Chapters

on

English Printing, Prosody, and Pronunciation

(1550—1700)

by

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and

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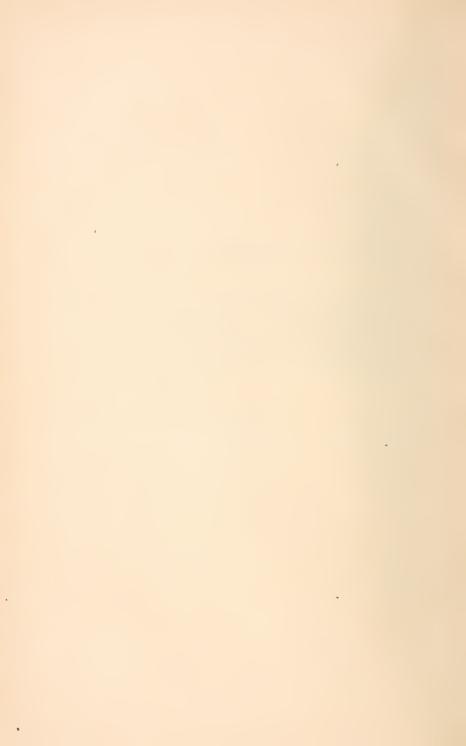# Contents.

HIGH-HANDED WAYS

ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN PRINTERS.

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Looking away from the so-called piratical or surreptitious
prints, we find that of several dramas of Shakespeare —
and, indeed, also of his contemporaries — there exist dif-
ferent old editions of which the texts in some cases show
considerable divergencies. These old editions are all of
them corrupt. All textual critics are at one in the con-
clusion that not a single one of these first editions accu-
rately represents the manuscript as it left Shakespeare's hands.

But the critics are not agreed as to the way in which
this fact must be accounted for.

As a rule it is held that the plays used to be printed
not from the author's manuscripts, but from stage-copies, in
which of course various reasons rendered all kinds of alterations
comprehensible, excusable, desirable, or necessary. According
to the same hypothesis another part of the mistakes may
with perfect safety be laid at the door of the transcriber,
while the rest of them are set down to the printer's negli-
gence and inadvertence.

Besides, a few scholars hold that in certain cases Shake-
speare actually recast plays at a subsequent period. But

this supposition seems to us of too little importance to be discussed in these introductory remarks, which would run to inordinate length if we were to go about to show its lack of solid foundation for each separate case.

To the stage-copy hypothesis there are several weighty objections.

The title-page of the Hamlet quarto of 1604 expressly states that the text was printed "according to the true and perfect Coppie".

The Folio of 1623 makes the same statement.

Many of Shakespeare's plays are so long that we are fain to conclude that the corresponding stage-copies must have been much shorter than the texts that have come down to us.

It can hardly be assumed that new stage-copies were made at every turn : at the same time such assumption becomes necessary if we wish to account for the discrepancies between the different editions by supposing the latter to have been printed from stage-manuscripts.

The same categories of textual differences that are observed in the old prints of Shakespeare's works, are already met with when comparing the first (1565) and the second (1570) edition of Gorboduc, at a time, therefore, when neither theatres nor stage-copies were as yet in existence.

But the most fatal objection to the stage-copy hypothesis is after all, that no one has up to now succeeded in proving that the deviations in the various old prints were desirable, or could on rational grounds be accounted for by the requirements of theatrical performance.

Even the omissions, which in extreme cases, at least so far as we know with certainty from a comparison of two different old or first editions, when taken together never

exceed about two hundred lines in a whole play, are too insignificant to allow us to consider them as abridgments made for the purposes of stage representation.

The stage-manuscript hypothesis lacks and will always lack the only solid foundation on which it could be made to rest: a clear substantiation of the motives that could render it acceptable.

We shall now try briefly to convey an idea of the nature and the number of the textual corruptions in the old editions of Shakespeare's plays.

We may distinguish the following categories:

1° ordinary misprints, of which the number is comparatively small;

2° line-shiftings, i. e. cases in which part of a blank verse line is wrongly shifted on to the next line, or tagged to the preceding one; line-shiftings are rare in certain plays, but exceedingly frequent in others;

3° omissions, small and longer ones;

4° text-changes, in some cases extending to a very large number, but almost always of very slight importance;

5° small additions, as a rule bearing a very insignificant character, but in the case of the more remarkable among them evincing some kind of intent to elucidate the text.

Setting aside cases of punctuation, spelling differences, and the like, we estimate the textual differences between the first edition and the Folio version of Richard III to be about twelve hundred and fifty in number. About a hundred of these differences concern words which in one text are found in the singular, and in the plural number in the other. Apart from the longer omissions, speaking generally all the other variations are characterised by an utter lack of intel-

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ligent purpose and significance to the ordinary reader. For in the cases in question it is absolutely immaterial to the sense to be conveyed, whether we read *bosom* or *brest, spy* or *see, this* or *the, you* or *thou*, etc., etc.

In the case of Hamlet we estimate the number of these same textual differences at about nine hundred.

If now we attempt to trace the motives that must have led to these alterations of the text, we find that one group of mistakes may be set down to inadvertence or negligence; that a second group baffles all attempts at explanation, the changes being apparently dictated by sheer caprice; and that the third group can be accounted for by assuming a desire to correct the text after a fashion. We are not aware that any of the numerous editors of Shakespeare's works has clearly realised to himself the existence of this third group. Still, this group undoubtedly exists, and it comprises an increasing number of cases at the cost of the other groups, according as we take greater pains to account to ourselves for what at first sight impresses us as motiveless caprice or inconceivable negligence. This desire to quasi-correct the text is evinced in the line-shiftings that attempt to do away with enjambments, in the endeavours to smooth out supposed metrical flaws, in the omission of obscure passages or of words and phrases that might give offence, in the toning down of strong language, in the replacing of obsolete or unusual words or constructions by common ones, in attempts at elucidating · difficult passages, and at doing away with seeming contradictions, in a word in bringing the critical faculty to bear on the text in various ways. The corrections frequently impress us as attempts made by an opinionative pedant to cut down to his own taste work which was beyond his grasp.

Who were the negligent bunglers and arbitrary wiseacres who have thus been tampering with the original text?

The answer to this question is given in *William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text* [1]), and to this book we must refer the reader desirous of knowing the grounds on which we conclude that all the disfigurements of the text are owing to the manner in which books were wont to be printed in England in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. It was by no means a fixed custom that the author of a work was aware of its being brought out in print, or had a hand in its being printed and published. Even in cases in which he was allowed a share in the correction of the printing-proofs, he frequently had no more than an advisory voice. Shakespeare has most certainly not had the proofs of his printed plays submitted to his revisal, and ... at the same time there is not the slightest reason to assume that they have not been printed from the original manuscripts.

We cannot here restate the arguments which in their totality bear out our answer to the question, or once more attempt to vindicate the correctness of our new solution of the mystery. We only wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to adduce fresh evidence for illustrating two points of pre-eminent importance.

The stage-manuscript theory becomes of course altogether untenable if we can successfully show that the same arbitrary textual differences which the said theory is so often called in to account for, are found in all sorts of Elizabethan books that have absolutely nothing to do with the stage.

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[1]) *William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text. An Essay in criticism, being an introduction to a better editing and a more adequate appreciation of the works of the Elizabethan poets.* By B. A. P. van Dam, M. D., with the assistance of C. Stoffel. Leyden, Late E. J. Brill. 1900.

Now, in all kinds of printed poetry, in Shakespeare's
Sonnets, in Spenser's, in Sylvester's, and in Sir John Davies's
works, are found a small number of what we shall call non-
rhymes. i. e. lines of poetry that do not constitute rhymes, but
ought to do so, because all other similarly circumstanced lines do.
And the most curious thing about the matter in all these cases
is, that the genuine rhyme-word which the poet *must* necessa-
rily have used, is one that directly suggests itself to the
reader, and most frequently a synonym of the final word
of one of the non-rhyming lines. As a rule the two syno-
nyms are differentiated by the printed word being a more
common, and the omitted word a comparatively rare one.

Since such *non-rhymes* are often met with in absolutely
non-dramatic texts, and also in cases in which there is not
the slightest reason for assuming the intermediary of a
transcriber [1], the only possible explanation of this highly
remarkable fact is that the corruption of the text took place
in the printing-office. The printers or correctors were in
the habit of correcting the author's work according to their
own taste or caprice. Not but that they knew a rhyme
when they saw one, but their inveterate habit of making
alterations made them forget in a few cases that, whatever
they did, they ought at least to leave the rhymes intact.

Of course we are also necessarily led to conclude that
all works in which *non-rhymes* are found cannot have been
corrected by the author himself — a conclusion which is in
every case confirmed by other facts and considerations.

To exemplify the occurrence of these *non-rhymes* we

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[1] For example in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, that poem of
portentous length, which was successively issued in two instalments by
the same publisher.

subjoin a few instances which we have not given in William
Shakespeare: Prosody and Text.

Lines 205—208 of The Passionate Pilgrim stand thus
in the first Quarto of 1599:

> Were I with her, the night would post too soone.
> But now are minutes added to the houres:
> To spite me now, ech minute seemes an houre.
> Yet not for me, shine sun to succour flowers.

Since in each of the two preceding stanzas of this poem,
the third line rhymes with the first, Malone has very judi-
ciously changed *an houre* into *a moon*. Malone's emendation
is the less open to doubt as the final words of the second
and the third line *houres* and *houre* constitute a decided
cacophony.

Stanza 29, Canto 8, Book II of Spenser's Faerie Queene
stands thus in the first edition:

> Indeed then said the Prince the euill donne
> Dyes not, when breath the body first doth leaue.
> But from the grandsyre to the Nephewes sonne,
> And all his seede the curse doth often cleaue.
> Till vengeaunce vtterly the guilt bereaue:
> So streightly God doth iudge. But gentle knight,
> That doth against the dead his hand vpreare,
> His honour staines with rancour and despight,
> And great disparagment makes to his former might.

The requirements of Spenser's rhyme-system show that
the poet must have written *upheave* instead of *uprear* in
the seventh line of this stanza.

The first seven lines of Stanza 11 of the prologue to the
fifth book of the Faerie Queene are printed as follows in
the editio princeps:

> Dread Souerayne Goddesse, that doest highest sit
> In seate of iudgement, in th' Almighties place,

> And with magnificke might and wondrous wit
> Doest to thy people righteous doome aread,
> That furthest Nations filles with awfull dread,
> Pardon the boldnesse of thy basest thrall,
> That dare discourse of so diuine a read,

Since the second line must rhyme with the fourth, the fifth, and the seventh, Spenser must have written *stead* instead of *place* at the end of it. The correction was indeed made already in the Folio of 1609.

Lines 5—8 of the ninth Sonnet of Spenser's Ruines of Rome stand thus in the old editions:

> Why haue your hands long sithence traueiled
> To frame this world, that doth endure so long?
> Or why were not these Romane palaces
> Made of some matter no lesse firme and strong?[1])

Since the first and the third of these lines must rhyme, Morris in the Globe Spenser surmises that instead of *palaces* Spenser has written *p'laces failed* in the third line. Such a supposition is, however, out of the question: fáilĕd cannot possibly form a rhyme with trávăiléd.

Morris's idea about the nature of the mistake may, however, well be right. In that case we may suppose Spenser to have written *palaces sped*, *palaces* of course to be syncopated to *p'laces* according to the well-known Elizabethan practice, which we also find exemplified in Spenser's Teares of the Muses, 580:

> Live she for ever. and her royall P'laces
> Be fild with praises of divinest wits,

Sped in the sense of 'ruined' was not uncommon in Elizabethan English.

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[1]   Pourquoy iadis ont trauaillé voz mains
         A façonner ce monde qui tant dure?
         Ou que ne fut de matiere aussi dure
         Le braue front de ces palais Romains?
   Les Regrets, *etc.* de I. du Bellay. 1568. p. 54 bis.

Still, it seems more probable to us, after all, that Spenser in translating du Bellay's lines did not use the word *sped*, which at best would have been only a stop-gap, but that his words were:

> Or why were not these Romane p'laces made
> Of some such matter no lesse firme and strong?

The translation is better in this way, and as regards the rhyme *-ed: made*, various analogies might be cited from which it may be inferred that the pronunciation *med* for *made* was admissible in Spenser's time.

On p. 165 of Arber's reprint of the first edition (1590) of An Eglogve Vpon the death of the R. H. Sir Francis Walsingham by Thomas Watson, we have the four lines following:

> O heards and tender flocks, ô handsmooth plains,
>   ô Eccho dwelling both in mount and vallie:
> O groues and bubling springs, ô nimphs, ô swains,
>   ô yong and olde, ô weepe all Arcadie.

As the second and the fourth of the lines cited must rhyme, it is evident that Watson did not write *mount and vallie*, but *mount and lea*.

On p. 196 of Arber's reprint of Watson, The Tears of Fancie. Or, Loue Disdained, 1593, lines 5—8 of the 36th Sonnet run as follows:

> My voice is like ynto the raging wind,
> Which roareth still and neuer is at rest:
> The diuers thoughts that tumble in my minde,
> Are restlesse like the wheele that wherles alway.

Since, according to Watson's rhyme-system in these sonnets, the second of the lines cited must form a rhyme with the fourth, Watson must have written *at stay*, and not *at rest*.

On p. 13 of The Whole Works of Homer; . . . trans-

lated . . . . by Geo: Chapman.   At London printed for
Nathaniell Butter. [1616], we read:

> . . . . . . tis a thing
> Honest. and honourd too, to heare one sing
> Numbers so like the Gods in elegance,
> As this man flowes in. By the mornes first light,[1])

Of course, Chapman wrote *glance* instead of *light*. There
is another instance in p. 13 of *The Georgicks of Hesiod, By
George Chapman*; . . . London . . . *1618*.

