound in careless colloquial conversation. The English *i* in *fit* is the best substitute for this sound. It has as nearly as may be the value attached to \ddot{e} in the Ethnical Alphabet," which I there defined as "the natural vowel, an obscure murmur," and would be most like (v). Mr. M. Bell used the equivalent for (y) considered as the sound in *houses, goodness*, in his writing of the Buchan Ruth, chap. i., given in the introduction to L., p. 698. I have therefore used (y) for No. 20 in this transliteration, but I have used the new symbol (i_{11}), a doubly deepened (i), for No. 19, to keep it separate, and in the Cromár example by Mr. Innes I have carefully distinguished (i_{11} , y) as he did. But he is not quite consistent, as will appear by the subsequent examination.

1. The following words have both (i_{11}) and (y); *there*, $dh_{11}r$ $dh_{11}r$; *of, a, have* (i_{11} , y); *the* (dh_{11} dh_{11}); *so* (si_{11} , sy); *no, do not* (ni_{11} , $di_{11}ni_{11}$, $di_{11}ny$); *ye* (ji_{11} , iy) and ($i_{11}n$, yn); *was* ($wi_{11}z$, wyz , wez), *but* ($bi_{11}t$, byt).

2. The following unaccented initials are spelled both ways, *a* in *assure, about, among* ($i_{11}ssi_{11}r$, $i_{11}but$, $ybut$, $i_{11}moo$, $ymoo$); *a* in *again, amends* has only y ($ygje'n$, $yma'nz$).

3. In the termination *-er* I find (i_{11}) in *better, younger, father, mother* ($beti_{11}r$, $jaq_{11}r$, $faadi_{11}r$, $mydi_{11}r$), but on the other hand (yr) in *gathering, ever, older, tother, cankered* ($gaa'dyryn$, $yvyr$, $aalyr$, $tydyr$, $kaqkyrt$), which I find accented in ($si_{11}r$, $thyrd$, $wyrd$, yrd) *sir, third, word, yard*.

4. The following have generally unaccented (i_{11}), but sometimes (y), as ($maki_{11}n$, $moorni_{11}n$, $stopi_{11}t$, $parti_{11}t$, $ljoo'mynz$, $stockyt$, $ynta'nyt$) *making, morning, stopped, parted, limbs, stocked, intended*.

5. In accented syllables the following have (i_{11}) ($li_{11}t'l$, $ri_{11}st$, $ni_{11}kjht$, $bi_{11}t$, $wi_{11}n$, $i_{11}t$, $wi_{11}tj$, $pi_{11}th$, $ri_{11}p$, $li_{11}kjht$, $skri_{11}mt$, $bi_{11}k_{11}z$, $ji_{11}stgyrde$, $i_{11}l$, $ri_{11}p_{11}t$, $la'keemi_{11}nee$, $di_{11}st$, $ti_{11}l$, $sh_{11}nz$, $fi_{11}t$, $li_{11}t$, $hi_{11}p$, $dhi_{11}s$) *little, rest, night, light, bit, win, it, witch, pith, reap, light, scrimpt, Billies, yesterday, ill, rippit*=row, confusion, *luckie-minnie, dust, tall, shins, fit, let, hip, this*. And the following have (y); ($ylkj$, $kjyb'l$, gyn , $snybyt$, $dhygydhyr$, dyd , nyv , $dryqkj$, $mydi_{11}r$, hyd $he'd$, $ydyr$, $fynd$) *ilka, kibble, gin*=if, *snubbed, together, did, neave, drink, mother, had, other, when*.

This analysis shews that the separation is not complete. We must therefore have recourse to *vv.* which is rather hazardous, because such complex differences generally require a very long while to hear with certainty, and my opportunities of hearing natives were necessarily few and short, in fact I heard only two,

Rev. W. Gregor, of Keith, and Jane Morrison of Tarland, and perhaps Mr. Innes might have objected that both were much more modern than the time he aimed at illustrating, 1780.

Now, first, Rev. W. Gregor sent a cs. in writing, which was transliterated by Dr. Murray, and has been given among the cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, No. 6. To this Mr. G. added the note (p. 695*d*): “*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill*, *mill*, another in *wint* (want), and a third in *fin* (when) *hinmist*. The sound in *fill*, *mill*, *him* comes nearest to the sound of *yes*, *yet*=*i*^e; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of *i* in *window*. In *fin* the sound comes nearest to the sound in *pin*.” Dr. Murray conjectured that (fee^el, mee^el, hee^em, wønt, fyn) might be meant. In actually hearing Mr. G. read his wl. I wrote (re^ekjht, mæ^elk, we^el, dhe^es, se^ev, fe^eqer, fe^en, se^ek, we^ek, fe^elk) for right, milk, wild, this, sieve, finger, find, such, week, which; but (wønt, thres^el, wøtʏ) want, thistle, witch, where (ø) ought possibly to be (æ), though I distinctly heard (ø). The author of *Johnny Gibb* has also *wunt*. This implies two sounds (*e*^l) answering to Mr. G.’s *i*^e, and (ø), but leaves the third sound unexplained, which may be (*y*), and this does not very perceptibly differ from (*e*^l).

In observing Jane Morrison, when only four days from Tarland, Mr. Innes’s (*i*₁₁, *y*) seemed to be identical, but I was unable to analyse the sound I heard from her. It struck me occasionally as (*i*, *i*³, *e*, *e*³, *ø*, *æ*), but most frequently as (*e*, *æ*). This would seem to imply that there are at least two accented sounds approaching, if not coinciding with, (*e*, *æ*), and an unaccented sound (*ø*), which cannot be considered generically distinct from unaccented (*æ*).

Now I think that if an Englishman were hearing for the first time the Welsh words *dyn*, *dynion*, man, men, pronounced in North Wales, he would hear (*dæin*, *dænjon*), instead of Dr. Sweet’s (*dryn*, *dəhnion*). Of these vowels Dr. S. says: (*ɻ*) “is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as well as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high mixed position towards (*i*), with which it is confused farther south;” and (*əh*) “occurs long only as the name of the letter *y*, in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being apparently more retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*,” by which he means (*æ*) (Trans. Philol. Soc. 1882-3-4, ‘On Spoken North Welsh,’ p. 415). The phenomena in Ab. and North Wales seem to me entirely similar, though far from being identical. In both we have an (*ii*) vowel verging to an (*ø*) vowel. And in South Wales this verging is neglected. In North Wales the same letter *y* is employed for two sounds decidedly resembling the two we get in D 39. In D 39 there is a persistence of the use of *i* to represent two or three different sounds, which are considered as varieties of the same. And it may possibly happen somewhere in D 39 that, as in South Wales, they really form but one sound. As Mr. Melville Bell heard the Buchan Ruth, he only distinguished one sound (*y*).

Illustrations.

1. Keith cs., by Rev. W. Gregor, pal. by Dr. M., above, in the Introduction to L., No. 6 of the 8 cs., pp. 683, 684, 695.
2. Buchan, Ruth, Chap. i., from Dr. Murray, after Mr. Melville Bell, above, in the Introduction to L., No. 3, p. 698.
3. Cromár, three examples by Mr. Innes, the first pal. from the dict. of Jane Morrison only, the second and third transliterated from Mr. Innes's spelling, and the second also pal. from dict. of Jane Morrison.
4. Ab. sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.
5. Notes and phrases obtained and pal. from Rev. W. Gregor, while dictating his cwl. No. 6.
6. General cwl. from Rev. W. Gregor, Dr. Findlater, Buchan, Cromár, and Bell, Jane Morrison, and *Johnny Gibb*.

CROMÁR EXAMPLES

written by Mr. Innes in his variation of my Ethnical Alphabet, p. 764*b*, and transliterated in the way explained on p. 766*d*. The first short example written by Mr. Innes before he had completed his alphabet is given only as read to me by Jane Morrison. The second longer example is given interlinearly (1) as transliterated from Mr. Innes, (2) as read to me by Jane Morrison, (3) in Mr. Innes's translation. Jane Morrison read to me from the ordinary spelling, not from my transliteration of Mr. Innes, which she could not have understood, hence where she agrees with Mr. Innes she confirms him; where she disagrees it may be only that her pronunciation is much younger, for Mr. Innes aimed at giving the sounds of about 1780; and especially with regard to Mr. Innes's (*i*₁₁, *y*) it gives my own appreciation of what I heard as explained, p. 768*c*. The third example is the continuation of the second; but as it was not read to me by Jane Morrison, I give it only in my transliteration of Mr. Innes's spelling, in parallel columns, with Mr. Innes's own translation.

FIRST EXAMPLE. *The Meeting.*

"Suppose that two men meet in a fair, who have not seen each other since they left an Aberdeenshire parish school, say 50 years ago [that is, about 1816]. We shall name them John and Thomas," *J.* and *T.* in the headings.

FROM JANE MORRISON'S DICTATION.

J. wíl, :tam, fat wái ar je?
 en fuu hee ji bin dhes laq tá'im?

T. a, nee dhat el, :d̥ɔk, fat
 wái ar ji jerse:l? en fuu)z jer
 wá'if en dhe let'l enz?

J. dhe wer aa bráli fen ái kam
 ewaa. ái h̥i)ne sin je dhes laq
 tá'im. di je má'in, men, fan wi

TRANSLATION.

J. Well, Tom, what way [=how]
 are you? and how have you been this
 long time?

T. Ah, not that ill [=very well]
 Jack, what way are you yourself? and
 how's your wife and the little ones?

J. They were all gaily [bravely]
 when I came away. I haven't seen
 you this long time. Do you mind

ist te fekjht kámen fe dhe skwil?
en fuu dhe me'ster skelpet)s dhe
nisht dee?

T. braali diji má'in dhat,
:djok. en ái haard et dhe me'ster
diit a twalvmanth sá'in past en
lent'n,¹ en wez ne vere wil of or
hi ded dii.

[=remember], man, when we used to
fight coming from the school? and
how the master beat us the next day?

T. Bravely do I remember that,
Jack. And I heard that the master
died a twelvemonth since past in
spring, and was not very well off ere
he did die.

Note. ¹Mr. Innes wrote *lentren*, which JM. did not know, but Jamieson has
"*lentryne, lentyre, Lent*, still used to denote Spring," the original meaning
of Lent.

SECOND EXAMPLE. *Yule-tide.*

"A piece in the conversational dialect of the end of the last century as
I [Mr. Innes] had it from an old person. The names are fictitious, but the
circumstances are such as frequently happen on such occasions.

"Dialogue between a Laird [=proprietor] and his Tenant Farmer, illustrative
of the Dialect, Manners and Customs of the Rural Districts of Aberdeenshire,
about 1780." The Laird calls upon his tenant about New Year's day [old
Christmas and old style New Year's Day are still celebrated here] and salutes
him, saying [not in the dialect], "A happy new year to you, John. What sort
of a Christmas have you had?" The whole of the second and third examples
is a reply to this question, so that there is no proper dialogue.

C. Transliteration of Mr. Innes's writing.

J. Jane Morrison's pron.

T. Translation by Mr. Innes, on which a few notes are given, p. 775,
referring to the paragraphs into which I have broken it.

1. C *Mr. Innes.* y wiil, sí₁₁r, lí₁₁'t'l oo)t. dhí₁₁(r)z
J *Jane Morrison.* a wil, mēstər, let'l o)t. dheer)z
T *Mr. Innes' Translation.* Oh well, sir, little of it. There's

C lí₁₁'t'l wyrd y jil biiz dhyr is)ty bii.
J let'l werd o jiil bisá'id dhyr ist tə bii.
T little word of Christmas besides there used to be.

2. C áae)v siin dhə tá'im fym wii wyd)y had'n fo'rtin
J áai)v siin dhe táim fen wii wed ə had'n fo'rtin
T I-ve seen the time when we would have holden fourteen

C deez oo)t. naa, naa! dhy fo'k)s nee sí₁₁ herte yz)dhy
J dee'z o)t. na naa! dhə fo'k)s nee si herte es dhe
T days of it. No no! the folk's not so hearty as they

C is)ty bii.
J ist tə bii.
T used to be.

3. C í₁₁ máae jaqí₁₁r deez dhyr wyz lí₁₁'t'l rí₁₁st dhí₁₁ ní₁₁kht
J en máai joqər deez dher wez let'l rest dhə nekjht
T in my younger days there was little rest, the night

C *yfoo*'r jil, *b*'₁₁t *ylkj*ø *bo*'di *tráait* *faa* *wyd* *wán*
 J *yfoo*'r jil, bet *elki* *bodi* *tráait* *faa* *wed* *wen*
 T before Christmas, but every person tried who would get

C first *ty* *dhy* *wal* *y* *dhy* *moorn*'₁₁n. *áae* *kjen* *n*'₁₁
 J first *tø* *dhø* *wa*'l *en* *dhe* *moornen* *ái* *kjen* *ne*
 T first to the well in the morning. I know not

C *gyn*)t *ma*'d *oone* *o*'dz, *b*'₁₁t *dh*'₁₁ *mest* *y* *fo*'k *thokht*
 J *gen*)t *me*'d *oni* *odz*, bet *dhe* *me*'st *ø* *fo*'k *thokht*
 T if it made any difference, but the most of folk thought

C *i*'₁₁t *gjái* *yn* *lake*.
 J et *gjái* *en* *lake*.
 T it rather fortunate.

4. C *yn* *sá*'in *dhyr* *wyd* *y* *bin* *dhy* *ter*'₁₁*bl*'₁₁*st* *gaa*'*dyryn*
 J en *sá*'in *dher* *wed* *ø* *bin* *dhø* *tereblest* *gedhøren*
 T And then there would have been the terriblest gathering

C *y* *dhy* *moorn*'₁₁n *ty* *dhy* *soo*'*ynz* *yt* *yvyr* *jy* *saa*. *en*
 J en *dhe* *moornen* *tø* *dhø* *soo*'*enz* *dhøt* *ever* *jø* *saa*. *en*
 T in the morning to the sowans that ever you saw. And

C *dhem* *i*'₁₁t *dyd* *ny* *dryqkj* *ut* *dhyr* *soo*'*ynz* *wyz* *shuur* *ty*
 J *dhem* *et* *did* *ne* *driqk* *ut* *dher* *soo*'*enz* *wøz* *shuur* *tø*
 T them that did not drink out their sowans was sure to

C *hee* *bá*'ilz *e* *heerst*.
 J *hee* *bá*'ilz *en* *heerst*.
 T have boils in harvest.

5. C *áae*)z *i*'₁₁*sii*'r *jy* *dhy* *aa* *got* *e* *gwid* *brakf*'₁₁*st* *i*'₁₁
 J *ái*)z *enshuur* *je* *dhe* *aa* *got* *ø* *gwid* *brakfest* *en*
 T I shall assure you they all got a good breakfast of

C *dryqkj*en *soo*'*ynz* *yn* *y* *faq* *af* *i*'₁₁ *dh*'₁₁ *jil* *kja*'*bykj*.
 J *driqk*en *soo*'*enz* *en* *ø* *faq* *of* *ø* *dhø* *jil* *kjábøk*.
 T drinking sowans and a slice off of the Christmas cheese.

6. C *yn* *ylkji* *bee*'st *ybu*'t *dhy* *tun* *got* *y* *r*'₁₁*p* *i*'₁₁ *koorn*, *y*
 J en *elki* *bist* *abùt* *dhe* *tùn* *got* *ø* *rep* *o* *koorn*, *en*
 T And every beast about the farm got a reap of corn, and

C *dhy* *wá*'iner *á*'us *got* *dh*'₁₁ *glái*'iek *shef*.
 J *dhe* *wá*iner *øks* *got* *dhe* *glái*'øk *shef*.
 T the wainer ox got the glyack sheaf.

7. C *yn* *gyn* *deeli*'₁₁*kjht* *aa* *dh*'₁₁ *jæq* *tjilz* *ga*'*dyrt* *ty* *dhy*
 J en *gen* *deelekjht* *aa* *dhe* *jøq* *tjilz* *gidherd* *tø* *dhe*
 T And by daylight all the young lads gathered to the

C lá'i y :maamoo'r ty dhy baa, yn áae kán tel j'i₁₁ dhee
 J lá'i v dhø park ts dhø baal, en áai kán tel je dhø
 T lea of mamore to the foot-ball, and I can tell you they

C skr_imt i₁₁t ap. dhyr wyd ny bin y drá'i heer
 J skrempt et ap. dher wød ne bin e drá'i st'k
 T scrimpt it up. There would not [have] been a dry hair

C i₁₁po'n)z.
 J øpo'n)z.
 T upon us.

8. C yn fá'ilz dhyr wyz l'k'j ty by dushts y dhy tel y dhy
 J en fá'ilz dher wez l'k'j te bi dushts et dhe t'el en dhe
 T An whiles there was like to be blows in the tail of the

C tulji, fen twaa met yt hyd one grám'l at ydhyr.
 J bæn'l, fæn twaa met øt hed one grám'l.
 T struggle when two met that had any ill will at each other.

9. C áae má'in az wil)z thoo t)wyr j'i₁₁styrde, i₁₁poo'
 J áai má'ind ez wil az thoo et wez jesterde øpo'n
 T I mind as well as though it were yesterday upon

C dh_i r_ipe'_it i₁₁t lãq :djo'n :sha'qks en :dje'mi :bris
 J dhe repet dhet la'q :djo'k :sha'qks en :djem_i :bris
 T the row that long John Shanks and James Bruce

C reezt at dh_i :baa jil moornin ekhty twaa.
 J reezt et dhe :baal jil moornen akhte twaa.
 T got up at the Football Christmas morning, 1782.

10. C dhat wyz dhy jir y)dhy let heerst, fyn wi wez
 J dhat wez dhe jir ødhe let heerst, fen wi wez
 T That was the year of the late harvest, when we was

C shee'ryn ymoo dh_i snaa eft_ir t)wez niir jil
 J sheeren amøq dhe snaa øfter et wez niir jil
 T cutting the corn among the snow after it was near Christmas

C yn dhy me'l wyz as blak)s d_ist.
 J en dhe mii'l wez ez blak)s dest.
 T and the meal was as black as dust.

THIRD EXAMPLE. *The Fight.*

ORIGINAL.

11. *yz áae wyz see'inn :dʒo'n :sha'qks wyz on uur sá'id, yn :dʒymi :bris wyz ypo'dhy tydyr sá'id.*

12. *wii hyd kaat dhem twáaiz, yn dhy baa wyz niir ut dhy thyrd tá'im, fyn :dʒe'mi :bris kjep'i,t :sha'qks, yn gjaa hiim i₁₁ fyzlyt yn dhy shi₁₁nz wii)z fi₁₁t, ti₁₁l dhi₁₁ blid kam thrá'u)z hoo'z.*

13. *sá'in :sha'qks hii ap wii)z hand i₁₁n gjaa :bris y sklafi₁₁rt yn dhy lag wii)z ste'kjyt nyv, ti₁₁l)t rá'q ygje'n.*

14. *:bris hii seez ti₁₁l i₁₁m : "áae wyd le'kj ty kjen fat Ji₁₁ min by jon, jy y₁gli i₁₁l-ynta'nyt sklá'ip, for a)m nee ty hii á'urge'n wy juu, nar one fuul há'ipyl le'kj jy. a)l mee)be gar Ji₁₁ wi₁₁s i₁₁t ji₁₁ ha'd ny kám si₁₁ faar fee jyr mydi₁₁rz hi₁₁p dhi₁₁s moorni₁₁n."*

15. *:sha'qks spakap baal, y sa'd : "ʒ shaa'rger le'kj, i₁₁l-dyzá'int vrat, jy hee nid ty by snybyt, jy bin styqkjyn for jyr li₁₁kjs dhi₁₁s fá'il. fat dyd jy min by tak₁₁n ap jyr fi₁₁t i₁₁n gjii'yn mii y dhy shi₁₁nz ? a)l lee'rn jy fa ty tyg wii : gjyn jy plee as mak'l, a)l tarn jyr ljoo'mynz ty dhy min, yn mee)be gjii jy jyr haarnz he'm wii)jy ty kreesh jyr broogz."*

16. *:bris hii wyz y kzyb'l stamp oo i₁₁ tjili, yn wil herti₁₁t, yn hii seez : "dhyr)z meer wyn ii jyr tjikjs nor dhyr)z pi₁₁th ii jyr brikjs ! trá'i jyrse'l."*

17. *dhy baa wyz stopi₁₁t nuu, yn wii aa ga'dert run dhs twaa rampeedys raski₁₁lz, yn :sáne :fá'it gee'z yn-bá'i, yn seez ty*

TRANSLATION.

11. As I was saying, John Shanks was on our side, and James Bruce was upon the t'other side.

12. We had driven them twice, and the football was nearly out the third time, when James Bruce met Shanks and gave him a smart blow along the shin bone, with his foot, till the blood came through his hose.

13. Then Shanks he up with his hand and gave Bruce a sclafferd along the ear with his clenched fist, till it rang again.

14. Bruce he says to him : "I would like to know what you mean by you, you unseemly ill-intended slype, for I'm not to be insulted with you, nor any foul hanger on like you. I'll perhaps make you wish that you had not come so far from your mother's hip this morning."

15. Shanks stuck up ball and said : "You lean undergrown like, ill-designed wretch, you have need to be checked, you (have) been ripe for your punishment this while. What did you mean by taking up your foot and giving me in the shins? I will learn you who(m) to meddle with, if you do as much, I will turn your legs to the moon, and perhaps give you your brains home with you to grease your shoes."

16. Bruce he was a well-built stump of a little man, and well hearted, and he says : "There's more wind in your cheeks than there's ability in your breeches ! try yourself."

17. The football was given up now, and we all gathered round the two quarrelsome rascals, and Alexander White goes in about, and says to them, says he, "What's all this

dhym, seez hii, "fat)s aa dh₁₁s
i₁₁bu't :bi₁₁li₁₁z ? Jy)r spá'ilyn
dhy plee aadhygy'dyr, yn meer
nor dhat Jy)r mak₁₁n i₁₁ belbá'iz-
mynth y dhy leev oo)z, yn farbá'i
aa dhat, dheer)z :tybi :blak, dhy
á'ilJyrz wá'if, y dhy door á'urbá'i
dheer lJy,kyn at)s, yn gjym Jy
d₁₁n n₁₁ drop i₁₁t wii)l by aa t₁₁n
ty dhy :sesh₁₁n i₁₁ sand₁₁, ylkji
be'n (bee'n) oo)z."

18. :bris wyz y pakhte tJape,
yn y bite gwid wyd oo)z sá'iz, en
seez hii : "d₁₁n n₁₁ jii barn Jyr
muu i₁₁moo' ydyr fo'ks kjel er
dhans J)il mee be get dh₁₁ ra'dym
streekJ Jyrse'l. had ut bá'i yn
lat mii at i₁₁m, for a)l hee yma'nz
oo i₁₁m yfoo'r ii by twaa uurz
aalyr. a)l faal i₁₁m ap le'kj e
dyokti₁₁lá'igj."

19. dhys het :sha'qks blid á'i
war, yn hii lá'ust on i₁₁m wii)z
taq, yn hii seez : "trá'i dhat,
Jy i₁₁ltaqt ka'qkyrt shaard. a)l
leern Jy ty kjer e beti₁₁r hæq taq
ii Jer he'd. Jyr faadi₁₁r wyz y
ryglyn, yn Jyr mydyr wyz y
w₁₁ntJ, yn Jyr lakkee-mi₁₁nee
wyz y thif."

20. sá'in uur best baami₁₁n
gjee'z yn bá'i, yn seez : "dhyr)z
nee is trá'yn ty peert dhi₁₁ twaa
fashi₁₁s kqeevz, for dhi₁₁)r beedh
gjaan t₁₁ :wi₁₁lee :ani₁₁rsi₁₁nz jil
dh₁₁ n₁₁kjht, y dhy wyd by siir
to fá'il dhe fe'ist. dhy wyd bi₁₁
fest y ydher as siir)z taatez. lat
dhym dant i₁₁t ut ii'nuu' dJy,ist
y feer shak yn dhy best man
ii'myst, yn my,gynykh ty dhy
njoo'mest."

21. wiil fyn dhy saa i₁₁t dhy
wyr ty win t₁₁l ydyr, dhy wyr
ny sy kqip on)t, byt tytyvyr dhy
gyd t₁₁l)t wy vi₁₁r yn dhy fi₁₁rst
wal₁₁p i₁₁t :bris gjaa :sha'qks,
gart i₁₁m dyrd ty dhy gran t₁₁l)z
hed pleet kqip on i₁₁ ron, yn)z
a'lbyk jark₁₁t on i₁₁ kqoorli₁₁k

about, lads? you're spoiling the play
altogether, and more than that you're
making a world's wonder of the rest
of us, and besides all that, there's
Elizabeth Black, the elder's wife, in
the door across there looking at us,
and if you don't drop it we'll be all
taken to the Session on Sunday, every
bone of us."

18. Bruce was a spirited little man,
and a bitty good wood of his size, and
says he : "Don't ye burn your mouth
among other folks greens (or soup),
or else you'll perhaps get the ridding-
stroke yourself. Hold off and let me
at him, for I'll have amends of him
before he be two hours older. I'll
fold him up like a big spring knife."

19. This heated Shank's blood al-
ways worse and he loos'd upon him
with his tongue, and he says : "Try
that, you ill-tongued, ill-tempered
scrophulous dwarf. I'll learn you to
carry a better [hung] tongue in your
head. Your father was a riglan and
your mother was a witch, and your
grandmother was a thief."

20. Then our best ballman goes in
about, and says : "There's no use
trying to part the two quarrelsome
knives, for they're both going to
William Anderson's Christmas feast
to-night, and they would be sure to
foul (or spoil) the feast. They would
be fixed in each other as sure as
potatoes. Let them fight it out just
now, just a fair wrestle, and the best
man uppermost, and fudgy or beaten
to the lowermost."

21. Well, when they saw that they
were to win to (or at) each other, they
were not so keen on it, but, however,
they went to it with activity, and the
first swinging throw that Bruce gave
Shanks made him dash to the ground
till his head played knock on a piece
of ice, and his elbow struck till it
rebounded on a rough knob of frosted
earth. I am sure they both must have

i_{11} frost $i_{11}t$ $jyrd$. a)m siir dhy beeth bii)ty by $d_{11}ri_{11}n$, kas fyn dhy glá'id reez, hi he'd yn alegrunngys lry k .

22. it wyz ny aft $i_{11}t$ wii striiv at $d_{11}i_{11}$ baa, thoo dhyr wyz y py.lgjt y dhy tel y dhy tuulji dhat dee, $b_{11}t$ wii gruit fá'in eff $i_{11}r$ t, yn gyn :sha'qks ha'd ny bin y fuu.zynlys stram, hi wyd ny lat'n :bris skr $i_{11}m$ $i_{11}m$ dhat dee.

23. áae unersti'd eff $i_{11}r$ hyn $i_{11}t$ dhyr wyz samth $i_{11}q$ meer ytwin dhym; for jy sii : $d_{11}o'n$ (: $d_{11}ok$) :sha'qks ha'd te'n :bete :gree ty dhy :hal $i_{11}iiv'n$ bal yfoor dhat, en :bris stak ap tyl $i_{11}r$ — áae $d_{11}ni_{11}$ thyqkj hii wyz one $i_{11}l$ i_{11} but $i_{11}r$, $b_{11}t$ $d_{11}y$ st ty pryvo'k :sha'qks for fan $t_{11}l$ $i_{11}mse'l$, yn dhy wá'l kátee wez sam ty blem tii.

24. sh i_{11} promist fi $i_{11}rst$ ty e'n, yn sá'in $t_{11}l$ $i_{11}nydyr$ ty lat dhym pi $i_{11}t$ $i_{11}r$ hem, en fen waa'gjaan tá'im kam :sha'qks had $i_{11}r$ at dhy door set $i_{11}n$ ut, $b_{11}t$:bris wyz si $i_{11}t_{11}n$ dheer, yn dhy slá'i kátee ty k i_{11} tit oo)z hwi $i_{11}sk$ $i_{11}rz$ y dhy bá'igjaan, en hi got ap $t_{11}lz$ fi $i_{11}t$, en dhe' $d_{11}a'di$ swa'q hi $i_{11}rse'l$ ut y :sha'qks feekj, en klykjt :bris by dhy gaa'rdee, en gyd af wii ym, en feerle lant $i_{11}t$:sha'qks, en hii á'i ha'd y gruuqi eff $i_{11}r$ t at :bris.

been pained to quivering, because when the actionless fellow rose, he had a sour woe-begone look.

22. It was not often that we strove at the football, though there was a fight in the tail [end] of the ball-match that day, but we agreed fine after it, and if Shanks had not been a weak nerveless tripe of a lad, he would not (have) let Bruce thoroughly beat him that day.

23. I understood afterwards that there was something more between them, for you see John (Jock) Shanks had taken Miss Elizabeth Gray to the Hallowe'en ball before that, and Bruce made rival suit to her—I don't think he was any in love [lit. ill] with her, but just to provoke Shanks, for fun to himself, and the wild coquette was partly to blame too.

24. She promised first to one, and then to another, to allow them to accompany her home, and when away-going time came Shanks had her at the door setting out, but Bruce was sitting there, and the sly (faithless) coquette took a nip of his whiskers on the going past, and he got up to his feet, and the loving little girl swung herself out of Shanks' plaid, and clutched Bruce by the arm, and went off with him, and fairly gave the slip to Shanks, and he always had a deep revengeful feeling after it at Bruce.

Notes to the Second and Third Cromár Examples.

The figures refer to the paragraphs.

3. folk "or people."—rather fortunate, literally fine and lucky.

4. terriblest, i.e. largest.—gathering (gaa'-) or (ga'-).—sowans, usually (soo'enz), oatmeal porridge.—them that, etc., those that did not drink up their porridge.—boils "or open sores."

5. slice, "a large slice" or cut.—Jamieson gives the forms "cabback, kebbuck, keback," and refers to the Gaelic cabag, a cheese.

6. town, farm.—reap, "a small

bundle," apparently as much as was cut with one stroke of the sickle.—the wainer ox, "the ox who led the others in the plough."—glyak sheaf, "the last sheaf cut in harvest."

7. gathered "or collected."—ma-more "or big field," evidently of Gaelic origin, unknown to J.M.—scrimped it up, to scrimp is to make narrow, to straighten, here it must mean, kept it up, or something equivalent.—dry hair, "from sweat."

8. *whiles* "or sometimes." — *tail* "or end." — *struggle*, Jamieson, *toolye*, a broil, *tuilyie*, *tulye*, *toolyie*, a quarrel or broil; the word was not known to J.M., who proposed "bundle"; the meaning is "scrimmage."

10. *we was*, "we were." — *meal* or (mee'l), flour. — *dust*, "oatmeal bran."

12. *driven*, (kaa) is to 'drive' as well as to 'call,' compare Tam o' Shanter, *suprà*, p. 732, v. 25, it has nothing to do with 'caught.' — *met*, Jamieson, "*kep*, *kepp*, *keip*, to intercept, to meet in a hostile way," or friendly or accidental way. — *gave*, (g'jaa, g'aa). — *smart blow*, not in Jamieson, but Mr. Gregor's Glossary has "*fussle*, a sharp blow," and "to beat sharply," "*up* is often added as '*fussle up*, the ill-getit slype.'" — *hose*, "stockings."