> Iustice is seed to Ioue; in all fame deare,
> And reuerend to the Gods. inhabiting Heauen;
> And still a Virgin; whom when Men ill giuen,
> Hurt, and abhorring from the right, shall wrong;
> She for redresse; to Ioue her sire complaines,
> Of the vniust minde. every man sustaines;
> And prayes the people may repay the paines
> Their Kings haue forfaited. in their offences;
> Deprauing Iustice, and the genuine senses,
> Of lawes corrupted, in their sentences.[2])

It stands to reason that in the fourth line of the passage
quoted Chapman had written *shall raven*, which the printer
thought fit to replace by *shall wrong*.

This last quotation from Chapman is eminently instructive,
for, besides exhibiting the peculiar views of the printers with
regard to punctuation, a subject which authors were apt

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[1])   . . . ἐπεὶ τὸ γε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν ἀοιδοῦ
        τοιοῦδ᾽, οἷος ὅδ᾽ ἐστὶ, θεοῖσ᾽ ἐναλίγκιος αὐδήν.
        ἔνθεν . . .

                    ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ α. 370—372.

[2])   Ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
        κυδρή, τ᾽ αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν.
        Καὶ ῥ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἄν τίς μιν βλάπτῃ σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
        αὐτίκα πὰρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
        γηρύει᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον ὄφρ᾽ ἀποτίσῃ
        δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων, οἳ λυγρὰ νοεῦντες
        ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.

                    ΕΡΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ, 256—262.

utterly to disregard, it furnishes in its concluding line a
striking example of the way in which metrically correct
lines often came to grief in the process of being set up in type.

For it is plain that sénsĕs and séntĕncés do not consti-
tute a rhyme, although some philologists — as we have seen
on p. 8, Morris is among their number —, led astray by
such cases as the one here referred to, and by other more
or less analogous ones, generally take for granted that older
English poets actually meant such impossibilities to do
duty as rhymes. Sénsés rhymes with sĕnténcĕs, and Chap-
man uses the latter word with the obsolete French accentua-
tion. It follows that a word has dropped out from the line.
This conclusion is confirmed by the obscurity of the English
text as it stands, an obscurity that would become consider-
ably less if in the last lines there were question not of
sentences or *judgments* in general, but of *strained judgments*.
If now we consult the Greek original we actually find that
the word σκολιῶς has no English equivalent. Consequently
Chapman must have written:

Of lawes. corrupted in their writhd sentences.

But it should by no means be imagined that the omission
of *writh'd* (or perhaps of a synonymous word, *e. g. wrung*,
wrong, or *strain'd*) is a case of inadvertence on the printer's
part in this instance. The word was deleted of set purpose,
and the deletion constitutes a quasi-correction of the metre,
for the corrector pronounced the word *sentences* with the
modern accent, which was the more usual one already in
his time. There can be little doubt that this mode of ac-
counting for the irregularity is in accordance with the facts,
for once the existence of these quasi-corrections being known,
they indeed crop up everywhere. Thus, for instance, Shake-
speare wrote:

> And I nothing to backe my suite at all,
> R. III. I 2, 236 Q.

But the Folio corrector, who pronounced *nóthing* instead
of *nothíng*, changed the blank verse line to

> And I, no Friends to backe my suite withall.

an alteration which the context shows to be anything but
an improvement.

As we have before observed, and illustrated by examples,
the same arbitrary textual changes which the stage-copy
theory is alleged to account for, occur in all kinds of books
absolutely unconnected with the stage, and in the case of
some of which no transcriber can have lent his much
abused services.

Thus we meet with them in places where we should
hardly look for them, for example, in a dictionary of the
year 1570, of which the title runs as follows: *Manipulus
Vocabulorum. A Dictionarie of English and Latine wordes,
set forthe in suche order, as none heretofore hath ben, the
Englishe going before the Latine. necessary not onely for
Scholers that want varietie of words, but also for such as use
to write in English Meetre. Gathered and set forth by P. Leuins,
Anno 1570. For the better understanding of the order of this
present Dictionarie, read ouer the Preface to the Reader, and
the Epistle Dedicatorie, and thou shalt finde it easie and plaine,
and further thereof thou shalt gather great profite. Imprinted
at London by Henrie Bynneman, for John Waley.*

This book has been reprinted by *The Early English Text
Society* in 1867, under the editorship of Henry B. Wheatley,
and it is from this edition that our quotations will be made.

The work is known as the first "Rhyming Dictionary",
but this description may lead the student astray, since to
be of use to versifiers was only a secondary object with the

compiler of the Manipulus. It contains a large number of
words that have no corresponding rhyme-words to keep them
in countenance, and the chief aim of the author was to give
a cheap school-book to be used in the teaching of English
and Latin.

Levins has arranged his English words according to the
vowel or the diphthong in the last syllable. He thus gets
nine main groups in the order *a, e, i, o, u, ay, ea, oy,* and
ou. In each of these main groups the words are alphabeti-
cally arranged according to the consonant or consonants that
follows or follow the said vowel or diphthong. The dis-
position of the sixth main group, for instance, begins as
follows:

> (column 196)   *In* a y e desinentia.
>   *In* a y.
>   A DAY, *dies, ei.*
>   etc.
> (col. 197)   Ay ante D.
>   *In* a y d.
>   AYD, *auxilium, præsidium.*
>   etc.
>   *In* a y g e.
>   A GAYGE, *pignus, òris, hoc.*
>   etc.
> (col. 198)   *In* e y g h e.
>   to WEYGHE, *ponderare.*
>   etc.
>   *In* e y g h t.
>   EYGHT, *octo.*
>   etc.
>   Ay ante K.
>   *In* a y k e.
>   A LAYKE, play, *ludus, i.*
>   etc.
>   Ay ante L.
>   *In* a y l e.
>   A BAYLE, *vadimonium, i.*
>   etc.

From this partial transcription of a couple of columns
of the Manipulus we see that the superscription "**Ay** ante
G" has dropped out. Such omissions of superscriptions occur
repeatedly, and account, for instance, for the fact that in
col. 141 the word *Eclypse* figures as the last in the list of
the words "In iple". The passage cited further shows that
words spelled with *ey* are classed under the *ay*-group, so
that we are justified in the surmise that Levins's arrangement
does not strictly conform to the spelling of the words, but
is to some extent influenced by their pronunciation. We
shall afterwards see that this actually proves to be the case
also in other respects. In flat contradiction to the system-
atic arrangement adopted by Levins, we find in col. 125,
among the words "In il":

> A LADIL, *rubicula, æ.*
> LÉNTIL, *lens, entis, hæc.*
> LÝNTIL of a cart, *radius, i.*
> A PIN, *penis, is, hic.*
> ye MAYSILLES [1]), *variolæ, arum.*
> A MANTILL, *gausape, is, hoc.*

And in col. 196, among the words "**In ay**":

> A DAY, *dies, ei.*
> TO DÁY, *hodiè.*
> TO MÓROW, *cras.*
> YÉSTERDAY, *heri.*
> EUERYDAY, *quotidiè.*

Here are two cases that constitute perfect analogues to
non-rhymes in a poem of regularly recurring rhyming lines.
The solution of the mystery is, of course, that Levins wrote
in his manuscript *pizzil* (= pizzle) instead of *pin*, and *next
day*, or perhaps *morow day*, instead of *to morow* [2]).

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[1]) Plurals are in Levins's system invariably placed as if they were
in the singular.

[2])*To morowe* also figures in col. 181, where it is in its proper place.

These two arbitrary alterations of the text, which plainly announce themselves as having been dictated by a desire to introduce corrections, must have originated with the printer. For we may in this case safely set aside the notorious hypothetical transcriber, the only intermediate party that can at all be thought of.

Not only that the nature of the book evidently excludes the likelihood of any "scribal" agency, Levins himself explicitly states in his dedicatory epistle *to the right worshipful M. Stanley*, that from the time he began to work at his book, it has been his intent *to publishe and set abroade the same*. There can therefore be hardly any doubt that Levins personally handed over his own work to the printer.

From the occurrence of these two arbitrary corruptions of the text it is plain also in this case that Levins himself cannot have corrected the proofs of his book. We think it as impossible for Levins to have failed to notice these strongly marked infringements of his system of arrangement, as for a poet to overlook *non-rhymes* in the correction of the proof-sheets of his work. Besides, the conclusion we have come to is confirmed by other considerations.

Wheatley, who has bestowed great care on his edition of the book, has, among other addenda, appended to it a list of all the Latin words which in his opinion are disfigured by indubitable misprints. These misprints amount to about three hundred and fifty on a total of about nine thousand Latin words. Compared with this number, evident misprints in the English words are very rare indeed. We may take for granted that Levins could spell Latin as correctly as he could English. How then, we may ask, could this enormous difference have arisen, if Levins himself had seen to the correction of the proofs? This enormous dif-

ference is, of course, accounted for by the circumstance that
Levins had nothing to say to the printing of his own book,
and that the printer, who perhaps, and even probably, was
his own corrector, was on easier terms with English than he
was with Latin.

We have taken the trouble of subjecting these 350 mis-
prints to a somewhat close scrutiny, and have arrived at the
apparently startling, but in reality easily explainable con-
clusion that the great majority of these misprints would
cease to be mistakes, if there was question of printing
English words. The licence then prevailing in English spell-
ing has by the printer been extended to the spelling of
Latin. We shall give a handful of examples by way of il-
lustration. Doubling of a consonant, or printing one con-
sonant instead of two identical ones, widely spread practices
in the English spelling of the time, we find, for instance,
in *legittimus* (col. 207) and *aparitor* (col. 160). The uncer-
tainty about the *r*, as regards omission, intrusion, and trans-
posal, we see in *purigo* (col. 150), *fragrum* (col. 106), and
scortum for *scrotum* (col. 155). The customary confusion
between *m* and *n* (cf. the English rhymes of vowel $+$ *m*
and vowel $+$ *n*), the interchange of *c* and *t*, as in *nacion*,
nation, but also the less frequent confusion of *c* and *g*, as
in *criple*, *griple*, are found, for instance, in *epistonium* (col.
177), *gramum* (col. 26), *commertium* (col. 224), *gracia* (col. 6),
cumphus (col. 85), and *gratire* (col. 38). The omission and
insertion of vowels in certain positions, as in *beautous*, *jea-
lious*, are seen, for example, in *dolum* (col. 181) and *modes-
tius* (col. 92). Interchange of *æ* and *e* occurs sixty times,
and we think Wheatley goes too far in classing all these
cases as indubitable misprints. In Elizabethan spelling *æ*
and *e*, and other pairs of vowels, are frequently made to

interchange : we find eighteen times *e* for *i*, sixteen cases of *i* for *e*, etc., etc. What we have here set before us is not Levins's Latin, but Latin according to the views of the printing-office, spelt on the principles to which English was made to conform there.

Besides, there are still other facts whose joint significance tends to corroborate the conclusion that Levins himself cannot have had the proof-sheets of his work submitted to him for revisal. The series of words "E ante S" is in col. 85 broken into by a number of words that ought to have been placed further on. After *to Expresse, exprimere* we read "Loke for mo words of E ante S, and E ante T, after E ante V". And when the "E ante V" words are done with, we read in col. 90 "Here folowe certaine words omitted before of E ante S, and E ante T".

Has Levins, we may ask, or has the printer forgotten to assign their proper place to these stragglers?

Of course the fault lies with the printer, and it is the printer also and not Levins himself, who has inserted the directions to the reader just given.

If these directions had originated with Levins himself, he would have meant them as directions to the printer, and besides this, he would have pointed out to the printer, for each of these two different omitted groups of words separately, the place where it ought to be inserted. If Levins had inadvertently omitted the words, they would fit in individually or in small groups among the words given previously, but it so happens that all the omitted vocables with the ending -*esse* in due order join company with the series interrupted at the word *to Expresse*. The omitted words *E ante T* are in exactly the same case, for in strict accordance with Levins's system the words *Manchet*, etc. in col. 93 would have

had their proper place after the rhymes *A Mallet, A Wallet*
in col. 88.

These wholesale interruptions now may be accounted for
in a very simple way. The loose sheets of Levins's manu-
script had got out of order, and when the printer became
aware of his mistake, he thought it needless to put himself
to greater inconvenience, and merely inserted the directions
to the reader which we have cited.

Exactly the same mistake occurs in another place, but in
this case without any attempt at rectification on the printer's
part. In col. 83, after *to Reserue,* we find, without any break
or warning, a long succession of words ending in *-er.* If
all these words in the order in which they are found printed
there, are inserted between *Warreyner* and *Alabaster* in
col. 80, or after *A Philosopher* in col. 81, the systematical
order is set right. We mention two possible places for the
words referred to, because Levins's arrangement of the
words in each closing section is subject to certain exceptions.
but since the order of the words in the subsections does
not affect our argument, we shall not enter into these
deviations from the system adopted.

On the other hand, we must not omit to reckon with
Wheatley's general objections to Levins's arrangement of his
words, because according to Wheatley's mode of putting the
matter the reader might easily get the impression that the
order of the words in the *Manipulus* is wholly devoid of
system, and that consequently our conclusion drawn from
the two arbitrary alterations of the text which we have
pointed out, might be equally without legitimate foundation.

In his *Preface, p. V.* Wheatley says:

> The *Manipulus* is arranged according to the order of the
> vowels and diphthongs, but in many instances the order has

been broken into. The following are some of the misplace-
ments: — At the end of the words under the heading *ede*
(col. 52) are *breadth* and *bedle*: under *em* (59) are *hempe, kembe,
temple, tremble,* etc.: in the middle of the words under *ent,
building* has crept in (67. 25): under *erve* (83) some words ending
in *er* are inserted, and also *unsure*: under *tie* (108) is *flye*: under
ip (141) is *Egipt*; under *out* (167) is *a mouth*; under *orl* (171)
is *world*: under *oste* (175) is *apostle*; under *ungue* (189) is *bungle*;
under *eague* (206) is *beagle*: ander *sweame* (208) is *neamble*:
under *east* (212) is *leashe*. — The words [in] *ed* (48) und *er* (70)
are mixed up in a very unsystematic manner. Besides these
and other incongruities, several words are repeated under slightly
different headings: thus many words under *il* (123—29) are
repeated under *able. ottle*, etc. At col. 115 are four words under
ict, and at col. 122 are four words under *ickt*.

What, we may ask, is the value and the significance of
these strictures?

Breadth under the words "in *ede* or *eed*" need not be a case
of misplacement, if it can be proved that in Levins's time the
pronunciation or the dropping of *th* at the end of this word
was left to the speaker's option.

The dropping of *th* at the end of a word was very com-
mon in Elizabethan pronunciation.

In the old prints we now and then find *wi'* for *with*, the
abbreviation being still in common use in Scotch; and the
references and quotations following exemplify a number also
of other cases:

notwistanding M. N. D. III 2, 394 (Quarto [1] III 2, 407);
God *bwy* you H 5. V 1, 70 (Spurious Quarto); *thousand*
As IV 1, 46 (Folio 1623); *twelfe* Tw. N. II 3, 90 (Ibid.).

And plot *wi'* my learn'd Counsell, Master Picklocke.
                                    Ben Jonson, Newes, 1631, p. 61.

My liege, *quo'* the abbot. I would it were knowne.
                                    Percy's Reliques, 1845, p. 168.

As concernynge thys matter we haue playne commaundemente
in the *fiftene* of Deutro.
                                    Th. Lever, Sermons, 1550 (Repr. Arber, p. 44).

> . .. l preaching at Paules Crosse the fowertene day of
> December last past. . . .
>> *Id*. ibid. (Repr. Arber, p. 100).
>
> . . . in the twentie and seuen Chapter of Hieremye.
>> *Id*. ibid. (Repr. Arber, p. 36).

Richard Hodges, "a School-Master", in his booklet "A
special help to Orthographie: *etc.* London, printed for Richard
Cotes. 1643" (Ellis, Early English Pronunciation, Part. IV,
pp. 1018—1023), gives a list of words "so neer alike in
sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another",
and among these words we find "myrrhe, mirth" [1]), and
"tens, tense, tents, tenths".

In "English Orthographie or The Art of right spelling,
reading, pronouncing, and writing all sorts of English Words.
Wherein such, as, *etc.* . . . Together with The difference be-
tween words of like sound, *etc.*" (Ellis, l. c., pp. 1024—1028),
brought out at Oxford in 1668, without the author's name
[Owen Price?], there is a "Table of the difference between
Words of Like Sound", from which we cite the following:
"*hy* to make hast, *hay, high, highth* loftiness, highness".

In Th. Dekker we lately came upon the following instance
(Pearson's Reprint, vol. III, p. 293):

> *Nar*. How blowes the winde Syr?
> *Seaf*.   Wynde! is Nore-Nore-West.

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[1]) In Thomas Watson's The Tears of Fancie, 1593, Sonnet 27
(Repr. Arber, p. 192), ll. 9—14 run as follows:

> And euerie tree forbeareth to let fall,
> Their dewie drops mongst any brinish teares:
> Onelie the mirth whose hart as mine is thrall,
> To melt in sorrowes sourse no whit forbeare[s].
> So franticke loue with griefe our paind harts wringing,
> That still we wept and still the grasse was springing.

In a note to line 11 Prof. Arber suggests that the word *mirth*
stands for *myrrh*. We have no doubt that Arber is right, and that
Watson is alluding to the tragical story of Cinyras and his daughter
Myrrha, the victim of "franticke loue", and changed into a myrrh-
tree. See Book X of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

This curtailed pronunciation of the word *north* is found attested to as late as 1704 on p. 78 of The New Art of Spelling. Design'd *etc.* By J. Jones, M. D. London, Printed in the Year 1704 (first edition 1701). But Dr. Jones adds that it was so pronounced "by Seamen". Indeed, sailors of our day continue to use the forms *souwest, souwester,* which may also be instanced, for example, from Lowell's Biglow Papers[1]. Now vulgar or class pronunciations of our time as a rule represent current pronunciations of a bygone age, and our view as regards the optional dropping of final *th* certainly receives strong confirmation from the fact that in Queen Elizabeth's own handwriting we find the form *er* to represent the word *earth*:

> For the bent of eche fortune helpes or throwes to *er*,
>   *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings,* p. 146[2].

In another manuscript written by the Queen's own hand we find the word *strength* written without *th* seven times, viz. three times on p. 5, and further on pp. 30, 84, 113, and 143; *lengh(e)* to represent *length* on pp. 36 and 136; while on p. 115 we come upon the spelling "bredhth" for *breadth,* and on p. 108, in the handwriting of the Queen's clerk, Thomas Windebank, upon the form "strenghth". These spellings show that there was uncertainty as regards the proper orthography, either because in these words it was left to the speaker's option to pronounce the final *th* or to drop it; or because in the words in question the pronunciation with-

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[1] Only the other day *The Academy* cited from a contemporary a statement about a workman studiously inclined, to the effect that "he would argue by the hour on the subject of Hamlet's 'nor nor-west' madness", etc. (Academy, Nov. 30, 1901, 497a).

[2] *London: Publisht for the Early English Text Society,* etc. *1899. Original Series, 113.*

out *th* was the normal one, and could therefore be no guide to their spelling.

Now it is certainly true that, unlike most of the other instances, the form *lengh* may be considered as an archaism, since it may represent Old English *lengu,* and by the side of its synonym *length,* representing Old English *lengđ,* may be looked upon as an independent word-form. This, however, is a matter of purely academical interest, because three hundred years ago even cultured speakers knew little or nothing of questions of word-history or etymology, and without the least doubt looked at the matter from the practical point of view only, the confusion prevailing in their minds being strikingly shadowed forth in such spellings as *bredhth* and *strenghth.*

But if there is one word in *-th* of which we may take for granted that in 1570 this *th* might be sounded or dropped at the speaker's option, it is undoubtedly the word *breadth,* seeing that, so far as we know, in its case the spelling with *th* cannot be traced farther back than 1523, the date of Murray's oldest example. Chaucer knows the form *brede* only, while at the same time he uses not *lenghe* but *lengthe.* The date of Mätzner's latest example of the form *lenghe* is about 1430. We now find Queen Elizabeth using *lenghe* as late as 1593 and 1598, from which we may safely conclude that *brede* cannot have been out of use in 1570, the date of the Manipulus.

The occurrence of *breadth* among the words ending in *ede* or *eed* does not therefore justify the conclusion that the order has been broken into, but, viewed in connexion with what we have said before and shall adduce further on, must lead us to infer that Levins's system of arranging his

words is based, not only on their spelling, but to a certain extent also on their pronunciation.

Under the ending *ede* or *eed* we also find the word *bedle*. Exactly on a par with this is the place assigned to he words *temple, tremble, apostle, bungle, beagle,* and *neamble*. Besides these deviations referred to by Wheatley, there are many other words, all of them ending in "syllabic *l*", which are arranged according to the vowel or diphthong *in the penultimate syllable*. In this instance, therefore, we have to deal with a deviation on principle from Levins's system, a deviation that occurs all through the book. But, we may ask, where was Levins to place these words? Not under those ending in *e*. For the printed *e* at the end of these words is absolutely silent as such, and cannot therefore come into consideration in any arrangement on the basis of the last syllable. To class them with the words ending in *-el*, would be somewhat better. But if we thus assign places to them on the basis of their pronunciation, we may with almost equal justice put them under the terminations *al, il,* or *ul*. And in accordance with this we actually find that Levins has inserted the word *table* or *tabil*, for instance, both under *able* (col. 1), and under *il* (col. 126).

It is well-known that in his time there was no generally recognised spelling, the greatest latitude being allowed writers and printers as to the mode of figuring sounds by the letters at their disposal.

Especially as regards this so-called "syllabic *l*" ending, Levins therefore found himself confronted by a great difficulty, for which it was almost impossible for him to find a consistent solution. He inserted a large number of the words in question under the ending *il*, but if he had placed there *all* the words ending in "syllabic *l*", he would have had to

give them a spelling which most of his contemporaries must
have objected to. This was therefore probably the reason
why he arranged the other words in *le* on the basis of their
last accented syllable, so that they are found sprinkled over
the whole of his book: *ladle,* etc. figure under *ade, maggle*
under *agge, ankle,* etc. under *anke,* etc. In col. 129 he
sounds a warning note on this point, and in conclusion says:
Wherfore, if ye fynd not in the one of these, seeke in the other
and yee shal not misse.

We may just add that the only other termination that
presents similar difficulties, is the ending *re, e. g.* in *lucre,*
which Levins gives in the spelling *luker.* But no one could
object to these words figuring with the spelling *er.*

At bottom therefore, also in this case again, it is the
conflicting claims of spelling and pronunciation that have
given rise to the deviations referred to.

The insertion of the words *hempe* and *kembe* (*temple* and
tremble) under the ending *em* is not an infringement of the
system, but must be accounted for by the dropping of *p*
and *b* in pronunciation, a dropping that is the rule even
now in well-nigh all the words ending in *mb.* In col. 131
Levins puts "A Limbe" under the words "In *im*", and in
col. 188 "Dumbe" under the words "In *um*". We are some-
what surprised to find Wheatley passing over the word *to*
Tempt, which is printed under the ending *em*, and which
of course was sounded *tem.*

To prove that the *p* was not pronounced in *tempt,* we
refer the reader to Dr. Jones, who says on p. 74 that *p* is
silent in all words in the collocation *mpt,* and cite the fol-
lowing rhyme to show that this pronunciation was equally
current a century earlier:

> Yet to encounter this your weake attempt,
> Behold an Army comes incontinent.
>> *Marlowe* (?), Faustus, 1616, ll. 1467 and 1468.

It is well-known that $m : n$ does not interfere with the rhyme, because in Elizabethan pronunciation n was generally pronounced as m.

That the final t of *tempt* might be dropped in pronunciation we see from the following rhyme:

> And though she were of rigid temper,
> With melting flames accost, and tempt her:
>> *Butler*, Hudibras, II Part, 1664. p. 28;

and from such phonetic spellings as

> In furthering these attemps
>> *Dickers and Webster*, Sir Thomas Wyat. 1607.
>> Repr. Pearson, Vol. III, p. 90.

> Some thought to thanke th' attemp. He did presume,
>> *Ben Jonson*, Asse, Second Folio, vol. II. p. 116.

See also pp. 27 ff. as regards the dropping of final t.

In the following subsection of the Manipulus *to Exempt* figures under the ending *eme*, because it was pronounced *exeem*.

A peculiar interest attaches to the occurrence of the word *building* under the ending *ent*. The text stands thus in col. 67:

> An ADUISEMENT, *deliberatio*.
> ye BATTILMENTS, *minæ, arum*.
> A BUILDING, *antæ, arum*.
> ye ELEMENT, *elementum*.

Of course the printer is in fault also in this case. But what can Levins have written originally? Instead of *building*, we expect a word of three syllables ending in *ent*, fitting in alphabetically between *Bat-* and *El-*, quite possibly synonymous with *building*, and admitting of translation into Latin by the word *antæ*. Another may be more fortunate

than ourselves, but we at least have not succeeded in reading
the riddle with absolute certainty.

Perhaps the following solution, which assumes inadvert-
ence on the printer's part, has the greatest chances of coming
near the mark.

We suspect that Levins wrote

> yᵉ CONFRONTMENT of a building, *antœ, arum*.

The weak point about this solution is the translation of
Confrontment, which is far from faultless. Still, we do not
think it an impossible translation on Levins's part: imperfect
translations there are several in the Manipulus, as, indeed,
in all dictionaries. Our hypothesis is, then, that the printer
has missed out the words *yᵉ Confrontment of*. From the
"fautes escaped" we see that the printer had omitted several
words, and the cases there mentioned of course concern
those only that had attracted attention. But there is more
to be said in favour of our supposition. If the word *con-
frontment* ought to have stood here, a preceding line must
also have been omitted in which this word occurred in its
primary acceptation. It may therefore readily be supposed
that in his manuscript Levins indicated the word from the
preceding line by a couple of "quotes" only, and that as a
matter of fact the line of the "copy" before the printer in
which the word *antœ* was mentioned, contained no letters
beyond those which he set up in type. That the printer's
attention to his work was far from close in this place, is
proved by what happened to him three lines further on, where
en Óyntment stands for *An Enoyntment*. And that the
solution suggested by us is by no means an impossible one,
may be seen from the following passage in col. 117:

> A DRIFT of snow, *cumulus, li.*
> yᵉ DRIFT of a matter. *actio, scopus.*

> A DRIFT of cattell, *acumen, inis, hoc, pecus, òris, hoc.*
> A DRIFT, betle, *fistuca, æ.*

Of course the word *acumen* constitutes a *contresens* here, but if we keep in mind that it may mean the point of an anecdote, the solution of the difficulty is simple enough. Half-way between the four lines cited, the printer has missed out

> yᵉ DRIFT of a story, *acumen, inis, hoc.*

The occurrence of the *er* words under the ending *erre* has already been discussed on p. 18; the occurrence of *unsure* among the trisyllabic *er* words is satisfactorily accounted for by the pronunciation *unsuër*, a fact which has long been known, and which Wheatley ought to have been aware of.

That the word *flye* is cited under the ending *tye* undoubtedly constitutes an infringement of the system adopted by Levins, and here Wheatley is certainly right. The mistake must necessarily have originated with Levins himself, and need not cause any great surprise to the student.

The occurrence of the word *Egipt* under the ending *ip* is accounted for by the optional dropping of this final *t* in pronunciation.