13. *sclafferd*, "a swinging blow," Jamieson has "*sclaffert*, a stroke on the side of the head with the palm of the hand."

14. *slype*, "lounger," Jamieson has "*slyp*, *slype*, a coarse fellow," Johnny Gibbs's glossary '*slype*, a contemptible fellow, a peculiarly opprobrious epithet.' — *insulted* "domineered over," lit. overgone. — *hanger on*, so Mr. Innes, Mr. Gregor has "*hype*-, a big person of a not very comely appearance; used sometimes by way of approval, and sometimes as a mark of disrespect; as, 'she's nae an ill *hype* o' dehm aifter a'; he's a cantakerous *hype* o' a cheel.' *Hyppal* is the augmentative." — *hip*, "protection."

15. *lean*, *undergrown like*, Jamieson has "*shargar*, *sharger*, a lean person, a scrag." — *punishment*, lit. licks, "or pandies." Jamieson has "*pawmie*, *pandie*, a stroke on the hand with the ferule." — *meddle*, Jamieson "to *tig*, to touch lightly, to dally with; to trifle with, to treat in a scornful and contemptuous manner." — *as*, "not (az)." — *legs*, "or lower extremities." Compare *lomos*, hands, in *Paety Toral*, v. 22, in D 41.

16. *pith*, force, vigour, strength. — *try yourself*, "do your worst."

17. *drop it*, "give it up."

18. *big spring knife*, Jamieson says *jockteleg*, a folding knife, from Jacques de Liège, the name of a celebrated cutler."

19. "*cankert*, *cankerrit*, cross, ill-conditioned," Jamieson. — *riglan*, half emasculated animal. — *grandmother*,

Jamieson says, "*luckie*, *lucky*, a designation given to an elderly woman, a grandmother, often *luckie-minnie*," and "*minnie*, mother, a fondling term."

20. *just now* (ii'nau'), "this word has two accents like *Amen*." — *fudgy* or *beaten one*, so Mr. Innes translates (my₁grynykh), a word that I can find nowhere. — *lowermost* or *nethermost*, Jamieson *newmost*, Ags. niðemest neoðemest.

21. *activity*, Jamieson says "*ber bere bir birr*, force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind, *vir virr*, Aberdeen." — *swinging throw*, Jamieson, "*wallop*, *walop*, to move quickly, with much agitation of the body or clothes." — *dash*, Jamieson "*dird*, a stroke, Aberdeen"; Gregor "*dird*, to strike with a sharp blow, to throw with violence." — *piece of ice*, Jamieson "*rone*, a run of ice." — *struck till it rebounded*, Jamieson, "*yerk*, *yark*, to beat, to strike smartly." — *rough knob*, this seems related to Jamieson's "*gnarr*, a hard knot in wood." — *must have been pained to quivering*, this is a very free translation by Mr. Innes, literally 'be to be tingling or thrilling,' according to Jamieson's "*dirle* to tingle or thrill," p. 735, v. 124. — *the actionless fellow*, Jamieson "*gleyd*, *glyde*, an old horse"; Gregor "a person of a disagreeable temper, metaphorical of Jamieson's meaning." — *sour*, *woebegone*, Jamieson "*allagrugous*, grim, ghastly."

22. *ball-match*, see *toolye*, par. 8, note. — *weak*, *nerveless*, Jamieson "*fowsum*, *fousum*, luscious, gross, nauseous, English *fulsome*." — *tripe of a lad*, Gregor "*stram*, vb., to walk with rude noisy step, sb. a big person, as 'he's a brow [rather pleasing in manners] *stram* o' a cheel'; *strammil* is the augmentative." — *thoroughly beat*, Jamieson "*skrim*, to scud, to move quickly; *scrym* to skirmish."

23. *between them*, "as the cause of quarrel."

24. *arm*, Jamieson cites "*gardy*, the arm," from Douglas. — *deep revengeful feeling*, the nearest word to *grungy* in Jamieson is "*grunye*, promontory, mouth ludicrously, a grunt." After this Mr. Innes adds, "The narrative here enters on another subject, and I believe you have had more of it than can be of interest to you. I shall therefore not follow it further."

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S SENTENCES

from his *Visible Speech* corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

ORIGINAL.

1. wi)r gaan t' dhy kwintri
dhy morn.
2. my midhyr)z vrit'n a' letyr
t'l yr gwid dakhtyr.
3. dhy strupid ladi)z brökht
dhy vraq bjuk fi dhy skwil.
4. a)l gi v a' baabi gin ji tel)z
faa)z evht ji.
5. dhy pi'r aal bædi goht fuu
't :iki :fi'r last fi'rzdi, yn dit
'n dhy waa' hēm.
6. far i i geen ?
7. fat o diid i ? fat dit (diit)
i oo ?

TRANSLATION.

1. We're going to the country the-
morn = to-morrow.
2. My mother has written a letter to
her good daughter = daughter-in-law.
3. The stupid lad has brought the
wrong book from the school = who is
your father.
4. I will give you a bawbee if you
tells us who is owned you.
5. The poor old body got drunk at
Icky Fair last Thursday, and died on
the way home.
6. Where are you going ?
7. What of died he ? What died
he of ?

NOTES AND PHRASES

furnished by Rev. W. Gregor, when the following cwl. was pal. from his dictation
14 Feb. 1878.

1. The palatal and guttural (kjh, kh) are used as in German, dependent on preceding vowel.
2. (h) in the fishing villages is left out, but not by older people elsewhere, the younger people are beginning to insert it.
3. Variable length of vowels. The vowels are quite short in rapid speech, but otherwise lengthened to medial length, and this is varied. The quality of the vowel is sometimes changed for emphasis, as (skrindj skruundj).
4. Alphabet at Keith 100 years ago; Mr. G. learned it in 1836 from a woman between 60 and 70: (mæk'l a, le'tl a, be, se, de, e, ef, dje, itj, i, djaai, ke, el', em', en', oo, pe, kiú, e.r [rather a hard rattle], es, te, u, e'v, u'lu, eks, wái, e'ze't, epers)han[d]. An old woman of Pitsligo said (persean'dre).
5. Counting: (e'n, twa, thri:, fóur [not fôur], fáiv, saks, se'v'n [seev'n *emphatic*], akht, ná'ín, tē'n, vlee'v'n, twal, thertin, fortin, fáiftin, sakstin, seev'ntin, akhtin, ná'intin, twenti [little glide from (wə) to (n) as in (wənt) for 'want'], [then say "one and twenty," but not in enumerating, then it is twenty-one], hæ'nər [vowel lengthened for emphasis], thoozən(z).
6. (fat)s dhv meetər wi i kreeter ?) what's the matter with the creature ?

7. Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) for (dhi)' as in Caithness, thus (pe't e't e'n tɛ i hid o i pres), put it into the head of the press. (gan t)e' wɛl for water) gone to the well for water.
8. She had also heard (tat, tɛ's, hɛ't) for 'that, this, it,' but never heard (dat).
9. (ái)l di)t, mən) I'll do it, man.
10. (ái, wɔl)ɐ) aye, will-I, the (ɐ) being used for the unaccented pronoun.
11. (bèth i ɐ mən gján) both of you must go.
12. (len) loan with short n.
13. Biblical words: (pro-werbs, :daawid, :izraa'l) Proverbs, David, Israel.
14. (kno kno'ledʒ) know knowledge, with the k when the word is used, (knok)=Knock Head, near Banff.
15. *girl* is replaced by (lasi). (iz it ɐ ladi or ɐ lasi?) is it a boy or a girl?
16. (we'l ɐ wáit, ái)l di)t, mən, tɛ pleez)ɐ) well I wot [see p. 766, under A:], I'll do)it, man, to please you.
17. (ɔi vrətʃ, ɐ)v vrət'n dhat aa vraq) you wretch, you've written that all wrong. *wr*=(*vr*) in all NL.
18. (fat)ɐ i di o? fat o did)i di? o fat did)i di?) what)did he die of? What of did)he die? Of what did)he die?
19. (tɛ shaav korn) to sow corn.
20. (dh'i skím'lz)=slaughter houses, shambles?
21. Verb substantive (ái wɛz, i wɛz, hi wɛz), even emphatic (wi wɛz), thou never used. (dhi men wɛz, dhe wer), change (wer) to (we'z) after a noun. Similarly (iz) after plural nouns, but (aar) after pronouns.
22. (if ái biiz at hem) if I am at home, has been heard from children in two or three instances, not commonly; more regular (e'v a)m ɛt hem, ái)l di)t) if I)am at home, I)will do)it.
23. (se'k ɐ modiwert ɐv)ɐ bern) such a mole of a child.
24. (dhat biúks iz máin) those books are mine, (dhe's, dhat) are used for both sg. and pl. all over Ab. and Ba.
25. (hi)z diú mi twa she'lenz) he owes me two shillings.
26. (fol o i did it) which of you did it? has been heard, (fol) is a strange alteration of Ws. *hwyle*.
27. (kəm e'n)zh)i go báí) come in)as)you go by. The (zh) is here developed from ('z)i. This is like (shuuɛt, shuu shuuster), from *suet, sew sew-ster*=seamstress.
28. (hi weeted ɐ laq fáil. wet ɐ wi féili) he waited a long while. Wait a wee while-y.
29. (fader, mider, bræder) occur close to the sea-side. (midhɛr) is used at Keith.
30. (farɛr, farɛ'st ɛwa.) farther, farthest away.
31. (hi)z ne jaav ov dh'i beernz) he)has no awe, fear, of the children. (ái gar)em stan in jaav o mi) I make them stand in fear of me.
32. (skwíl me'ster, táitɛr) schoolmaster, teacher.

33. (hæz) is not used for (us), as in Hawick.
 34. (hi)l izili wən óur tɛ si i dh_i nekjht. hi wan óur dh_i strim
 he'll easily get over to see you the (this) night. He got
 over the stream.
 35. (gr_in, græn) grind, ground.
 36. (ji)l di dhat, tii) you'll do that too.
 37. (:djon gjaa he'z twaa kjaaks t^l twaa lunuz, and :sani gjaa he'z
 twaa tii t^l twaa tii) John gave his two cakes to two hoys,
 and Sandy gave his two too to two too. It is only in
 received speech that in this case the last five words are
 alike, at least in quality.
 38. (gwid siith ái)l gar ji di)t w|i ɛ dant o jər r_ig_in) good sooth
 I'll make you do it with a blow on your back.
 39. fə'n ɛz fən bliimz) when as whin blooms; whin or quhyn in
 Scotland is ragstone or basalt, in England it is furze; the
 phrase is probably purposely ambiguous, and means 'never.'

MID-NORTH LOWLAND, cwl.

From the following sources.

Palaeotype unmarked. Keith, Ba., pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Rev. W. Gregor, native, then resident at Pitsligo (:pitslii-gə), (4 w-by-s. Fraserburgh, Ab.), author of the Dialect of Banffshire (Trans. Philological Society, 1866, Part II.), with variations for Pitsligo.

* Buchan, numbered wl. by Dr. Findlater, while editor of Chambers's Cyclopaedia, native of the district between the Ython and Doveran, nw.Ab., pal. by A.J.E. from the author's indications, and compared with Mr. Gregor's list, with which it was found almost identical, hence only the words in which Dr. F. differed are given, marked * to be conspicuous.

M Dr. Murray's Buchan example, Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 3, finally representing Mr. Melville Bell's appreciation of the sounds. When the sound agrees with any of the others M. is subjoined.

Italics unmarked. Words extracted from *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (= gusset nook, a triangular piece of ground), preserving the original orthography which the preceding pal. will generally sufficiently interpret. The spelling is very good, but not quite free from ambiguity.

Italics with † prefixed. Words extracted from the preface to Rev. W. Gregor's Banffshire Glossary, in his own spelling, where "eh has the sound of eh in the German *sehr*," by which probably (*ee*) is meant.

Italics with ‡ prefixed. from Sir J. Sinclair's Moray or Elgin words, see p. 764a.

C Cromár. Words extracted from Mr. Innes's Cromár examples.

J Jane Morrison's pron. of these C. words.

B Words from Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences in Visible Speech corrected as in D 33, p. 709d.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bèk, *biak, J beek. 4 tak, [with] M tak'n, C taki₁n te'n [taken, taking, ta'en]. 5 mak [with] med, C maki₁n [made, making]. 6 C ma'd, J mèd. 7 seek. 8 M hee', C hee [hinna, J (hi)ne] haven't, have]. 9 bihee'v *bihi'v. 12 saa [but (shaav te'mer) saw timber]. 13 gniaav [obs. (g) pron.], J gnaa. 14 draa [draught, see before 560]. 15 jaav. 16 daan. 17 laa, ‡lã [= (laa') I believe]. 19 tel C. 20 le'm. 21 nèm, M ne'm. 22 tèm. 23 sèm. 24 shèm. 27 kneev [obs. (k) pron.], C kqeev, J kneev. 28 heer. 30

keer. — gîé:it, M gje't [gate=road, pathway]. 31 let CJ. 32 baadh. 33 rëdher. 35 aal. 36 thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 38 C as [obs. (s) not (z)]. 39 kam MC. 40 këm [kaimin combing]. 41 thaqk. 43 han C. 44 lan, M laan. — san' [sand]. 46 kan'l. 47 wanër. 48 saq. — C ra'q. — C swa'q [swang]. 49 [pt. C (hæq), hung]. 50 tjaqz. 51 ma'n, M man. 52 won. 54 wënt [the (ə) runs on very lightly to the (n), but the word when emphasised does not become (want) as is implied by] wunt, †wint [and may have been pron. (wi₁nt)], J wënt. — C got [got].

A: or O: 58 fe fae. 59 lamb. — wyme [womb=belly]. 60 laq. 61 umo'n, C ymoo. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 vraq B, vrang, †vrang, C ra'q, J vraq. 65 saq. 66 thoq, C faq.

A' 67 gjaa djan, †geh geed gane, M gjaan C, M ty gjæq gje'd, gae B gaan, J gjan gjaan gjed [go, going, went]. 69 naa CJ [negative 'no'], i nò. 70 te. 71 we [waefu' woe woeful]. 72 fa, CBJ faa [interrogative only], fa. 73 se, M see', C si₁. 74 twa, M twaa, twa, CJ twaa. 75 strok *strook, C streek, J streek. 76 ted J, *tod. 77 lord, M loord, laird [the last merely as landowner]. 78 jaa, yauchts, B eht [own, owns, owned]. 79 èn *aunen, M ee'n, nain [(m)èn my own], J een [J does not know nain]. — C hal₁iiv'n [hallowe'en]. 81 lèn. 83 mèn *miin. 84 meer C, †mehr, M mee'r, maur. 85 seer, †sehr, M see'r, sair. 86 its *sts, aits. 87 klèz. 88 kled [pr. t. and p. t.]. 89 beth *beedh, M bee'dh, baith, CJ beedh. 90 bliaav. 91 móu. 92 kno [used in reading only, otherwise (ken, M kèn, C kjen)]. 93 sniaav sna, CJ snaa. 94 kra. 95 thro. 96 shaav [evidently through (siaav), compare No. 451]. 97 sóul. 99 throu. 100 shaav'n.

A': 101 ok. 104 red, J ród †ròd. 105 re'd *red J ['rid' for 'rode']. 106 bred. — lave, C leev [the leaves, the remains]. 107 lef lof, lövz [loaves]. 108 do, J doo. 109 lekh *liakh, J leekh. 110 ii. not, C nee J. 111 okht M. 112 he'l. 113 hel, M hee'l [halesome wholesome]. 114 mo'l, J mool. 115 he'm *heem, M he'm, hame, C hem he'm, J hèm. 116 [(at, èt) used]. 117 in, tin, ain [one, the one, J (en) unacc.], [M lii'n, aleen [alone, solitary]. 118 bèn, bin [Ba.], †behn [in n.Ba.], †been [in n.Ba.], biin bane, C be'n, J bèn. 121 gèn, gyaun. 122 i. nen, *niin, neen; ii. nae, C nee [no, adj.]. 123 ne'thiq *nothiq. 124 sten stin, *stiin, stane, †stehn [m.Ba.], †steen [n.Ba.], J ste'n. 125 onli. — rehþ [straw rope]. 126 oor [(eer) in the fishing villages. — M roort [roared=wept, reesie [uproar], J roor [roar]. 127 herse. 128 [those, these, not used, but that and this for sg. and pl. as in Johnny Gibb that marks, this three towmons]. 129 geest. 130 bo't. 131 go't. 132 het †hait. 133 vrat [obs. vr-]. — M wé'it [I wot, weel a wat well I wot]. 134 oth [(e'th) is not so common]. 135 kloth [very short vowel], J kleth. 137 ii. C nar.

Æ- 138 fedhër J [with short vowel, is common along the sea-coast], *feedhër, C faadi₁r. — M dhegidhër [together]. — [(C ga'dyrt gaa'dyryn, J gidhërd gedhëren) gathered gathering]. 140 heel, J he'l. 141 ne'l. 142 sne'l J. 143 te'l, C tel, J tël. 144 ege'n, C ygje'n, M ege'n. 145 sle'n. 146 me'n. 147 bre'n. 148 feer C [adj.]. — stap, J stap [step]. 149 bleez [about Keith, but oftener (bliiz) in n.Ba.]. 150 læst. 152 wate'r [approaching (t), but J made no such approach]. 153 seterde. — fuder [whether].

Æ: 154 M bak, baak, J bak. 155 thek *thak. — CJ blak. 157 reev'n. 158 efter, M efr, aifter, C efit₁r, J èfter [(efti₁ryn) afternoon]. 160 eg. 161 dee C, déi, M dee' J, [also] J dee' [final]. 163 lee. 164 me, C mee. 165 sed. 168 tale. 169 fan C, †fahn [when, interrogative only], C fen J, M fyn C [when relative]. — awceers [awares]. 170 heerst C, M heerst, hairst. — J beer [bare]. 171 barli, M baarli. 172 gers, †giss [s.Ba.], girss. 173 wez J, M wyz [J. was rather between (wiz) and (wöz), that is with (i) inclining to (ə)]. 174 eesh. 175 C fæst. — cairt [cart]. 177 M et, C i₁t. 178 gnat [obs. (g) pron.]. 179 fat MJ, fat †fat. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 si. 183 [not used, replaced by learn]. — táit₁r [in schools]. 184 led. 185 ri'd [pr. t.]. 186 breedh. 187 leev [M (læft) pp.]. 188 [(neker) used]. 189 wái [(wáit) weighed]. 190 kéi. 191 heel. 192 min C. 193 klin. 194 oni, M ont, CJ one, [also] J oni. 195 moni, mony. 196 wer

[very short]. 197 tpiiz. 199 blèt. — †greet [grat grutten, weep wept]. 200 wháit [an exceptional (wh), heard about Keith, in some places (f), but] J fá'it. 201 heedh'n. 202 het.

Æ': 203 spitj. 204 did. — †meadow [meadow]. 205 thrid. 206 ræd [pt.]. 207 nid'l. 208 C yvyr, J evør [C (fyty·vyr) however]. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 fái. 213 edhør, M ee'dher. 214 nedder [nedderin neither one]. 215 takht. 216 deel. — M delt [dealed]. — C mee'l, †mehl [m.Ba.], †meel [n.Ba.]. 217 itj, M elke, C ylkji, J ølki. 218 ship. 219 slip. — or [for eror earlier, rather, as in: or than no rather than not], J or. 221 feer *fi'r [fernothing, a dreadnought coat]. 222 heer C. 223 dheer, M dheer, C dh_iir, J dheer. 224 faar M, †fahr, faur, B far. 225 flesh. 226 meest, C mest, J mést. 227 wit [occ. (wat)]. 228 swáit, J swá'it. 229 breth. 230 fat [fat, the same pron. as 179 what].

E- 231 C dhe [Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) as in Cs.], B dhy. 232 brack. — brakf_ist [breakfast]. 233 spáik. 234 kne'd [obs. (k) pron.] — †wadder [weather, fishing population]. 235 wáiv. 236 fever. 237 blèn blàn [as in chillblain]. 238 he'dj. 239 seel. 241 re'n. 243 plee [older people say (plái)], C plee [C (pleet) played]. 244 M wil weel, C ywiil, J wil. 246 ii. kwáin, quine quyne, J kwá'in [quean, with no offensive meaning]. 247 [(spiin) used]. — i. †behr [to bear, m.Ba.], J bee'r, ii. J bar [a bear]. — C shee'ryn, J sheeren [shearing]. 248 meer [about Keith, but (miir) in n.Ba.] mear. 249 weer wiir. 250 sweer swiir. 251 me't [about Keith] maet. 252 ke't'l *kæt'l. 253 ne't'l. 254 leder [frequently]. 255 we'dher.

E: — fesh, fuish up [fetch, brought up=educated]. — C vratj, vratch [wretch]. 257 èdj. 258 sèg. 259 wèdj. 260 lee. 261 séi [from old people], M see sed [said], C seez [says]. — redd, C ra'dyn [rid, ridding, clearing out]. 262 wái, J wye, B waa'. 263 M əwaa', C waa' [(waa'gjaan) going away]. 264 e'l. 265 straakt. 266 J wil [well, in a good manner]. — C a'lbyk [elbow]. — feedle [field]. 267 ild. 268 [(al'st) oldest used]. — twal, towmons, C toomynz [twelve, twelve months, (toomonth) not known to J, who said (twalvmanth)]. 269 C i₁₁mse:l jyrse:l [himself, yourself], J jersè:l. 270 i. belis, ii. beli. — C wal J [a well]. 271 tæl. 272 ðm. 273 men. 274 bentj. 275 ste'qk [stink used for stench], C styqkj. 276 the'qk. 277 drentj, C dryqkj. — M bent [determined]. — sen's [those sent as fore-runners]. 280 sleev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. — jerd [yard measure]. 283 mari *miri. 284 thrash. 286 hare. 287 biiz'm. — C ri₁₁st [rest]. 288 lat C, †lat lut latten [did let, and pp.], leet [let, allow]. — C met [met]. — C set_i11n [setting]. — †sattle, sattleet [settle, settled].

E'- 289 i. 290 hi, C hii. 292 mi, M mii. 293 wi, C wii, B wi'r [we're]. — M sik [to seek]. 294 fid. — nid [to need]. 296 biliiv. 297 folla. 298 [(fe'n) find is used for feel]. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 hiir. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bit'l.

E': — C brikjs [brecks]. 305 hikjh [heicher higher]. 306 hekjht. 308 nid [sb.]. 309 spid [sb.]. 310 hil. 311 M ten. 312 hiir. 313 hark'n. 314 hard M [heard], J haard. 315 fit. 316 nakst *niist, neist, J nisht.

EA- — deykn, J deek'n [deacon]. — shak J [shake]. 317 flee [flay]. 319 geep [(gaap) when very emphatic]. 320 keer.

EA: — cauf [chaff], J káf. — gjaa [gave]. — chafts [jaws]. 321 sa, M saa CJ. 322 lakh lauch [leuch laughed]. 323 fokht. 324 akht [C (akhty, J akhte), eighty]. 325 waak. 326 al [(alst) oldest], M aal CB, aul, [C (aaljr) older]. 327 bàl. 328 kal. 329 faal C. 330 had C [haud'n, J (had'n) holden]. 331 saal [(selt) sold]. 332 taal taal'. 333 kaaf, J káf [same pron. as for chaff, before 321]. 334 haaf. 335 a, C aa, †ät [= (a'l)], [J (əvaa') ava, of all, meaning at all]. — shell [shall]. 336 fa. 337 wa. 338 M kaa [(kaad) pt.], ca'. — maut [malt]. — saut [salt]. 340 jaard. 342 eerm, †airm, airn. — hairmless [harmless]. 343 warm. 344 M be'rn, bairn. 345 daar. 346 g'ie'it, yett.

EA'- — C tpijjs [cheeks]. 347 hid, heid, C he'd. 348 i [(in J), een eyes, only pl. form]. — loup [lap luppen leap leapt], J la'up. — †beht [m.Ba.], †beet [n.Ba.]. 349 fiáu, fyau, J fia'u.

EA': — ruck, J rak [a rick]. 350 de'd, deid, J did. 351 le'd, J lid.

352 re'd *rid. 353 breed *brid M, *breid*. 354 shef C. 355 def. 356 lef. 357 tho, CJ thoo. — CJ lá'i [a lea, or meadow]. 359 nipər J, *neepour*, *neighbourheid*. 361 bin [(boon) at Pitsligo Ab.]. 363 tjep. — C jiir J, M iir [year]. 365 niir CM, *naar*. — *nowt* [neat, cattle]. 366 greet *gryte*. 367 thret. 368 deth, M *deth*, *deeth*. 369 slo. 370 ra. 371 stre.

EI- 372 éei [(ái) emphatic], C á'i. 373 dhe J. 374 néei. 375 rēz [C (reezt) raised]. 376 beet. EI: 378 wáik [*wyknesses* weaknesses]. 382 dher. EO- 383 sēv'n *seyven*, J seev'n. 384 hēv'n. 385 vñeth. 386 jóu. 387 niu.

EO: 388 me'lk *malk, J malk [but I could not properly catch J's sound, a curious variation of (e)]. 390 sad sad, M *syd*. 392 C ron. 393 vront [(t) sometimes omitted]. 395 C ɹəq_{i,r}, J joqr. 396 wark. 397 suurd sword, 398 steerv. 399 bre'kyht. — C barn [burn]. 400 *eernest*. 402 lern leern, C leern lee'rn. 403 faar. 404 star. — *hert* [heart, CJ (herte) hearty]. 405 herth. 406 erth, C ɹrd. — M sester [sister]. 407 fard'n.

EO'- 409 bi. 411 thrii. 412 shi [very short], M shii, C sh_i. 413 diiv'l *dev'l. 414 fi *flee* [(flek) is a flea, Ws. fleá fle6]. 415 li. — †*yeel* [Yule, Christmas]. 416 diir *daar*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 417 tjou *tjaa [probably meant for (tjaa), as (AA) is said not to occur in the dialect], J tjaa. 418 bruu *bre* [J (breth) broth, always treated as pl., and J (brii)]. 420 fōur. 421 fortí, EO': — thif C [thief]. 423 thái. 424 ròkh, *rock*, J rok. 425 lekjht, *lichtet*, C li_ikjht, J lekjht. 426 fekjht. — *yeel*, C jil J [yule, Christmas time]. 427 bi, C bi. 428 si [C (sin) seen]. 429 fin, fent, *fiēt*. 430 frin *freen*. 431 biir. 432 foort *foort* [(fe'ft, se'kt, sev'nt, akht, náint, tent) fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth]. 433 brist [(brisht) has been heard, *forebriest* fore breast]. 434 bet [pr. t. (bit) pt.]. 435 M'ri [(rir) ye, your]. 436 tru. 437 tróuth *tróuth*. EY- 438 dii, M dii, diit J, B dit [die, died]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 we'k *uk, *ouk*, J uk [common word ? belongs to Ws. *wuce*]. — *chucken* [chicken]. — M gin, C gjii'yn, gjaa, J giv, gjaad [give, given, giving, gave]. 441 se'v. — *leevin* [living]. 442 áivi [but (gra ndee vi) ground-ivy, J pron. (á'ivi) in both cases]. 443 fráide. 444 stáil. 446 ná'in [(nóin) at Pitsligo and Roseheart, both 4 w.Fraserburg, Ab.]. — shi_inz [shins]. 447 C i_{i,r}. 448 [not used]. — bit. 449 get [C (got) got]. — M sen [since, Ws. sipe]. — M beteri [bitterly]. — C bit [a bit = portion]. — *wuddie* [withy]. — C pi_ith [pith]. 450 tēzdi *tē'izde, J tá'izde, 451 shuu [formed from (siu) to sew, (shuuster) a sewster or seamstress].

I: 452 ái, M áai, *aw* [meant for (aa)], C áae. 454 wəɹ, C w_ity. 455 lái. — C thyrđ. — C twáais [twice]. 457 me'kjht [M (almekhti) Almighty, might, sb.] — *mith* [might, vb.]. 458 ne'kjht, M nekht, JC n_ikht. 459 re'kjht [*oonrichteous*, unrighteous]. 460 wek'jht *wecht*. 461 *lichtit* [alighted]. 462 se'kjht. 463 M tel, C ti_i. 464 fe'lk [but (fol o)i) which of you? J knew the phrase], †*futeh*. 465 se'k sic. 466 C tpiil, J [chiel, child is replaced by bairn]. 467 we'l wil', C wá'il, J wel. 469 †*wull* [will]. 470 M hee'm. 471 te'mar. — C styqkjyn [stinking]. — C dryqk, J driqk [drink]. 472 shre'qk. 473 ble'n. 475 we'n win, C wyn win'y [windy]. 476 be'n. — C ytwiin [atween]. 477 fe'n, M fen. 478 gre'n. — *hin* [hind]. 479 win. 481 fe'qur [finger]. — M bige'nen [begin]. — †*rin rin* [run]. — C w_iin [win = arrive at, reach], J wen. 484 C dh_is, J [used for sg. and pl.]. — *rashes* [rushes]. 485 thres'l *thris'l. — †*fussel* [whistle]. 487 se'starde, C s_istyarde, J jesterde, *the streen* [yestere'en, (dhestr)iin], (dh) for (j) as in (dhonder). 488 jet. 489 M et. — *wut* [wit]. — *wutness* [witness]. — B vrit'n [written]. — C si_iti_in [sitting]. — sax [six].

I'- 490 bái. 491 sekh. 492 C sá'id [C (biiz), J (bisá'id) besides]. 493 dráiv. 494 téim [(tóim) at Pitsligo, Ab.], C tá'im J. 496 áir'n, [(óir'n) at Pitsligo]. 497 CJ reezt [raised]. 498 vréit vrit, *vreetin* [writing, both (éi, i) are used]. 499 bit'l.

I': 500 léik, *lickly* [likely], CJ le'kj. 501 wéid. 502 fáiv J [(fóiv) at Pitsligo, J was not aware that she pron. (fáiv kná'ivz) with different diphthong]. 503 le'if, †*leif*. 504 knáif [(k) pron.], †*kneif*. — †*streif* [strife]. 505 weif, M wé'if, J wá'if. 506 oman J [the (a) quite distinct] *'oman*. 507 wimn,

M wymen, J wimen. 508 méil [(móil) at Pitsligo]. 509 féil, M fə'il, *flie* [a little while], CJ fá'il. 510 ii. M máai, C máae [emphatic], B my [unemphatic]. 511 wéin. 512 [(spóir) at Pitsligo]. 513 wéir *weer*. 514 éis. 515 wéiz, J wéis [with an (s)]. 516 wizdem. — *fte* [white].

O- 518 C bo'di J, B badi. 519 M a'ur [over]. 520 bóu. 521 fol. — C drop [drop]. 522 óp'n. 523 hop *hóup, M ha'up. — C *ytóo'r* [before, *forrit* forward]. 524 word'l *ward'l, *wardle* [*war'dly* worldly]. — C hoo'z [hose].