Dr. Jones l. c. says on p. 90 that the pronunciation of *t* in words ending in *pt* was optional in his time. That this rule was in force also a hundred years before the date of Dr. Jones's book is proved, for instance, by the following rhyme:

When th' other Beldamme, great with chat (for talkative be Cups)
The formers Prate, not worth the while, thus fondly interrups.
         W. Warner, Albions England, 1597, p. 221.

But the dropping of *t* in pronunciation was by no means dependent on its being preceded by *p*. For numerous other examples we must refer the reader to pp. 81—84 of Prosody

and Text. Up to now this dropping of *t* in pronunciation
has remained completely unnoticed by English philologists.
If in the old texts they meet with a word in phonetic spell-
ing, in which according to their mode of looking at the
matter a letter is wanting, they conclude that they have to
do with a misprint. If they come upon a rhyme, in which
there is a seemingly redundant consonant, they never think
of the possibility of this consonant having been silent in the
pronunciation of the time, but prefer to endorse A. J. Ellis's
dictum that in Shakespeare's time "we have entirely left the
region of perfect rhymes".

In Shakespeare's II H 6, IV 7, 32 there occurs a pun
which hinges on the dropping of *t* in the pronunciation of
the word *présents*, and in the first Folio this *t* is found
actually omitted in print.

On this point A. J. Ellis says: "This cannot be relied on
for indicating the habitual omission of *t* in the first word;
the joke is one of Jack Cade's". Since of course the great
majority of verbal "jokes" are assigned to persons of the
lower ranks, English philologists have thus an excellent pre-
text furnished them to excuse their disregarding puns as
material for scholarly investigation.

As more especially concerns this *t* in *présents*, Dr. Jones
says on p. 51 that the words in *ents* may drop the *t* in
pronunciation.

The Richard Hodges, from whose spelling-book we have
quoted on p. 20, gives "presence, presents" in the list of
homonymous words there described; and on p. 28 of his book
Dr. Jones observes: "*d* and *t* are very apt to be silent be-
tween two consonants". That a hundred years before his
time this was just as true, is proved by upwards of a hundred
rhymes used by Joshuah Sylvester, of which a few have

been cited by us in Prosody and Text. And as regards the
plea that such divergent pronunciations were confined to
vulgar or underbred speakers, we would urge: 1⁰ that
Dr. Jones's book was "Design'd more especially for the Vse
and Ease of the Duke of Glocester", as we read in the
title-page of the 1701 edition; 2⁰ that the rhymes which
prove the divergent pronunciations occur in nearly *all* the
poets of the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline ages; and
3⁰ that Queen Elizabeth's own writings show phonetic spell-
ings bearing a strong evidential character on this point.

We cite from the Queen's own manuscript the following
cases of dropped final *t*:

> Right wel shalt do if theatur thou do pas wher pleasant
> *augh* is plaid,
>
> Queen Elizabeth's Englishings, p. 137.

The form *augh* occurs once more on p. 145.

> And if thou *Cans* not rule the so, arise and go thi way.
>
> *Ibidem*, p. 137.
>
> Al *deligh* hathe this with hit,
>
> *Ib.*, p. 55.
>
> So to our selues we bride an air clear a *Ligh* and brethe
> ful pur.
>
> *Ib.*, p. 122.
>
> Hope thou *naugh* ne feare,
>
> *Ib.*, p. 7.

The form *naugh* frequently occurs, viz. on pp. 26, 122,
124, twice on p. 128, 131, 135, and 146.

> Lest stranger *migh* the huswife in her house surprise,
>
> *Ib.*, p. 125.

The form *migh* also occurs on pp. 42 and 136.

> *Righ* wel applied is that the Egiptian said to him that axed,
>
> *Ib.* p. 125.
>
> How *righlar* he, that fondly naught doth vndertake? [*righlar*
> represents the current pronunciation of *rightlier*.]
>
> *Ib.* p. 144.

> *Righly* sayd Philippides the poete, to Lisimachus who axed,
> > *Ib.*, p. 126.
> If met he do a man that tel can naugh, "What *sais* thou?
> > *Ib.*, p. 131.
> And On thy vew the clirest *Sigh* may Set.
> > *Ib.*, p. 61.
> Perchance yet thou *wotz* not what I say.
> > *Ib.*, p. 40.
> Thou happy plast in strengh Of *quietz Rampar*,
> > *Ib.*, p. 30.

The last word *Rampar*, with the other early Modern English forms *ramper, rampire, rampier*, etc., from Old French *rempar(t)*, may of course be looked upon as au archaism, but in the case of the other words above exemplified, it is merely and exclusively a question of pronunciation that we have to do with.

From all that we have adduced we have therefore a right to conclude that there cannot be the least doubt that Levins admitted *Egipt* among the words in *ip*, because the ordinary pronunciation of his day allowed him to do so. And so, in perfect accordance with this, we find in the Manipulus in col. 9 "ye Draftes of wine" in the subsection "In *affe*"; in col. 218 "ye Boult of a doore, A coult, A Boult to shoote, [and] An Hoult of wood" in the subsection "In *oule*"; and in col. 222 "A Booste, boxe, pixis" in the subsection "In *oose*".

The occurrence of *month* under *ont* ("mouth" and "out" in Wheatley's text are two misprints) is also accounted for by the pronunciation of the time. We may as well say here directly that Levins registers *the Earth* under the ending *earte*, and *ye Fifth* under the ending *ift*.

As early as 1861, Richard Grant White in his first edition of Shakespeare's works (vol. XII, pp. 431 ff.) brought forward strong evidence to prove that in Queen Elizabeth's

time *th* was pronounced as *t* more frequently than at present. On this point Grant White is undoubtedly right in the main. But there are weak points in his argument, because the material at his disposal was not extensive enough, and its true significance for the questions he discussed, was not fully realised by him.

In our opinion the question should be put in a somewhat different way. Final *th*, final *t*, and final *d*, and for that matter other consonants too, were often dropped in pronunciation. Henry Sweet, without suspecting that his dictum applies with almost equal directness to English pronunciation about 1600, says on pp. 27 and 28 of A History of English Sounds 1888: "Final consonants are very easily dropped, being uttered with less force than initial ones. The audibility of final stops depends mainly on the off-glide, and if this is suppressed, they become almost inaudible, and this was probably the beginning of that wholesale dropping of final consonants which we see in French. French keeps final consonants before another word beginning with a vowel (liaison), but Old Bulgarian drops all final consonants without exception, ... Other languages, such as Greek, allow only certain consonants at the end of a word — mostly vowellikes. Final consonant-groups are often very deficient in sonority, . . .". If now we find that this "deficience in sonority" was carried so far that final *th*, *d*, and *t* were often not heard at all, we may safely take for granted that in certain positions they were heard so indistinctly as to give rise to confusion and interchange between them. The dropping and the confusion in the case of these consonants are strikingly illustrated by the well-known preterite *quoth*, which in Elizabethan books is found under the forms *quo'*, *quod*, *quot(e)* and *quoth*.

So far as we know, Grant White's contention has not found favour in any quarter, most probably because A. J. Ellis has contested it in his Early English Pronunciation, and has come to the following conclusion: "There does not appear to be any reason for concluding that the genuine English *th* ever had the sound of (t), although some final *t*'s have fallen into (th)".

We shall not here transcribe the whole of Grant White's argument, but we think it expedient to discuss *all* the objections without exception which Ellis has raised against it.

1⁰ Ellis is probably right in his contention that White's example of the use of *t'one* and *t'other* for *the one* and *the other* proves nothing, because *t'one* and *t'other* are thought to have been "that (thet) one", "that (thet) other", passing into *the-tone, the-tother* and *tone, tother*.

2⁰ Ellis rigthly observes that *fifth, sixth* and *eighth* are quite modern spellings and sounds. But this observation of Ellis's is scarcely relevant. because it leaves the argument intact. The spellings *fift* and *fifth*, etc., which are both of very frequent occurrence, prove the confusion then prevailing in pronunciation; and the confusion arose from the indistinct sound of the final consonant, *if* it was pronounced at all. Evidence that this final consonant was either altogether dropped or only optionally pronounced, we find as late as 1704 on p. 105 of Dr. Jones's book. where he says that the words *clift, drift, lift, shift, fift*, etc. are pronounced with or without *t*.

3⁰ Grant White says that *Whats tys* (= this) occurs twice in *Wyt and Science*, Shak. Soc. Ed., p. 21. Ellis observes: "*tys* may be simply a misprint". Of course, it may be a misprint. But, and we would lay some stress on this as a general rule, it will hardly do always to speak of mis-

prints, if in these misprints there is found a very definite
method, and if the same sort of misprints consistently reap-
pears in all kinds of printed books, without its being pos-
sible to assign a technical or typographical reason for it.
Nor does Ellis take upon him to characterise as misprints
all the spellings cited by Grant White; to many of them
he does not even allude. We cannot forbear from observing
here that one of the great defects of Ellis's method is, that
in making general inferences as regards pronunciation he
has disregarded, or at all events taken far too little notice
of the spelling of the words as found in the first editions
of sixteenth and seventeenth century writers.

4⁰ White cites *cautherising* from Timon of Athens V 1,
136. Ellis justly observes that the first Folio reads *Can-
therizing*, but we do not follow him in calling this a misprint.
Not improbably, Shakespeare has here used the word *cantere*,
a variant form of *canter* (see Cambridge Shak. Vol. VII,
p. 137). *Cantherizing* does not fit in with the metre, and
in our opinion is a printer's quasi-elucidation.

5⁰ White says that *gamut* occurs four times in the Shake-
speare Folio of 1623, and always with final *th*. Ellis ob-
serves that "the derivation is obscure" [1]. As in the case of
fift, Ellis's observation does not affect the argument, and the
consistent divergent spelling furnishes evidence of the con-
fusion.

6⁰ White cites several spellings from Sir Balthazar Ger-
bier's Interpreter of the Academic for Forrain Languages
and all Noble Sciences and Exercises, 1648; "which is
printed with remarkable accuracy", as he is careful to add.
Ellis answers: "The usages of the Fleming Gerbier are not

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[1] See now the H. E. D. i. v. *gamut*.

entitled to much weight. He probably could not pronounce (th),
. . ." We fear that an objection of this kind carries
far less weight. Logic would at the very least have
demanded the specification of other slips or blunders on
Gerbier's part, before Ellis could expect continental scholars
to side with him on this special point. But Ellis has done
no such thing.

7⁰ White adduces the following puns from Shakespeare's
works:

goats — *Goths* in As you like it III 3, 7 & 9.
[We may add *features* for *feathers*, just before.]
nothing (*noting*) in Much Ado II 3, 59.

    „   „   in Winter's Tale IV 4, 625.

a green *wit* (*with*) in Love's Labour's Lost I 2, 94.

Ellis admits the optional pronunciation of *Goths* with *t*,
and in concluding his remarks on Grant White's observations
says: "The upshot of Mr. White's researches seems, there-
fore, to be that writers of the XVIth and XVIIth cen-
turies were very loose in using *t*, *th*, in non-Saxon words. That
this looseness of writing sometimes affected pronunciation,
we know by the familiar example *author* and its derivatives".
But Ellis thinks it quite out of the question that the same
"looseness of writing" and pronunciation could occur in the
case of genuine Saxon words. With respect to the two
"nothing" puns he says: "It seems more reasonable to con-
clude that *nothing* [in both passages!] was originally a mis-
print for *noting*, which was followed by subsequent editors.
It is the only word which makes sense . . . The joke on
noting, and *nothing*, supposing the jingle to answer, is inap-
preciable in both cases. But dismissing all reference to
nothing and *noting* as perfectly untenable, there is no doubt
that Mr. White has proved *Moth* in LL to mean *Mote* . . ."

It is plain from this that the "misprint" hypothesis is becoming more and more untenable, and the rest of what Ellis adduces here to combat White hardly deserves notice.

As regards *wit* Ellis admits that it "alludes to Dalilah's green withe". And he goes on to demolish the evidence furnished by the pun, in a fashion that will amply repay attentive study: "But how should *wit* and *withe* be confused? Have we not the key in that false pronunciation of the Latin final -*t* and -*d* as -*th*, that is, either (th) or (dh), which we find reprobated by both Palsgrave and Salesbury? There is no reason to suppose that *wit* was even occasionally called (w*i*th); we have only to suppose that *Mote* — who is a boy that probably knew Latin, at least in school jokes, witness ... [L. L. L. V 1, 72] ... — would not scruple, if it suited his purpose, to alter the termination of a word in the Latin school fashion, and make (w*i*t) into (w*i*th) or (w*i*dh) or to merely add on the sound of (th), thus (w*i*tth), as we now do in the word *eighth* = (*ee*tth). We find him doing the very same thing, when, for the sake of a pun, he alters *wittoll*, as the word is spelled in the fo. MW 2, 2, 83 (51′, 313), into *wit-old*, LL 5, 1, 26 (150′, 66)". Se non è vero, è ben trovato!

But it is far from being true. As regards *wittol*(*d*), what we have to deal with is not an illegitimate alteration and arbitrary ill-treatment of a word, but a phenomenon of everyday occurrence in the pronunciation of XVI and XVII century English. We have satisfactorily proved in Prosody and Text that final -*d* was often dropped in pronunciation, and that as a necessary consequence *d* was appended to various words where it had no business whatever. We think it quite superfluous to restate the arguments there given; *d* and *t* are completely on a par in this respect.

A highly interesting point on the other hand is "that false pronunciation of the Latin final -*t* and -*d*". In Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse (1530), Maistre Jehan Palsgraue thus delivers himself: "D in all maner thynges confermeth hym to the general rules aboue rehersed, so that I se no particular thyng wherof to warne the lernar, save that they sounde nat *d* of *ad* in these words, *adultére*, *adoptión*, *adoulcér*, like *th*, as we of our tonge do in these wordes of latine *ath athjuuandum* for *ad adjuuandum* corruptly". Ellis observes on this: "I have assumed this *th* to mean (dh) as being derived from *d*. But Salesbury writes (k*w*ith) for *quid*".