O: — *kyeuk* cook, J kek. — M good, *gweed*, [God]. — *af'en*, C aft [often]. 526 kokh. 527 bookht M. 528 thokht C, J thokht. 529 brookht, M brokht, *brocht*, B brókht. 530 vrokht. 531 dóthør, M daathør [the (AA) must be wrong, probably for (oo), which I used], dakhter, B dakhtyr. 532 kol †*gwile*. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 M fo'k CJ, *fowk*. 536 góud. 537 muuld. 538 wad. — *knowe-head* [knoll-head]. 539 bóul. — *crap* [crop]. 545 hop *hip. — C stopi₁₁t [stopped]. 547 biuurd. 548 fiuurd. 550 ward, C wyrd, J werd. 551 storm. 552 korn, C koorn, J koorn. 553 horn. — C morni₁₁n, J moornen, B morn. — †*koss* [horse, *r* suppressed]. 554 kros. — *bree* [broth, Ws. broð]. — *boddom* [bottom]. — C a'us [ox, this pron. not known to J, who pron. (òks)].

O'- 555 shi *shee* [(shiin), *sheen* shoes, *sheein* shoeing], J shi shin. 556 tæ, M ty. 557 tii, M tii', C tii. 558 liuk [M (luket) looked *luikin*, C [l]y,kyn looking]. 559 midher [(midør), †*mudder* in the fishing villages], *mithèr* midher, C myd₁₁r, B midhgr. — *draucht* [draught]. 560 †*squeet*, B skwil J. 561 bliim. 562 miin, C min, †*meen*. 563 manende. 564 siin. 565 nooz J, *niz [nizzen, noseing = wiggling]. 566 idher [M (ənidher tidher) another, t'other, *tithers*], C i₁₁nydyr [another]. 568 †*bræether* [æ very long in m.Be.], †*brither brudder* [in fishing villages]. — M gra'uan [grown].

O': 569 biuk J, *buk, B buk. 570 tuk M [(tiuk) Pitsligo and Roseheartly] *tyeuk*. 571 gwid CMB, *gweed*. 572 blid CJ, †*bleed*. 573 flad. — *reed* [rood=gibbet, cross]. 574 brid. 575 [un'ersteed, C (unerstid) understood]. — *wudden* [wood=mad]. 576 wad'nzdi. — †*hive* [hoof]. — *beheef* [behoof]. — *reef* †*reef* [roof]. 577 biukh [J did not know the word]. 578 plū plūkh [(pliakh) Keith for both vb. and sb.] *plewing*, *pleuch*, *pleuchin*, *ploo*. 579 inū [enow, number], inūkh [enough, quantity], M ynju'kh *aneuch* [J knew the distinction of number and quantity]. 580 triu kh. 581 sokht. 582 kwil †*queel* [cool]. 583 til *teel* [(tilsəm) toolsome, easily worked]. 584 stiil. 585 briim, *bream*. 586 di, de)ne [don't], M dii', *dee* [*dizna deester* does not, a do-er, J did not know *deester*]. 587 diin, *deen*. 588 [(foornin) forenoon]. 589 spiin †*speen*. 590 fiir [(fiuur) has been heard, but it is not common]. 591 miur *miir. 592 swiir. 593 [(mon) used]. 594 bit †*beet*, *beet*. 595 fə't, †*fit*, *fit*, C fi₁₁t [sg. the pl. is (fit) 315]. 596 rit, †*reet*, *reet*. 597 sit [(sat) about Roseneath]. 598 siith [(gwid siith) good sooth]. — †*teeth* [tooth, sg.]

U- 599 vbi'n. — *wuds*, C wyd [wood, forest], J wed. 600 lov *lv. 601 fuul *fool*. 602 suu. — *bridegreem* bridegroom, Ws. bry'd-guma]. 603 kam CJ. 604 *summer* [summer]: 605 se'n *sən, M see'n. — †*cuss* [curse, s.Ba.]. 606 door. 607 batar.

U: 608 agli, C ygli. — *shooders*, J shadherz [shoulders]. 609 fol fu, *fuu M, †*fill*, J fal. 610 uu J. 612 ssm. 613 dræk [(drak'n) not used]. — *droont* drowned. 614 hæn J. 615 pan. 616 gran C. 617 sun. 618 wun. 620 gran. 621 wæn. 622 [(wè-th) replaces under]. 623 fan. 624 gran. — *won'er* [wonder]. 625 tæq [C (i₁₁ltæqt) ill-tongued]. 626 haqer. 627 C sandi₁₁ [Sunday]. 629 se'n *sən [sindoon, sundown], J sen. 630 won. 631 firzde, B fi'rzdi. 632 ap MCJ [C (i₁₁po'n) upon]. 633 kær. — *broch* [burg, borough]. 634 thróu [(throk) has been heard] *throu*, C thrá'u. 635 warth. — J wardhi [worthy]. 636 †*forther*. 637 tæk. 638 bæsk. 639 dæst, C di₁₁st, J dest.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 [(fat wái) what way, replaces how, but we find] *hoo* [*hooever*], C fuu J. 643 nuu M, *noo no*, [f₁ehnoo, *eenoo*, J enuu, the now, just now]. 645 duu. 646 buu. 647 uulet. 648 uur C. 649 thuzænd. 650 M vbu't, C i₁₁but, J abùt. 652 kad. 653 bat, M byt, *but*, C bi₁₁t, J bet.

U: 654 shrund. 655 fuul C. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 duun, *doon*. 659 M tun C, J tūn, *toon*. 661 shuur, *shoover*. 662 [(as) is not (haz) as in D 33, to us (te'l'z)]. 663 huus, M hus, *hoose*. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut, M ut CJ, *oot*. 668 pruud. 670 toubith, bothi [toll-booth, tent, not known to J]. 671 muu, *mou*, C muu. 672 suuth, *sooth*.

Y- 673 mak'l M. 674 C dyd [(dyd)ny] didn't, J ded [emph.]. 675 drai'. — C i₁₁l [ill, evil], J el. 676 li. 677 drai, C dra'i. 678 de'n. — C hi₁₁p, J hep. — M stiir [stir]. 679 kerk. 680 be'zi. 681 *buzness*, J beznes. 682 le't'l, B li₁₁t'l, J let'l.

Y: — C stamp. 683 me'dj *midjuk. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 bai. 687 flekht. — *full* [fill]. — ba'ilz [boils, sores]. 689 *biel'* building, shelter]. — *el'yer*, C a'iljyr [elder of a church]. — M foləən [following]. 690 k'ain. 691 main †moind [(moin) at Pitsligo], C má'in J. 693 se n, J sen. 696 berth. — birn [burden]. 697 biri [bury]. 698 morth *mirth. 699 vrekht, *vricht*. 700 war, *waur*. 701 ferst J, †fisst [s.Ba.], C fi₁₁rst, †fist [meant for *fast*?, the same as the C with (r) suppressed]. 702 C wii. 703 pæt *pit, †pet [rather than *pit*, the English (i) not being used].

Y'- 705 skái. 706 fu [(fat for) used gen.]. — *foifteen* [fifteen]. — C fo'rtin J. 708 háir [(hóir) Pitsligo], J há'ir.

Y': — †fulth [filth]. 709 fáir [(foir) Pitsligo], J fá'ir. 711 láis. 712 máis. — *wuss*, C wi₁₁s [wish], J wosh [vowel something like (i)].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *Aiberdeen* [Aberdeen]. 714 M ladiz [laddies]. 717 djaad, C dja'di, *jaud*. 718 tred. 719 [(póult)=poll-head, used]. — C kjel [kail]. — *bauk* [balk, bawk]. — C blem [blame]. — CJ faq [a whang or slice]. — *thropple* [thrapple]. — *dauring* [daring adj.]. — C kqoorl₁₁k [gnarlock]. — *trag* [trash]. 736 las. — C taatez [potatoes]. — *coushus* cautious. 740 [waves are usually called (djarz) of the sea]. — *swye* [sway].

E. 743 skreem. 744 marlz *miz'lz. — herte [heartly]. 745 tjet. — †peht [m.Ba.], †peet [n.Ba.]. 746 breedh. 747 ende'ver. 749 M left. 750 beg.

I. and Y. — C li₁₁kjs [licks=blows]. — C ste'kjyt [stuck]. — trá'i [(tráa'it), J (tráait) try, tried]. — C slá'i [sly]. — C kqif [keen]. 753 te'k'l [ticklish]. — *triffle* [trifle]. — [(big) for (bild) occ.], *biel'* [building shelter]. 754 pe'g. — *slicht*, C slá'i [slight, sly]. — *ticht* [tight]. — *preen* [pin]. — M so'in [syne, since], J sá'in. — C kqip [knip]. — †fup, *fup* [whip]. — *wup* [wipe or wrap round]. — *fuskers*, C hwá₁₁ská₁₁rz [whiskers]. — *fusky* [whisky].

O. 761 léd [as (v léd v stre) a load of straw, vb. the same]. — laft [loft]. — C broogz [brogues, thick shoes]. — *scaad* [scold]. 769 modiwert, J ma'dimert. — mon [must]. 773 [only (as) used]. 774 póuny. — *lowst*, C lá'ust [loosed], J l'ust. — *queet*, *quiyte*, *coote* [in Jamieson *coot cute*=ankle]. 777 chop choppie [shop], J tjóp. 778 afu'rd, *affoord*. — *furms* [forms to sit on]. — *wordy woorthies* [worthy worthies]. — *not* [needid]. 781 badhər *bader, *bather*. 783 paltri. — *bun'* [boun, going]. — *roose*, rouse. 789 J rə'u [row, noise]. — C soo'ynz, J soo'enz [sowans, oatmeal porridge]. 790 guun.

U. — C snybyt [snubbed]. — *Brees*, C :bris [Bruce]. — C stack [stuck]. — M bigu'd [began]. — C gruugvi [grudge]. — be'l *bal, †bill [bull], J bal. — C fan [fun]. — M ent'l [unto]. 805 krúdz. — *neeps* [turnips]. 806 fas. — *busses* [bushes]. 807 pús. 808 pe't, †pit, *pat*, *pitten*, *put pat*, *pitten*, C p₁₁t [put prt. and pt.]. — C kly'kjyt [clutched].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — M grant [grant]. — *spawcious* [spacious, here *aw* represents (aa)]. — *saacred* [sacred, here *aa* represents (aa)]. — *wager* [wager]. 821 dilei'. 822 méi. 823 béet. 824 tjiir [occ.]. 826 eeg'l *eg'l. 827 eegər. — *compleen* [complain]. — *chyne* [chain]. — *saunt* [saint]. — *clær* [clear]. — *pleasour* [pleasure]. 835 rez'n. 836 sez'n sizzon. 838 tret. — C baa, J baal [foot-ball], C bal [ball=dance]. — *vaiue* [value]. — †maister [master]. 839

C baa [as a football], C bal [a dance]. — mèster [master]. 840 tjaamer *chaum'r*. — M *fee'min*. 841 tjaans. 842 pliaqk. 843 brentj *brainch*. 844 trentj [*truncher* trencher]. 845 anshent. 848 tjáindj *cheenge*. 849 *strunge* [so spelled in Gl. to *Johnny Gibb*, ? *streenge*, sour, surly]. — *arreengin* [arranging]. 851 ant. — *cawpable* [capable]. 852 aapren. — *pawrent* [parent]. — C kjer [carry]. — M meret [married]. — *pairis* [parish]. 856 M pert, C peert [*pairty* party]. — C raski₁₁lz [rascals]. — aisp [asp]. — *fattal* [fatal]. — *moderawtor* [moderator]. — *pawtrons* [patrons]. 864 bika'z, C kas. 865 *owthoreest* [authorised]. 866 piir *peer*, B pi'r. — *fawvour*, *weel faur't* [favour=looks, well-looking]. — J braali [bravely, right well].

E.. 867 tee, *tae*. 869 veel. 870 biaati *biy,ti. — *eleckin* [electing]. 871 C griit [agreed]. — *viakle* [probably (vá'ek'l) vehicle]. 874 ráin, *ryne*. — *obaidient* [obedient]. 879 feemeel. — *blasphemous* [blasphemous]. — *seenit* [senate]. — C yma'nz [amends]. — *konvainient* [convenient]. — *mainteen* [maintain]. — *enterteenment* [entertainment]. — *obteen* [obtain]. — *sustenance* [sustenance]. — C ynta'nyt [intended]. — *envious* [envious, but accent on second syllable]. — *jilein* [gaoling, putting into gaol]. 885 J vere [very]. — *sairious* [serious]. — *sair't* [served]. 889 sees. — C seshi₁₁n [session]. — *mizzour* [measure]. 890 †*béht* [m.Ba.], †*béest* [n.Ba.], C bé'st, F bést. — *reest* [arrest]. 891 feest. — B lètyr [letter]. 892 nèfs. — C fá'il [foil, leaf]. — *oor* [hour]. 893 fluur. — *preef* [proof]. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I.. and Y.. — †*scrabble* [scribble]. — *leeberty* [liberty]. 898 nóis [at Pitsligo]. — *seecophant* [sycophant]. 900 pree [(preerz) prayers]. — C si₁₁r [sir]. — *diffeekwalty* [accent on second syllable]. — *obleeg't* [obliged]. — C vi₁₁r [vigour]. — C dyzá'int [designed]. — *fortgigging* [fatiguing]. — *seelence* [silence]. 901 C fá'in, †*foine* [(fóin) at Pitsligo]. — *prenciples* [principles]. 902 [(móin) at Pitsligo]. 903 [(dóin) at Pitsligo]. — *opingan* [probably (opi'q'en) opinion]. — *conjusteece* [injustice]. — *inquaries* [inquiries, accent first syllable]. 904 váilet [violet]. 908 [(advóis) at Pitsligo]. — †*fuscal* [fiscal]. — *preecesely* [precisely? with (z)]. — *idoleest* [idolised]. — *practeece* [practise]. — *advertteece* [advertise]. *exerceese* [exercise]. — *martyreesin* [martyrising]. — C sá'iz [size]. — *veesitin* [visiting]. 910 djist. — *seet* [site]. — *inveetit* [invited]. — *teetle enteeetled*, †*teetle* [title, entitled]. — C striiv [strive]. — *ceevil* [civil]. — *preevilege* [privilege]. 912 [(vóis) at Pitsligo].

O.. 913 kóty. 914 bróty. — *joukin* [joking]. 915 stof. 916 iqen. — *drogs* [drugs]. 918 fib'l. 919 éintment. 920 péint. 921 akwa'nt. — B fi'r [fair=market]. — *pushion't* [poisoned]. 924 tjéis. 925 véis. 926 spéil, C spá'il. — *stamackie* [little stomach]. — C promist [promised]. — *soom* [sum]. — CJ grém'l [grumble]. — M akuu'nt [account], *coont*. 928 ons *ans. — run, *roond* [round]. — *expoondin* [expounding]. — *coontin* [counting]. 930 léin. — *croon* [crown]. — *ordeen* [ordain]. 934 banti. 935 kántri, M kwintre¹ *countra kwintrá*, B kwintrí. 937 kok. — † *chöck* [choke]. — C pryvok [provoke]. 938 kornør. — † *pöst* [post]. 939 kloos † *clös* [v(klos) perhaps]. — † *nöt* [note=(not) or (not) perhaps]. — † *röt* [rote]. 940 kwite. 941 fiil [*feelish* foolish]. — *tribbles* troubles. 942 buttyr. 943 taty. — *pooder* [powder]. 944 aluu'. 945 vuu. 947 béil. 948 bul [a ball, glass marble]. 949 muuld. 950 sápur. 951 kap'l. — tarn [turn]. — *puss* [purse, r suppressed=(päs)?], † *puss*, [purse, s.Ba.]. 952 ii. *coorse*. 953 káz'n. 954 kashen. — *stoot* [stout]. 955 dut. — *poers* [powers]. 956 kavør, *courin* [recovering]. — *dizzen* [dozen]. 959 i. konvá.

U.. 960 kéei. — M wé'it wyte [*wytin*, wait waiting]. — M djíudj *jeedge* [judge]. 963 kwejet *quate* [*quaetness* quietness]. 954 shuut. 965 éil. 966 frit † *freet*. 967 sit [(sit v kleez) suit of clothes]. 968 éistar. — M ruu'lt *rowle* [ruled rule]. — *poopit* [pulpit]. — *multiteed* [multitude]. — *shoopreme* [supreme]. — B stupid [stupid]. 969 seerli, C shuur siir [(é₁siir) assure]. — *keerious* [curious]. — *feerious* [furious]. — *exceesable* [excusable]. — C is, *ees eeseful*, † *ees* [use useful, C (is)ty, J (ist tu) used to]. — *refeesin* refusing. — *eeswal* [usual]. — † *agust* [august, possibly meant for (aa'gast)]. 970 **joost*, C djy'st. — *breet* [brute]. — *constiteetion* [constitution].

D 40. = n.NL. = northern North Lowland, = Dr.
Murray's *Caithness*.

Boundaries. On the w. the CB. or Celtic Border, elsewhere the sea-coast of Cs.

Area. The ne. part of Cs. This was of course originally Celtic, as the rest of Cs. is. Then it became Norse, afterwards Celtic again, and finally Lowland.

Authorities. Printed, Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 238) cited below, under *Characters*. The Wick cs. pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of three men of Wick, and given previously in the Introduction to L., No. 7, among the 8 cs., pp. 683, 684, 696. Notes obtained in a previous interview with Rev. R. Macbeth, Feb. 1874.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "In Cs. in addition to the consonantal peculiarities of the North-East [D 39], we find (1) the use of *sh* for *ch*, *shylder*=children, and (2) the singular dropping of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words, so that *the*, *they*, *them*, *there*, *that*, appear as (i, *ee*, *em*, *eer*, *ət*). (3) The pairs made maid, tale tail are distinguished as (*méid mee*, *d*, *téil tee*, *l*), a very different distinction from that used in the South [D 33, p. 710*d*]. (4) So the words *one*, *home*, *bread*, *head*, *place*, *way* are *eynn* (*éin éin*), *heyne*, *breyde*, *heyd*, *pleyce*, *wey*. (5) *While*, *bide*, *wife* are foyle or fhoyle, boyd, woyfe (*wohif*)."

On this I observe (1) and (2) are confirmed; of (3) I could get no confirmation; (4) the words are from very heterogeneous sources, and I only heard (*éi*); (5) I did not hear (*ói*) for (*éi*) or (*ái*).

The following are the notes obtained from Rev. R. Macbeth, see p. 683, No. 7.

1. *ch* initial becomes (sh) as (*sháild*, *shíldør*, *sha'pel* sheep) child, children, chapel.

2. *th* initial in the pronominal words *the*, *this*, *that*, *they*, *them*, *there* is generally altogether omitted, the words appearing as (*e'*, *is*, *at*, *em*, *eer*) as (*e'* man, *e* diit) the man, they died. See D 39, Rev. W. Gregor's notes, Nos. 6, 7, *suprà* pp. 777, 778.

3. *tr-*, *dr-* are decidedly dental (*t,r-*, *d,r-*), as they were indicated in D 38, p. 757, last line, and, I believe, found partly in D 39, so that the dentality may have extended over all NL.

4. (k, g) are not labialised into (*kw-*, *gw-*) before an (i) which replaces Ó', hence (*gid*, *skil*) are said, and (*kwéit*, *kwéil*) coat, cool are not used.

5. *wr-* initial does not become (*vr-*). I heard (*wra'q*, *rwa'q*) distinctly, not (*w'ra'q*).

6. (f) for (wh) is used as in Ab., and I ascertained that it was distinctly labio-dental, not a pure labial (ph), but I did not examine for (fh).

7. For A' words the forms (*bin*, *stin*) were not used, but only (*been*, *steen*) bone, stone.

8. Instead of confusing both the son of a man and the sun in the sky under one form (*se'n*), as in D 39, they use (*sin*) for the man and (*smn*) for the star.

9. I was not able to verify Dr. M.'s differences of *made*, *tale* and *maid*, *tail*, as the last class of words do not occur in the cs. But *name*, which belongs to the first class, I heard as (*neem*), and I also heard his *home* as (*heem*), but *once* was (*éins*), the other words did not occur.

10. *Wife* I heard as (*wáif*) not (*wóhif*), but I was told that (*póip*) pipe was very common.

11. No distinction was made between the verbal noun and the participle.

12. The high-(a') which I marked from Rev. R. Macbeth, I did not afterwards notice in the dictation of the cs.

13. In other respects D 40 seems to resemble D 39.

Illustrations. The cs. already referred to.

A cwl. containing the words in the cs. and a few others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

WICK, Cs., cwl.

containing the words in the Wick cs., No. 7, p. 684, and others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 mak. 21 neem. 34 last. A: 49 haq. 51 man. 54 want. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fee. 64 *rwaq* *wraq* [not (*w'raq*)]. A'- 67 gid [went], gjaan [going]. 72 faa. 73 so. 74 *twaa*. 79 een. 82 éins. 84 meer. 87 kleez. 89 beeth. 92 [(ken) used]. 94 kraa. A': 102 aks. 104 rodi. 110 ii. noo no. 111 okht. 113 heel. 115 heem. 117 éi. 118 been. 122 ii. nii. 124 steen. 125 onli. 137 ii. nē [(r) dropped].

Æ- 138 feedherz. 144 ege'n. Æ: 154 bak. 158 efter. 161 dee. 162 is dee [=this day]. 164 me. 169 fan. 173 wez. 177 at [(dh) dropped]. 179 fat. Æ'- 194 oni éni. Æ': 209 never. 213 edher. 214 nedher. 223 eer [(dh) dropped]. 224 faar. 227 wit.

E- 231 e' [(dh) dropped]. 233 speak. 244 wil. 252 ket'l. 256 s,t,retjt [stretched]. 261 see [(se'un) saying, (sez) says]. 263 waa. 265 streekt. 269 hímzl. 271 tæl. 273 men. 276 thiqk? 281 lénth. E'- 290 hii. 292 mi. 293 wi. 301 hiir. 312 hiir. 314 hard.

EA- 320 kjee'rz. EA: 321 sa. 322 læk. 330 had. 332 [(tælt) used]. 335 aa. 338 kee. 344 beerni. EA'- 348 [(in) eyes]. 349 fi'ü. EA': 357 thoo. 359 nibor. 366 greet. EI- 373 e. EI: 378 week. 380 em [(dh) dropped]. EO- 387 niuu. EO: 390 shed. 392 jen [(dhon) in Fi. and Ab.]. 395 jæq. 399 brekht. EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. EO': 422 sik. 427 bi. 430 frin. 435 jii. 437 tra'uth. EY- 438 dii [(diit) died]. EY: 439 t,rast.

I- 440 wik. 446 nain. 447 her. I: 452 a)m [I am], did)ø [did I]. 455 lái. 456 ge'f. 458 nekht. 465 søk. 466 sháild [shildør] children]. 469 wal. 470 he'm. 477 [(fan) found, pt.]. 482 e'z)d. [is it]. 484 dhes [(dh) not dropped, and is [with (dh) dropped]. 489 he'd. — sin séin [since]. I'- 494 táim. 495 whéin. — póip [pipe, common]. I': 500 léik le'k. 505 wáif. 506 gid wáif. 509 fel [in the sense of until, unacc.]. 510 main.

O- 518 bodi. 519 ósr. 524 warl. O: 531 dokh,tø,r. 535 fóuk. 538 wed. 544 i. dhen, ii. dhen. 546 fa. 550 ward. O'- 556 tyy.

560 skil. O': 571 gid. 579 eniokh. 586 di)nə [don't]. 587 din. 588 nin. 592 swoor.
 U- 603 kəm. 604 semr. 605 se'n sīn. 606 door. U: 612 sām.
 616 grān. 625 tēq. 629 sām. 631 fiurzdee. 634 thrau. U'- 641 fuu
 huu. 643 nuu. 651 widhuut. U': 658 duun. 663 huus. 667 uut.
 Y- 673 mak'l. 674 did. 675 d,rái. 682 [(piri) old word for little].
 Y: 701 fersht. 702 wí. Y'- 706 whéi.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — sabith [Sabbath]. 732 hapen. O. 765 :tjok. 781 bodher.
 791 bói. U. 797 skwíken. 798 kwíir. 804 drāqk'n. — həri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 835 reez'n. — sha'pel shəepəl [chapel]. 857 kees. —
 reet [rate]. — me'tar [matter]. 862 seef. E.. 867 tii. 885 vera. 890
 best. I.. and Y.. 901 fáin. O.. 925 wáis. 938 korner. 939 klooz.
 941 fil. 947 bóil. 950 saper. 955 duut. U.. 963 kwéit. 969 shuur.
 970 djest.

D 41 & 42 = IL. = Insular Lowland.

The languages of the two groups of islands at the ne. of Scotland known as the Orkneys and Shetlands stand in a peculiar relation to that of the mainland, but are nevertheless decidedly L. in character. These islands were discovered and reduced by Agricola, A.D. 89. In A.D. 396 the Saxons seem to have been established in Or. In A.D. 682 the islands were laid waste by Brude, a Pictish king, apparently a Christian. All these events were without influence on present speech, the history of which commences with the conquest and settlement by the Norse. From 872 to 1231 there were Norse Jarls in Or., but subsequently the islands were governed by the Scotch Earls of Angus (1231-1321), Strathern (1321-1379), and St. Clair (1379-1468), but owned allegiance to Denmark. On 8 Sept. 1468, when the language of the people was distinctly Norse, Margaret, daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, married by contract James III. of Scotland, and, by way of marriage dower, Or. was pledged for 50,000 florins of the Rhine and Sd. for 8000. The pledge was intended to be temporary, and the language, laws, and customs of the island were strictly protected in the deed of pledge. But the pledge was never redeemed; after 1611 the Norse laws and customs were not respected, and the two groups of islands now form an English borough with 7394 voters, returning one member to parliament. The Norse language is extinct. Thomas Flell, of Furso in Harray, Pomona, Or., who died an old man in 1810, spoke Norse. In 1858 Prince L.-L. Bonaparte met at Unst, Sd., and in Or. some decrepit old men, who still recollected having heard "Norn," that is, Norse, spoken by very old people about 1780. The present language is English, taught by Lowlanders, chiefly from NL. to Norwegians. It is therefore an acquired tongue, and has not lasted long enough to

be a true dialect. It is however by no means a book English, and the two groups of islands have points of difference. From the islands lying between these groups, Foula and Fair Isle, which are said to present some interesting varieties, I have been unable to obtain information.

Leaving the particulars for my examination of D 41 and D 42 separately, the general and distinctive character of both groups consists in the treatment of *th*, which is not quite the same in each group. Five cases may be distinguished. The following contains a list of all the words in each case which I have observed, arranged alphabetically in each group. The ordinary spelling precedes in Roman. The *pal.* refers to D 42 Sd. only. The unmarked italic are in Mr. Dennison's orthography, and refer to D 41, Or. only. The italic with † prefixed are in Mr. Stewart's spelling, and are exclusively Sd.

I. *th* = (d).

blithe †*blide* †*blied*.
bother (boder).
brother (brider).
father (fæðer) †*feader*.
farther †*farder*.
gathered (gæðrd).
mother (mæðer) †*mídder*.
neither (næðer, næ'der).
other (iðer) †*ídder*.
rather (ræðer).
that *dat* 'at (dat) †*dat*.
the *de* (dæ) †*da*.
thee *dee* (dii, di).
them *dem* (ðem) †*dem*.
their *der* †*der*.
then *dan* †*den*.
there *ðere* *der* (deer).
they *ðei*, they're (ðær).
thine (ðá'in).
this *ðis* (ðæs) †*ðis*.
thou (ðu) †*ðoo*.
thy *ðee* *ði* (ðá'i) †*ðy*.
together (tæge'dær).
whether (whidær).
worthy (wærdi).

north *nort*'.
strength *strent*'.
thanked †*ankit*.
thanks †*tanks*.
thatch †*aik*.
thick †*ick*.
thief †*ief* †*tief*.
thigh †*ee*.
think †*tink* †*tink*.
thinkst (tæqkst).
thirst †*irst* [sometimes].
thirty †*retty*.
though †*o*' (too).
thought †*ought* (tæukht) †*tocht*.
thread (trid) †*treed*.
threat (træt).
three †*ree* (tri).
thrashing †*reshen* †*trashin*.
thrift †*trift*.
thrive †*rive*.
through †*rou*' (tru tro) †*trow*.
throttle †*rapple*.
thumb †*oom* †*toom*.
unearthly †*unearthly*.
worth *wirt*' †*wirt*.

III. *th* = (th).

beneath *eneath*.
both *baith* (bæth) †*baith*.
nothing *naethin* *naithen* (næ'then).
froth *froth*.
heathen (hæthen).
oath (ooth).
thing (thiq thæq), rarely (tiq).
thole *thole*.
thousand *thoosan*.
troth *trath*.
truth *treuth*.
without (vethunt).
wrath *wraith*.

NOTE. The words *the*, *them*, *their*, *then*, *there*, *they*, *this*, have also initial (d) in D 9, p. 131, but there is no known connection between the two cases. The (d) is going out in D 41.

II. *th* = (t).

athwart *at'wart*.
earth *ert*' †*teert* †*tert*.
firth *firt*'.
fourth (fort).
length *lent*' (lænt) †*lent*.
mouth †*mout*.

IV. *th* = (dh).

both (bæ̃[dhth), (dh) touched lightly.
 mother *mīther*.
 neither *naither*.
 weather *wather*.
 without (æ̃dhuu) †*withoot*.

V. *d* or *t* = (dh) observed in Or. only.

body *bothy*.
 bottom *bodhom*.
 lady *lethy*.
 shoulder *shuther*.
 steady *stathy*, ʒʒ in Ws.

Ch initial becomes (sh) in Sd. only, and not in Or., although the latter is much closer to Cs., where the change also occurs.

Th becomes (f) in Thursday (fæ̃rzdæ) in both Sd. and Or., but some old Or. people use (t).

kn-, *gn-* have (k, g) pron. in both.

The intonation in both dialects is distinctly not L., but much more like English, so far as I could judge by hearing Miss Malcolmson of Sd. read. The intonation of Mr. Dennison of Or. was not so like English.

D 41 = s.I.L. = southern Insular Lowland.

Boundary and Area, those of the Or. Islands. On the principal island, Pomona, and the islands to the s. of it, dialect is nearly extinct, and fairly good book-English prevails. It is only in the n. islands that the genuine dialect is yet heard. Hence, properly speaking, perhaps these only should be included in D 41.

Authorities. My chief authority is Mr. Walter Traill Dennison's "The Orcadian Sketch-Book, being Traits of old Orkney Life, written partly in the Orkney Dialect," Kirkwall (Pomona, Or.), 1880. This is an excellent specimen of a dialect book, well spelled, as may be seen by the cwl. below, though not always quite free from ambiguity, but fortunately I was able to see the author in August, 1884, and June, 1888, and, although both interviews were inevitably hurried, I thus obtained the solution of nearly all my difficulties, and I was enabled to correct two long specimens given below from his dictation. I have also consulted Tudor's "The Orkneys and Shetlands," Stanford, London, 1883, kindly lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which contains an interesting account of the physical features of these islands, but neglects the language entirely.

Characters. The chief character of the whole group with respect to *th* has already been given, p. 789. The principal points in which Or. differs from Sd. are the use of (h̃d) for (it), the treatment of A- and A', and the absence of (sh-) for (tj-). Referring for particulars to the cwl. below, and using * to point out usages which are different in Sd.

A- generally *(ii, i, i) as (m̃id, t̃il, ñim) made, tale, name, but occasionally (a, à) as (kwak, wad, sam) quake, wade, same.

A' generally (1) *(ii, i, i); (2) occ. (ee, è, ee, è), but I do not use (ee è) forms, being uncertain about this; (3) rarely (aa, à). Thus, (1) (ñii, miin) no, moan; (2) (see, leekjht) so, low; (3) (whaa, raaren) who, roaring.

Æ' generally (ee) as (leev, sweet) leave, sweat, but occ. shortened to (a), as (stadh̃) steady.

E' generally (ii, i, i) also, as (fit) feet.

EA before L, when L is lost, is usually (aa), as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA' is usually (ii, i, i), as (did, lid) dead, lead (the metal), occ. (ee), as (teerz) tears.

EO' is usually (ii, i, i), as (tii) thigh, (trii) three, but occ. (əə, ə) as (shəə, ʃəəl) she, yule, so that the combinations A-, A', Æ', E', EA', EO' are all usually (ii, i, i).

I: is possibly (i₁), but I have generally contented myself with writing (i). Mr. D. seems to use *i* in the north L. manner, see p. 767, for example *(hid), in Sd. (hit) once only, but in *night* and such words I: becomes (á₁), as (ná₁ikjht) night.

O: generally (o), but occasionally varies as (tap, drip, óus'n) top, drop, oxen. O' regularly (əə, ə), which may be (yy₁, y₁); but *look* is exceptionally (læk), and the sound is delabialised in (bridhər, fít) broken, foot.

U: is regularly (u), and U' is (uu).

Among the consonants the principal usages have been explained, *suprà*, p. 790.

Illustrations. The story of *Paety Toral's Travellye*, from Mr. Dennison's book, my palaeotypic rendering of which was corrected in a vv. interview. This little story is comparable in many respects with *Tam o' Shanter* already given, but is superior as an illustration, because it is throughout written in dialect without any admixture of English, as in Burns's poem, and furnishes an insight into peasant life and superstitions, without any tincture of real supernaturalism. After my first interview with Mr. Dennison he translated John Gilpin into the Orkney of 50 years ago, and at my second interview we went over the whole of it carefully together and hence I add it here.

PAETY TORAL'S TRAVELLYE—PETER TORAL'S TUMBLE.

Written by Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, and published in his *Orkadian Sketch-Book* (Kirkwall, Pomona, Orkney, 1880). It is here printed in pal. as corrected from Mr. Dennison's dictation. There are so many dialectal words that the original spelling is not given, but a literal *translation* is added in the right hand column, and special difficulties are explained in notes at the end referring to the number of the lines. In the title *Paety* (:peeti) is short for Peter. *Toral* (:too-ral) is a common name. *Travellye* (trévəl'i) is a noisy tumble, accompanied with much force; the *tra*, which may be *through* indistinctly pron. (with *t* for *th* as usual, see v. 10), seems to be employed as an intensive prefix, for *vellye* occurs separately, v. 187, and is translated 'force' in Mr. D.'s glossary, and may be related to Jamieson's "*Vele, veyl*, a violent current or whirlpool." In *traboond*, v. 85, we have the same *tra* prefixed to *boond*, see note there.

Generally, Mr. D.'s (a₁i, a₁u) sounded like (á₁i, á₁u), and have been so written. His short *o*, I appreciated as (o) rather than (ó), but I cannot be certain. It seemed to me that he used (ee) rather than (eé), and (e) rather than (É), but I was unable to ascertain exactly, and my ear is very likely to have been deceived. The (əə) is also doubtful, and may be (yy₁). The participle usually ends in (-ən), written *-an*, and the verbal noun in (-in) written *in'*, compare vv. 9, 11 (mogsən, wirkin), but this distinction is not observed consistently. The short *i* sounded to me (i₁), between (i, e), but I have left it (i); it was not (i). It was very often variable, like the n.L. *i*, see above, p. 767. The separation of the vowels into long and short is rather uncertain. In my second interview with Mr. Dennison it seemed to me that the vowels were generally of medial length, as in SL=D 33, and I have therefore so marked many of them. Much longer time and the hearing of genuine native *peasants*, instead of a highly educated native gentleman, would have been necessary for me to arrive at certainty. On the whole I fear that my transcriptions can only be considered approximations in the points just mentioned.

PALAEOTYPE.

TRANSLATION.

híd fêl on v dee, ii tá'im laq sá'in, when bodhê en beest wí hâqer dâd pá'in	2	It fell on a day, one time long since, When man and beast with hunger did pine
i dê jîir v dê laq snaa, (mîni in deer biir leed dat jâlles jîir, :gêd gee dem sliip, en fee wês kiip s'ik seer gaan jîirz v waa !)	4 6 8	In the year of the long snow, (Many in their bier Laid that Christmasless year, God give them sleep And from us keep Such sore going years away !)
et :peeti :tooral mogsên heem vtra'u dê snaa, wí hâqgrî weem, fe warkin on-ka wark, wêz gé'li glâft, en seerli stând. dê snaa lee diip vpo dê grand, dê líft wêz aqkê dark,	10 12 14	That Peter Toral wading home All-through the snow, with hungry belly, From working job work, Was much frightened, and sorely astounded. The snow lay deep upon the ground, The sky was extremely dark,
v muur hed faan aa dê hiil dee, an i dê fiis o v stéi bree stêd :peeti'z huus in dê lii, en híd wêz feerli' muurd vuander, see det tê fînd híd—en nê wander fu seerli paalt wêz hii.	16 18 20	A snow-cover had fallen all the whole day, And in the face of a steep hill Stood Peter's house in the lee (shelter), And it was fairly snowed under, So that to find it—and no wonder— Full sorely posed was he.
hi mogzd vbut vmaq dê snaa wí loomês kaald híz híd wêd klaa, dan wí dâmfandêrd glá'uer hi gand vrund hím i v stîmîs, tîl hii wêz feerli' i v fîmîs, en neerlânz kiived á'uer.	24 26	He waded about among the snow With hands cold his head would claw, Then with dumbfounded glower, He stared around him in a fix Till he was fairly in a fuss And nearly caved (toppled) over.
“:gêd i me foorwéi bii !” ko hii, “:gêd tak v siilfu grip o mii ! “:gêd péti' mii en má'in. “dê diil dêd neer v sinêr duus “se s'ikêrli' dêt hii híz huus “en aa itee)d sêd tá'in !	28 30 32	“God in my foreway be !” quoth he, “God take a blessed grip of me ! “God pity me and mine. “The devil did ne'er a sinner gore “So severely that he his house “And all into-it should lose.
“hói ! :dÿni lass, oo! dâes du hiir ? “oo! ar du diid? á'i niid nê spiir, “dhê tókht o)t maks mi shak ! “en aa dê beernz ! pœr bits v tîqz ! “lá'ik dê tãq o v bêl mî hert nuu diqz, “en sœrli' híd maan brak.”	34 36 38	“Hoy! Jenny lass, oh! dost thou hear? “Oh! art thou dead! I need not ask, “The thought of it makes me shake! “And all the bairns! poor bits of things! “Like the tongue of a bell my heart now dings, “And surely it must break.”

hiz een wá'if :djíní, whín shə saa vrúnd də huus də muuren snaa 40 áí há'íkjh én há'íkjhér kám, shə tòkht det hii é waf wad sii, 42 én wipén hér buuto tee də see-trii, shə reekt héd ép də lám, 44	His own wife Jenny, when she saw Around the house the covering snow Ever high and higher come, She thought that he a waving-signal would see, And wrapping her head-shawl to the pail pole, She thrust it up the chimney,
én duun shə sat í də mark huus, hér beernz vrund, no veró kruus, 46 hér brat épo' her iin. "whiist, beer'nz, whiist! t)wad bi é shiim 48 "tə eet də lempits or hii kámz hiim, "də :best kenz whar hii)z giin."	And down she sat in the dark house, Her bairns around not very cheerful, Her apron upon her eyes. "Whisht, bairns, whisht! t-would be a shame "To eat the limpets ere he comes home, "The Best knows where he's gone."
nuu :peeti sərlí tòkht hi saa sanín, hi tək héd farst for də læqz ó é kánín, 52 bít waffén í də wand. én dan hi tòkht ít wəz :djíníz buuto, 54 on glá'wərd én stəd, héd í mək'l duut ó, a piiri miinít stənd, 56	Now Peter surely thought he saw something, He took it first for the ears of a coney, Slightly fluttering in the wind. And then he thought it was Jenny's head-shawl, And glowered and stood, it in much doubt of, A little minute astounded,
én dan hi krá'íz on hiz :meekerz niim, də griit í hiz kreeg, whá'íl sət teerz fiim 58 se seer fe beeth hiz iin. "oo, :djíno, bədo! hiiv'nz læk on aa! 60 "én ar du feerlí smuurd in de snaa? "én diid di liiven liin? 62	And then he cries on his Maker's name, The sob in his throat, while the salt tears stream So sore from both his eyes. "Oh, Jenno, birdie! heavens look on all! "And art thou fairly smothered in the snow? "And diedst thou wholly alone?
"gín du bi liven, ruuz di, ruuz! "what temped di tə leev də huus, 64 "whái kam du hiir tə dii? "á'í)m feerd tə tatj di, gín dhu)r diid. 66 "las, gín dhu)r liiven, tarn dhí hiid, "oo :djíno, speek tə mii! 68	"If thou be living, rouse thee, rouse! "What tempted thee to leave the house? "Why came thou here to die? "I'm afraid to touch thee, in case thou'rt dead. "Lass, if thou'rt living, turn thy head, "O Jenno, speak to me!
"gəd bii wi mii, ez á'í tíqk laq." wi dat hi gee é məkíl spaq, 70 "dhu)r sərlí diid or dam." dan wi é spret, gláməd at də trii, 72 whín duun héd giid, én duun giid hii, trave'li trá'w də lám. 74	"God be with me, as I think long." With that he gave a great jump, "Thou'rt surely dead or dumb." Then with a spring, clutched at the pole, When down it went, and down went he, Tumble through the chimney.

duun :peeti kam wi s'k v rali, hiz faain miid v mak'l spali, hi kam la'ik v gan shot! wi snaa en sot miist la'ik te wari, en stikid hiz hid, aa i hiz hari, duun i de lempit pot,	76 78 80	Down Peter came with such a rush, His falling made a great spoliation, He came like a gun-shot! With snow and soot most like to choke, And stuck his head, all in his hurry, Down in the limpet pot,
dhat wi v eer v lempit bræ for kitin wi ræthi brid te dæ wez hiqen i de kræk, hiz mak'l hid geed s'k v tjund intee de pot wi v trëbund, de krækel band hi bræk,	82 84 86	That, with a taste of limpot broth, For flavouring with mustard bread to do, Was hanging in the crook, His big head gave such a jolt Into the pot with a rebound, The hook-chain he broke,
see in de fa'ir de pot fel dun, bit kam noo af o :peetiz krun; hi pat'ld i de fa'ir, en farkid i de amerz see dat aa hiz fok bigan te pree, en tok him for de ga'ir.	88 90 92	So in the fire the pot fell down, But came not off of Peter's crown; He paddled in the fire, And jerked in the embers so That all his folk began to pray, And took him for the devil.
vz on hiz rigin hii fel a'uær, hi ilke nist v fa'ir dæd sa'uær, en lee flat az v flæk. hiz kleez wer wiit en wæd noo la'u, bit dhe het amerz med him ra'u tel hi wan i de næk.	94 98	And on his back he fell over, He every spark of fire did scatter, And lay flat as a flounder. His clothes were wet and would not flame, But the hot embers made him roll Till he got in the nook.
de lempit bræ bigan te rin etwii'n hiz harn sark en hiz skin, hiz hid ep in v skiu, atoo hid wez noo skalden het, awiil a'i wat, hid miid him swet, for hid wez breev en liu.	102 104	The limpet broth began to run Between his harden shirt and his skin, His head up in a skew, Although it was not scalding hot, Well I wot, it made him sweat, For it was brave and lukewarm.
i de bad piis hi tokht himsel, hiz siqgen kleez miid s'k v smel, de het as glæft him meest, hi tokht dhi trii had bin de tra'u. en fee hiz ja'ulin wad no sta'u, bit boog'ld la'ik v beest.	110	In the bad place he thought himself, His singeing clothes made such a smell, The hot ash frightened him most. He thought the pole had been the devil, And from his yowling would not cease, But bellowed like a beast [ox].
whin :peeti fel wi aa dis rali, hiz beer'nz miid v firfu brali en griped iin enidher, en ran, de kent no whar te rin, wi lopæn hert, en kwaken skin, en skriken, "mam!" en "midher!"	112 114 116	When Peter fell with all this rush, His bairns made a fearful uproar And gripped one another, And ran, they knew not where to run, With leaping heart and quaking skin, And shrieking, "Mummy!" and "Mother!"

dee i v sinlo lep lá'ik fælz, kaad á'uér dè kriqloz en dhè stælz, 118 en gard aald g'ibi spander. de krá'id: "de gá'ir)z kám tróu dè ræf," 120 en duun de fel feerli i græf, der hidz dè bed stræe ander. 122	They in a huddle lapped like fools, Drove over the straw seats and the stools, And made old gibeat gallop. They cried: "the gyre's come through the roof," And down fell fairly face downwards, Their heads the bedstraw under.
nuu :djni gloomerd for dè lamp, too shæ kud barli gaq v stamp 124 fær as up' n dè flær. en dan tæ lá'ikjht dè lamp shæ røkht, 126 shæ wæz noo verø feerd shæ tøkht, en jet shæ wæz noo sær, 128	Now Jenny groped for the lamp, Though she could barely go a step For ash upon the floor. And then to light the lamp she wrought, She was not very afraid she thought, And yet she was not sure,
tæ tiqk on what kám trá'u dè lam. mebi hær hert misgeed hær sam, 130 æz on dè kol shæ blæ, en too twæz :peetiz tæq shæ tøkht 132 dat miid s'ik miin lá'ik een uut- møkht shæ wæz v liter græ. 134	To think on what came through the chimney. Maybe her heart misgave her some- what As on the coal she blew, And though 'twas Patey's tongue she thought That made such moan like one ex- hausted, She was a little afraid.
shæ wæz se skaard, shæ dæd no hiist hær, en whæn dè kol bigu'd tæ bliister, 136 shæ wæz wiil barsen wi blaain, shæ lá'ikhted dè lamp at de laq en de lent, 138 bit or shæ tærnd tæ tak v tent, hær bak læg niided klaain. 140	She was so scared, she did not hasten herself, And when the coal began to blaze She was nearly bursten with blowing, She lighted the lamp at the long and the length, But ere she turned to take a look, Her back ear needed clawing.
shæ sæd en iirisin fu luud, en dan shæ tærnd hær rund vbut 142 whaar hii en aavel lee. dhe sá'ikjht hær verø sá'ul dæd diq, for whidhær häd wæz en ertli tæq nee bit v her kud see. 146	She said an orison full loud, And then she turned herself round about Where he in helplessness lay. The sight her very soul did smite, For whether it was an earthly thing, No bit of her could say.
shæ kent dè rívlínz hii hed on, too swiien lá'ik v gliidæn skon, 148 shæ tøkht häd wæz hiz læg, bit hor'nz on hiz hid shæ saa, 150 en fint v bit o fiis evaa, dæt gee hær s'ik v fæg. 152	She knew the hide-shoes he had on, Though scorching like a smouldering cake, She thought it was his leg, But hornz on his head she saw, And devil a bit of face at all, That gave her such a fright.

beeth sæt v snaa lee on his djuupən, dæ riik fiimd uut fee aa hiz kruupən, dæ buulz haq á'wər hiz briist, duun fee dæ pot, tæ hiz wandjói, 156 dʒəst lá'ik dæ dʒaa-striqz o v tói hæq laq íntee dʒe riist. 158	Both soot and snow lay on his loose coat, The smoke foamed out from all his body, The hooks hung over his breast Down from the pot, to his misery, Just like the jawstrings of a cap Hung long into the smoking place.
hii pat'ld wí hiz loomez laq, ən í dæ pot hiz ræfu saq 160 suunded see drol ən há'u. dæ teez o dæ pot stəd əp á'wər aa, 162 troth :dʒini təkht shə sərli saa dæ mak'l horned trá'u! 164	He paddled with his hands long, And in the pot his rueful song Sounded so droll and hollow. The toes of the pot stood up over all, Truth Jenny thought she surely saw The big horned devil!
jít :dʒini tək hert whar shə dəd stand, shə kloozd hær iin, hær rak'lz grand, ən lokt hær handz on hær briist, "gin ji bi gəd, í :gədz niim kam on, 168 "ən gin ji bi bad, í :gədz niim bigon!" kod :dʒini wí v kriist. 170	Yet Jenny took heart where she did stand, She closed her eyes, her teeth ground, And locked her hands on her breast. "If ye be good, in God's name come on, "And if ye be bad, in God's name begone," Quoth Jenny with a squeeze.
"whaa)z jín et spak?" ko :peeti dan, "əz á'i)m v pəər ən sɪnfu man, 172 "həd)z :dʒini, á'i kæn sweer! "oo, tæl mi, :dʒino, bædo, tæl 174 "if di een :peeti)z faan í hel! "ən aar du wí him deer?" 176	"Who's yon that spake?" quoth Peter then, "As I'm a poor and sinful man, "It's Jenny, I can swear! "Oh tell me, Jenno, birdie, tell "If thy own Peter's fallen in hell! "And art thou with him there?"
:dʒini bigu'd tæ draa v fee, ən dan shə tək tæ laakhín see, 178 shi whiild hær on a stəəl. "ji witles bodhi, wíl ji ruuz? 180 "du)r í dæ nəək o di een huus, "ji mak'l gaap'is fəəl! 182	Jenny began to draw a [conclusion] from, And then she took to laughing so She seated herself on a stool. "You witless body, will you rouse? "Thou'rt in the nook of thy own house, "You big uproarious fool!
"taqks for)d, du)r hiim ən hiir, bii)z wəd, "aatoo du hiz no v hiil dæd, 184 "əpo di legz ən kruupən. "what ənder dæ sən on ert kud tæl di 186 "tæ kəm tróu dæ ləm wí sək v vəl?" sed :dʒini á'wər him stuupən, 188	"Thanks for it, thou'rt home and here, be [it] as would, "Although thou hast not a whole dud, "Upon thy legs and body. "What under the sun on earth could tell thee "To come through the chimney with such a force?" Said Jenny o'er him stooping.

"wɪl du lá'i deer, tɪl du bi bránt ?	"Wilt thou lie there, till thou be burned ?
"du)r riikən lá'ík v wiit kiil rənt. 190	"Thou'rt smoking like a wet cabbage stalk
"what maks di lá'i se daf ?	"What makes thee lie so dull ?
"bɪt ar du hært di, :peeti, gɪli ? 192	"But hast thou hurt thee, Peter, boy ?
"az for mesel, á'i mee bi sɪli, "á'i)m got'n sɪk v glɛf." 194	"As for myself, I may be silly, "I've got such a fright."
:dʒɪni wi aa her hert, gəd did, wad pɪd də pot fe af hɪz hid,— 196	Jenny with all her heart, good deed, Would [have] pulled the pot from off his head,—
shə lá'íkəd :peeti wɛl;—	She liked Peter well;—
bɪt dan hɪz fiis shə hed no siin, 198	But then his face she had not seen, For all she knew, it might have been
for aa shə kɛnt, hɪd má'íkjht he biin	A trick of the devil.
a plɛqki o də diil. 200	
shə weeted :peeti'z fiis tɜ sɪi, az see ɔnlá'ík hɪmsɛl wɛz hii, 202	She waited Peter's face to see, As so unlike himself was he
se blak ɛn bluu ɛn taní,	So black and blue and tawny,
me bii de :trɛ'u wɛz in də pot, 204	May be the devil was in the pot,
ɛn if hɪz klɛks on her hi got, hɪd wad no bii so kaní. 206	And if his clutches on her he got, It would not be so comfortable.
pɔər :peeti harled tee him nuu, too hii wɛz narlɪnz lá'ík tɜ spɔə, 208	Poor Peter dragged to him now, Though he was nearly like to spew, With soot upon his stomach.
wi sɔət ɛpɔ: hɪz stamo,	He found his bones all martyred sore,
hi fand hɪz biinz aa mertərd seer ;	A dizziness in his head and more,
v wɪlnes in hɪz hid and meer, a thraa i hɪz rá'íkjht gamo. 212	A sprain in his right foot.
twa)r)trii taq-ká'uz ɛfoo'ɔr hɪm lee,	Two or three seaweed branches before him lay,
i dem hi daq hɪz rɪvlɪn tee, 214	In them he thrust the toe of his cow- hide shoes,
ɛn miid v nəə kirmash.	And made a new disturbance.
tɜ pal hi gloomərd for v stəɪl, 216	To get-a-purchase, he groped for a stool,
ɛn skwandrən, lá'ík iin fù i jeel, duun giid hii wi v klash. 218	And staggering, like one drunk at Christmas, Down went he with a clash.
hɪz hid tɔk ɛp on də bak stiin ; də bodhəm o də pot ɛtwiin 220	His head took up on the back stone ; The bottom of the pot between The back stone and his skull,
də bakstiin ɛn hɪz skɛl, seevd :peeti'z hid, lá'ík v bɔtfendər.	Saved Peter's head, like a boat defender.
hi daq hɪdz bodhəm kliin i splendər, ɛn leed hɪd aa i krɛl. 224	He struck its bottom clean in splinter, And laid it all in pieces.

<p>dan :dʒɪni saa hɪz fiis wi glii, ko shəə : "oo :peeti, nuu hɪd)z dii, "oo :gəð bi taqkt du)r hiir! "ən aa wər glaf sal bi forgot. 228 "diil kon di taqks for brakɪn də pot! "de lá'ik o)d)z á'uər diir!" 230</p> <p>"oo :dʒɪno, las," koo hii tɜ hɛr, "á'i mək'l tɔkht hɪd v bin wɛr, 232 "whɪn á'i wər glaft see seer! "á'i tɪqk mi harnz wər sɛərli deezd, "nuu dʒóí bi taqkt! ɛn :gəð bi preezd, "á'i)m hiim wi dii iins meer!"</p> <p>du)l tɪqk mi tiil)z tiin laq tɜ tɛl, á'i)m rəvən á'uər wi sliip misel, 238 ɛn meer á'i sɪno tɛl di. á'i dut no wɪdut mək'l strá'if, 240 i boosəmz :peeti kɪst hɪz wá'if. see ɛnded hɪz travel'i. 242</p>	<p>Then Jenny saw his face with glee, Quoth she, "Oh! Peter, now it's thee, "Oh God be thanked thou'rt here. "And all our fright shall be forgot. "Devil give thee thanks for breaking the pot! "The like o' 't's over dear!"</p> <p>"Oh, Jenno, lass," quoth he to her, "I much thought it had been worse, "When I was frightened so sore! "I think my brains were surely dazed, "Now joy be thanked! and God be praised, "I'm home with thee once more!"</p> <p>Thou'lt think my tale's taken long to tell, I'm rolling over with sleep myself, And more I shall not tell thee. I doubt not without much strife, In bosoms Peter kissed his wife. Thus ended his Tumble.</p>
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Notes to Paety Toral's Travellye.

The numbers refer to the lines. Gl. Mr. Dennison's Glossary, Edm. Edmondson's, Jam. Jamieson's Dictionary.

1. *It*, retaining the old aspirate; as to (*i*) throughout it may be rather (*i*₁), and was sometimes difficult to distinguish from (*e*) or (*a*) like the NL. (*i*₁₁). *One*, this is sometimes (*ii*) and sometimes (*ee*), but (*ii*) was the older form.

2. *Body*, used for the human body, or man.

3. *the*, Mr. D. used *the* much oftener than *de*, but it seems that *the* is a modern Scotticism, and *de* (*də*) is the correct old form, and hence it is used throughout. Similarly (*du*, deer) thou, there, etc.

6. *God* is confounded with *good*, compare 'the Best,' v. 50.

9. *wading*, Gl. "implies, I rather think, the idea of wading through a soft substance as mud or snow."—*home*, often pron. (*hiim*), but as *wame* (*weem*) is never (*wiim*), the not uncommon pron. (*heem*) is selected.

11. *working*, *work*, written *wirkin*, *wark*, the vb. and sb. are frequently so distinguished; there seems to be a tendency to the Ab. "thick *i*."

Throughout, the verbal noun ends in (*-in*) and the participle in (*-ən*), which Mr. D. illustrates by this example: "This is a muckle biggin, war Tammy's biggan at hid noo; he was fishan lapsters i' the first of the summer, but the fishing paid peurlly the year." This agrees with SL. = D 33, p. 712, No. 6.—*job*, that which he is 'called on' to do, in distinction from *bowman wark*, the bowman=ploughman, being a constant, the *on-ka'*, one called in, an occasional servant.

14. *sky*, in German *luft*, is the air generally, but it seems to be properly the sky or heavens which are 'lifted up.'—*extremely*, properly 'un-couth,' unknownly.

15. *snow cover*, a *moor* is a heavy and a dense cover of snow.

18. *snowed under*, or as we say *over*, the house being below.

19. *wonder*, written *winder*, another example of the NL. thick *i*, which here, as shewn by the rhyme, sounds (*a*).

20. *posed*, Gl. "in difficulty, without the possibility of extrication."

22. *hands*, Edm. "*loamicks*, the hands, a cant word." Sd. The final *o* of the text is a termination which seems to vary as (*i, o, e*), compare Jenno 60, 68, 174, 231, generally Jenny; *buddo* = birdie, 60, 174; *gamo* = foot 212, *stammo* = stomach 209, *vero* = very 46, 127, 144, *sinlo* = confused heap 117, *cringlos* 118; *booto* 54 rhymes with *dubt o*, which ought to imply an *o* pron., I follow Mr. D.'s spelling.—*head*, spelled *heed* 67, 79, 84, 150, 196, which implies (*hiid*) long, but *heid* 101, 122, 211, 219, 222, which implies (*hid*) short or (*hid*) medial.

24. *stared*, Gl. "*gan*, to stare with upturned face, eyes and mouth wide open." Edm. "*gaan*, to stare, gaze vacantly," Sd.—*fix*, Gl. "*stimmis*, that state of doubt and uncertainty which brings a person into what we call a fix." Edm. "*stumst*, taken aback, stupefied with astonishment," Sd.

25. *fuss*, Gl. "*fmis*, a state of great excitement and irritation." Edm. "*fimmish*, a hurry, a perplexity," Sd.

26. *toppied*, fell into a faint, evidently the slang "caved" or bent over.

27. *foreway*, the way before me, it is the prayer "prevent us," that is, go before us.

28. *blessed*, Jam. "*seelfu' seilfu'*, pleasant, but "*seile, seyle, sela*, happiness," German *seligkeit*.

30. *gore*, so in glossary, it is to butt at with his head and horns, and hence gore like a bull. Jam. "*douss*, a blow or stroke," comparing "*doyce*, a dull heavy stroke, Angus; the flat sound caused by the fall of a heavy body, Angus."

31. *severely*, Gl. "*sicker*, severe, harsh; not *secure* as in Scotch." Jam. "*sickerly*, firmly; smartly regarding a stroke."

39. *when*, I think this is pron. (*whgn*), but I keep (*whin*) as in original, which implied most probably the "thick *i*," p. 767.

40. *covering snow*, see the note on verse 15.

42. *signal*, something that waves as a flag.

43. *head-shawl*, Gl. "*booto, boota, bootie*, a square woollen cloth worn by females, sometimes over the shoulders, but more frequently over the head," called (*buut-o, -i, -ek*) in different islands. Edm. writes "*buitie buito*."—*pail pole*, *sae* is a pail or bucket,

Fr. *seau*, and *tree* the pole by which it was carried, a large pail by two persons, but two small ones, one at each end of the pole, by one person passing the pole over one shoulder like the water carriers of Venice.

44. *thrust*, Gl. "*rakid*, to thrust in."—*chimney*, *lum* is the regular L. word.

49. *home*, see v. 9.

53. *wind*, although (*wind*) was given me, the rhyme, v. 56, requires (*wand*), and that is the common L. form.

56. *little*, (*pii-ri*) is a common IL form, and is even found in NL, p. 788, No. 682.

58. *the sob in his throat*, that is, I presume, the hysterical sob, and though I find no authority for the sb. (*griit*), the vb. meaning 'to weep' is quite common.—*throat*, Jam. "*crag, crage, craig*, the neck, the throat."—*stream*, Gl. "*feeman*, pouring, streaming; applied to the flowing of blood," the pron. (*film*) shews that the word is *foam*, Ws. *fám*.

60. *birdie*, a common term of endearment.

62. *wholly alone*, so Gl.; Edm. "*hief-on* quite alone," in that case (*liiv-øn liin*) seems to have a repetition in (*-øn*) and (*liin*) one and alone. The phrase is obscure.

69. *as I think long*, Mr. D. translated to me "help, for my need is great," possibly "God help me, as for ever." Mr. D. also put it as "in proportion to the terrible fear which I have." But after all, I don't understand how the phrase comes to mean anything of the kind.

72. *spring*, Or. *spret*, possibly related to spurt, sudden effort.—*clutch*, Jam. "*glamp*, to grasp ineffectually, to endeavour to lay hold of a thing beyond one's reach."

74. *tumble*, "*travellye*, a catastrophe; a fall, accompanied with great force and noise," see title.

75. *rush*, Gl. "*rullye*, a great rush."

76. *spoliation*, so Gl., "spoil, illegal meddling with moveable goods," Jam.

78. *choke*, Gl. "*wirry*, to choke." Jam. "*worry*, to strangle, to choak, be suffocated," also spelled *wirry, wery*.

81. *little*, Jam. "*air*, hair, used for a thing of no value." Edm. "*air*, a peerie air, a mere tasting; *air*, a very small quantity; *air*, to taste," both Or. and Sd.