We also know that in the English pronunciation of Latin then prevailing, final -*t* was pronounced as *th*. For this we have the direct testimony of Salesbury as regards the words *amat, dederit,* and *legit*. Besides, Palsgrave says with regard to the French word *est*: "if the next worde folowyng begyn with a vowell, it shall be sounded *et*: but neuer *est* sounding *s*, nor *eth*, soundynge t like th, for t hath neuer no suche sounde in the frenche tonge.".

Are we to infer from this that in Palsgrave's time *t* had this sound in English? As we have seen, it certainly was thus sounded in a commonly used pronunciation of Latin, which, however, Palsgrave expressly condemned.

And if we now put the question, how this preposterous pronunciation of Latin *t* and *d* as *th* could become usual, while it has never been heard of in any other country, we venture to think that the only possible answer must be that the confusion in the pronunciation of Latin must be accounted for by a similar confusion which at some time prevailed in the pronunciation of English. Ellis's argument

against the confusion in Saxon words turns out to be a strong argument *in favour of* this confusion.

8⁰ Ellis attacks White's contention that in *Much ado about nothing,* "nothing" might stand for "noting", by pointing to the necessary antithesis of *much* and *nothing.* We shall not here go into the question whether Grant White is right or wrong, but Ellis's argument is of the weakest, since the antithesis which of course every one admits, need really not prevent *nothing* from giving occasion to a word-play. We should hardly have referred to this point, if we had not thought it useful to point out that Ellis seems to have had no ear for puns—a defect of audition which the attentive reader may indeed have discovered for himself from some of his utterances cited higher up.

9⁰ Ellis observes: "Mr. White . . . quotes the *assonance,* which he regards as a rhyme: doting nothing", Shakespeare's Sonnets, XX 10 & 12.

We have here an instance of one of the most serious mistakes in the method which Ellis has followed in investigating the pronunciation of "Early English". Ellis takes for granted that after Chaucer not one English poet has invariably employed reliable perfect rhymes, so that according to him rhymes are useless as material to make inferences from, regarding pronunciation. But the simple truth is, that there is not a single reason for assuming that English poets posterior to Chaucer did not use rhymes as pure as those employed by him. Ellis has evidently overlooked the circumstance that rhymes, not of English poets only, often represent and require an obsolete or obsolescent pronunciation of the words in question. One poet imitates another, and in this way a sort of poetical dialect springs up, of which conservatism is one of the most strongly marked characteristics•

This conservatism acts in various directions, in the retention
of words and constructions that have altogether disappeared
from the spoken language, as well as in pronunciation, for
instance. To give one well-known instance, we would just
observe here that Webster notes concerning the substantive
wind, "in poetry and among singers this word is often pro-
nounced *wīnd*".

When Ellis scrutinises the rhymes made use of by Moore
and Tennyson, he comes upon a great many that are "as
bad rhymes as can be"; as "mere assonances", he brands,
for instance, "breathe wreath, breathes sheaths, bliss his,
else tells, house *s*. boughs, &c., ice flies &c."

It is no doubt true that these rhymes are antiquated
according to the pronunciation of our day. How they should
be looked upon, may be partially gathered from p. 192 of
Sweet's History of English Sounds:

"Hence every unstrest weak monosyllable with (ð, z, v)
must originally have had a corresponding strest or strong
form with (þ, s, f). We still preserve this distinction in our *of*
and *off*, and the older pronunciation (wiþ) for (wið) is no
doubt the remains of a similar distinction, which was not
kept up, because no divergence of meaning or grammatical
function had developed itself, as in the case of *of* and *off*.
Such rhymes as *blis : is* in Chaucer, *wace* (= was) : *face* in
Morris's Alliterative Poems seem to point to a similar dis-
tinction between strong (is, his) and weak (iz. hiz)".

Now it is exceedingly difficult to determine the terminus
ad quem the two pronunciations are kept alive side by side
by the spoken language. While Sweet, as we see, no longer
recognises the older pronunciation of *with* for contemporary
English, Ellis still admits it, for he says: "*with* seems however

to have been always (with) [in the XVI, XVII, and XVIII centuries], though (widh) is now more common".

Prof. Jespersen (Studier over Engelske Kasus, § 179), however, states that "already Hart (1569) has both forms indiscriminately . . . the other older phoneticians as a rule have *wiþ*: Smith 1568, Bullokar 1580 . . ., Gil 1619, Butler 1633, Cooper 1658; and this pronunciation is still far from rare, especially with Irishmen, Scotsmen, and Americans".

Gil, as we also learn from a note on p. 191 of Jespersen's book, says expressly, that in the words *with* and *of* the voiced sound (ð, v) is the more usual one, and the voiceless sound (þ, f) more solemn and pedantic: "proinde licèt frequentius dicamus . . . *wið* . . . *ov* . . . tamen . . . sequamur scribendi consuetudinem tantum: idque quod docti aliqui viri sic legunt (!) et aliquando (!) loquuntur".

The two pronunciations of final *-th* and *-s*, i. e. the indistinct utterance of these final consonants may have been especially noticeable in unstrest weak monosyllables, but there is no doubt that strest words often showed the same tendency.

Ellis's objection to Moore's rhyme *breathe wreath* has not a leg to stand on. Knowles, Moore's countryman and contemporary, gives *dh* as the only pronunciation of the final consonant of *wreath*. In 1806 Walker admitted both *th* and *dh* in the pronunciation of this word.

Let us now listen to the other strictures which Ellis makes upon the rhymes of Moore and Tennyson: "The rhymes of an unaccented and accented syllable are all bad[1]),

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[1] Rhymes of unaccented and accented syllables are non-existent. They seemingly occur about 1600, but all the lines cited to exemplify them are corrupt. Here, however, Ellis is refering to rhymes of strest syllables with syllables bearing the secondary stress. Such rhymes

but the double use of unaccented final -*y*. -*ies*. to rhyme either with (-ii, -iiz) or (-əi, -əiz) at the convenience of the poet is really distressing; compare: agony I, agonies sees;" etc.

It is difficult to understand how a man like Ellis could take up such a position. Why, we ask, may not a poet avail himself of two different pronunciations both of them allowable? What other principle, after all, is here involved than in the question whether a poet should be free to use *thou hast* instead of *you have*, if it suits his purpose?

All the other strictures made by Ellis refer exclusively to vowel-sounds, but they need no longer occupy us, since we are at present only interested in the question whether English poets after Chaucer made use of assonances instead of rhymes. We have seen that Ellis has furnished evidence of their occurrence in Moore and Tennyson in his own imagination only. If such assonances existed, they would be found to occur in connection with all sorts of different consonants, as they are well-known to do in Spanish poetry. The fact that no evidence of this is forthcoming, and that we only meet with a number of cases that are satisfactorily accounted for by the s t i l l s u r v i v i n g double pronunciation of *th* and *s,* is sufficient to show that the theory of assonances is baseless, and that whe shall have to cast about for another explanation.

In the thousands of rhymes in Spenser's Faery Queen Ellis has found no more than *thirteen* so-called assonances. One of them, *near* : *few,* is a corruption introduced by the

cannot be found fault with. They occur in all Teutonic languages. in all poets, in all periods. There is no reasonable ground for Ellis's objection to them. Besides, the laws of rhyme must needs be deduced from the practice of the poets, who would hardly recognise Ellis for their law-giver.

printer, and has by us been disposed of elsewhere (Prosody and Text, p. 306). Half of the remaining cases concern *n* and *m* rhymes, *alone*: *home*, etc. These *n* and *m* rhymes are found in all Spenser's contemporaries, and are p e r f e c t rhymes.

Dr. Jones, writing in the opening years of the eighteenth century, says on p. 75 of the book from which we have repeatedly quoted:

"Note that the sound [of N] is like that of *m*, but more like that of *ng*; and both easier than *n*. Therefore *n* doth often take the sound of *m* and *ng*".

From which we may infer that in his time *n* was, or might be, pronounced as *m*.

The other six cases must undoubtedly also be accounted for by the pronunciation of the time. It would, however, carry us too far, if we were here to take upon us to prove the certainty or the very great probability of our view in each of these cases, the more so as every one will allow, that, looking at the tremendous number of rhymes in the Faery Queen, in a text that has been tampered with in the printing-office, these six remaining cases can have no demonstrative force to speak of, as regards the optional use of assonances instead of rhymes.

The few cases of assonance which Ellis pretends to have discovered in Shakespeare, must be disposed of in exactly the same way.

We have no wish to belittle the great services rendered by Ellis: we respect him as an indefatigable worker, as an energetic pioneer, as a high-minded scholar, who generously sacrificed his means and his working powers in the cause of science; but this must by no means blind us to the fact that Ellis often went astray, so that also in his case implicit

dependence on the results obtained by him, which seems to
be the all but general rule in England, will prove an im-
pediment, instead of a help towards attaining to the truth
in the field which he so assiduously cultivated.

The upshot of the lengthy considerations we have sub-
mitted to the reader is, that Ellis has not shaken the main
thesis set up by Grant White, and that Levins's placing
month under the ending *ont* can be accounted for by the
pronunciation of his time.

As regards cases of interchange of *d*, *t*, and *th*, we
had at first neglected to collect the examples that we came
across in the course of our reading. The batch of instances
which we subjoin, is somewhat scanty therefore:

> . . . the whyche y haue done feytfully to the . . .

The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham, 1482 (Repr. Arber, p. 44).

> Neuertelesse yn alle suche peynys and tormentys . . .

Id. p. 61.

> . . . that no tokyn of hyt. ne signe of rednes or of whythnes
> remaynyd aboue the meruelus curacion of god.

Id. p. 112.

> . . . wherevpon I attempted with the consent of 5 hundreth [1])
> Christians, fellow slaues with my selfe, . . .

E. Webbe, His Trauailes 1590 (Repr. Arber, p. 28).

> . . . within a few hundreth yeeres after Christ.

Bible Transl. Pref. 1611, p. 5. (Murray).

We add an instance of the Scottish form *eard* for *earth*,
from King James I:

> Or throwing Phaeton downe from heauen to eard
> With threatning thunders, making monstrous reard. [2])

The Essayes of a Prentise (Repr. Arber, p. 13).

This last quotation enables us to illustrate the three
divergent forms of the word *earth*, viz. *eard* in King James,

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[1]) The form *hundreth* is from Old Norse, and is found as late
as the 18th century. according to the New English Dictionary(?).

[2]) The usual Scottish spelling is *reird* = noise, from O. E.
reord = voice.

eart in Levins, and *er* in Queen Elizabeth, which form an interesting analogue with the forms *quod*, *quot*, and *quo'* for *quoth*, which we have adduced on p. 31.

The occurrence of the word *world* under the ending *orle* is in the same way accounted for by the then common dropping of final *d* in such cases (see p. 35).

Nor does the word *leashe* under *east* constitute an error of arrangement; the fact of its occurrence there only proves that Levins spelt or pronounced this word without *h* and with an excrescent *t*. On the same principle we find him citing the word *tabor (tympanum)* in the spelling *tabarte* among the words with the ending *arte*. Forms analogous with *tabarte* (= *tabor*) are continually met with in Elizabethan literature, *e. g. margent, orphant,* etc., etc.

We have now arrived at the "very unsystematic manner" in which Wheatley finds the words in *ed* and *er* arranged. It is no doubt true that this arrangement leaves a great deal to be wished for. Most probably it is equally true that some of the irregularities must be laid at the printer's door, and can be accounted for with comparative facility. And presumably it is true also that Wheatley has not fully realised to himself Levins's practice of placing rhyming words under each other, so that the alphabetical order, which plays an important part in the subsections, to the superficial observer seems to be broken into in the most arbitrary way. But all these considerations do not in the least affect our argument, *because after all the words are placed under their proper headings.*

Neither this last stricture on Wheatley's part nor his other objections, can make us admit the possibility that Levins could have deliberately placed *pin* under the ending *il*, or *to morow* under *ay*. The occurrence of these words in

the places where we find them in Levins's book. originates
in a quasi-correction made by the printer.

The second point which we wish to illustrate by fresh
evidence. is concerned with the mutual relations of authors
and printers with respect to the printed texts. so far as
light is thrown on these relations by the testimony of the
authors and printers themselves.

The grievances of an author, and the unmannerly in-
dependence of a printer are strikingly illustrated by the
following letter :

> To my approued good Friend, Mr. Nicholas Okes.
>
> The infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy*,
> by thenegligence of the Printer, as the misquotations, mistaking
> of sillables, misplacing halfe lines. coining of strange and neuer
> heard of words. These being without number, when I would
> haue taken a particular account of the *Errata*, the Printer an-
> swered me, hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship,
> but rather let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the Author:
> and being fearefull that others of his quality, had beene of the
> same nature, and condition, and finding you on the contrary,
> so carefull, and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the
> Author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but
> gratulate your honest indeauours with this short remembrance.
> Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest iniury done
> me in that worke, by taking the two Epistles of *Paris* to *Helen,*
> and *Helen* to *Paris*, and printing them in a lesse volume [1]. vnder
> the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I
> might steale them from him; and hee to doe himselfe right,
> hath since published them in his owne name: but as I must
> acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, vnder whom
> he hath publist them, so the Author I know much offended
> with M. *Iaggard* (that altogether vnknowne to him) presumed to
> make so bold with his name. These, and the like dishonesties
> I know you to bee cleere of; and I could wish but to bee the
> happy Author of so worthy a worke as I could willingly com-
> mit to your care and workmanship.
>
> > > Yours euer
> > > Thomas Heywood.