82. *tastiness*, Jam. "kitchen, anything eaten with bread."—*reathy breed*, Gl. "bread made from the seeds of the wild mustard; it was often the only bread in the houses of the poor; but was mixed, when possible, with corn meal."—*to do*, to add to mustard bread to give it a flavour.
84. *jolt*, Gl. "*jund* (*u* as in *June*), a heavy blow; a strong push; a heavy fall; also a large piece of any substance. Mr. Dennison pronounced (*tj*) not (*dj*).
85. *rebound*, Gl. "*traboond*, rebound; but the word, as in the text, is also applied to a blow that moves the object struck out of its position."
86. *hook chain*, Gl. "*oreukal band*—chain from which a cooking pot hangs over the fire."
89. *paddled*, Gl. "*pattle*—to move the hands backwards and forwards through any yielding substance; the motion of the fins of a fish is the best illustration of the movement."
90. *jerked*, Gl. "*ferky*—to hitch; to move the body in a jerking manner."
91. *devil*, Gl. "*gyre*—a powerful and malignant spirit" which may or may not be different from "*trou*—the Trow, Satan," mentioned v. 164; Jam. "*gyre carling*, Hecate or the mother witch of the peasants, a hobgoblin, a scarecrow."
93. *back*, Danish *ryg*, old Norse *hryggr*, German *rücken*; compare *ridge*, often (*rig*) in the n.
94. *spark*, Gl. "*nist*—a spark of fire; a live coal; a very small fire."—*scatter*, so in Gl.
95. *flounder*, the old Ws. *floc* becomes naturally *fleuk*.
96. *low* is a flame.
98. *till he got* or arrived, ordinary northern sense of *to win*, in *the nook* or chimney corner.
100. *harden*, Gl. "*harn*, rough cloth made of the coarsest flax," see pp. 736, 741, v. 171.
101. *in a skew*, Gl. "a twist; being turned from the proper position to one side."
104. *brave and lukewarm*, fairly hot, though not boiling.
105. *place*, printed *piece*, meaning *place* or *room*, compare the French "un appartement de cinq pièces."
106. *singeing*, Jam. "to *sing* to singe."
107. *frightened*, Jam. "to *gliff*, *gluff*, to be seized with sudden fear; to affright," and as a sb. "sudden fear"; the hot ashes made him fear he was burning in hell.
109. *cease*, Gl. "*stow*—to stay; to stop speaking or eating." Compare the English phrase "stow that!" have done! cease! Obs. the pron. different from English (*stoo'w*), but agreeing with the high German *stauen*.
111. *rush*, see v. 75.
112. *uproar*, Gl. "*brullye* (*u* as in *skull*), great confusion and turmoil; a fall or fight, causing breakage or disorder in a house."
116. *mam*, child's word for mother, contraction of *mammy*; for father they say *ded*.
117. *huddle*, Gl. "*sinlo*, a group of two or more persons entangled together, or huddled together, in very close proximity."—*lap*, Gl. "*lep*, to lap with the tongue," meaning here I suppose that they kept putting their tongues out like fools.
118. *drove*, that is, hurried; Gl. "*ca*' in driving." Jam. "to *call*; *ca*' to move quickly, to go in or enter in consequence of being driven." See p. 732, v. 25, and notes to John Gilpin, st. 55 below.—*straw seats*, Gl. "*eringlo*, a low round stool, formed by twisting straw into a very thick rope, which being coiled in a circular form, was sewn together with bent cords—'bands.'"
119. *old gibcat*, castrated cat, see Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part i. 1, 2, 83.
121. *face downwards*, Gl. "*i' greuf*, in a prostrate position, face downwards." Jam. "*grufe*, *groufe*, on *groufe*, flat, with the face towards the earth." Icelandic *grúfa*, same meaning.
126. *wrought*, worked hard, by blowing a live coal, see vv. 131, 136, 138.
133. *exhausted*, of power; Gl. "*oot-moucht*, quite tired out, exhausted; out of breath." Compare German *Ohnmacht* swoon, *ohnmächtig* powerless.
134. *afraid*, Gl. "*grue*, afraid, suspicious of danger"; Jam. "to *groue*, *groue*, to shudder, to shiver, to be filled with terror, to shrink back, to feel horror; *growsome*, frightful."
139. *to take a look*, Jam. "*tent*, care, attention; to *tak tent*, to be attentive."
143. *helplessness*, Gl. "*aval*, (first *a* as last *a* in *papa*, last *a* as Aber-

donians sound [second] *i* in *shilling*), prostrate, in a helpless position." Jam. "availl, abasement, humiliation."

144. *ding*, is freely used for all manner of striking or piercing.

147. *hide-shoes*, Gl. "*riwlin*, a sandal or shoe made of raw hide." Jam. "*rewetyngs, rowlyngis, rillings*, shoes of undressed hides with the hair on them." Ws. *rifting*, sandal.

148. *scorching*, Edm. "*swee* (to), to singe, to scorch, Shetland, Danish *svide*, Gothic *svida*."—*smouldering*, Gl. "*gleed*, to burn slowly and without flame."—*cake*, cow-dung made into cakes for burning.

151. *devil*, fiend.—*at all*, literally of all (v̄v aa).

152. *fright*, 'fleg' seems to be the common L. *fley, flee*, to frighten.

153. *loose coat*, Gl. "*joopan*, a coarse loose coat, approaching in shape to the modern sack coat." Chaucer says of his knight "of fustian he wered a gipoun"; modern Fr. *jupon*, a petticoat, said to come from the Arabic.

154. *body*, Gl. "*croopan*, the trunk of the body of man or lower animal."

155. *hooks*, Gl. "*bools*, two bent iron rods, hinged together at the upper ends, having the lower ends hooked, so as to fasten into ears of a cooking pot; the pot was suspended on, and lifted to and from, the crook by the bools."

156. *misery*, Gl. "*wanjoy*, sorrow, want of joy;" *wan*, Danish *van*, has the effect of English *un-*, *unjoy*, misery.

157. *jawstrings of a cap*, the strings which fasten on a cap by passing under the jaws; Gl. "*toy*, a woman's cap;" Jam. "*toy*, a headdress of linen or woollen, that hangs down over the shoulders, worn by women of the lower class." The word is used by Burns

"I wad na been surpris'd to spy
You on an auld wife's flainen toy."

Lines to a Louse, on seeing one on a Lady's Bonnet at Church.

158. *smoking place*, Gl. "*reest*, place where the fish, etc., are smoked." Jam. "to *reist*, to dry by the heat of the sun, or in a chimney;" Danish *rist*, a gridiron.

159. *paddled*, see v. 89.—*hands*, see v. 22.

166. *teeth*, Gl. "*yackel*, v. to gnaw;

n. a molar tooth." Edm. "*yackle*, a grinder, a double tooth."

170. *squeeze*, Gl. "*kreest*, v. to press, to squeeze; n. pressure," squeezing her words out like water from a nearly dry sponge.

175. "*draw a conclusion from*, have an idea of," Gl., so that by leaving out conclusion (*fee*) is made into a substantive!

179. *seated herself*, Gl. "*wheeld*, to sit down, to rest; Danish *hvile*, to rest;" Edm. "*wheelicreuse*, a churchyard; Orkney, from Icelandic *hvila*, bed, couch, and *króa*, to enclose."

182. *uproarious*, Gl. "*gapas*, one who is light and uproarious in folly;" Jam. "*gapus*, a fool; also *gilly-gapus, gilly-gawpy*, and *gilly-gacus*." Icelandic "*gapi*, homo futilis, immodestus," Haldorsen. Compare *gaby*. All from *gaping*.

183. *be it as would*, Gl. "*bees will*, be as it will, be as it may, anyhow, however; also spelled *bees-wid*." This *wid* I take to be 'would.'

184. *auld*, Jam. "clothing especially of an inferior quality."

187. *force*, see title.

190. *stalk*, Jam. "*runt*, trunk of a tree, hardened stalk as a *kail runt*, the stem of the colewort; the tail of an animal; a contemptuous designation for a female, generally applied to one advanced in life, with *auld* prefixed."

191. *dull*, applied also to a blunt knife.

192. *hast thou hurt thee*, lit. art thou hurt thee, obs. the construction, similar to the Fr. *t'es-tu blessé*.—*boy*, Gl. "*gillie*, a familiar term of address used to both males and females. It is used by the humbler classes among themselves as *sir* is used among the higher classes, but implies no idea of respect, and is used indiscriminately to both sexes; it is not considered proper to use it when addressing a superior."

194. *I've gotten*. Obs. that *I'm gotten* is used.

195. *good deed*, in very deed, in reality. Mr. D. writes *giddeed* in one word.

196. Obs. omission of 'have,' and compare p. 733, v. 73.

200. *trick*, this is all that is said about *plunkie* in Gl. and Edm. But Jam. has "to *plunk*, to play the truant."

205. *clutches*, Gl. "*cleuks*, clutches; sometimes applied to the hands." Compare p. 737, v. 217.

211. *dizziness*, Gl. "will, to lose one's way; to wander not knowing where; the state of having lost one's way, hence to *gae will*, to lose one's way.—*witness*, dizziness, from *will*." Jam. "*will, wyll, wil, wyl*, lost in error, uncertain how to proceed." Icelandic *vila*, to lament, to doubt.

212. *sprain*, Jam. "*thraw*, to wreath, to twist; to wrench, to sprain." Mr. D. writes *thr-*, and I am uncertain whether (*thraa*) or (*traa*) is said.

213. *seaweed branches*, tang is large seaweed used for fuel, Gl. "*cow*, a branch or sprig of seaweed or heather."

216. *get a purchase*, Edm. "*paal*, a post or pillar, a fixture against which

the feet are planted so as to afford a purchase in pulling horizontally."

219. *took up on*, struck against.

222. *boat defender*, possibly wood placed on the sides of a boat to keep it off the rocks, or the pad let down from the pier or rock to prevent damage to the wood of the boat.

223. *splinter*, Jam. "*splendris*, splinters."

224. *in pieces*, Gl. "*i' crull*, in a crushed broken state."

238. *rolling*, Gl. "*reuan*, nodding through sleep." Jam. "to *row*, to roll."

239. *shall not*, so Gl.

241. *in bosoms*, closely embraced, bosom to bosom.

JOHN GILPIN,

translated into the oldest form of the Orkney dialect which Mr. W. Traill Dennison had heard spoken, and pal. from his dictation 14th June, 1888, by A.J.E. Mr. Dennison has prefixed the following remarks:

"The writer when a boy began to collect old words used by the Orkney peasantry, and he has for well nigh half a century watched with interest the change which, during this period, the dialect of Orkney has undergone. The very old people with whom he was acquainted in his youth used many words which, though understood, were not used by the younger people. And, now that these younger people have become old, the young generation has dropped many words used by their parents, and a more modern pronunciation is attempted. There can be no doubt that during the last bygone half century the popular speech of these islands has undergone, and is now undergoing, an ever-accelerating change. Every improvement in popular education, every increase in trade, and facility of intercourse with strangers, cheap literature, and the multitude of newspapers, each of these has proved a wave before which much of the old language has sunk into the sea of oblivion, and all the influences of progress and modern civilization taken together, form a mighty current that will soon sweep away every vestige of the old speech. Anxious to preserve from the Anglican deluge the dialect of his native isles, the writer gives the following rendering of Cowper's Gilpin:

"The writer thinks he can separate the Dialect spoken during the immediately past fifty years into three distinct divisions.

First, that spoken by very old persons at the beginning of the period, which he would call the *Scoto-Norse* form.

Second, that spoken during the middle of our period, which may be called the *Anglo-Scotch*.

Third, the present dialect, a sort of *Anglo-Provincial*.

It is not pretended that there exist any hard and fast lines of demarcation between these divisions. They dove-tail themselves into each other, but yet the difference is noticeable to an observant eye. Examples of the three divisions are given in the table below. [In this table the words of the third period are given entirely in received spelling, which "by no means indicates that they are properly pronounced," says Mr. Dennison. In the first two columns the orthography in italics is Mr. Dennison's, and the pal. when added gives his pron. when he specially assigned it. The key prefixed to the cwl. on p. 812 will generally suffice.]

Words illustrating the transition state of the Orkney dialect during the bygone fifty years, say from 1838.

FIRST PERIOD. <i>Scoto-Norse.</i>	SECOND PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Scotch.</i>	THIRD PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Provincial.</i>
<i>aloor.</i>	<i>alis.</i>	<i>alas.</i>
<i>alitto</i> [used by women and children].	<i>allit.</i>	<i>alas.</i>
<i>ato.</i>	<i>alto.</i>	<i>although.</i>
<i>dan.</i>	<i>than.</i>	<i>then.</i>
<i>dee.</i>	<i>thee.</i>	<i>thy.</i>
<i>brue</i> (bruu).	<i>brig.</i>	<i>bridge.</i>
<i>doo</i> or <i>dee.</i>	<i>thu.</i>	<i>thou.</i>
<i>forsta.</i>	<i>forstand.</i>	<i>understand.</i>
<i>furkin.</i>	<i>willan.</i>	<i>willing.</i>
<i>Guth</i> (:goth).	<i>Geud.</i>	<i>God.</i>
<i>Guthaland</i> (:gudhaland).	<i>Canāan</i> [:kanaa'n].	<i>Canaan.</i>
<i>guthawather</i> (<i>th</i> = <i>dh</i>).	<i>geudwather.</i>	<i>thunder.</i>
<i>Guthayard.</i>	<i>Geud's ert.</i>	<i>God's earth</i> [churchyard].
<i>guthadā</i> (go-)	<i>geudday.</i>	<i>good day.</i>
<i>how dā</i> (ha'u di).	<i>hicht o' the day.</i>	<i>noon day.</i>
<i>how nort</i> (ha'u).	<i>hicht nort.</i>	<i>high north.</i>
<i>de howlans.</i>	<i>the heelans.</i>	<i>the Highlands.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>intae.</i>	<i>into.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>untae.</i>	<i>unto.</i>
<i>kinno.</i>	<i>kenno.</i>	<i>know not.</i>
<i>leear.</i>	<i>rether.</i>	<i>rather.</i>
<i>rugface</i> (røgfis).	<i>rouch</i> [in behaviour and temper, not in material].	<i>rough.</i>
<i>gong.</i>	<i>gang.</i>	<i>go.</i>
<i>reed.</i>	<i>bey.</i>	<i>roadstead.</i>
<i>skrime.</i>	<i>skrie.</i>	<i>to discern</i> at a distance.
<i>skrogs.</i>	<i>treeerents</i> (røfts).	<i>tree roots.</i>
<i>vellye</i>	<i>veelce.</i>	<i>violence.</i>
<i>travellye</i> } p. 791c.	<i>great veelce.</i>	<i>great violence.</i>
<i>wus.</i>	<i>wās.</i>	<i>was.</i>
<i>wus.</i>	<i>is.</i>	<i>us.</i>
<i>is.</i>	<i>his.</i>	<i>has.</i>

"In the attempts already made by the writer to illustrate the Orkney dialect [p. 790c], his illustrations are meant to exhibit equally the first and second divisions of the above, his intention being to shew the transition state of the dialect in his own time. Now let it be clearly understood that the present attempt is intended to illustrate solely our first division, *i.e.* what has been called Scoto-Norse.

"In this rendering of Gilpin the endeavour has been to represent every word of the original by its equivalent Orkney word or in Orcadian pronunciation. Where words in the original do not exist in Orcadian, the rule has been to give the word which it is likely an old Orcadian would have used had he told the story. It will be obvious that both rhyme and rhythm have been ruthlessly sacrificed to this rule. In some verses the original construction has been altered, but only where such construction was unknown in Orcadian."

As rhyme and rhythm have been sacrificed, I have thought it best to print the translation as prose, keeping the division of the stanzas and numbering them for reference in the notes, and to give the original in smaller type in parallel columns. Mr. Dennison appended a number of notes, which I reproduce on p. 810, referring to the stanza. Sometimes I add some observation of my own in [].

I regret that the time at my command for palaeotyping this long example, three hours, was far too short to carefully consider such minutiae as the differences

(*ee ee, 'e e, o o, e e*), the various sounds of *i* (*i, i, e, e*), and especially to determine the lengths of the vowels, and differences may probably be observed between this rendering and that of *Paety Toral*. The method I adopted was this: I first spent a whole day in writing out the version in approximate pal. to the best of my ability, then Mr. D. repeated the words in his pron., and I endeavoured to seize them. There was no time for any revision, and as Mr. D. returned to Or. the next morning, it was impossible for me to have another interview. Of course I was unable to mark every word every time it occurred, and hence I have had to assume analogies, where I am not certain that they are quite correct. Still more unfortunately painful circumstances which arose prevented me from making a fair copy till three months after the interview, so that I had no fresh memories to guide me. Nevertheless my source of information was so good, that making allowances for the difficult points just mentioned, I believe that this translation into palaeotype furnishes a very fair notion of Or. pron., and that greater accuracy has not yet been attained.

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| <p>1. :djooni :gɪlpin wɛz ɐ sitiz'n, o kredhɪt ɛn rɪnuun, ɐ trɛn-band kapten lɛɪkwɛz wɛz hii, o fɛeməs :lanɛn tuun.</p> <p>2. :djooni :gɪlpɪnz spuuz sed tɛɛ hɜr diir: "too wɔdɪt wi he bɪn, dɪs twɛ'is tɛn laqsam jɪrɪz, jɛt wi nii helidɛ he sɪn.</p> <p>3. "de morn ɪs wɛr wɔdɪn deɛ, wi)l mak ɐ vɪstɪ dan, ɛtɛ dɪ :bɛl at :ɛdmɛnstuun, aa ɪ ɐ tʃɛz ɛn peer.</p> <p>4. mi sɪstɛr ɛn mi sɪstɛrz beern, mi self ɛn beernz trii, wɪl fɪl dɛ tʃɛz, sɛɛ duu mɔn rɔ'ɪd on hors bak ɛftɛr wi."</p> <p>5. hi ansɛr mid, "ɔ'i dɛɔ admiir ɐ wɪmɛnkɔ'ɪnd bɛt ɪn, ɛn duu ɛr shɛɔ, mi diirest diir, deɛrfɔr hi d sal be dɛɛn.</p> <p>6. "ɔ'i am ɐ lɛnɪn mɛrtʃɛnt baald, ɛz aa dɛ wɔarld dɛɔz kɛn, ɛn mi gɔd frɪnd dɛ klɛeth-presɛr, 'l lend hiɪz hors tɛ gjoq."</p> <p>7. koo mɛstrɪs :gɪlpɪn: "dat)s wɪl sed, ɛn sɔ'ɪn dat wɔ'ɪn ɪz diir, wi)l biɪ provɔ'ɪdɛd wi wɛr ɛɛn, whɪlk ɪs beɛth brɔ'ɪt ɛn kliir."</p> <p>8. :djooni :gɪlpɪn kɪst hiɪz loovɪn wɔ'ɪf, ɔ'ɛrtʃɔ'ɪd wɛz hii tɛ fɪnd dat too on plɛzɛr shɛɔ wɛs sɛt, shɛ hɔd ɐ frɛɛgɛl mɔ'ɪnd.</p> | <p>1. John Gilpin was a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A train band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.</p> <p>2. John Gilpin's spouse said to her dear,
"Though wedded we have been
These twice ten tedious years, yet we
No holiday have seen.</p> <p>3. "To-morrow is our wedding-day,
And we will then repair
Unto the 'Bell' at Edmonton,
All in a chaise and pair.</p> <p>4. "My sister, and my sister's child,
Myself, and children three,
Will fill the chaise; so you must ride
On horseback after we."</p> <p>5. He soon replied: "I do admire
Of womankind but one,
And you are she, my dearest dear,
Therefore it shall be done.</p> <p>6. "I am a linendraper bold,
As all the world doth know,
And my good friend the calender
Will lend his horse to go."</p> <p>7. Quoth Mrs. Gilpin: "That's well said;
And for that wine is dear,
We will be furnished with our own
Which is both bright and clear."</p> <p>8. John Gilpin kissed his loving wife;
O'erjoyed was he to find,
That though on pleasure she was bent,
She had a frugal mind.</p> |
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9. *də morn'ɪn kà'm, də tʃeɪz wəz bràkht, bət ʒet wəz noo ɛluu'd tə hɑ:l əp tɛə də duur, lest aa sʊd see dhat shəə wəz pruud.*
9. The morning came, the chaise was
But yet was not allowed [brought,
To drive up to the door, lest all
Should say that she was proud.
10. *see trii doorz af də tʃeɪz wəz stéid, whar déi dæd aa get in ; sàks preeshʊs saalz, ɛn aa ɛlá'iv tɛ derl trá'u tɪk ɛn tɪ'n.*
10. So three doors off the chaise was stayed
Where they did all get in ;
Six precious souls, and all agog
To dash through thick and thin.
11. *krak gid də whíp, ruund gid də whiilz, fook never wɛr se glɛd ; də stɪns dæd rat'l ʌndər-nith, ɛz gɪn :tʃeɪpsá'id wɛr mad.*
11. Smack went the whip, round went the
Were never folks so glad !
The stones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapside were mad.
12. *:dʒoʊni :gɪlpɪn bi hɪz horsez sá'id, græpəd fɛst də flá'uən meən, ɛn əp hi gid, in hiist tɛ rá'id, bət shəən kam duun ɛgɛn.*
12. John Gilpin at his horse's side
Seized fast the flowing mane,
And up he got, in haste to ride,
But soon came down again.
13. *tɛ sɛd'ltri hardli got'n hed hii hɪz vɪ'sti tɛ bigɪn, wɛn tornɛn ruund hɪz hid, hi saa trii kastɛmɛrɪz ko ɪn.*
13. For saddle-tree scarce reached had he,
His journey to begin,
When, turning round his head, he saw
Three customers come in.
14. *see duun hi kà'm, fɛr lɔs ɛ tá'im, atoo hi,d vekst hɪm seer, ʒet lɔs ɛ baabiiz, fu wiil hi kent, wad tráb'l hɪm mak'l meer.*
14. So down he came, for loss of time,
Although it grieved him sore ;
Yet loss of pence, full well he knew,
Would trouble him much more.
15. *hi,d wɛz laq afoor di kastɛmɛrɪz wɛr sæted tee der mǎ'ɪnd, wɛn :beti skriikɛn kà'm dʊn steerz : "də wá'ɪn ɪs left ɛhɛnt!"*
15. 'Twas long before the customers
Were suited to their mind, [stairs,
When Betty screaming came down
"The wine is left behind !"
16. *"ɛluu:r !" ko hii, " ʒet fetʃ hi,d mi, mi ledhrɛn belt léikwɛz, i whɛlk á'i beer mi trásti swɛrd, wɛn á'i gʒeɪ tɛ praktii'z."*
16. "Good luck !" quoth he, "yet bring
My leathern belt likewise,
In which I bear my trusty sword
When I do exercise."
17. *nuu :mæstris :gɪlpɪn, (keerfu saal!) hɛd twaa stiin piɪgs fænd, tɛ haad de driɪk, dat shi luud, ɛn kiip hi,d seef ɛn suund.*
17. Now Mistress Gilpin (careful soul !)
Had two stone bottles found,
To hold the liquor that she loved,
And keep it safe and sound.
18. *ɪlkɛ stiin piɪg hɛd a kǎrlɛn læg, trá'u whɛlk də belt hi drɪuu, ɛn haɪ ɛ piɪg ɔn ɪlkɛ sá'id, tɛ mak hɪz balɛns trɪuu.*
18. Each bottle had a curling ear,
Through which the belt he drew,
And hung a bottle on each side,
To make his balance true.
19. *dan á'uɛr aa, dat hii mǎ'ɪkjht bi, buunɪd fe tǎp tɛ tɛ, hi s laq riid klɔk, wil brɛsht ɛnd nɪt, hi mǎfuli dæd throo.*
19. Then over all, that he might be
Equipped from top to toe, [neat,
His long red cloak, well brushed and
He manfully did throw.

20. nuu sii him muunted ins
egen *epoo* *hiz* tit *gjaan* bist,
fu *slooli* pikin *á*wær *də* stinz,
wi kaashen en *gəd* hid.
20. Now see him mounted once again
Upon his nimble steed,
Full slowly pacing o'er the stones,
With caution and good heed.
21. bet finden shæon e
smædher gèt, unth *hiz* wil
shod fit, *də* snorten bist bigud
te trot, which tit'ld [tjet'ld]
him i *hiz* seet.
21. But finding soon a smoother road,
Beneath his well-shod feet,
The snorting beast began to trot,
Which galled him in his seat.
22. see "feer en saftli"
:dpooní hi krá'id, bet :dpooní
hi krá'id i veen, dat trot bikàm
a spander shæon i spá'it e vits
en ren.
22. So "fair and softly" John he cried,
But John he cried in vain;
The trot become a gallop soon,
In spite of curb and rein.
23. See luuten duun ez hii
maan *də*, whaa *ká*nə sit
aprá'ikjht, hi grasped *də* meen
wi beeth *hiz* ha'ndz, léikwez
wi aa his má'ikjht.
23. So stooping down, as needs he must
Who cannot sit upright, [hands,
He grasped the mane with both his
And eke with all his might.
24. *hiz* hors wha níver i
dat wéi had hand'ld bin
efoor, what tíq hi)d got'n epo
hiz bak, *də*d fárlí meer en
meer.
24. His horse who never in that sort
Had handled been before,
What thing upon his back had got,
Did wonder more and more.
25. ewaa gid :gálpín, hàs
er nokht, ewaa gid hat en
wíg, hi lét'l driimd whén hi
tək wéi, e ranen sic a rig.
25. Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,
Away went hat and wig;
He little dreamt, when he set out,
Of running such a rig.
26. *də* wínd *də*d blaá, *də*
klok *də*d fíi léik striimer
laq an géi, təl luup en bat'n
feelen beeth et last *hi*d fluu
ewaa!
26. The wind did blow, the cloak did fly
Like streamer long and gay,
Till loop and button failing both,
At last it flew away.
27. dan má'ikjht aa fòk wil
skrá'im, *də* stiin pígz hi héd
haqd, e stiin píg swiqen et
ilkə sá'id, ez hez bin sed er
səq.
27. Then might all people well discern
The bottles he had slung;
A bottle swinging at each side,
As has been said or sung.
28. *də* tá'iks *də*d bark, *də*
beernz skreekjht, ap flíuu *də*
wíndez aa, en everi saal krá'id
uut: "wil dən!" *i*z luud *i*z
hii kúd kaa.
28. The dogs did bark, the children
Up flew the windows all; [screamed,
And every soul cried out: "Well
As loud as he could bawl. [done!"]
29. ewaa gid :gálpín, whaa
bet hii? *hiz* feem shæon spréd
erund: "hi beerz e wekjht!"
"hi rá'idz e rees!" "hi)d)z
a thuuzen pənd!"
29. Away went Gilpin,—who but he?
His fame soon spread around;
"He carries weight!" "he rides a
race!"
"Tis for a thousand pound!"

30. en stíl i,z fest i,z hii kam niir, híd wæs farlifu tē sī, huu i v hent, dē grīndkiipērz, dēr grīndz wá'id aap'n thrūu.
31. en nuu i,z hii gid buuēn dūn, hiz rikēn hīd fu lēkjh, dē stiin pigz beeth ehent hiz bak, wēr speldērd at v tūnd.
32. dūn ran dē wá'in itee dē gēt, meest pitifu tē bi sin, whēlk mid hiz horsez flaqs tē rik v z dēi hēd flamed bin.
33. bēt stíl hi lēkid tē beer wēkjht wē ledhrēn gerd'l būnd, for aa má'ikjht sīi dē pig-neks stíl dīqlēn v tē hiz mid'l.
34. dēs aa trá'u meri :izliq-tūn dēs pretēkenz hii dēd pleē, v tīl hi kam vtee dē :wēsh v :edmentūn se géi.
35. en dār hi thrūu dē :wēsh v būt on beeth sá'idz v dē wēi, tēst lēik vtee v patlēn map, v v wá'ild gōēs v tē pleē.
36. v tē :edmentūn hiz loovīn wá'if fēē dē bal'tizēn skrá'imd hēr tenderhēzbūn, farlīēn mak'l tē sīi whuu (fuu) hii kūd rá'id.
37. "stop, stop, :dīōni :gīlpīn! hiir)z dē huus!" dēi aa v tē ins dēd krá'i; "dē dēnēr wēts en wū₁ v tēgd." sez :gīlpīn, "see v m á'i!"
38. bēt jēt hiz hors was noo v bīt farkēn tē stēvēn deer, for whá'i? hiz á'umer hēd v hūs fu tēn má'ilz af at :weer.
39. see lēik v èrō tiit hi flūu, shot bee v bá'umēn strāq, se dēd hi flīi,—whēlk taks mi tee dē mid'l o mi saq.
40. v waa gid :gīlpīn, uut v breeth, en seer v gīn hiz wēl, tēl at hiz frīnd dhē klēth presērz, hiz hors v tē last stēd stīl.
41. dē klēth presēr fī,mīst tē sīi hiz niiber i sīk trīm, lēd dūn hiz pá'ip, flūu tee dē jēt, en dēs speek tē him.
30. And still as fast as he drew near,
'Twas wonderful to view,
How in a trice the turnpike-men
Their gates wide open threw.
31. And now, as he went bowing down
His reeking head full low,
The bottles twain behind his back
Were shattered at a blow.
32. Down ran the wine into the road,
Most piteous to be seen, [smoke,
Which made the horse's flanks to
As they had basted been.
33. But still he seemed to carry weight,
With leathern girdle braced;
For all might see the bottle necks
Still dangling at his waist.
34. Thus all through merry Islington
These gambols he did play,
Until he came unto the Wash
Of Edmonton so gay.
35. And there he threw the Wash about
On both sides of the way,
Just like unto a trundling mop,
Or a wild goose at play.
36. At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony spied
Her tender husband, wondering much
To see how he did ride.
37. "Stop, stop, John Gilpin! Here's
the house!"
They all at once did cry;
"The dinner waits, and we are tired."
Said Gilpin, "So am I."
38. But yet his horse was not a whit
Inclined to tarry there;
For why!—his owner had a house
Full ten miles off at Ware.
39. So like an arrow swift he flew,
Shot by an archer strong;
So did he fly—which brings me to
The middle of my song.
40. Away went Gilpin, out of breath,
And sore against his will,
Till at his friend the calender's,
His horse at last stood still.
41. The calender amazed to see
His neighbour in such trim,
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,
And thus accosted him.

42. "what n̄uuz, what n̄uuz? j̄er ank̄enz t̄el! t̄el mi, ji maan en sal! see whá'i beer-hided duu er k̄am, er whá'i duu k̄amz evaa?"
43. nuu :ḡilp̄in had v̄ pleez̄ent w̄it, en luud v̄ tá'iml̄e f̄an, en d̄as v̄tee d̄e kleeth pres̄er i meri w̄éi hi sp̄ak :
44. "á'i k̄am bik̄az j̄er hors wad k̄am, en ḡif á'i wel b̄od, mi hat en wig wil sh̄æn bi hiir,—d̄éi aar v̄poo d̄e ḡet."
45. d̄e kleeth pres̄er rá'ik̄jht gl̄ed t̄e f̄ind h̄iz fr̄ind i meri m̄æd, rit̄arnd him noo v̄ siq̄g'l ward, bet tu dh̄e huus gid in.
46. en uut hi kam w̄i hat en wig, v̄ wig dat flá'ud v̄h̄int, v̄ hat noo mak'l d̄e wars for weer, beeth kooml̄e i d̄er ká'ind.
47. hi h̄ad̄id d̄em ap, en i h̄iz tarn, d̄as shaad h̄iz red̄i w̄it: "mi hid iz twaa tá'imz ez big ez dá'in, d̄éi deerfor niidz mast fit.
48. "bet let mi skreep d̄e dart evaa, dat hiqz apoo d̄i fees, en bá'id en it, fer wil du mee bii i v̄ h̄aqri kees."
49. sed :d̄joni: "h̄i,d iz mi wad̄in dee, en aa d̄e warld wad glá'wer, ḡif wá'if s̄ud dá'in v̄t :edment̄un, en á'i s̄ud dá'in v̄t :weer."
50. see torn̄en tee h̄iz hors hi sed: "á'i am i h̄ist t̄e dá'in; h̄i,d waz fer d̄ei pleez̄er duu k̄am hiir, duu sal gjog bak for má'in."
51. okh! lakles spiit̄y en fekles b̄ost! fer wh̄it̄y hi p̄eed fu diir; fer whá'il hi spak v̄ bree, en às, d̄e'd siq̄ meest luud en kliir.
52. wharat h̄iz hors d̄æd snort, ez hii h̄ad hard v̄ lá'ien ruut, en spanderd af w̄i aa h̄iz má'ik̄jht, ez hii h̄ed d̄e'n v̄foor!
42. "What news, what news? your tidings Tell me you must and shall! [tell! Say why bareheaded you are come, Or why you come at all?"
43. Now Gilpin had a pleasant wit, And loved a timely joke; And thus unto the calender In merry guise he spoke:
44. "I came because your horse would And if I well forbode, My hat and wig will soon be here,— They are upon the road."
45. The calender, right glad to find His friend in merry pin, Returned him not a single word, But to the house went in.
46. Whence straight he came with hat and A wig that flowed behind, A hat not much the worse for wear, Each comely in its kind.
47. He held them up, and in his turn Thus showed his ready wit: "My head is twice as big as yours, They therefore needs must fit.
48. "But let me scrape the dirt away, That hangs upon your face; And stop and eat, for well you may Be in a hungry case."
49. Said John: "It is my wedding-day, And all the world would stare, If wife should dine at Edmonton, And I should dine at Ware."
50. So turning to his horse, he said: "I am in haste to dine; 'Twas for your pleasure you came here, You shall go back for mine."
51. Ah! luckless speech, and bootless boast! For which he paid full dear; For while he spake, a braying ass Did sing most loud and clear.
52. Whereat his horse did snort, as he Had heard a lion roar, And galloped off with all his might, As he had done before.

53. ewaa gid :gilpin, en awaa gid :gilpinz hat en wig!
hi tⁱnt dem shænær or ufoor,
fer whá'í? déi wær á'wær big!
54. nuu :mæstris :gilpin whan shæ saa her gødman pòsten dùn
itee de kjantri faar ewaa, shæ pùd ùt hâf o v krùn,
55. en dæs vtee de haafin shæ sed, dat kaad dem tee de
:bæl: "dæs sal bi dá'in, whi,n duu taks bak mi gødman seef en wil."
56. de haafin red, en shæn død mit :djooni koo'en bak egen, whaa en v hent hi trá'id te stéi, bi glamen at his reen.
57. bæt noo perfá'í-tæn what hi má'íkjht, en blá'idli wad he døn, de fleged bist hi fleged meer, en meed him fester ræn.
58. ewaa gid :gilpin, en awaa gid hâfin at his hiilz, de hâfinz hors rá'íkjht blá'id te mis de dâlderin o de whiilz.
59. saks djent'lmen apoo de gèt dæs sii'en :gilpin fii wí hâfin skæræn at hiz teel, déi ræzd de "Jhú en krá'í."
60. "stop tif! stop tif! v robær man!" noo in o dem wéz dam, en aa en ilkæ in dat past dat wéi død tjóin i de persøt.
61. en nuu de gèt-grindz egen flíuu aap'n in v glísk, de grind men tiqkæn ez afoor dat :gilpin reed v rees.
62. en see hi død en wan hí,d tæ, for hii kâm ferst te tuun, nor stéid tîl whaar hi ferst gid ap, hi død egen koo dùn.
63. nuu let wéz síq laq lív de :kíq! en :gilpin laq lív hii! en whan hi niist dæ'z rá'id fee hiim, mee á'í bi deer te sii!
53. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went Gilpin's hat and wig;
He lost them sooner than at first,
For why?—they were too big.
54. Now Mistress Gilpin, when she saw
Her husband posting down
Into the country, far away,
She pulled out half a crown;
55. And thus unto the youth she said,
That drove them to the "Bell,"
"This shall be yours when you bring
back
My husband safe and well."
56. The youth did ride, and soon did meet
John coming back amain;
Whom in a trice he tried to stop
By catching at his rein.
57. But not performing what he meant,
And gladly would have done,
The frightened steed he frightened more,
And made him faster run.
58. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went postboy at his heels,
The postboy's horse right glad to miss
The lumbering of the wheels.
59. Six gentlemen upon the road
Then seeing Gilpin fly,
With postboy scampering in the rear,
They raised the hue and cry.
60. "Stop thief! stop thief! a highway
Not one of them was mute;
And all and each that passed that way
Did join in the pursuit.
61. And now the turnpike-gates again
Flew open in short space;
The tollmen thinking, as before,
That Gilpin rode a race.
62. And so he did, and won it too,
For he got first to town;
Nor stopped till where he had got up,
He did again get down.
63. Now let us sing, Long live the King!
And Gilpin long live he!
And when he next doth ride abroad,
May I be there to see!

Notes to *John Gilpin*, by Mr. Dennison, with remarks in [] by AJE.

1. *John*. The *o* in this name is pron. long, approximating somewhat to *au*. [This gives (oo) exactly.] [*train-band*, of course this is not an Or. word, and as there were no train-bands even in London in my time, the expression used to puzzle me as a child. He would have been a volunteer captain in these days, I suppose.]—*eke*, not in Or., and hence *likewise* substituted.
2. *tedious*, the Danish *langsam* is still in common use.
3. [*our*, (wær) common].—*repair*, not in Or., hence make a *vistie* or short journey, is used.—*then*, given as (dan), a Danishism.—*unto*, reduced to (*vtè*).
4. *my*, both *me* and *mae* are used for *my*, *me* being the most emphatic [but Mr. D. pron. (mi) in both cases; similarly he wrote *vae* for the last word in the stanza, but said distinctly (*wii*). Of course the construction *after we*, which Cowper used for its ludicrous effect, is not Or.].
5. *one*, now often pron. (*èn*), but (*in*) is oldest. [Observe the vowels are generally medial as in L. usually; I have not always so marked them, however. The *i* is the deep (*i*₁), and often (*e*), as in (*bèt*), written *bit*, like the NL. sound, see p. 767, but I have generally been satisfied with writing (*i*). In (*hi*,*d*) it, with the old aspirate, it is very marked.]
6. *linen*, *i* here has a sound which I find it impossible to represent; the tongue strikes the top of the mouth further back than when pronouncing *linen* in English. [It is the NL. *i*, see p. 767, but it sounded to me like (*e*), and was slightly nasalised, which was probably an accident.]—*draper*, not in Or., and hence *merchant* substituted.—*doth*, not in Or., hence *does* used.—*calender*, not in Or., and hence translated. [The final (*th*) in (*kleeth*) was curiously pron. almost (*tj*), but (*th*) was intended, and is hence written.]
7. *furnished*, not in Or. [hence *provided* is substituted.]—*both*, there was the same curious final (*th*) as heard in 6, cloth presser.
8. *bent* [could not be used in this sense in Or.].—*frugal*, the very word that an old Oradian would have used.
9. [*drive*, to *hurl*, is used in the sense of to *wheel* in Scotland.]—*proud*, the (*d*) was clear.
10. *stayed*. "I cannot represent this *ey* sound in English." [It was the common (*ét*).]—*agog*, not in Or.
11. [*whip*, Mr. Dennison wrote *whup*, but said (*whip*), which is unusual in L.]—*were never folks so glad*. The construction of this line is inadmissible in Or.
12. *flowing* [observe the pron., Mr. D. said *ow* as in *how*].
13. *come*, the form *co'* is frequent.
14. [*pence*, the Scotch *bawbees* are halfpence.]
15. *good lack*, (*aluur'*) means *alas*.—*exercise*, this word could not be used, because in Or. it meant a religious service, such as family worship, and was pron. (*eksersii-z*).
16. *stone bottles* could not be used, because in Or. *bottle* applies to *glass* vessels only, and stone bottles or jars are called *pigs*.
17. *equipped*. The word *boonyed*, in complete order, from the word *boon*, is pure Norse, and is also still used here, or, I should rather say, was used.—*throw*, [the (*th*) was especially dictated].
18. *nimble steed*, neither word exists in Or. I give *teet*, which has the same meaning as *nimble*.—*Beast* [which Mr. D. wrote *baest*, but pron. (*bist*)] is used for horses as well as cows. [Compare Tam o' Shanter, p. 733, v. 70, they say (*ká'i bist*, *hors bist*).]—*padding* [here again Mr. D. wrote (*pækan*), but pron. (*pikæn*)].
19. *road*, (*gèt*) *gate*, but the *gate* of a field, etc., is (*sèt*).—*began*, *be good* is the oldest form.—*galled*, [the word *tittled* is explained in Mr. D.'s glossary "tickled, amused; sometimes [as here] slightly irritated"].
20. *gallop*, [for which the Or. word is *spunder*].—*curb*, *curb* being unknown in Or., I have employed *vitta*, a wooden bit used in old times.
21. *as, cannot*, have this same n.L. vowel, see (*i*₁₁), p. 767.
22. [*What thing upon his back had got*, Mr. D. has made it, *what thing upon his back he'd got*, which has a different meaning, and is not so ridiculous.—*wonder, farly*. Compare "Me bifel a ferly," Piers Pl. v. 16.]
23. *neck*, "*hass* (sometimes, and properly, *hars*), the neck of the human body"; Mr. D.'s Glossary; Norse; German *hals*.—[*set out* not being Or.

is translated into *take way*.—*running such a rig*, the phrase is merely reproduced, not translated in the Or. version, *running* has the n.NL. (i), which here sounded (æ) to me.]

30. [*turnpike men, gates*, as there are no turnpike roads in Or., Mr. D. has substituted keepers of the grinds or gates to fields.]

31. *bowing*, (buuən) is used here as (luutən) was before (st. 23) to shew that both words were used in Or.

34. *these gambols*, here I have used the singular *this* [instead of the plural *these*], because proper in Or., however improper in English grammar.—*pretikins*, besides meaning gambols, also means tricks of leger-de-main, and acrobatic feats.

36. *balcony*, not used in Or. [the word *balcony* used always to have the accent on the second syllable as here, from the Italian *balco'ne*, a big beam or balk].—*spied*, Or. *skrimed*.—*how*, both *whoo* and *foo* are said. [It is the only *wh* so changed in IL.—*did*, altered, perhaps accidentally, to *could*.]

37. [*tired* (ti,gd), Mr. D. gives “*tigsam*, tedious, wearisome,” in his glossary.]

38. *inclined*, Or. *furkin*. Edmondstone gives this as an Or. word with an entirely erroneous meaning. It properly signifies to be willing, inclined, or disposed to.—*owner*, *ow* as in *how*.

39. *an arrow*, the indef. article is always *a*, never *an*, in Or.—*archer*, archery is unknown in Or.

41. *gate* means in Or. the outer gate of a house, while *grind* (st. 30) is a field gate.

42. [*tidings*, the word *uncans* probably means things unken, or unknown, hence *tidings*.]—*at all*, (evaa) of all, with the same meaning.

46. *whence, each*, neither word occurs in Or.

47. *is, as*. These two words are pronounced identically in Or. [Mr. D. writes *as* as *is*, but to my ear the NL. *i* had here two different sounds in *is*, as (i) or (i₁) almost, in *as* it sounded to me like (ez). See p. 767.]

48. *stop, bide* is not given as its correct rendering of *stop*, but because it is the word that an Orcadian would have used in the circumstances.

50. *go* (gjoq), some would write *geong* as in the old word *geo*, meaning

a cave. [The *g* is simply palatalised.]

52. *snort*, rhymes *hurt* [this would give (snart), but I marked his pron. as (snort).—*roar*, translated (ruut). Gloss. “*root* to roar loudly; often applied, but not confined, to the cry of a cow”].

53. *than*, (or) is the regular Or. equivalent.

54. *posting*, pronounced something like the *au* in *clause*. [I marked (ô) the Italian *o aperto* medial length. I had great difficulty in knowing when Mr. D. used (oo) and when (oo). The pal. will hence probably be found inconsistent.]

55. *youth*, in Or. *halfing* is applied to a lad too young to do the work of a full-grown man, and who was considered half man and half boy.—*drove*, in Or. (kaad). The word is used in many senses in Or., such as *to ca on*, to cry on [shout for], to make a call on, *to ca' to cry*, to drive a flock of sheep, cattle, or whales, hence ‘*cain whale*’; to drive horses, as *he cas a couple*, he drives a pair of horses; to strike with a hammer, as *cain nails* driving notes. [See for the last *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 25, p. 732 above.]—*husband*, in Or. *goodman* is still used as well as *husband*.

57. [*performing*, in Ork. *perfecting*, in the older form *perfitan*, compare Chaucer's *parfit*, taken direct from Fr. *parfait*; *perfect* is quite a modern form. But the place of the accent on the second syllable, and consequent diphthongising of its sound, are noteworthy.]

58. *lumbering, dildering* is only an approximative rendering of the original, because *lumbering* in this sense does not occur in Or., for *lumber* in its ordinary sense *ramel* is used. *dilder* means to jolt, to shake by concussions.

59. *rear*, not in Or., hence *tail* used. [*hue and cry*, the phrase and custom is unknown in Or., hence there being no corresponding phrase the English words are simply retained.]

60. [*thief*, there is the same peculiarity as in L., (thif) medial, sing. (thiivz) long plural, on account of the following consonants *f, v*.—*highwayman*, they had no Or. word for.]

61. [*short space*, or *glisk*, “a glimpse, an instant,” Dennison Gl.]

ORKNEY cwl.

from Mr. Dennison's Orcadian Sketch-Book, retaining his orthography in italics.

In this orthography *ae=ay* in *day*. *ee=ee* in *see*. *oa=(oo)*.
eu = *eu* in *amateur*, *hauteur*, "pretty nearly," -*in*, verbal noun, -*an* part. See examples, p. 798, note to v. 11. The pal. and notes were from vv. information. I have also added many words from John Gilpin, giving both Mr. D.'s orthography and my pal. transcription.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — *quack* [quake]. 6 *meed*. — *wad* [wade]. 15 *a'fo'* [awful]. — *ba'k* [balk]. 19 *teel*. 21 *neem*. 23 *sam'*. 24 *sheem*. 25 *mane meen*. — *get gèt* [road, n. gata]. — *keel* [kail]. A: 38 *is ez* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 39 *cam' kàm*. 41 *tank*. 43 *han's* [hands]. 49 *hing hìq*. 55 *ass*. 56 *wesh* [name of a piece of water]. A: or O: 58 *f'ae lee*. 60 *lang laq*. 61 *amang*. A'- 67 *geng ga'n geen geed* [go going went], *geong gjoq* [to go], *gang gjeq*. 70 *tae tee*. 72 *wha* [used for relative, both nom. and acc.]. 73 *sae*. 74 *twa twaa*. 79 *ain een*. 80 *heliday helidi*. 82 *eence ins*. 83 *meen mane*. 84 *mair meer*. — *raran reeren* [roaring]. 85 *sair seer*. 86 *aets*. 89 *baith beeth*. 90 *blaw blaa*. 95 *throw throo* [with (th)]. 97 *sa'l saul saal*.

A': 105 *rade rəd*. — *lethy ledhi* [lady]. 109 *laich leekjh*. 110 *nokht*. — *feeman* [foaming, streaming]. 115 *heem hiim*. 117 *aen een*, *in*, *ee* [last common]. 118 *been*. 122 *i. neen*, *ii. nee*. 123 *naethin nithin* [last common]. 124 *steen stin*. 126 *airs* (eerz). 130 *boat* [this should be (boot), but I heard (baat)]. 132 *haet* (hi,t).

Æ- 138 *faither*. — *a't'egither* [altogether]. 148 *fair feer*. — *stairs steerz*. — *saet seet* [seat]. Æ: 155 *t'ark*. — *spak'* [spake]. 156 *gled gləd*. 159 *his*. 169 *whin whùn* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 173 *wus*. 175 *fest fest*. 177 *dat 'at*. — *wraith* [wrath]. — *stathy* [steady]. Æ'- 187 *lave*. 195 *minny*. Æ': 209 *niver niver*. 214 *naither needhər*. 221 *f'are*. 223 *dere air*. 224 *whar' whar*. 226 *maist meest*. — *wassel* [wrestle]. 228 *swaet sweet*. 229 *braith breeth*.

E- 231 *de*. 233 *spaekan* [speaking]. — *wather* [weather]. — *neevs* [(niivz) fists]. 243 *plee*. 244 *weel*. 246 *ii. quine kwà'in*. — *aet* [which should represent (eet), but Mr. D. said (it)]. 254 *leatheran ledren* [leathern]. E: — *wab* [web]. — *haeve* [heave]. — *waddin* [a wedding]. 262 *wey wéi*. 263 *awa wwa*. 265 *strakht*. 266 *weel wil*. 269 *hidsel* [itself]. — *dellan* [delivery]. — *speil speel* [spell]. 276 *tink*. — *twinty* [twenty (i)]. 281 *lent'*. 282 *strent'*. 284 *t'resh*. — *he'rty* [hearty]. — *at'wart* [athwart]. — *wast* [west]. E': 305 *hich heich* (há'ikjh). 306 *hicht*. 310 *heel hil*. 314 *h'ard*. 315 *fit fit*. 316 *neest nist*.

EA- — *eel'* [ale]. — *shawed* shaad [shewed]. EA: — *kaff* [chaff]. 321 *sa saa*. 323 *foucht* (faakht). 324 *aucht* (aakht). — *sall sal* [shall]. 326 *auld aald*. 327 *bäuld baald*. 330 *haud aad*. 332 *ta'd* (taad). 333 *callow* [to calve]. 335 *a'* [sometimes (l) is pron.]. — *ha'* [hall]. 337 *wa'*. — *ma't* [malt]. 342 *erm*. — *hairm* [harm]. 346 *yett rət*. EA'- 347 *heed hid*. 348 *e'e*. EA': 350 *deed deid*. 351 *leed*. 352 *reed riid*. 353 *breed*. 354 *shaev's* [sheaves]. 357 *t'o'* to too *a'to* [although]. — *tare* [a tear]. 368 *deeth*. 371 *stree*.

EI- 372 *aye éi*. 373 *dey déi*. 374 *na'*. EI: 380 *dem*. 382 *der deir*. EO- 383 *seevan*. 384 *heevan*. 386 *yow*. EO: 390 *s'ud sùd*. — *siller* [silver]. 392 *yin jen*. 394 [never used]. 397 *swerd sword* sward [NL. *i*]. EO'- 411 *t'ree trii*. 412 *sheu*. 413 *deil*. 414 *flee fleean*, *fii fliien* [fly flying]. 415 *lee*. — *heud* [held]. — *yeul* [yule, Christmas]. 416 *dear diir*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 420 *fower*. 421 *foorty*. EO': — *t'ief*

tif [thief]. 423 *t'ee*. 426 *fecht*. 429 *fiend*. 430 *freend* frind. 433 *breest*. 436 *true* triuu. 437 *treuth*.

I- — *gaean'* [giving], *geen* [given]. 441 *si'v'*. 448 *dis* dis [sg. used for pl.]. I: — *t'ick* t'ik [thick]. 457 *nicht* má'ikjht. 458 *nicht* (ná'ikjht). 459 *apricht* aprá'ikjht. 460 *weicht* wekjht. 464 *whilk* whalk [NL. i]. 468 *chielders*. — *ahint* ehent [behind, most probably NL. i]. 480 *ting* tiq. — *rinnan* ranen [running NL. i]. 484 *dis*. — *rash* [a rush]. 489 *hid* [(hi)d almost (het)]. — *sax* [six]. I'- 490 *bae*. 492 *side* sá'id. — *t'rive* [thrive]. — *tretty* [thirty]. I': — *leek* [a corpse in (lik waak) like-wake]. 500 *likewis* léikwus [likewise NL. i in last syllable]. 508 *má'il*. 509 *whill*. — *linen* lə'nən [linen]. — *dee* [thy].

O- 518 *bothy*. — *sheul* [shovel]. 519 *ower* á'wer. 522 *äpen* aap'n. — *drip* [drop]. 523 *hup*. 524 *warld* waarld. O: 525 ii. *aff*. 528 *t'ought*. 529 *braucht* brá'kht. 531 *doachter* [(daakhter) almost (daakhter)]. 534 *hol'* [how hollow]. 536 *gowd*. 538 *wad* wí'd wad. 544 *dan*. — *tap* tap [top]. — *scor'* [score]. — *nort'* [north]. — *botham* (bodham) [bottom]. — *owsen* [(óus'n) oxen]. O'- 556 *tae* atae tee [unto], *i'tae* [into]. 557 *teu* tæ. 558 *luck* læk. 562 *meun*. 564 *seun* sheun shəun shə'n. — *smoother* smá'dher [smoother]. 566 *ither*. 568 *brither*. — *flaw* flá'u.

O': 569 *beuk*. 571 *geud* gə'd [confused with God]. — *heud* [hood]. 572 *bleud*. — *sneud* [snood]. 575 *steud* stə'd. — *gliv* [glove]. — *soft* soft [soft]. — *reuf* [roof]. 582 *ceul* kæ'l. — *pow* (póu) [pool]. 586 *deu* deuin's [doings]. 587 *deun* dəun də'n. 589 *speun*. 590 *fleur*. 592 *seur*. — *geus* gə's [goose]. 593 *maun* maan. 595 *fit*.

U- — *knock* [knock, (k) pron.]. 600 *loavin'* loovin [this is an adj. not the participle which would be looven], *loed* luud. 603 *co* ko [frequent contraction]. 605 *sin*. 606 *door* door. U: — *sh'uther* [shoulder]. — *poa'd* púd [pulled]. 612 *sunnin* [something]. 615 *pund* pand. 616 *grund*. 617 *soond* suund. 619 *f'und* fand. — *windir* [wonder (i) or (æ)]. 632 *ap* a'p. — *apo'* [upon]. — *brough* (brokh) [borough]. 634 *t'rou* trá'u. 635 *wirt'*. U'- 640 *coo*. 641 *hoo* whuu fuu [both used]. 642 *th'u* [? du]. 643 *noo*. — *toom* [thumb]. 648 *wur*, wer. 649 *thoosan* thuuzen. 650 *aboot*. 653 *bit* but [unaccented, i.e. with the NL. i]. U': — *boosam* [buxom]. — *book* (buuk) [bulk, distinct from 569]. 658 *doon* duun dūn. 659 *toon* tuun [town]. 663 *hoose*. 667 *oot* uut. 668 *prood* pruud. 671 *mooth*. 672 *sooth*.

Y- 673 *muckle* mak'l. 674 *deud* dəud də'd. — *steer* [stir]. Y: 683 *mudges* [pl.]. 690 *kind* ká'ind. 691 *mind* má'ind. — *tin* tī'n [thin]. 700 *waur* wer. — *t'irst* [thirst]. 702 *wi'd* [with it]. Y'- — *fifteen* (fá'iftin) fifteen. Y': — *wiss* [prob. (wæs) wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *trapple* [thrapple thropple]. — *heest* hiist [haste]. E. 743 *skreek* skrik. — *t'raep* t'reep [threep]. — *velved* velvet. I. and Y. — *keik* [kick]. — *week* [wick, side of the mouth, used by Salesbury, see Part III. p. 756b]. 753 *tittle* tít'l tjt't'l. — *preen* [pin]. — *firt'* [firth]. O. 761 *lod*. — *scald* [scold], *scowlding* [scolding]. — *cummin* [(æ) coney, rabbit]. — *wint* (wi,nt) [wont]. — *coor'd* [cowered]. — *ceut* [coot = ankle, a very common word]. — *trath* [troth]. — *seroon'* [surround]. U. — *dook* [duck]. — *dook*. 808 *pit* pet, *pat* [pt.], *pitten* [pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fees*. 811 *piece* piis. 820 *gey* géi. 833 *pair* peer. — *p'aceable* [peaceable]. 834 *chaise* tjeez. — *aisy* [easy]. — *plaiser* plèzvr [pleasure]. 837 *mistress* mástris [Mrs.]. — *mesterfu'* [masterful]. 839 *bá'*. 840 *cham'er*. — *deem* [dame]. — *famis* feemes [famous]. — *hench* (haunch). — *chaepel* cheepel [chapel]. 857 *case* kees. — *nati'rd* [natured]. — *haakhty* [(haakhti) haughty]. 865 *fauler* faaler [defaulter]. — *cáshan* kaashen [caution]. 866 *peur*.

E.. — *praech* [preach]. — *crethid* kredhit [credit]. 874 *rein* rēn. 885

vero [occ. (verb) very in the various islands]. 890 *baest beest bist*. — *hour* (uur).
 I.. and Y.. — *feurce* [fierce]. — *vild* [vile]. — *eemage* image. —
meenit [minute of time]. — *veelant* [violent]. — *admeer* admirr [admire].
 910 *ceetizen* sitiz'n [citizen]. — *veeved* [vivid, very common].
 O.. — *pooch* [pouche]. 919 *choin* tjoín [join]. — *puishan* *pooshan*
 poison. — *ooman* [omen]. — *coont* [count]. — *renoon* rinuun [renown].
 — *croon* [crown]. — *bannet* [bonnet]. — *eerison* [orison]. 941 *feul*. 944
alood aluud. — *coort* [court]. 952 *turn* toorn [turn]. — *preev* [prove].
 955 *doot*. — *poo'er* [power]. 956 *cower* [to recover health]. — *dizzen*
 [dozen].
 U.. 965 *eulie*. 967 *seut* sæt. 969 *seur*. — *firry* [fury]. — *yeus* [use].
 970 *jeust* tje'st [Mr. D. always pron. in Or. initial *j* as (tj)].

D 42 = nIL. = northern Insular Lowland.

Boundaries and Area. The whole group of the Shetland isles. The separate islands of Foula and Fair Isle belong to this district, and their languages are varieties, but I have failed in procuring any information concerning them.

Authorities. 1. Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Leog, Lerwick, wrote an article in Danish on Shetland and Orkney in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1860, pp. 190–201, to which article there were additions by R. J. Lyngby, pp. 201–216. This paper, lent to me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, led to a long correspondence with Mr. Laurenson, who has been very obliging in giving me all the assistance in his power, and especially translated for me a Shetland letter, said to be from Unst, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte lent me a copy, and subsequently it was found to be partly printed in the Zetland Directory, 1861. It is an excellent specimen, but I have not felt sure enough of the pron. to give it here. Mr. Laurenson also revised for me his translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, given in the above-mentioned Danish paper, and it has been added below. He also gave me a lw. and numerous newspaper cuttings in the Shetland Dialect.

2. Mr. Robert Cogle of Cuningborough, Dunrossness, Mainland, Sd., on a peninsula running s., gave me a cs. in his Dunrossness pron., and sent me "Shetland Fireside Tales, or the Hermit of Trosswickness, by G. S. L." (George Stewart of Leith), Edinburgh, 1877, pp. 239, because they gave such an excellent representation of the s. form of the dialect.

3. Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, native of Lerwick, in Oct. 1878, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Laurenson, kindly read to me Mr. L.'s Parable of the Prodigal Son, and his lw., and Mr. Cogle's cs., and from this dictation they are here reproduced.

4. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte procured Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, in Unst pron., given below. He also put at my service notes made during a visit to Orkney in 1858; and lent me the MS. of Dr. L. Edmondstone's pronouncing glossary of Unst, which, being confined to unusual words, has not much assisted me; also a specimen of Mr. William Alexander Grant's glossary of

“2000 words peculiar to Shetland, and not in use in any part of Scotland, chiefly old Norse and kindred tongues,” which necessarily did not further my inquiries.

5. Dr. Thomas Edmondstone’s “Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect,” published by the Philol. Society, 1866, has, for the same reason as the others, not helped me, although interesting for other purposes, see notes to *Pætie Toral*, pp. 798 to 802.

As far as actual pron. is concerned I have therefore but one authority, Miss Malcolmson, to whose kindness I am so much indebted.

Characters. The peculiar alterations of *th*, the main feature of pron. of the district, have already been given, p. 789.

Initial *ch*, generally (tj), becomes (sh) in D 42, as in D 40, but remains (tj) in D 41, which is nearer D 40, thus (shapter, shans, shiild, shil, sheer, shiiz) chapter, chance, child, chiel, cheer, cheese. But the initial (tj) is by no means impossible to a Shetlander, who says (tjop) for shop, as in Ab. On the other hand, final (tj) usually remains, except in (stik, reek) stitch, reach, and perhaps a few other words, where it does not become (sh) but (k). And (dj) remains unaltered in Sd., though Mr. Dennison used (tj) for it in Or.

Initial (wh) remains and does not become either (kwh) as in SL. or (f) as in NL. On the contrary, (kw-) *qu*- initial frequently, if not generally, becomes (wh).

R is distinctly trilled, *wr*- is (w'r- wer-) and is sometimes written *wir*, meaning, I believe, the same thing, that is (w_ir), p. 767.

In *kn*-, *gn*- initial the (k, g) are heard.

The aspirate is strong, except in unaccented pronominal words. The guttural varies as (kh, kjh) according to the preceding vowel, as in German.

The vowels form a main difficulty, and many fine distinctions may have escaped me or been wrongly appreciated.

The (a) certainly tends to (a'), and in the diphthong (á'i) seems to be exclusively used. In some cases Mr. Laurenson had marked (æ), which Miss Malcolmson sounded as (ɛ).

The (ɛ, ɛɛ) was a prominent feature, as (lɛm, shɛm, nɛm) lame, shame, name, as distinct from Or. use. It sometimes occurred long as (hɛɛl, snɛɛl) hail, snail.

The (i) constantly occurs purely short or medial, as (trid, did) thread, dead. Our short (i) may remain, but is much superseded by (i₁), which I expect is frequently the thick NL. *i* or (i₁₁) that has caused so much trouble, see p. 767. At any rate my appreciation varied as (i, e, ɛ) as in NL.

The (o, oo) seemed pure, not (oo) nor (aa), neither of which probably occurs, although I seemed at times to hear (oo). But certainly (aa) is absent, as it is in all the NL., and is replaced by (aa), which in Unst Prince L.-L. Bonaparte hears as (aa).

The (u) seemed pure as in all L., and not to become (u). It generally stood for (uu), which however occasionally occurred.

There were at least three of the (y) vowels (y₁, ø, œ), and I may have confused the two first as (dyy₁, shøø) do, shoe, and (gy₁d, ly₁v) good, love, but (spøn, mæn) and (rœt, kœp) root, cup. Whether or no, three distinct vowels are really used and confined to particular words, I am unable to say.

The diphthongs seem to be (á'i), but (áu, óu) and occ. (á'u, á'u) perhaps. While (ío, íu) occ. occur for O' before a guttural, as (tíokh) tough. We find also few of the Ab. (á'i) words (see p. 766) as (kwá'in, whá'i, tá'izdi) quean, whey, Tuesday.

These correspond with Ws. roughly thus :

- A- is (e, aa), as (lēm, draa) lame, draw.
 - A' (ee, EE, E), as (see, SEE) so, (nEE) no, adj. (hem, bēn) home, bone.
 - Æ' varies between (ee, e), apparently the normal sound, and (i) which looks like a refinement, as (leev) leave, (klin) clean.
 - E is (e, E), as (spek, weev) speak, weave.
 - E' regularly (i, ii), as (hii, dii, fit) he, thee, feet.
 - EAL usually (aa), and the L. occ. dropped, as (aa, aald) all, old.
 - EA' usually (i, E, e), as (grī,t, dēf) great, deaf, rarely (i), as (did) dead.
 - EO' regularly (ii, i), as (bii) bee, exceptionally (ø), as (shøø) she.
 - I' is regularly (á'i), without distinguishing a broader form (ái).
 - O' becomes (y₁, ø, ø, œ, ío, íu), all variants of the usual alteration of O'.
 - U is regularly (a), but sometimes (œ), as (san, œp) sun, up.
 - U' is regularly (u, uu), as (nuu, tun) now, town.
- For particulars, refer to the cwl. below, p. 818.