---

[1] Viz. in the 1612 reprint of *The Passionate Pilgrime.* .

The above letter is printed at the end of *An Apology
For Actors. Containing*, etc. *Written by Thomas Heywood.*
London, *Printed by Nicholas Okes 1612.*

Let the reader remember the name of the printer incriminated in it, W. Jaggard.

From the printer's preface to the first edition (1590) of
Marlowe's Tamburlaine it becomes evident that the printer,
on his own authority, on critical grounds cancelled certain
passages of this drama, in the face of the fact that these
very passages had been applauded at its performance; the
printer thus delivers himself:

> To the gentlemen readers: and others that . . .
> . . . I haue (purposely) omitted and left out some fond and
> friuolous Iestures, digressing (and in my poore opinion) far
> vnmeet for the matter, which I thought might seeme more
> tedious vnto the wise than any way els to be regarded, though
> (happly) they haue bene of some vaine conceited fondlings
> greatly gaped at. what times they were shewed vpon the stage
> in their graced deformities: neuertheles now, to be mixtured
> in print with such matter of worth, it wuld prooue a great
> disgrace to so honorable and stately a historie . . .
>
> > Yours, most humble at commaundement,
> > R[ichard] J[hones] Printer.

The first edition of Tamburlaine appeared in Marlowe's
lifetime; before his death it was reprinted with the same
preface in 1592.

From the hand of Gabriell Harvey, *Imprinted by Iohn
Wolfe, London*, 1593, there appeared *Pierces Supererogation
or a new prayse of the Old Asse. A Preparatiue to certaine
larger Discourses, intutuled Nashes S. Fame.*

At the end of this little book (p. Ff 1) the printer addresses the reader in this wise:

> Errours escaped in the Printing.
> With certaine Additions to be inserted.

. . . .
Know also, Gentle Reader, that it was the Writers meaning to
deuide this Treatise into three bookes: the Second beginning
at the *Aduertisement to Pap-hatchet*, *and Martin Mar-prelate*:
the Third at, *So then of Pappadocio*: but in the Originall, or
vncorrected Coppy there was not any such diuision expressly
sett-downe: neyther were the Additions following, inserted in
their proper places, but annexed to the end of the Third booke,
& noted thus.

In the First Booke, page 46. after *Cloude*, insert.   What
speake I of one, *etc.*

From this we find that Harvey has not himself corrected
the proofs. The printer lays the blame for the mistakes
committed on the insufficient directions given by the author
at the end of the book. But to us the most interesting
circumstance is, that the printer calls the original manu-
script of the author the un corrected Coppy, thereby
leading us to infer that as a rule an author's work was
revised and corrected at the printing-office. And now also
becomes perfectly clear to us the possibility of the existence
of reprints bearing the notice *Newly corrected*, or words to
the same effect, in the title-page, while at the same time the
text of such reprints bears evidence that the whole of the
proof-correcting was done without a look into the author's
manuscript.

A strange case, which sheds a highly remarkable side-
light on the ways of Jacobean printers, occurred under the
following circumstances.

Ralphe Brooke, Yorke Herald, had brought out a *Cata-
logue of Nobility* in 1619. When this book was somewhat
severely handled by competent judges, the compiler excused
himself by stating that "many faults and mistakings" must
be laid at the printer's door, because "sicknesse absented
him from the Presse". The publisher replied with no half

measure. He had the whole book reprinted. and furnished
with a running critical commentary. The title of this new
book was: *A Discoverie of errors In the first Edition of the
Catalogve of Nobility, Published By Ralphe Brooke, Yorke
Herald, 1619. And Printed heerewith word for word*, etc.
By Augustine Vincent, etc. *London, Printed by William
Iaggard*, etc. *1622.*

In one of the somewhat truculent prefatory notes to this
publication, the printer, W. Jaggard, thus defends himself:

> . . . that in the time of this his vnhappy sicknesse, though
> hee came not in person to ouer-looke the Presse, yet the *Proofe*,
> and *Reuiewes* duly attended him, and he perused them (as is
> well to be iustifyed) in the maner he did before . . .

A little further on Jaggard thus attempts to account for
the blunders committed by the author:

> . . . that Master *Yorke* borrowed most of his materialles out
> of other mens Copies, and copied them commonly by his owne
> hand, it is probable his Clerkship might faile him, either in
> reading the text, as *Scogans* scholer, who read Butyrum et
> Caseum for Brutum et Cassium, or in transcribing, as in a place
> of his. *Teste Rex apud Northampton*, or when in steed of Nunnes
> *Cistercians* he writ them *Sister-sences* (as if there had beene but
> five sisters of the Order) and a number of the like, yet extant
> in his Copie: which if the Worke-men had bene so madly dis-
> posed to tye themselues too, and haue giuen him leaue to print
> his owne English (which they now repent they did not) hee
> would (they say) haue made his Reader, as good sport in his
> Catalogue, as euer *Tarleton* did his Audience, in a Clownes
> part . . . . .

The most characteristic part of this utterance by the
master-printer William Jaggard is, that his "worke-men"
were not such fools as to consider themselves tied down to
what an irresponsible author might think fit to set down in
his manuscript. So we see that even the "worke-men"
played the critics, and corrected the text according to their
lights.

Of course such a system of printing has its advantages as well as its drawbacks; the pity of it is only that the critical typographers also extended it to the manuscripts of Shakespeare's works.

The title-page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's works says: *London Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.* And on the last page of it we read: *Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623.*

According to Sidney Lee [1]), whose authority in these matters stands unchallenged, Blount, Smethwick, and Aspley were publishers or booksellers, not printers; William Jaggard and his son Isaac were printers, and the Folio of 1623 was no doubt set up in type, and struck off at the printing-shop of Jaggard Senior near St. Dunstan's Church.

With Jaggard Senior we have become sufficiently acquainted by this time; we would in conclusion only point to the great probability that the "worke-men" who in 1623 printed the Folio of Shakespeare's works, were the same persons who in 1622 were by their employer said to "repent" that in 1619 they had not allowed Ralphe Brooke to come out in print in "his owne English".

Need we wonder that Thomas Middleton in Father Hubbard's Tale wistfully said: "I never wisht myself a better fortune than to fall into the hands of a truespelling printer"?

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[1]) *A Life of William Shakespeare by Sidney Lee. London. Smith, Elder, & Co. 1898.* See p. 304.

II.

THE DOGMA

OF THE

"EXTRA SYLLABLES"
IN THE HEROIC AND THE BLANK-VERSE LINE.
(XVI. AND XVII. CENTURY.)

> To ignorants obdurde, quhair wilful errour lyis,
> Nor zit to curious folks, quhilks carping dois deiect thee,
> Nor zit to learned men, quha thinks thame onelie wyis,
> Bot to the docile bairns of knawledge I direct thee.
> <div align="right">King James I.</div>

The great majority of Heroic and Blank-verse lines in English poetry consist of ten syllables, or of ten syllables *plus* an unaccented eleventh one. This unstressed eleventh syllable is immaterial to the purposes of the present chapter, and will therefore remain undiscussed in the sequel.

Extra Syllables in the Heroic or Blank-verse line come into question when the number of syllables in such lines is greater than usual. Thus, to take the first example that occurs to us, there are two extra syllables in line 270 of Tennyson's *Geraint and Enid :*

> On a sudden, many a voice along the street,

The exceptional character of a line like the one just cited, is also sometimes marked by stating that it contains

two *Trisyllabic Measures*, the trisyllabic measures in this case being *On a sud-* and *-ny a voice*.

Again, a favourite mode of representing the matter consists in saying that in the line cited the first and the third iambic foot have been replaced by anapæsts, though it cannot but be regretted that these technical terms of classic metric art, which are apt to breed interminable confusion, should continue to be applied to modern verse, which has absolutely nothing in common with Latin and Greek versification.

Extra Syllables are of somewhat frequent occurrence in the Heroic and Blank-verse line of our day. They are there generally looked upon as things of beauty, which pleasantly and ingeniously diversify the monotony of a too strictly regular incidence of stressed syllables.

All nineteenth century authorities on English prosody — we only mention Guest[1]), Abbott[2]), Ellis[3]), and Mayor[4]) among Englishmen, and of Germans, Schipper[5]) and König[6])

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[1]) *A History of English Rhythms*. By Edwin Guest Esq. M. A. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Two Volumes. London, W. Pickering, 1838.

[2]) *A Shakespearian Grammar*. By E. A. Abbott, D. D., Head Master of the City of London School. London, MacMillan and Co. 1894 (First Edition 1869).

[3]) *On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer*, . . . By Alexander J. Ellis, F. R. S., F. S. A., Fellow of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, *etc.* Part. III. London: Published for the Philological Society by Asher & Co., *etc.* 1871.

[4]) *Chapters on English Metre* By Joseph B. Mayor, M. A. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1886.

[5]) *Englische Metrik in historischer und systematischer Entwickelung dargestellt* von Dr. J. Schipper, ordentl. Professor der englischen Philologie an der K. K. Universität in Wien. Bonn, Verlag von Emil Strauss, 1882—1889. Two Volumes.

[6]) *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* von Goswin König. Strassburg. Karl J. Trübner, 1888.

— though differing with each other on all sorts of points, are perfectly agreed that also in the 16th and 17th centuries the extra syllables occur in English metre in the same way as they do now.

This in our opinion is a decided error, and it is the purpose of the present chapter to lay before the reader certain arguments which have led us to the conviction that poets of the 16th and 17th centuries do not make use of extra syllables in the Heroic and the Blank-verse line.

We also think that "extra syllables" do not occur in Chaucer's verse, but considerations of space, and the desire to avoid the treatment of too many details, have decided us to confine our argument to the poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In entering upon our task, our very first duty is to take careful cognizance of what the old poets themselves, or those who have written about the art of poetry, tell us about the technical principles of their own versification or that of their contemporaries.

Our first authority is George Gascoigne [1]), a poet of great note in his day, and a man who could speak with authority. On pp. 33 and 34 of his "Notes" he says: "note you that commonly now a dayes in english rimes (for I dare not cal them English verses) we vse none other order but a foote of two sillables, wherof the first is depressed or made short, and the second is eleuate or made long: and that sound or scanning continueth throughout the verse.

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[1]) G. Gascoigne. *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English, written at the request of Master Edouardo Donati.* — First published in 1575. Our quotations are made from Arber's Reprint of 1869.

We have vsed in times past other kindes of Meeters: as
for example this following:

> No wíght in this wórld, that wéalth can attáyne.
> Unlésse he beléue, that áll is but váyne".

According to this utterance of Gascoigne's, therefore,
the Trisyllabic Measure was inadmissible in the English
metre of his time.

But this inadmissibility is proved by something else
still. Gascoigne bases his classification of various kinds of
poetry: 1^0 on the number of syllables in a line of verse;
2^0 on the number of lines that constitutes a stanza, and
3^0 on the distribution and disposition of the rhymes. Now
it goes without saying that if extra syllables are admis-
sible in a line, it becomes utterly impossible to take the
number of syllables as a basis of classification. But it is pre-
cisely this classification according to the number of syllables
that Gascoigne invariably insists on, as will be seen from
the following table, in which we give a survey of *all* the
sorts of verse referred to by Gascoigne, arranged according
to the characteristics mentioned by him:

Name	Number of syllables in line	Number of lines of stanza	Rhyme-scheme	Other characteristics
Rithme royall	10	7	ababbcc	
Ballade	6, or 8, or 10	6	ababcc	
rondlette	ad libitum, but even (?)	ad libitum	ad libitum	"doth end with one self same foote or repeticion".
Sonnets	10	14	ababcdcdefefgg	
Dyzaynes	10 (?)	10	ababcdcdee (?)	
Syxaines	10 (?)	6	ababcc (?)	
Vishlayes (Verlayes)	10	5	ababa	
?	10	4	abba	
Poulters measure	12 & 14 by turns	no stanza	aabbcc, *etc.*	
ryding rime	?	?	?	"as Father Chaucer used"

Gascoigne says expressly that he does not pretend to give an exhaustive enumeration, so we need not wonder at his leaving blank verse unnoticed. The structure of the lines of his blank-verse poem, *T he Steele Glas*, however, is absolutely identical with that of his rhyming lines of ten syllables, and on p. 38 he observes: "Rythme royall is a verse of tenne syllables, and seuen such verses make a staffe, wherof, etc."

We see that Gascoigne's definitions leave nothing to be wished for on the score of clearness, so that it is quite impossible to misunderstand his drift as regards the non-occurrence of extra syllables in his system of versification.

Our second authority is King James I. (VI. of Scotland) [1], who, like Gascoigne, not only wrote about poetry, but practised it too.

With the same unmistakable clearness as Gascoigne he says on p. 58 of his *Reulis*:

"The forme of placeing syllables in verse, is this. That zour first syllabe in the lyne be short, the second lang, the thrid short, the fourt lang, the fyft short, the sixt lang, and sa furth to the end of the lyne".

Here, too, absolute ignoring of the extra syllables. If such extra syllables had occurred in the lines, King James would have classed such lines under "tumbling verse", as appears from his words on pp. 63 and 64:

"Ze man obserue that thir *Tumbling* verse flowis not on that fassoun, as vtheris dois. For all vtheris keipis the reule quhilk I gaue before, To wit, the first fute [2] short the secound lang. and sa furth. Quhair as thir hes twa

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[1] *The Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie.* — First published in 1585. Our quotations are from Arber's Reprint of 1869.

[2] The word *fute* often denotes what we should call a syllable.

short, and ane lang throuch all the lyne, quhen they keip
ordour: albeit the maist pairt of thame be out of ordour,
and keipis na kynde nor reule of *Flowing*, and for that
cause are callit *Tumbling* verse:"

We see that King James here distinguishes between two
kinds of "tumbling verse", of which the first has a regular,
the second an irregular incidence of stressed syllables.