Illustrations.

1. *Dunrossness* cs. by Mr. R. Cogle, the last of the 8 cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, as read by Miss Malcolmson, and hence with Lerwick pron.
2. *Lerwick*, Parable of the Prodigal Son, as written by Mr. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson.
3. *Unst*, the Parable of the Sower as written by Dr. L. Edmondstone, with a conjectural pal. version by AJE.
4. General cwl. from Mr. Laurenson's lw. as read by Miss Malcolmson, together with words excerpted from Nos. 1, 2, 3.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, Luke xv. 11-32.

Translated into the Shetland dialect by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Leog, Lerwick, Sd., originally published in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198, corrected by himself for the present edition, and pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 29 Oct. 1878.

11. a sartøn man hēd twa sēnz.
12. en de jæqest o dēm, sēd tēl hiz fēeder : fēeder, gii mē de peert o de gy,dz et faaz tē mii. en hi peerted kēz livēn etwiin dēm.
13. en nō moni deez e'fter de jæqest sēn gaderd aa tēgeder, en tuk de gēet tēl e faar kjantri, en spēt aa deer in bad livēn.
14. en whēn hi hēd spēt aa, dēr kam e grē,t fēmīn in dat laand, en hi biguud tē bii in want.
15. en hi gēd en fiid wē e man o dat kjantri, en hi pēt hām ut tē kip swá'in.

16. en hi wíd fée'n he felt híz belí wí dē broks dē swá'in et, en nee man gee óukht tēl hám.

17. en whí'n hi kam tēl hímself hi sed: háu moní fíid sárvents o mi fēederz hee brēd uníokh en tē speer en á'i faant wí hēqer

18. á'i)l rá'iz en geq tē mi fēeder en)l see tēl hám: fēeder á'i hee sí'nd egenst hiv'n en dii,

19. en á'i)m nee meer wárdi tē bi keed (kaad) dá'i san, mak mi ez iin o dá'i fíid sárvents.

20. en hi reez en kam tēl híz fēeder. bí't whí'n hi wēz jít e grít wá'i af, híz fēeder saa hám, en fēl ap'en híz nek, en kjest híz m.

21. en dē san sed tēl im: fēeder á'i hee sí'nd egenst hiv'n en in dáí sáikjht, en em nee meer wárdi tē bi keed (kaad) dá'i san.

22. bí't dē fēeder sed tēl híz sárvents: brí,q fort dē best kleez en pát dem ap'en em; en pát e rēq on híz haand en shōen on híz fit,

23. en brí,q hiir dē fat'ed kaaf en kel í,m, en lat wēz et en bi mēri,

24. fēr dās má'i san wēz deed en í's líven egen; hi wēz lost en íz fon, en dee biguud tē bi mēri.

25. nuu dē aaldest san wēz í dē fíild en az hii wēz komēn heem tēl dē hus hi heerd mēzik en dansen.

26. en hi keed (kaad) iin o dē sárvents, en akst what dās wēz.

27. en hi sed tēl í,m: dá'i brí,der íz kam; en dá'i fēeder hēz kelt dē fat'ed kaaf, bikæz hi hez got'n híz m bak see'f en sund.

28. en hi wēz tērn, en wíd nē geq in: see kam híz fēeder ut en entreted híz m,

29. en hi ansuren sed tēl híz fēeder: nuu dās moní jūrz dē á'i serv di, nēder bruk á'i dá'i komaandz et oní tá'im, en jēt ní,ver gee du mii e kid, í't á'i má'íkjht mak mēri wí má'i frindz,

30. bí't az shōen az dās dá'i san wēz kam, et hez divuud dá'i líven wí hēorz, du hez kel'et fēr híz m dē fat'ed kaaf.

31. en sed tēl em: san du)z evēr wí mi, en aa et á'i hee íz dá'in.

32. et wēz rá'íkjht dat wí sud mak mēri en bi gled; fēr dās dá'i brí,der wēz ded en íz líven egen; en wēz lost en íz fon.

Notes to the above Parable.

15. *hired*, (fi) cattle, money, wages, *wirr tirwiring*, habitually growling." (to fi) to hire for wages. Edm. "*tirran*, cross, ill-natured, enraged;

19. *one* (iin).

28. *angry* (tarn), Jam. "to *tirr*, to snarl; *tirrivee*, fit of passion; *tir-* forms *terian*, *tirian*, *tirigan*, *tyrwian*."

PARABLE OF THE SOWER, Matt. xiii. 3-9.

Translated into the dialect of Unst, the northernmost isle of Sd., by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 1859, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, by whom it was presented to the Philological Society 20 June, 1873. Here printed in the original spelling, thus explained by the Prince: "The pronunciation of a long and grave in *pâtre*, indicated by *aa*; that of *eu* in *peu* by *ö*; that of [Fr.] *u* mixed with a slight shade of *eu* by *ü*; that of German *ch* in *nacht* by *χ*." This is printed in Italics, with an interlinear translation into pal. by A.J.E.

Dr. Laurence Edmondstone d. 1874, aged 84. He was the younger brother of Arthur Edmondstone, of Bunes, Unst, d. 1813, and uncle of Thomas Edmondstone, who compiled the "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," printed in the Trans. Philolog. Soc. 1866, Part III.

3. *behold, a saar gūd furt ta saa;*
bihoold v saar gy,d furt tɛ saa;
4. *an whin he saad, some seeds fell be da rod side, an da fools*
ɛn whi,n hi saad, sɛm sidz fɛl bi dɛ rod sá'id, ɛn dɛ fuulz
cam an devoord dem up.
kam ɛn divuu'rd dɛm ɛp.
5. *some fell uppo stany places, whar dey hedna muckle airt;*
sɛm fɛl ɛp'v stani pleesez, whaar dee hɛd)nɛ mæk'l eert;
an at ance dey shot up becaas dey hed nay deepness o' airt;
ɛn ɛt ans dee shot ɛp, bikaas dee hɛd nee dipnɛs o eert;
6. *an whin da sun wis up, dey wir scooderd; an becaas dey*
ɛn whi,n dɛ sɛn wi,z ɛp, dee wɛr skuudɛrd; ɛn bikaaz dee
had nay rɔt, dey widderd avaa.
hɛd nee rɔt, dee wi,dɛrd ɛvaa.
7. *an some fell amung tornz; an da tornz shot up, an shockit dem.*
ɛn sɛm fɛl ɛmɛq tornz; ɛn dɛ tornz shot ɛp, ɛn shokit dɛm.
8. *bit udder fell intill gūd grund an broxt furt frɔt, some a*
bi,t ɔdɛr fɛl inti,l gy,d grand, ɛn brokht furt frɔt, sɛm v
hunderfaald, some saxtyfaald, some tirtyfaald.
hɛndɛrfaald, sɛm sɛkstifaald, sɛm tɛrtifaald.
9. *whaa hes airs ta hear, let him hear.*
whaa hɛz eɛrz tɛ hiir, let hɛm hiir.

NOTES. 6. *scooderd*, scorched.

7. *shokit*, choked.

SHETLAND CWL.

Composed of most of the words in

Mr. Cogle's Dunrossness cs.

Mr. Laurenson's Parable of the Prodigal Son and wl.

Both pal. by me from dictation of Miss Malcolmson.

Together with words from G. Stewart's Shetland Tales, in his own orthography, and from Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, also in his own orthography in italics preceded by †.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 breek. 4 tæk. — *shack* [shake]. 5 mæk mak. 7 seek. 8 hee
[(hed) had]. 14 draa. 17 laa. 20 lem. 21 nem. 22 tem. 23 sɛm.
24 shem. — geet [gate, road]. 33 rɛdɛr. 35 ɔul. 37 klaa. A: —

gee [gave]. 3⁸ vs. 39 kam kəm kē'm. 40 kem †cam. 41 tank. 43 haand, haand. 44 laand. 46 kaand'l. 47 waander. 49 hēqen [hanging]. 50 teqz, tainges. 51 man. 52 wen. 55 ash, ase. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fēe, fae. 59 lām. 60 lēq. 61 vmaeq, amung. 62 stroq. 64 wra'q w'rāq. 65 sēq. A'- 67 grq gēen gaen gēd gēd †gūd gane [go, going, gone, went]. 72 who wha, †whaa. 73 see see. 74 twa. 79 ain ēē'n. 82 ance †ance. 84 mair. 85 seer. 86 rts. 87 klēz. 89 bēedhth. 91 maa, maw. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 96 saa †saa [(†saa) sower]. A': 192 aks. 104 rod, †rod. 108 dookh. 111 oukht. 112 hēl. 113 heel whool. 115 hem hēem hame. 117 ii iin. 118 ben. 122 i. nen nane, ii. no nee nēe, †nay. 123 ne then naiten. 124 sten stane, †stany [stony]. 125 onli. 126 oor. 127 hars. 129 gost. 130 biit. 133 w'rot.

Æ- 138 feeder fader feader. — gader [gathered]. — tageder [together]. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 vgen. 150 lest. 153 setterday seterde. Æ: 154 bak. — spak [spake]. 156 glēd. 158 rfter e'- after. 161 dee. 165 sēd. — whaal [whale]. — sma' [small]. 169 when whān whan whi'n whin, †whin. 170 hairst. — speer [spare]. 172 gars girs. — gles [glass]. 173 wēz wi'z, †wis. — et ite [ate]. 177 dat. 179 what fat. Æ'- 182 sii. — rake [reach]. 183 tiitj. — reedi [ready]. 187 leev laev. 189 wā'i. 190 kii. 192 min. 193 klin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 †wir. 199 blit. 201 hethen. Æ': 204 did. 205 trid treed. — †seed. 206 ri,d. 207 mid'l. 209 ni,ver. 212 whā'i. 214 ne'der nader. 216 deel. 218 ship [a ship=(shep)]. 221 faer. 223 deer. 224 whaar whaar, †whar. 226 mēst. 227 wit. 228 swet. 230 fated [fatted].

E- 231 de da, †da. 232 braak [brakwast breakfast]. 233 spēk spēkun spēkn [speaking]. — wadder [weather, †widdered withered]. 235 weev. 236 fiver. 244 wiil weel. 246 i kwīn, ii kwā'in. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer [(anseren) answering]. — et [eat]. 251 meet. 252 ket'l. E: — nek [neck]. 256 s't,retjt. 261 sez seen [says saying]. 262 wy wā'i. 263 ewaa awa, †awaa. 265 streekjht. — fild [field]. 269 dumsel [themselves]. — twalmont [twelvemonth]. 270 bēli. 271 tel. 273 mē'n men. 276 tēqk. 281 lent. 283 mar. — bēst [best]. E' 290 hi. 291 dii. 294 fid. 296 biliv. 298 fil. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 †hear. 302 mit. 303 swit. E': 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 312 hiir. 312 heerd herd. — blissen blessing. 315 fit ft. — ticht tight. 316 niist neist.

EA- 320 keer. EA: 321 sēe saa. 322 laaf ljaakh laakh. 326 aald auld [(aaldest) oldest]. 328 cauld. 329 †faald. 330 hē'd [†behold]. 331 s'ald. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaaz kēz [calls]. — saut [salt]. — sheer [share]. 340 jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 344 beern. 345 dar. EA'- 347 hēxd. 348 een in. — †air [ear]. 349 fiu. EA': 350 deed deid. 353 bred. 355 daf. 356 lēf. 357 too altoo' 359 neeghbou. — draem dream. 363 shep. — jir. 365 niir. 366 grē't gri,t. 367 trēt. 368 deth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 straa. EI- 373 †dey, dā'r [they are]. EI: 380 dēm. EO: 384 hiv'n. 386 jāu. 387 niu. EO: 388 malk. 390 sud. — yellow yellow. 392 jon. 395 jaq. 396 wark. 398 starv, †sterve. 400 eernest. 402 leern. 403 faar. 404 starns. — hert [heart]. 406 †eart. EO'- 409 bii. 411 trii tri. 412 shē shō shū. — †shockit [choked]. 413 dev'l deevil. 415 lii. — shoet [short]. 417 shāu. 418 bruu. EO': 422 sik. 423 lā'ikjht. 427 bii [(biin) being]. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 frind [not (i)]. 432 fort. 433 brist breest. 435 juu. 436 truu. 437 trōth. EY- 438 deiz [dies, pron. (diiz)]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wiik ouk. — gii [give]. — liven [living]. 446 nā'in. 447 her. 449 got'n [pp. gotten], fryatten [forgotten]. 450 tā'izdi. I: 452 a ā'i. 455 lā'i. 457 mā'kjht micht. 459 rā'kjht. 462 sā'kjht. 463 ti,l tel, †intill. 465 sēk sic. 466 shild. 467 wā'ild. 468 sheels. 475 wind. 477 find fin'. 478 grind. — hidmest hīnmest [hindmost]. 479 wind. 480 thēq thi,q. — rāq [ring]. — brī,q [bring]. — shep [ship]. 483 his. 484 dās. 488 rī,t. 489 hit [only one instance found]. — kid [kid]. — sarty [sixty, common]. I'- 490 bi be. 491 sā'ikjh. 492 †side. 494 tā'im. 497 rā'iz. 498 w'rit. I': 500 lēk lēkli [likely]. 502 fā'iv. 503 lā'if. 505

wá'if. 506 wumen. 507 wimen. 508 má'il. 509 whá'il. — di [thy], dá'in [thine]. 510 má'in. — swá'in [swine]. 513 weer. — *blide* [blithe]. — *scy* [scythe]. — †*tirty* [thirty].

O- 519 óusr. 523 *koop* hup. 524 wá'ld wá'f. O: 527 báukht. 528 táukht *tocht*. 529 bráukht. 530 w'ráut. 532 kol. 534 hol. 535 fok. 537 mæld. 538 wí,d. 546 *fír*. 547 boord. 550 wá'rd. 551 storm. 553 horn. — †*torns* [thorns]. — fort [forth]. O'- 555 shæ'n [pl. shoon]. 556 tó. 558 *luik* liuk. 559 mider *midder*. 560 *schúle*. 562 mæn *mín*. 564 sæn shæ'n *shúne*. 566 *ídder* ider. 568 brí,der. O': 569 biuk. — *huik* [hook]. 570 tuk tíuk. 571 gy,d *gúid*, †*gúid*. 572 bly,d *blúid*. 573 flæd. 575 stæd. 579 eniukh eniokh *eneuch*. 580 tíokh. 582 kæl *cúil*. 583 tíul. 584 stæl. 586 *dú dæ dæ dúins* [doings], do)ns dæ)ns [don't]. 587 dæn dyn *dún'e*. 588 eftærnoon [afternoon]. 589 spæn. 590 flæ'r. 591 mæ'r. 592 swæ'r. — hæ'r [whore]. 594 bæ't. 596 *rúit* ræ't.

U- 599 æbn. — *wid* [wood]. 600 ly,v. 601 fuul, †*fool*. 602 suu. 603 kæn. 604 sæmer *simmer*. 605 sæn. 606 door. 607 bæ'ter. U: 609 fu. 610 uu. 612 sæm. 613 drák'n. 615 páund. 616 grænd, †*grund*. 617 sund. 618 wuund. 619 fon. 621 wænd. 622 ønder. — †*hunder*. 626 haqer. 627 sænde. 629 sæn, †*sun*. 631 fæ'zde. 632 øp, †*up* [(ape), *uppo* upon]. 633 kæp. 634 tru tro. 635 *wirt* [(wardi) worthy]. 636 *farder*. 637 tæsk. 638 bæsk. 639 doest. U- 640 coo. 641 fuu. 642 du. 643 nuu *noo*. 646 buu. 648 *wir*. 650 *aboot*. 651 øthuu't. 652 kud. 653 bi,t bat *bit* †*bit*. U': 655 ful. 656 rum. — *toom* [thumb]. 657 *brun*. 658 duun dun *doon*. 659 tun. 662 wez. 663 huus hus *hoose*. 664 lus. 667 ut *oot*. 668 prud.

Y- 673 mak'l †*muckle*. 674 di,d did. 675 drá'i. 679 *kirk*. Y: — felt [filled]. 693 si,nd [sinned]. 694 wark. — *wirm* [worm]. 700 wæs' waars. 701 fæ'rst. — læ's'n [listen]. — kjest [kissed]. — *kist* [chest]. Y'- 705 skjá'i. 706 whá'i. Y': — *wiss* [wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 717 *jaad*. 736 las. 737 mi,t. — *shald* [shawl]. I. and Y. — kel [kill]. O. 761 lod. 768 nóis. — bruk [broke pt.]. — *pow* [poll, the head]. — bigun'd [begoud=began]. — lost [lost]. 781 boder. 783 puutri. 790 gun. — †*scooder* [scowder, skoldir=scoreh]. U. 798 whiir. 803 *jump*. 808 *pit* pæt, pæt, *pitten* [prt., pt., pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fees. 811 †*place*. 815 faks. 816 faand. 824 sheer *sheir*. 826 igl. 827 *eegr*. — *saunted* [sainted]. — *plase* [please]. 835 reez'n. 838 træt [(entreted) entreated]. — femin [famine]. 841 shans. 844 *truncher* [trencher]. — *graand* grand. 850 dans. 852 *eepren*. — *shapter* chapter. — *mairried* [married]. 857 kes. 859 shees. — *natur* [nature]. 862 seef sref. 864 bikæz bika'z. 865 *faut*. 266 pær *püir*. — *ill faured* [ill-looking].

E.. 867 tee *tae*. 869 veel. — *rael* [real]. 872 sheef. 875 faant. 876 feent. 885 veri. 888 sæ'ten. — særv *sair* [serve]. 889 sees. 890 beest best. 891 feest. — oor [hour]. 893 fluur. 894 discæv. 895 riseev.

I. and Y.. 897 *delicht*. 898 ná'is. — *infædel* [infidel]. 901 fá'in. 908 advá'is. — *meesery* [misery]. — *veesably* [visibly]. 912 rá'is.

O.. 914 brootj. 920 póint. — fá'ir [a fair]. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. — *soond* [sound]. — *mun'tens* [mountains]. 935 kjantri. — †*devoor* [devour]. 938 kórner koorner. 940 kot. 941 kæl *fúle*. 944 aluu'. 945 vuu. 947 bóil. 948 bául. 950 sæper. 952 ii *coorse*. 953 kœz'n. 955 duuts. — *poor* [power]. 956 kíver.

U.. — *subjek* [subject]. 963 whá'iet. 965 óil. 968 óister. 969 shæ'r *súre*. — *üse* [use]. — *excúse* excuse. — *mœzik*.

A FEW RESULTS.

The long investigation which is now closed still leaves much to be desired, though the reader may deem that it already enters into too many unnecessary particulars. But as the points to be investigated were not only numerous, but transitional in their character, great minuteness was required in recording the discoveries made in the present phonetic examination of a large district. Our object was to discover the traces of the past in the present, and to account, if possible, for the great phonetic changes which strike the most cursory observer. An endeavour has been made in the great majority of cases to get information either directly from the mouths of dialect speakers, or indirectly from the mouths of those who were familiar with dialectal speech, and to record the result in a uniform notation with the utmost attainable accuracy, trusting as little as possible to written accounts, except from the pens of informants whose phonetic knowledge and manipulation of my written systems had been tested by myself in personal interviews, such as TH., JGG., CCR., Dr. Murray, Mr. Elworthy, and Mr. Darlington. In the Preliminary Matter, No. VIII., I have endeavoured to describe my palaeotype, but I am painfully conscious that without the living speech, all such expositions are only approximative, and that even with the advantage of actual audition, but few can imitate all the sounds with facility and correctness. I hope, however, perhaps too sanguinely, that the conclusions as to the sounds actually used and heard will be sufficiently well appreciated to make their study useful and effective towards the elaboration of a hitherto unwritten chapter in the great science of language. Dr. Sweet's enlarged and improved edition of his "History of *British* Sounds," p. 16*, under the title of "A History of *English* Sounds from the Earliest Period," did not reach me till May, 1888, when nearly 300 pages of this treatise were already in type, and the first draft of the first five Divisions, embracing all England, was already completed in MS. Moreover, his work required more study than the exigencies of passing this part through the press would allow. I regret therefore that I am compelled to leave Dr. Sweet's valuable work almost altogether unused.

The first result of the present examination of the *existing* phonology of English dialects is that there are really a large number of *local* varieties of speech, all related, while at the same time in many respects strangely different (compare the five Ruth versions, p. 698). But the relations are much more definite than we had any reason to expect, considering the rude shocks to which local habits have been subjected, and the present exterminating

influence of school boards and railways. We have then in England many local forms of speech, not merely 42, the number of districts here formed by neglecting minor differences, but many hundreds, (recognised by dialect speakers themselves, who will pick out the village that owns the speech,) and these, we have seen, can be further grouped again into six large divisions, which by joining the W. and E. to the S., and the L. to the N., can be further reduced to three, Northern, Midland, and Southern, which have been recognised from the earliest times. But these three parcels are not within the limits of each homophthongous, and to attempt their exact filiation to the oldest local speeches is probably beyond the reach of present investigation, and certainly beyond the limits of the task here undertaken.

By a *dialect* we here only mean, *first, a local difference of speech*, the existence of which has been here abundantly established, and, *secondly, an evident relation of all these forms of local speech to one another*. Now the earliest local speech with which we have complete literary acquaintance is the Wessex or that spoken by the West Saxons. We have many remains of the Northumbrian, but none, of any consequence, of the Midland. Hence Wessex is the one form of early speech with which we should compare all others. But even at the times when the Wessex speech was cultivated, and existing Ws. books were written, old Norse was inextricably mixed up with it, and in the cwl. words from that language have been frequently introduced as 18 cake, 25 mane, 54 want, etc. Hence we have to supplement Ws. with *n.* (Norse).

Now the large collection of cwl. already given, in which the mode of replacement of Ws. or *n.* sounds by local English is clearly shewn so far as the vowels are concerned, in a number of words, all or by far the most of which, allowing for such differences, are common to all speakers of English, to my mind establishes a local definite relation between the early form and the particular local form, with great diversities as to what that particular local form may be, and many differences in the effects produced on the vowels by adjacent consonants. The exact determination of these relations must be left to future scholars; I am myself too old even to attempt it. It has been my work to furnish the materials as faithfully as I could, without any preconceived theory, and I am only too happy to have been enabled to deliver them in an orderly form to future investigators, and must content myself with drawing only a very few conclusions.

It is pertinent to inquire to what extent do our oldest documents represent the sounds that their writers actually heard in speech? We cannot suppose that the oldest writers were supernaturally gifted with the power of perfectly appreciating sounds, and registering them by means of a very imperfect instrument,—the mediæval enlarged Latin alphabet, with two or three runes. Nor do we know the exact sounds which these scribes gave to their letters, or how many different sounds they attributed to each. I am not now perfectly satisfied with the key to Ws. given in Part II.

p. 534. I do not feel quite sure of *æ, ea, ed, eo, ed*, and even of the exact sounds of *i, e, a, o, u, y* (where Dr. Sweet recognises two sounds of *e*, two of *e*, and two of *o*, and there may have been two of *i, a, u*). The *r* was possibly (*ɾ*), entailing (*ɾ, ɽ, ɽ, ɽ*), while *þ, ð* cannot be fixed as (*th, dh*) with certainty. As to the shade of sound that *y* expressed we could not hope to determine it. At what time *g z* were really distinguished, or *z w* became simply used diphthongally, it would be difficult to say. This makes the starting-point very doubtful. But I think that for the purposes of the present comparison, it would be sufficient to assume the following values:

Ws. *a á æ æ' aw b c cg cw d ð e é ea ed*
 pal. *a aa æ ææ áu b, k kj, g kw ɽ, dh th, ɛ ee éa éaa*

Ws. *eo éo f g z h hl hn hr i í ie iu l m n ng o ó*
 pal. *éo éoo, v f, g j, hɿ kh, lh nh rh i ii ie iu l m n q o oo*

Ws. *p r s sc t þ u ú w wl vr y y'*
 pal. *p ɾ, z s, sk skj, ɽ, th dh, u uu w lw rw y, yy.*

Here (*v, z*) initial and perhaps (*f, s*) final seem guaranteed by existing usage in D 4, and similarly the series (*ɾ ɽ ɽ ɽ*) seems established first by the existing usages in D 4 (pp. 51 to 54), and the descent of the general English coronal (*t d l n r*) from them as opposed to the (*t d l n r*) of the continent, of which (*t d r*) are occasionally found in M. and N., and perhaps, but not with certainty, in NL and IL. The (*éa éo*) seem justified by the regular practice of dialectal fractures, and the occasional lengthening of the second element is a common feature of our diphthongs. I am still very doubtful as to '*æ*,' but it is most probable that it was a simple vowel, as the medieval Latin '*æ*,' from which the sign was borrowed, was, at that time at least, and for long before it, a simple vowel (*ee*), whence (*ææ, æ*) is a natural development.

If we merely examine dialectal vowels which replace the literary Ws., the confusion at first appears immense,—the maze is mighty, and the plan unseen. The first approach to orderliness is made by remembering that, except in a small part of the south-west of England, say about D 4 and 5, the sounds cannot be considered as engendered by the Ws.; they are relatives, not descendants.

Now the first thing that strikes us is, that although many of the short vowels are occasionally considerably different from the presumed Ws. in received speech,—an artificial product,—they are (omitting EA, EO) all to be found in some one or other of the dialect districts, in closed and stressed syllables, with what have here been assumed as their original sounds (*i, e, æ, a, o, u*).

The *I* is, very rarely, (*i*) or (*i'*), at least in the North, and sometimes falls to (*i*) or even (*e*). But (*i*) is its general sound. Indeed (*i*) is in closed syllables a difficult sound to most Englishmen, who are even apt to replace (*ii*) by (*ii, i*), although in many districts a genuine short *I* becomes diphthongised, as in 444

stile, 446 nine, 458 night, 477 find; yet the short vowel, sometimes prolonged to (*ii*), but not diphthongised, is found in the first two words *stile*, *nine*, and with its proper quantity in 477 find, while 458 night, appears as (nekjht) in L., the vowel being only lowered, but then the speakers think they say (nɛkjht) and write *nicht*.

The E in close syllables is almost invariably (ɛ), except among educated southerners, who do not count. Where it has been written (e), it was, I think, generally a confusion, easily explained.

The E final of Middle English, replacing the various Ws. final vowels which, as explained in I. 318-342, III. 646-648, certainly existed, at least in poetry, so late as the time of Chaucer and Gower, has entirely disappeared in the dialects as well as in received speech. No trace of it has been found. The High German final E remains even in common conversation, the Dutch final E exists in a few uses, the French final E has disappeared, except before two following consonants, in prose and in speech, and even in declaimed verse, but exists metrically and in verse set to music, being distinctly heard at the present day from French singers, and even often provided with a long note. The English final E has absolutely ceased to exist.

Generally E in an open syllable follows the fortune of E'.

The Æ in close syllables is very seldom (æ), and generally follows the fortunes of A.

The A in the south and east, when used in close syllables, is fine (a') approaching and in rec. sp. quite reaching (æ), but in the M. and N. and L. varies from (a) to (ə). The A- in open syllables will be considered under A'.

The O is, I believe, normally (o), but it is very frequently confused with (o) by my authorities, and pronounced of course as (o) by rec. speakers, who have generally a difficulty in distinguishing (o o). But where it really occurs, (o) seems to be as much a modern invention as (AA).

The U remains (u) over only a very small zone, comprising Li., Yo., Cu., and We., and on the borders of this zone becomes (u_o) in the s., and (œ₁) in the north, sounds difficult to distinguish, and leading to the S. (æ), and the probably identical L. (æ). The S. form is raised in rec. sp. to (o), which seems to be also occasionally found dialectally, but this is liable to doubt. The difference between (œ, æ), like that between (e, ɛ), seems to be unimportant, and is seldom recognised. Dialect writers also confuse the five sounds (œ æ u u_o œ₁) under one sign u.

The Y is never distinguished from I, the dialectal sounds approaching (y œ) having arisen in a different manner. The confusion of the sounds of I, U, is probably very old.

The long vowels I', E', Æ', A', O', U', Y' (the last confused with I' as Y is with I), are seldom given pure, but are generally *fractured*, that is, really form diphthongs of the old sort, or of a peculiar kind, arising from beginning to pronounce the vowel with a wrong position of the organs, and then gliding to the right position.

The I' and Y'=I' remain in very few words of Teutonic origin, but in many Romance words as pron. in L., see D 33, p. 720c. In Part I. pp. 284-297, tabulated on Part I. p. 291, a number of instances were collected for the purpose of shewing that "long *ī*" was originally (*ii*). The consequent dissertation (although it took the form of the older or dialectal pron. of words which are in rec. sp. diphthongised like the pronoun I) gave rise to the present investigation. As the words collected in I. 291 are rarely to the point of the pron. of I', it will be better to consider them separately, and for convenience they will be taken in the alphabetical order of I. 291, and when they occur in the cwl. the number will be prefixed, which will make reference to the various cwl. easy.

500 *alike*. Mr. Shelly gave me this as being (əli:k) in Dv., but in his cwl. p. 165, I find "(lə'ik), rarely (lək)." Now (lək) is heard in L., Part I. p. 288, note 3, and p. 782, No. 500. It is not a case of I' retained, but of I' being shortened to I, and then lowered to (e), a very different case.

briar, Ws. *brér*, and hence is only the common case of E' becoming (ii), and is not in point.

399 *bright*. If we take this for Ws. *beorht*, it is not a case in point, Dr. Sweet assumes a later form.—*briht*. This was given me as (ii) from Cu., Kendal, La., South Shields, and We. It is generally so assumed to be, but that is only approximate, the usual form in Cu. and We. is (brí:it), see p. 588, second word, a delicacy seldom appreciated by writers, of which more presently. It is, however, at most, a short vowel lengthened, and hence not in point.

490 *by* L., Dr. Murray gives p. 718 (hái) of place, (béi) of agency, so that the form (bii) is not reached emphatically, (bi) unemphatic is common.

466 *child*, given as (tjɪl) in Du., p. 163, but as the plural *children* shews this is not a case of I', but of I lengthened under the influence of a following *l*, hence it is not in point.

438 *die*, often called (dii), is from n. *deyja*, and hence not in point.

675 and 677 *dry*, in North Shields (dwi), p. 674, No. 675, but this is only a short vowel *y* in *drygan*, lengthened, and hence is not in point.

dyke, Miss C. Day gave me (diik) from Nf., p. 276a. It is a genuine instance, but I did not get it elsewhere.

348. *eye* is very commonly (ii), but as it is an EA' word it is not in point. In *eyesight*, the *sight* has a short I and hence is not to the point.

414. *fly*, sb. *fleóga*, vb. *fleógan*, is evidently not in point.

886. *friar*, Fr. *frère*, is also not in point.

fright, Ws. *fyrhto*, -u, with a short *y*, is also evidently not in point.

445. *to hie*, Ws. *higian*, has again a short vowel and hence is not in point, see I. 289, note 3.

305. *high*, Ws. *héh héah*, is in either case not in point.

hind, Ws. *hinnan*, has a short vowel, prolonged.

Ida (2 sw.Exeter), called (iid) I was told, but I do not know whether St. Ida had I or I'.

I'll, the pronoun is sometimes called (i) when unaccented and placed after the verb, but as the word was *ic* with a short vowel, it is not a case in point.

kindly (kiinli) in s.Dv. (p. 165, after No. 689), but this is from Ws. *cynde* with a short vowel, and hence is not in point.

kite, Ws. *cy'ta*, is said to be (kiit) in Yo. and would be a good case, and certainly *sky* (skii) was found near Bradford, p. 393, No. 705.

liar, we find 415 *to lie* *mentiri* regularly (lii) in L., but this is from Ws. *leógan*, and hence not in point, and 676 *a lie*, Ws. *lyge*, had a short vowel.

425. *light*, Ws. *leóht*, is not in point, and *lightning* belongs to *light*.

712. *mice*, Ws. *my's*, like 711 *lice* *ly's*, is often called (miis, liis) in various districts, as in Danby Cleveland, p. 528, and Southwold Sf. p. 283, (miis) in Faversham Ke. p. 140, and it is a case in point.

457 *might*, Ws. *miht*, a short vowel.

510 *my* as a contraction of *mine*, Ws. *mín*, often becomes (mi) unemphatic, as (mi laad) my lord.

458 *night*, Ws. *niht*, a short vowel again.

311 *next*, called (niüst) in sw.Dv., p. 164, is not a long I', but was taken to be *nighest*, and 307 *nigh* itself is in Ws. *néh neáh*, and hence not in point.

459 *right* and 462 *sight* had short vowels and are not in point.

sly n *slægr* was given me as (slii) from many places, but it is not a case in point.

444 *stile*, Ws. *stigel*, has a short vowel and hence is not in point, (stiil) is not unfrequent, but often assumes the forms (stí:il, stá:il), which would be taken as (stiil) and lead on to the usual (sta'il).

423 *thigh*, Ws. *peóh*, is often (thii), but is not a case in point.

thy, a contraction of *ðin*, occurs only unaccented and shortened as (dhə) see *my*.

tie (ti) is said in Part I. p. 286a to be heard in Kendal, Cu., and La., but I

have no other record of it; Prof. Skeat refers it to Ws. *teág teáh ty'ge*, a rope, and the last form would be a case in point.

706 *why*, Ws. *hwý'*, was given me as (*whii*) from many places, but there seems to have been some mistake, it is so seldom used, thus on pp. 367, 502, 563, 684, it is generally replaced by *what for*, and is used for argumentative *well* on p. 580.

699 *wright*, Ws. *wyrhta*, has a short vowel, but becomes (*riit*), p. 393.

498 *write*, is given as (*vréit vrit*) in D 39, p. 782*d*, and is a genuine example.

Thus in the great majority of cases these were not instances of the retention of long I', but were sometimes the prolongation of short I, and at others the equivalents of E', EA', EO', none of which are to the point. They shew, however, the simultaneous occurrence of (*ii*, *a'i*) in many words as replacers of the same Ws. vowel.

Long vowels are treated in two ways. They are either shortened and then preserved in quality, or fractured and then greatly altered in quality. Sometimes, apparently through the action of a following consonant, the short vowel is lengthened, and sometimes both long and short vowels occur in different derivatives of the same word, thus in rec. sp. we find *child* *children*, *wild* *wilder* *wilderness*, *händer* *händer*. In names of places we find frequently a shortening, as *Wid-combe,-ford*, *Wick-ham,-ford*, *Whit-combe,-church,-by*, *Wig-more,-ton,-thorpe*, *Swin-burn,-dale,-combe,-don*. Similarly *tén*, *néxt* are preserved with short vowels, as *tén*, *néxt*, and *rúm* *room* shortened to (*rúm*) still very frequently heard, has been again lengthened to (*ruum*) without falling into (*ra'um*), as has happened in Germany, and so on. But fracturing is the principle almost universally in use.

There seems to have been an original tendency to fracture vowels among the Saxon speakers. EA, EO, IE (the last so rare that I have not considered it further) are called fractures (*Brechungen*) by J. Grimm, because they replace a short vowel by two short vowels which remain short, forming a group. He considers EA, EO to have been (*éa*, *éó*), and to have arisen from (*íá*, *íó*), which are often written IA, IO in MSS. The EA arises from A chiefly before L and R. EO arises from I, and is used more freely. In our dialects these particular fractures do not occur, at least in this way, but (*íe*, *éu*) are constantly found replacing what was open short A, as (*níem*, *néem*) *name*, and even occasionally replacing A'. But there is nothing like EO. The fractures EA', EO' are considered by Grimm as diphthongs. They are not treated as diphthongs in the dialects, and they are very variously replaced. We will postpone the consideration of these fractures till later.

The passage of I' from (*ii*) into (*a'i*) is given on p. 293 as being strongly developed in M. districts. The process consists of lowering the commencement of the vowel so that (*ii*) becomes (*íi*, *íii*), sounds which an unaccustomed ear hears as (*ii*, *ii*). I believe (*íi*) is what Dr. Sweet means by his *ij* in living speech. The lowering of the commencing element then continues, and we get (*éi*, *éi*, *é'i*), but then the second element is often, or rather generally (*é*); it is however often lengthened as (*éii* *éii*), and then

the speaker is still not conscious of having departed from (ii). It is *his* form of (ii), and the pure vowel sounds to him erroneous. When the sound of (ɛ'i) is reached, Southrons recognise a "thin" pron. of their own (a'i). Generally in the North a thin (e'i) and a thick (a'i) are distinguished, and are usually determined by the following consonant where there is one. The diphthongisation therefore proceeds to (æ'i, á'i, ái di) and rarely (A'i). But there is another set of these diphthongs, of which the first element is (ə, ɛ), or even (ɔ). These are common, especially in D 4. Whether they were derived through a progression similar to the former, or came from an original (ə'ii) form of (ii) parallel to (éii), it is not easy to say. There is often great difficulty in determining what is the first element of these diphthongs, and to say whether we hear (a'i, di) or (A'i), great attention and much practice is necessary. Ordinary hearers at most recognise two diphthongs (éi, ái), which they identify with the English school pron. of Greek *ei, ai*, generally (á'i ái). There is however a still further alteration of this diphthong, by taking the second element less close than (i), thus (áv), and then omitting it entirely and lengthening the first element to (aa), thus (laak) like, see pp. 525 and 528; this is very distinctive of D 30. Dr. Sweet also says (his p. 276) that "before (l) it [the second element] is almost completely absorbed in Vulgar English, *mile* being confused with *marle*," that is, both called (maal), which I have not observed.

Long U' is fractured, and then diphthongised after the same fashion as I'. The first element is depressed as (úu) slightly in the M. (which is possibly what Dr. Sweet means by his *uw* in living English), and more so in D 31, where it becomes (u,u), which is difficult to separate from (óu, óu). The last form of the diphthong is common, and is not readily distinguishable from (x'u), of which (s'u, á'u) are finer forms used in rec. sp., and (áu), the German *au*, a coarser form. Now (áu) varies as (áx) as in D 27, and this, with the second element rendered less definite, becomes first (áv), and finally (aa), as in D 24, p. 399. So that we have the strange phenomenon of I' and U' at the two extremities of the vowel scale both sinking in different, but not far distant, places (York and Leeds, both in the same county, and only twenty miles apart), into the middle sound (aa). This (aa) for U' is still further degraded in sw.La., when it becomes (ææ), dialectally written *eaw*. And the degradation of (áu) is not yet complete. Instead of changing the second element into (ə), and then omitting it, the (ə) becomes (i), and we thus get (ái) to represent U' in D 25, as well as generally I', though in D 25 the form (di) is used for I', and kept distinct from (ái). The form (á'u) has still finer varieties, as (æ'u, ɛ'u), which are very common in different parts of England, as in D 10 and D 19, while in D 9 and in London it is still further refined to (éu).

The U' is heard as pure (uu) in D 30 and in L., but in D 31 it is usually (ú,u), and even in some parts (éuu), p. 625, and (ɛ'uu, ə'uu), p. 636-7, all of which are regarded by the speakers as pure

(uu), and indeed are generally written *oo* in all dialect books. All these sounds represent U'.

A' is seldom preserved unfractured, although the received (braad), which is occ. (braad) in dialects, may be so taken; but the custom is to fracture with a prefixed (u) or (o) in the south and (i) or (e) in the north. Thus Ws. *án*, one, which was (oon) unfractured even in Shakspeare's rec. sp. [Two Gent. ii. 1, 2, pun on *on* and *one*], became normally in the sw. (úan, úen), and from these came (wæn, wæn), the last of which has been adopted in rec. sp. But in the n. it became (ían íen jæn jæn jæn), the Scotch *ane*. This (úv) had often an alternative form (óv), whence probably came the rec. (*oo*), as (tóvd, tood) toad. But the (ív) led at once to (ii), and it is an old joke that an Ab. man falls on the (stiinz) stones and breaks his (biinz) bones, p. 780, Nos. 118 and 124. Thus as I', U' both become (aa) in some districts, A' may become (ii), and is, if not (uu), at least (*oo*) very generally. It is to be observed that short open A- falls into (éev) or (íev) in the south, of which (éev) occupies the s. portion as Do., and (íev) the n. portion as Wl., and that even in Wl. in the towns, and still more in Gl. and the town of Gloucester itself, the (v) falls away and (ii) alone remains (p. 54, No. 3, and p. 64 note). It would have been quite possible for the modern (ee) to have been derived from A- through (éev) in the same way. In the east the A- having fallen in (éev) is further altered to (éi) by the very common and in this case recent substitution of (i) for (v) (see p. 202, No. 852). This (éi) form growing to (é'i, á'i) has become very distinctive of Es. (p. 221) and n. London (p. 226), but it is a mere form of the very common (éev), as (á'i) for U' is a form of (áv), p. 826*d*.

The intermediate vowels E', O' seem to have passed at a comparatively early time into (ii, uu). The link for the first may have been either of the forms (íev, éii), both of which are still found. Of these the first becomes (ii) on dropping the (v), the second on swallowing the very short initial (e); but both are conjectural. The changes which occur are changes of (ii) into (íi, íi, éi, éii). The sound (ee) seems reserved for more frequent use for E-, see various cwl. under E-, Nos. 231 to 255.

The O' has a singular fate. The fracture (úv), which still exists for short O-, probably made it turn into (uu). As (uu) it was fractured both into (ú,u) and (íu), each of which forms occurs in the same dialect (North Craven, p. 622, NW. Horn of Yo., p. 625). Then (íev) may arise for (íu), but it is evidently the northern form of fracture which replaces the southern (úv). In the M. counties, however, the (uu) sound at times reached its fractured form through speakers beginning it with the mouth too widely open, producing (æ'u), p. 292, much resembling (æ'u). This is a very unstable compound, and would serve to generate (íu, æ'u), or (æ, y₁), and seems to be the source whence the latter forms, or the French *eu* in *peu* and nearly French *u*, arose in D 10, D 11, D 19, D 33, and other L. forms. The existence of a sound resembling French *u* or (y) in all these districts is generally acknowledged, yet TH. did

not find it in D 19 (p. 260*c*), but on the contrary found (*æ'u*). In D 24 the short O seems to have developed into (*óí*), as (*kóil óil*) coal hole, while O' becomes (*úí*), as (*súin, múin*) soon, moon, p. 393; but these are only forms of (*óv, úv*), the (*v*) becoming (*i*), as we have seen to be very common (pp. 827*d*, 828*e*).

As regards *Æ'* nothing very definite can be said. The replacing values are generally (ii, ee), and sometimes (*E'i*), but the rule for the distribution of the words among the signs has not been made apparent. My cwl. are here rather deficient, for although there were plenty of words in the original, my informants gave but few of them, possibly because they found nothing peculiar, that is, differing from rec. pron. in them. Perhaps an exhaustive examination of the words might lead to some general result, but I must leave this to others. The combination *Æ'G* will be considered presently.

As respects EA, EO, which are merely fractures, they must be referred first, if possible, to the vowels of which they are fractures. Now EA is clearly a fracture of A or A', and EO is possibly a fracture of E or E'.

EA is replaced very differently according to the following consonant, but it seems to act rather as A' than as A. Thus 322 *hleahhan laugh* has mostly (aa), but sometimes very short (*ä*); 323 *feahht fought* has usually some form of (*a'u*), and 324 *cahta eight* some form of (*ái, E'i, EE*). The words in EALD have sometimes (aa) or (*oo*), diphthongising into (*óu, æ'u*), but EAL, followed by F or L, has (AA). In all these there seems to be no trace of an original short A.

In the case of EO, we must separate GEO, CEO where GE, CE may probably be merely the palatalisation of G, C, so that *geolca, geond, geong, yolk* of eggs, *yon, young*, and *sceolde should*, do not belong to the series. Also *beorht* seems to be an alteration of *briht*, as Dr. Sweet assumes (*History of E. Sounds*, p. 308, No. 700). Omitting these my series of EO: words has chiefly EOR, which seems to fare as ER, becoming (aar) when (r) is pron. The word 388 *meolc milk* has sometimes a singular pron. as (*mæ'lk*), p. 154, but it has generally (*i*). Whoever listens to the peripatetic vendors of milk may however readily appreciate the original fracture.

Of EA' I have the same complaint to make as of *Æ'*. Its replacers vary as (ii, *iv, ee, e, E'i*). Much evidently depends on the following consonant, but I have not been able to formulate the rule.

EO' seems to follow the fortunes of E', and usually becomes (ii). This also requires additional work.

Ws. *diphthongs*, as distinct from fractures, are usually expressed by an added *g, w*, as *ÆG, Æ'G, EG, AW, EOW, EO'W, IW*. See Consonantal Index, p. 30*, under G and W. In the sw. of England, especially in D 4, the first three become some form of (*a'i*). This still exists very markedly, but is on the way to (*ee, ee, EE*), which also frequently occur in D 4, and the forms (*éi, év*) are

likewise found. The change of (ii) into some form of (ee) is common to many languages (see Part I. p. 238), and we cannot be surprised at the prevalence of the (ee) forms at the present day. They render the descent from an original (a'i) form almost undoubted. But were ÆG, Æ'G, EG, really distinct from each other? Most probably, at the time this orthography came into use, but it seems to me that they were not distinguished in the time of Chaucer, Part III. p. 637 fl. The present degradation of A- and ÆG into (ee) confuses two distinct set of words, as *tale tail*, see Cooper, in Part I. p. 126. It is remarkable that in some parts of Ch. both should have further changed to (ii), see p. 409. That both *tale tail* should be changed would seem simple after they had reached the (ee) stage, the process being similar to that by which E' became (ii), but the remarkable point is that in other parts of Ch. (ee) remains in *tale*, but becomes (ii) in *tail*. In SL the reverse takes place, for the vowel in *tale* becomes (iv, i'), and *tail* has (ee) (p. 710, No. 3, and DSS. p. 106).

The AW diphthong loses its W, that is, its (u), altogether. Even in D 4 it becomes (aa), in D 33 or SL (aa), and elsewhere it is mostly (AA), for which *aw* is the rec. spelling. Of course A'W follows the fortunes of A', and is occ. (aa), but more usually (oo, oo).

The EOW, EO'W, and IW forms are comparatively rare, but see the different cwl. under 386 eowe a *ewe*, 387 neowe niwe *new*, 408 cneow, he *knew*, 417 ceówan to *chew*, 418 breówan to *brew*, 419 eówer *your*, 420 feówer *four*, 421 feówertig *forty*, 435 eów *you*, 436 treów *true*, 437 treówð *truth*. The sound varies as (óu, æ'u, iæ'u), while the action of the (r) in the last two words sometimes produces curious but important changes, such as (uu, æ'u, yy₁).

The *Consonants* which have not been specially grouped in the cwl., but are distributed among the vowel groups, are collected and referred to the Ws. and Norse words containing them, with their numbers in the cwl. on p. 30*, so that any medial and final consonants with some of the initial may be studied throughout the cwl., while the ordinary initial consonants are given in the English index, p. 25*.

The letter R occasions the most trouble. In all the S. div. R is more or less reverted, that is, the tip of the tongue points to the throat and its underpart is turned to the hard palate; this is written (R). The hollow thus caused at the back of the tongue produces a very peculiar resonance, which makes the effect of (R), when once heard and understood, immediately recognisable. The effect is rendered milder by making only the outer margin of the tip instead of its underpart approach the middle of the hard palate, leaving a spoon-shaped hollow behind. This is JGG.'s retracted *r* written (R). It is rendered still milder by advancing the raised tip of the tongue nearer to, but not quite to reach, the gums. This is the buzzed (r_c) when not trilled or flapped, the tongue being still turned up, but the hollow at the back being

almost obliterated. The true (ɾ) is however discernible right through the s. of England from Co. to Ke., and is conspicuous in Wl. Sm. Do. and Dv. This (ɾ) is probably the original Ws. form of the consonant. Our language is derived from North or Low German and Danish, and in Germany and Denmark at the present day the *r* is very peculiar, the first commonly uvular (*r*) and the second glottal (ɾ).

The effect of this reversion upon a contiguous (t, d, l, n) is evidently to revert it also and produce (x, ɲ, ʎ, ŋ), and it seems to me most probable that this reverted form is the original (see pp. 51, 53). It is known as the cerebral series in Sanscrit (Part IV. p. 1096). These consonants seem to me to be the progenitors of the common coronal English (t, d, l, n). These are quite distinct from the alveolar (ṭ, ḍ, ḷ, ṇ), where the tip of the tongue touches the gums, producing the continental and Sanscrit "dental" series. The natural flapped (ɾ) seems to be also coronal, so that (tr- dr-) are proper combinations. In the North Midland and N. districts, however, an alveolar (ṭ, ḍ) are heard, but only before *r*, which obliges the position of the tongue for it to be also alveolar, as (tṛ-, dṛ-), and this occurs even when an (ə) is interposed, as (-ṭəṛ, -ḍəṛ), indeed the (ṭ, ḍ) still remain when the (ɾ) is lost, as (-ṭə, -ḍə). The Indian alphabet has two forms of *t*, *d*, namely (ṭ, ḍ, ṇ ḍ), the English is perhaps the only language which has three forms of each letter (ɾ ṭ ṭ, ɲ ḍ ḍ).

But the forms of the English *r* are not exhausted. In the M. counties TH. recognises a very mild, but still in his opinion, trilled *r*, which I write (ṛ). At the same time JGG. recognises a northern *r*, which I write (r^o), and he considers (ɾ ṛ r^o) to form a series, p. 294. Of course it is very difficult to recognise such fine distinctions, except after long hearing and careful analysis of native utterances. To a mere Southron's ear they sound like his own gentle *r*, or as completely vocalised.

The southern (ɾ) after passing to (r_o) often becomes lost after (aa, ʌʌ), or considered as a mere symbol of the change of *a*, *o* into these sounds, and is identified in other cases with a vowel somewhat like (ə, ɐ, ø, øh), but probably different from all of them, as the tip of the tongue is certainly a little too much raised for any real vowel to be uttered, see p. 222. This "vowel *r*," or (ɐ) as it may be written, prevails all along the east coast of England from Ke. to Nb. as far as North Shields at any rate, when not before a vowel. When preceding a vowel it is possibly generally (r_o), but I think I say and hear generally (ṛ), a mild and real trill. All over the E. div. and D 20 in the M. div. and the e. coast of Yo. and Du. in the N. div. this vocalisation of *r* prevails. At North Shields in Nb. before a vowel it seems to become (ɾ), see top of p. 665, really a trill or trembling of the lips, often confused with (w).

The varieties of English *r* are, however, not even yet exhausted. In D 14, comprising m.Sh., the trill of the tongue tip is always distinct both before and after a vowel, almost like the Italian *r*,

but not so forcible. It seems to be a remnant of Welsh *r*, see p. 182. In several places in England, and especially in Sh., a difficulty is felt with (shr-) initial, for which the un-English (sr-) is used in better speech, the (r) being vulgarly entirely omitted, p. 183. In Scotland the *r* is also distinctly trilled with the tongue only, as I think, more conspicuously than in Italian, but I believe not so strongly as in Ireland, where, I am told, the whole of the tongue, and not merely the tip, participates in the flapping action (Part IV. p. 1232*e*). In Nb., on the contrary, the tongue does not flap at all, but only the uvula, and the result is often complicated by a partial closure of the lips, see p. 641*c*.

In my opinion *r* is essentially an intermittent interruption of the voice, imitated in Faber's speaking machine by rapidly revolving a disk with radiating perforations in the way of the vocalised current of air. These interruptions in natural speech are made most naturally by the flapping tongue in different positions, sometimes by the uvula or the lips, and each mode of interruption by modifying the resonant cavity of the mouth, produces different effects in passing from interruption to free passage of the voice. When, however, there is no intermittence, when the tongue or lips remain in one position, with no more trembling than the passage of the voice (that is, undulating breath) naturally produces as in prolonged (*z*, *zh*, *w*), there is, as I conceive, only a vocalisation, a buzz or rough voice, as all consonant positions, being unfavourable to a clear passage of sound, naturally produce. Mr. Melville Bell and Dr. Sweet, on the contrary, separate the flapping from the position of the tongue or lips, and it is necessary that this radical difference in our views should be borne in mind.

In the S. div., especially in D 4 and D 11, initial *s* and *f*, as a general rule, become in Ws. words (*z*, *v*), but are sounded as (*s*, *f*) in Romance words. See particulars on pp. 38 to 41. As the initial (*z*) at least is common to all German dialects, high as well as low, it must be considered the original, and (*s*) a generated sound. The (*v*) seems to be also original, compare Dutch, and compare the Welsh *f*, *ff*, for (*v*, *f*). We find also that even (*sh*, *th*) occasionally become (*zh*, *dh*) when initial in the sw. of England, p. 41. But here (*sh*, *zh*) were not original sounds, and hence this development must have been recent. On the contrary, (*dh*) was probably the original sound and (*th*) derived, as Dr. Sweet supposed, see Part II. p. 541, note 2. The use of (*d*) for (*dh*) in Ke. in *this*, *that*, *the*, *there*, *their*, *theirs*, *them*, *then*, *these*, *those*, *they* (p. 131), is sufficiently remarkable, and becomes more so when we remember that it is a temporary modern pron. introduced subsequent to the time of Dan Michel in the xivth century, and, though still known in the present day, is rapidly disappearing. That in Orkney and Shetland (*d*) is also found for (*dh*), although fast dying out, is attributable possibly to Norse influence. But this e.Ke. substitution is not.

In connection with (*dh*) we may observe the various forms of

the definite article, (dhv) in the S. div. and up to D 20 inclusive, (th) mainly in w.M. as D 21, 22, 25, and even in part of Yo. (p. 500, No. 6), but occasionally assimilated by a previous (n) to (t'). But this suspended form, independently of any assimilation, is prevalent over D 30 and D 31, though it again becomes (dhv) in D 32, and in Cs. D 40 drops to (e'), losing the initial consonant altogether, while in Holderness even the (t') vanishes and no definite article is left.

Ws. F seems to have been (v) and W to have been (w). There always has been a Teuton difficulty with these letters, which Germans as a rule cannot pron., using their own *w* or (bh) for both of them. Over a portion of the e. coast from Ke. to Nf. at least extends the "land of *Wee*" or the territory of (w) to the exclusion of (v), see p. 132, and 221*d*. Although (v) for (w) is commonly attributed to cockneys and Folkestone fishermen, I have not been able to observe the first in serious use and the second is at least doubtful (p. 143). I have seen the use of *v* for *w* attributed to the advent of the Huguenots into England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but I know no authority for the statement, see pp. 229*a*, 230*d*. The true (wh) is rare; it is practically unknown in the S. W. E. and M. div., being replaced by (w), a proceeding analogous to the S. use of initial (v) for (f); thus to pron. *wheel* as *weal* is precisely similar phonetically to pronouncing *feel* as *veal*. Those who strongly reprobate the latter, mostly commit the former sin with calmness, and find (whiil) uncouth. In D 39, or N.L. on the contrary, the (wh) initial falls consistently into (f), at least it is so generally received, but quite possibly it may be (ph), without the action of the teeth, which much more closely resembles (wh). Mr. Melville Bell conjectures it to be (fh) or (f), with the back of the tongue raised as for (u). The doubt is whether the teeth are used at all.

In Ws. W occurs before L and R. Of WL I find no trace, unless a magnificent *flunkey* be a remnant of Ws. wlænc, wlanc, wlenc, wlonc, *splendid*. But WR still exists in several places, see *wrong* on p. 578 and p. 688, also p. 726, par. 3, and elsewhere in L.

The Ws. CN initial generally becomes simple (n), but is occ. represented by (nh) or (tnh), see *know*, p. 566, and compare Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Lediard, Part IV. p. 1046*a*'.

The Ws. H is generally very badly treated. In Ws. it had presumably the value (h) or strongly jerked out flatus (Part IV. p. 1130, col. 2), and when doubled or final, was probably a guttural. It is known to every one of education how very widely the absence of (h) extends. I got the most contradictory accounts from different regions. Glossary writers put in the *h* as a matter of habit, even where they know that no dialect speaker uses it. For my own part, I feel very uncertain of any (h) south of the Lowland line 10, north of it (h) is omitted only, but not always, in (it) it, for (h) remains there in D 39 to 41; and (h) is inserted only, but not always, in (hæz) us, and (hulet) owlet (p. 734, v. 88). In the M. div. certainly (h) has no existence, and very little in the N. div.,

except in each case perhaps as a mark of emphasis even when unhistorical. Its present home is in the L. div., and there also the guttural prevails, in all the three forms (kh, kjh, kw̃h). The guttural is, however, occ. met with further south, and has been heard from old people even in La., p. 341, parts of Yo. (Part I. p. 289, note 4, and Part I. p. 311, note 1), Cu., and We. But in L. it is habitual. The general substitute for the guttural, when not entirely ignored, is (f), which in some words, as *laugh tough*, prevails in rec. sp., and in *dwarf* habitually, and *draft* recently, has crept into rec. spelling.

The 10 transverse lines (described pp. 15 to 22) divide the whole country into regions where certain pron. are prevalent. The six great divisions, S., W., E., M., N., L., give the largest groups that I have been able to form, and the distinctive characters are succinctly stated at the beginning of each. Next, I have made a number of minor groups, as Celtic Southern, p. 24; Mid Southern, p. 36; the Border of Southern against Midland and Eastern, p. 110; the East Southern, p. 130; the West Southern, p. 145; the South Western, p. 175; and North Western, p. 181; the West Eastern, p. 189; the Mid Eastern, p. 195; the South Eastern, p. 225; the North Eastern, p. 248; and the East Eastern, p. 259; the Border Midland, p. 296; the North Midland, p. 315; the Mid Midland, p. 408; the East Midland, p. 447; the South Midland, p. 451; the East Northern, p. 495; the West Northern, p. 537; the North Northern, p. 637; the South Lowland, p. 709; the Mid Lowland, p. 723; the North Lowland, p. 755; and the Insular Lowland, p. 788; to each of which is prefixed a brief account of its characters. The last portion of each name shows the division to which each group belongs, while the names of the groups themselves are placed as current headlines of the pages. Each of these groups is, when feasible, subdivided into smaller districts, and each is at the commencement properly characterised. The characters there assigned, which it is not necessary to repeat here, form the principal result, and were the most difficult part of this investigation, the difficulty being greatly increased by the necessity of completing it in all its details before a page of the book could be printed, or the maps drawn.

Among these characters a very few points of construction and vocabulary were noticed (see p. 25*), for it was my purpose not to enter upon matters which have occupied other investigators.

The most striking of these is the form of the verb substantive *I be* in the S., getting mixed with *I are* in Kent, and chiefly *I are* in the E., mixed with *I am* which prevails over the M. But in D 30 and 31 *I is* is the usual form, which may indeed sometimes be heard in Df., but is possibly imported; for in D 32 and L. generally *I am* is the form always heard. Of course the vowels are not heard after *I* except where there is much emphasis, as I heard an old woman say to me, *I are to wait* (ái 'aa ts wee'jt), meaning that she had been ordered to wait where I found her. Usually (ái)z, (ái)m, etc., are heard. In the S. also *we am*, *you am* may be found as *we-m*, *you-m*.

In D 4 and 10 the periphrastic form, as *I do love*, without any intention of emphasis, is used for *I love*, and the past participle has the augment, as *I have a-loved*. Also the nominative form is much used for the object, as *I saw she*.

In the west M. as in D 21, 22, 25, 26, the verbal plural in *-en* is regularly used in the present tense, as *we love-n, you ha(ve)n*. This dies out eastwards, and is nearly extinct in Le. and Nt.

In the E. the plural verb is often used for the singular, as *it do* (pp. 197*d*, 249*e*).

In High Furness La. and in parts of We. *at* is at least occasionally used instead of *to* before the infinitive (p. 550). In Ch. *to* is regularly omitted in such cases, and *for* is used for *for to* (p. 410*c*).

In the Black Country, D 29, V ii*b*, but not V ii*a*, p. 461, occurs regularly a peculiar form of the negative with auxiliary verbs, the *not* itself being omitted, as *I doh* for *I don't* (instances collected, p. 461). It is, I believe, sparingly found elsewhere.

Peculiar words, which have been the main objects of glossarists, I have not sought at all, but a few naturally occurred.

The use of *en* or (*un*) unaccented, representing the Ws. acc. *hine*, still exists in the S., though received speech has confused it with the dative *him* (p. 43), it must not be confounded with *'un = one*.

The first personal pron. occurs as *utch* (ʌtʃ) in a small district near Yeovil (p. 84). It is the only remnant of the *ich 'ch* so common in writings of the xvi th century to represent clownishness.

The form of address to companions or fellow-workers varies much. As I have introduced it into my dt., I have had a curious set of words given me. (1) *Mates*, which was the word in the original (p. 8*), is found 43 times, but is always suspicious, as it was thus suggested. (2) *Lads* occurs 25 times, only once in S., the rest in M. and N. (3) *Chaps* runs it hard with 21 occurrences, of which 2 were in the S., 1 in the E., and the rest M. or N. Other varieties are very much more uncommon. (4) *Boys* occurs 5 times. (5) *Marrows* (the word properly means matches, equals, *pares*, 4 times (once p. 617*d*, and three times p. 656), all in N. (6) *Butties* is found three times (pp. 117*d*, 255*c*, 472*c*); and the singular address, (7) *Together*, also occurs 3 times (pp. 250*d*, 263*c*, 272*c*, all in E.); the rest occur only once. (8) *Comrades*, p. 169*d*. (9) *Maties*, p. 250*b*. (10) *Bo's*, p. 278*c*. (11) *Old Fellows*, p. 285*c*. (12) *Neighbours*, p. 656. (13) *Callants*, p. 656, and I think in 4 cases the word was skipped altogether.

In connection with (10) *bo'* (bʌ), a Nf. word for young man, occurs *mauther* (maadhʌ), young woman or young girl, then usually abridged to *mau'er* (ma'ʌ). The word for girl is *maid* (maid) in the south, *wench* in no bad sense in M., and *lass* generally in N.; *girl* is rather an educated word; *she* is *hoo* (ʌ'u, ʌ'u) in w. M., as La., Ch., Db., and *shoo* (shu, shoo, shʌ) in D 24, but (shʌ) in D 41 and 42, and constantly (ʌʌ) assumed generally to be *her*, especially in M.

Here I stop. Time and space fail me, and my long task must come to an end.

END OF PART V.

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