For purposes of comparison, and because the point is
not without interest, we also subjoin a table of the various
kinds of verse mentioned by King James. It will be seen
that his descriptions do not on all points tally with those
given by Gascoigne. We must at the same time observe
that the table about to be given, unlike the one drawn from
Gascoigne's *Notes of Instruction*, has no force as evidence, be-
cause King James gives his own definitions of the kinds of verse
only in a few cases: as a rule he names the kind of verse,
and appends an example of it. Our figures, etc., except those
in italics, have therefore been inferred from the examples.

Name	Number of syllables in line	Number of lines of stanza	Rhyme-scheme	Other characteristics
ryme	10	no stanza	aabb, *etc.*	"zit are nocht verse"
Heroicall	10	9	aabaabcac	
Ballat Royal	10	8	ababbcbc	
Troilus verse	10	7	ababbaa	
Rouncefallis or Tumbling	varying	13	ababababedddc	not short, long, short, long, *etc.*
Sonet verse	*10*	*14*	ababbcbccdcdee	
commoun verse	*8*	6	ababcc	
?	*10*	6	ababcc	
broken verse	varying	ad libitum	ad libitum	short, long, short, long, *etc.*

Our third authority is William Webbe [1]), Graduate. He
writes on p. 56 of his Discourse:

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[1]) A Discourse of English Poetrie. — First published in 1586.
Our quotations are from Arber's Reprint of 1870.

"The most vsuall and frequented kind of our English Poetry hath alwayes runne vpon, and to this day is obserued in such equall number of syllables, and likenes of wordes, that in all places one verse either immediatly, or by mutuall interposition, may be aunswerable to an other both in proportion of length, and ending of lynes in the same Letters".

Once more we have here direct testimony as to the non-existence of extra syllables, and the testimony is of the greater value in the present case as the avowed drift of Webbe's booklet is a continuous protest against rhyme and against the monotonous regularity of English verse, which he considers barbarous, and wishes to reform on the model of classic metre, to which rhyme was unknown, and which frequently varied the number of syllables in a line according to an ingeniously constructed system of rules, in Webbe's opinion far preferable to the "equall number of syllables" that forms the basis of English metre.

Webbe, like the others, classifies the various kinds of English verse in the first place according to the number of syllables that make up a line. His mode of classification furnishes as strong proof as Gascoigne's for the non-existence of extra syllables. We shall not cite all his utterances referring to this point, but restrict ourselves to one interesting passage, in which Webbe discusses the various kinds of verse exemplified in Spenser's Shepheardes Calender (p. 59):

"The first of them is of tenne sillables, or rather fiue feete in one verse, thus.

> A Sheepheards boy no better doo him call,
> When Winters wastfull spight was almost spent.

This verse he vseth commonly in hys sweete complayntes, and mornefull ditties, as very agreeable to such affections.

The second sort hath naturally but nyne syllables, and is a more rough or clownish manner of verse, vsed most commonly of him if you mark him in hys satyricall re-prehensions, and his Sheepeheardes homelyest talke, such as the second Æglogue is.

> Ah for pitty wyll rancke Winters rage,
> These bytter blasts neuer gynne to asswage.

The number of nine sillables in thys verse is very often altered, and so it may without any disgrace to the same, especially where the speeche should be most clownish and simple. which is much obserued of hym.

The third kynd is a pretty rounde verse, running cur-rantly together, commonly seauen sillables or sometime eyght in one verse, *etc.*"

Since Webbe's account of the second and the third kind of verse clearly shows that he lays especial stress on the number of syllables in each line, we may readily take for granted that, if in the first kind, the Heroic Line, extra syllables had been admissible, he would certainly have said that this kind of verse had "naturally" ten syllables, but might also have eleven, twelve and even more. But he says no such thing.

Our fourth authority is George Puttenham [1]). The technical aspects of English versification, the subject that exclusively interests us in this connection, are, however, by no means Puttenham's strong point. And where our three first authorities always express themselves clearly and logic-ally, so as to exclude misunderstanding, and are never found to be at variance with themselves, Puttenham on the

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[1]) The Arte of English Poesie. — First published in 1589. Our quotations are from Arber's Reprint of 1869.

contrary repeatedly contradicts himself, and often mixes up things that should be carefully kept asunder.

Puttenham's book contains one passage that may impress superficial readers as a positive statement as to the existence of extra syllables in ordinary English verse. We cite the whole of Chapter XVI. on pp. 142 & 143:

> *"Of your verses perfect and defectiue, and that which the*
> *Græcians called the halfe foote.*

The Greekes and Latines vsed verses in the odde sillable of two sortes, which they called *Catalecticke* and *Acatalecticke*, that is odde vnder and odde ouer the iust measure of their verse, and we in our vulgar finde many of the like, and specially in the rimes of Sir Thomas Wiat, strained per-chaunce out of their originall, made first by *Francis Petrarcha*: as these

> *Like vnto these, immeasurable mountaines,*
> *So is my painefull life the burden of ire:*
> *For hie be they, and hie is my desire*
> *And I of teares, and they are full of fountaines.*

Where in your first second and fourth verse, ye may find a sillable superfluous, and though in the first ye will seeme to helpe it, by drawing these three sillables, (īm mĕ sū) into a *dactil*, in the rest it can not be so excused, where-fore we must thinke he did it of purpose, by the odde sil-lable to giue greater grace to his meetre, and we finde in our old rimes, this odde sillable, sometime placed in the be-ginning and sometimes in the middle of a verse, and is al-lowed to go alone and to hang to any other sillable. But this odde sillable in our meetres is not the halfe foote as the Greekes and Latines vsed him in their verses, and called such measure *pentimimeris* and *eptamimeris*, but rather is that, which they called the *catalectick* or maymed verse.

Their *hemimeris* or halfe foote serued not by licence Poeti-
call or necessitie of words, but to bewtifie and exornate
the verse by placing one such halfe *foote* in the middle
Cesure, and one other in the end of the verse, as they vsed
all their *pentameters elegiack*: and not by coupling them
together, but by accompt to make their verse of a iust
measure and not defectiue or superflous: our odde sillable
is not altogether of that nature, but is in a maner drowned
and supprest by the flat accent, and shrinks away as it were
inaudible and by that meane the odde verse comes almost
to be an euen in euery mans hearing. The halfe foote of
the auncients was reserued purposely to an vse, and there-
fore they gaue such odde sillable, wheresoeuer he fell the
sharper accent, and made by him a notorious pause as in
this *pentameter*.

<p align="center">*Nīl mĭ hĭ rēscrībăs ăttămèn īpsĕ vĕ nĭ.*</p>

Which in all make fiue whole feete, or the verse *Penta-
meter*. We in our vulgar haue not the vse of the like halfe
foote."

We need not waste the reader's time and our own with
the pseudo-erudition which mixes up two widely different
things, viz. the art of English verse and the classical metres
of the ancients, and tries to use the latter to explain the
former. So far as we know Puttenham was the first to
attempt this, and his mistake has survived to our day. No
trace of such confusion is found in Gascoigne and in King
James [1]); not even in Webbe, who thinks English verse
barbarous, and wants to "reform it altogether" on the model
of Greek and Latin metrical art.

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[1]) If we except the misuse of the terms *short* and *long* for *un-
stressed* and *stressed*.

But this by the way. If in Puttenham's Chapter XVI we leave his classical lumber on one side, what remains is still a highly complicated confusion of ideas. The first thing that directly strikes us is that to Puttenham himself the "odde sillable" which he has here discovered and described, is an absolute enigma. He first calls it a beauty, then brands it as a defect, and finally describes it as in a sense a non-entity. Each of these three statements of course excludes the two others: the contradiction is an absolute one.

What does Puttenham mean by saying that his "odde sillable" is "as it were inaudible". A syllable must be either pronounced or left unpronounced. If pronounced, however weakly, it of course counts for a syllable. The way in which Puttenham fences with the question, raises the suspicion that he does not exactly know how to tackle it. Nor is it difficult to prove that he is all at sea on the point in question.

If the various kinds of verse are classified according to the number of syllables in each line, it is of course necessary to keep in mind that the last unstressed syllable or syllables of female rhymes do not count. King James actually makes this reservation twice over. On p. 69 he writes that the two verses "So moylie" and "And coylie", "haue bot twa fete (= syllables!) and a tayle to ilkane of thame", and on p. 57 he says: "Sa is the hinmest lang syllabe the hinmest fute, suppose (= although) there be vther short syllabis behind it, quhilkis are eatin vp in the pronounceing, and na wayis comptit as fete".

What is meant by the metaphor "eatin vp in the pronounceing", may be gathered from what the King says immediately after this with reference to the word *Arabia*. He merely means this: If a poet in lines of ten syllables uses the words *Arabia* and *Fabia* as rhymes, we must not count

the -*bi-a* syllables as syllables of the verse-line. If we were
to do this, we should get lines of twelve syllables between
the decasyllabics. But we are not at liberty to count them
in as regular components of the line, because these -*bi-a*
syllables merely form a "tail" to the last accented syllable
on which the rhyme hinges. Hinges to such a degree, that
this accented syllable "eats up" (i. e. throws altogether into
the shade) the rest of the syllables composing the rhyme,
although of course this rest is most certainly pronounced.
If for the purposes of argument we suppose for a moment
that in the quadrisyllabic word *Arabia* the fourth syllable
bore an accent equally strong as that of the second, in that
case the fourth syllable would *not* be "eaten up" by the
second, and under such circumstances the lines in question
would become lines of twelve syllables. The phrase "eatin
up in the pronounceing", which is so apt to give rise to mis-
understanding, merely refers to the simple question of the
trisyllabic rhymes, which in the old poets were of far more
frequent occurrence than now, because among them might
also be reckoned such rhymes as *question — digestion*, which
King James himself actually classes as female rhymes of
three syllables.

Verse-lines "in the odde", by which are meant lines of
which the last accented syllable is an uneven one, i. e. the
third, fifth, seventh, etc. in the line, were in bad odour
with the literati of the sixteenth century. "Alwayis tak
heid", says King James on pp. 58 & 59, "that the nomber
of zour fete (= syllables) in euery lyne be euin, and nocht
odde". We have seen from our quotation from Webbe that
this critic calls lines of nine syllables "a more rough or
clownish manner of verse". On p. 85 of his book Putten-
ham says without caring to disguise his contempt: "Your

ordinarie rimers vse very much their measures in the odde
as nine and eleuen, and the sharpe accent vpon the last
sillable, which therefore makes him go ill fauouredly and
like a minstrels musicke". The reason is that a verse "in
the odde" cannot be regularly "short, long, short, long, etc.",
and it was exactly this regularity that was demanded by the
æsthetic ideas of the time. Puttenham, however, who
repeatedly disapproves of verses "in the odde", and at the
same time makes the bad mistake of always counting in the
unaccented syllable of a female rhyme, so that to him all
regular lines with female rhymes are also verses "in the
odde", — Puttenham on p. 85 at least gives proof that he
must have felt that such regular lines with female rhymes,
though according to him "in the odde", could not be con-
demned out of hand. His defence of them runs as follows:

"And all the reason why these meeters in all sillable
are alowable is, for that the sharpe accent falles vpon the
penultima or last saue one sillable of the verse, which doth
so drowne the last, as he seemeth to passe away in maner
vnpronounced, and so make the verse seeme euen:"

This explanation does not explain anything; of course
the unaccented last syllable is always heard as a syllable,
and it is absolute nonsense to pretend that it is not heard
so to say. The argument is altogether the other way: the
difference between female and male rhymes is so marked,
that even a quite unpractised ear catches it directly, while
it may be unable duly to account for the syllables that
precede the rhyme. Of course it is no doubt true that
such a verse seems "even", for it is "even" i. e. regular.
It is "odd" only to Puttenham, because in a mechanical
way he wrongly applies a system of verse-classification of
which he has failed to catch the true significance. His

mistaken application of the principle of classification brings
him face to face with a difficulty which he attempts to
remove. The manner in which he sets to work to do so,
unmistakably shows that he does not understand the matter,
but at the same time leaves not the slightest doubt that
his quasi-explanation is based on King James's words "quhilkis
are eatin up in the pronounceing" — words which are apt
to create misunderstanding, and which Puttenham has actu-
ally misunderstood.

If now we revert to Puttenham's utterances on
pp. 142 & 143 (cited on pp. 57 & 58), respecting the in-
audibility of the extra syllable, we see directly that they
are a reiteration of what he has said on p. 85. And we
now know also that it would be a mistake to attach the
slightest importance to these utterances, a thing which, for
the matter of that, may also be proved from the chapter
itself. For he says, *inter alia*, that "this odde sillable" may
occur "in the beginning and sometimes in the middle of a
verse", in point of fact everywhere in the lines of "our old
rimes". By "old rimes" Puttenham means old poems not
consisting of stanzas, and it need not be doubtful what
kinds of verse he has his eye on. We cite the first four
lines of "The Tale of Gamelyn" (Skeat's *Chaucer*, IV, 645):

> Litheth, and lesteneth · and herkeneth aright,
> And ye schulle heere a talking · of a doughty knight;
> Sire Iohann of Boundys · was his righte name,
> He cowde of norture y-nough · and mochil of game.

Here, indeed, the "odde sillable" occurs everywhere in
the line, but it is not an "extra syllable" here. The irre-
gular incidence of the accents, the irregular distribution of
the unstressed syllables over the verse-line, are characteristic

not only of this kind of old English verse, but of well-nigh all mediæval Germanic poetry.

And it is again sheer ignorance on Puttenham's part, if of this "odde sillable" he virtually says that it "shrinks away as it were inaudible and by that meane the odde verse comes almost to be an euen in euery mans hearing".

If in conclusion we pertinently put the question what Puttenham understands by the "odde sillable", the answer must be that he mixes up three widely different sorts of syllables:

1 ⁰ the unstressed syllable in the female rhymes of the two lines following:

> Like vnto these, immeasurable mountaines,
> And I of teares. and they are full of fountaines.

2 ⁰ one of the syllables in the line:

> So is my painefull life the burden of ire :

3 ⁰ the unaccented syllables in old poems which make the lines irregular.

Only the second sort corresponds to the conception of extra syllable which forms the subject of this chapter. We shall by and by see whether the extra syllable does or does not exist in the line

> So is my painefull life the burden of ire :

which Puttenham cites in illustration. For the present it suffices for us to have put it beyond doubt that in this matter Puttenham's testimony is absolutely worthless, because he stands convicted of writing about things of which the real significance was altogether beyond his grasp.

Looking away from isolated utterances, we are not aware that in the course of the seventeenth century any writer has treated English prosody of set purpose.

Let us just note in passing that in the first edition

(1653) of John Wallis's Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae,
the fifteenth chapter, "De Poesi", opens thus:

> Poesis Anglicana ut plurimum Rythmica est: ut & apud
> vicinas gentes omnes.
>
> Observatur præsertim numerus syllabarum; non prorsus tamen
> neglectâ quantitate.
>
> Metri genera sunt varia;

Our fifth and last authority is Edward Bysshe [1]), who
wrote in the opening years of the eighteenth century. His
point of view is still the very same as that taken up by his
predecessors of more than a century before him. Still the
various kinds of verse are by him classified on the basis
of the number of syllables in the line, and still this classi-
fication and what he observes in elucidation of it, preclude
the existence of extra syllables. The whole of "Chapter I.
Of the Structure of English Verses" furnishes strong evi-
dence for what we have advanced, and may be safely re-
commended for attentive study. We make room here for
the following quotations from it:

"The Structure of our Verses, whether Blank, or in
Rhyme, consists in a certain Number of Syllables; and not
in Feet compos'd of long and short Syllables, as the Verses
of the Greeks and Romans" (p. 1).

"Our Verses therefore consist in a certain Number of
Syllables; but the Verses of double Rhyme require a Syl-
lable more than those of single Rhyme. Thus in a Poem,
whose Verses consist of ten Syllables, those of the same
Poem that are accented upon the last save one, which we
call Verses of double Rhyme, must have Eleven;" (p. 2).

"In a Poem whose Verses consist of 8, the double
Rhymes require 9." (p. 2).

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[1]) The Art of English Poetry: Containing, *etc.* By Edw. Bysshe,
Gent. London. *etc.* 1702.

"This must also be observ'd in Blank Verse." (p. 3.)

"Our Poetry admits for the most part but of three sorts of Verses; that is to say, of Verses of 10, 8, or 7 Syllables:" (p. 3.)

"But those of 12 and 14 Syllables are frequently inserted in our Poems in Heroick Verse," (p. 4.)

"The Verses of 10 Syllables, which are our Heroick, are us'd, *etc.*" (p. 4.)

When Bysshe refers to the insertion of Alexandrines between the Heroic lines, it should be kept in mind that he quotes largely from Dryden's poetry. But occasional Alexandrines are well known to occur in all kinds of English rhymed verse; we need only mention, for instance, the line of twelve syllables that closes each stanza of Spenser's Faerie Queene, and the lines of the so-called Pindaric Odes, which Bysshe thus pointedly describes on p. 35:

"The Stanzas of Pindarick Odes are neither confin'd to a certain number of Verses, nor the Verses to a certain number of Syllables, nor the Rhyme to a certain Distance."

Bysshe does not say that Alexandrines occur in Blank Verse: on the contrary we read on p. 37:

"Blank Verse is where the Measure is exactly kept without Rhyme;" and no one who has read Bysshe's book can be in doubt as to his meaning, viz. that Blank Verse demands only ten syllables (*plus* an eventual unstressed eleventh one). And in strict accordance herewith Milton says with respect to his metre in Paradise Lost: "The measure is *English* Heroic Verse without Rime", a plain statement which obviously excludes longer and shorter lines.

In the foregoing we have gone through the statements touching English prosody made by theorists; we shall now

go on to consider the practice of the poets in order to
discover whether or not this practice tallies with the theory;
in casu specially, whether or not there are extra syllables
in the Heroic Lines.

True, one can hardly open a volume of poetry, without
lighting in almost every page on verse-lines that would
seem to justify the nineteenth century prosodists as against
the older brethren of the craft.

If, for instance, we turn to Ægloga sexta of The
Shepheardes Calender [1]) by Edmund Spenser, which consists
of 120 Heroic Lines, and of which, as Webbe has informed
us, each line must contain ten syllables, we find, among
these 120 lines, five each of which seemingly contains an
extra syllable:

> line   8: To the waters fall their tunes attemper right.
> „   44: To giue my Rosalind, and in Sommer shade
> „   59: Theyr yuory Luyts and Tamburins forgoe:
> „   80: And poore my piteous plaints out in the same.
> „   83: He, whilst he liued [2]), was the soueraigne head

But these extra syllables disappear if we read *Toth'*
(for *To the*), *Ros'lind*, *yv'ry*, *pit'ous* and *sou'raigne*.

In order to prove that these pronunciations were ad-
missible at the time, we cite:

> Toth Vulgar sort disloyall still, unto the better part
> *J. Studley,* Hippolytus, 1581. Repr. Spenser Society, p. **131.**
> Gold, band her golden hair: her yvry neck,
>
> *Th. Hudson* in Sylvester's Folio, 1621, p. **723.**
> The constant faith I beare my souraine Lorde,
>
> *F. Kinwelmarshe* in Gascoigne, Hazlitt's Ed. Vol. I, p. 260.

Ros'lind, as well as *yv'ry* and *sou'raigne*, falls
under the general rule, laid down by Bysshe on p. 16:
"Now when in a Word of more than two Syllables, which

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[1]) The first edition appeared in 1579. Our quotations are from
the Spenser Society's reprint of 1889.

[2]) *liued* is a dissyllable here.

is accented upon the last save two, any of the Liquids L,
M, N, or R, happen to be between two Vowels, that which
preceedes the Liquid admits of an Elision". The same rule
is thus given by *J. Jones, M. D.* The New Art of Spelling
1704 (First Ed. 1701) p. 70: "Note . . . That the Vowel
before *l, n,* or *r,* in the middle of Words of three or more
Syllables of a quick Run, is apt to be silent; as *cavilling,
devillish, traveling,* &c. sounded *cav'ling, dev'lish, trav'ling,*
&c., and in *pardoning, every* sounded *pard'ning, ev'ry,* &c.
which are allow'd in Poetry, to be *written* and *sounded* the
short way".

   As regards the pronunciation *pit'ous* we likewise have
Jones's evidence, who on p. 86 (and elsewhere) registers
the sound *-tos* for words spelled with *-teous.* We would
also remind the student that Chaucer invariably uses *pitous*
for the later form *piteous.*

   We may now put the question whether the printed form of
the words does not furnish evidence for the extra syllables?
Why, one might ask, did not the poets in every case indicate by
the mode of printing what pronunciation they meant? Our an-
swer can be a brief one. If we except writers on phonetics, not
one Englishman has at any period spelled his words in the way
he pronounced them. If, for example, we find *doubt* spelt with a
b, and a trisyllabic orthography disguising the sound of such
dissyllables as *business, Leicester, venison, victuals,* etc., etc., what
right have we to ask the reason why the orthography of a few
centuries back was so defective? Yes, but — it may be an-
swered — at present every one knows perfectly well, how
such words as *Leicester* and *victuals* are to be pronounced.
Quite so! But three centuries ago every one also · knew
perfectly well how English words might or must be pro-
nounced, and the pity of it is that the pronunciation of three

hundred years ago is forgotten now, and that the ordinary
official mode of spelling proves nothing, and in point of fact
never gives absolutely reliable information. As we have
seen, Jones says that in Poetry it was "allow'd to write"
certain words "in the short way", but of course it was by
no means necessary to do so. And he who would have
direct evidence of the most convincing nature in these
matters, would do well just to turn over the leaves of Jones's
little book, which he will find full of such questions and
answers as the two following:

"When is the sound of *e* written *ehe*? When it may
be sounded *ehe* as in apprehend, misapprehend, sounded
apprend, misapprend." (p. 41.)

"When is the sound of *e* written *evi*? In devil, sounded
del, (as in del take you.)" (p. 43.)

And a century before Jones wrote, we have direct testi-
mony under Ben Jonson's hand that, for instance, cases of
synalephe were of frequent occurrence, without being in any
way indicated by the mode of printing the words which it
affected. In the first chapter of the second book of his
English Grammar Ben Jonson writes:

> Apostrophus is the rejecting of a Vowell from the beginning,
> or ending of a Word. The note whereof, though it many times,
> through the negligence of Writers and Printers, is quite omitted,
> yet by right should [have], and of the learneder sort hath his
> signe and marke, which is such a Semicircle ' placed in the top.

And, as a matter of fact, this "Semicircle" is found to
be made use of in the first and second Folios of Ben Jonson's
works, more than anywhere else in the printed literature of
the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages. We come upon lines
like the following

> That did so only' embrace his countrey', and lov'd
> Folio 1616, p. 752.

which are simply invaluable for the study of "Early English Pronunciation".

If now we return to the line from Wiat cited by Puttenham (see *ante* p. 57):

> So is my painefull life the burden of ire:

there is strong reason to assume that *burden* must be pronounced *burd*, and this would do away with the extra syllable also in this case. We have seen that Puttenham is sadly to seek in matters prosodial, and mechanically counts the syllables in the verse-line as he finds them printed, and we can therefore hardly expect that in this one case, which, if correct, would prove the existence of the extra syllable, he has for once been exceptionally accurate.

To prove the existence of the form *burd* to represent the word *burden*, we cite

> And fretting at it in hir selfe said: Could this harlots burd
> Transforme the Lydian water-men, and drowne them in the foord? [1]
> A. *Golding*, Metamorphosis, 1587, p. 57 bis & 58.

The correctness of the form *burd* at the end of the first line is put beyond doubt by the rhyme, and the meaning of the word presents no difficulty, since it Englishes the Latin substantive *natus*, used in poetry for "son", and we learn from the New English Dictionary, which by the way does not register the curtailed form *burd*, that *burden* was anciently used to denote "that which is borne in the womb; a child". In general our knowledge of the curtailed forms formerly in use leaves a good deal to be wished for. Such knowledge must, as matters now stand, be painfully gathered from the printed forms of the words in the first editions of the old poets, but up to now it has been the all but uni-

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[1] Nec tulit, et secum 'Potuit de pelice natus
Vertere Maeonios, pelagoque inmergere nautas.
Ovid. Metamorph. IV, 422 & 423.

versal practice to study these old poets from modernised
editions, in which all sorts of characteristic peculiarities of
the old language have been ruthlessly edited away.   Fortu-
nately some sort of reaction against the vandalism of moderni-
sation has come up of late years, so that faithful reprints
of the old editions are coming more and more within reach
of the student, and the study of the earlier word-forms is
becoming possible even outside the charmed circle of the
great English libraries.   The results of such a study entered
upon a few years back, we have laid down in "William
Shakespeare : Prosody and Text", and to this book we
would refer the reader, desirous of further information on
this point.

One thing, however, we must not omit to lay stress on
also here.   The old writers on prosody most undoubtedly
refer to these shortened word-forms, though as a rule only
in passing, since the matter was of course one of common
knowledge at the time.

In other writers, too, we meet with utterances which
most unmistakably point to the mode of pronouncing words,
and which are simply unintelligible to him who knows
nothing about the shortened word-forms in current use at
the time.   What, for instance, are we to make of Holofernes's
words in L. L. L. IV 2, 123 & 124: "You find not the
apostrophas, and so miss the accent", if we are without in-
formation on this point?

James Howell, in his Instructions for forreine Travell,
1642, thus lauds the easiness of the Spanish language (Repr.
Arber, p. 39):

"being in my judgement the easiest of all Languages, by
reason of the openesse, and fulnesse of pronunciation, *the
agreement 'twixt the Tongue and the Text ,* a n d t h e f r e e -

do m e from A p o s t r o p h e s, which a r e the k n o t s of a L a n g u a g e, as also *etc.*"

What is meant by "the agreement 'twixt the Tongue and the Text", must have become clear to the reader by this time.

Gascoigne writes on p. 37:

"This poeticall licence is a shrewde fellow, and couereth many faults in a verse, it maketh wordes longer, shorter, of mo sillables, of fewer, newer, older. truer, falser, and to conclude it turkeneth [1]) all things at pleasure, for example, *ydone* for *done, adowne* for *downe, orecome* for *ouercome, tane* for *taken, power* for *poure, heauen* for *heavn, theires* for good partes or good qualities, and a numbre of other whiche were but tedious and needelesse to rehearse, since your owne iudgement and readyng will soone make you espie such aduauntages".

The only fault we have to find with this utterance, is that Gascoigne is wrong in calling these curtailments and expansions "poetical licences", for pretty nearly all the things he refers to are found to occur in the printed prose of his time as frequently as in its poetry.

King James says that the shorter or longer word-forms should be used according as the nature of the subject treated demands a less or more dignified diction. On pp. 62 & 63 of his "Revlis" we read:

> Ze man also take heid to frame zour wordis and sentencis according to the mater: As in Flyting and Inuectiues [2]). zour

[1]) *To turken* = to turn or twist about, to alter, from Old French *torquer*.

[2]) "*Fliting* . . . *Sc.* Poetical invective; chiefly. a kind of contest practised by the Scottish poets of the 16th c., in which two persons assailed each other alternately with tirades of abusive verse" (N. E. D. i. v.).

> wordis to be cuttit short, and hurland ouer heuch. For thais
> quhilkis are cuttit short, I meane be sic wordis as thir,
>
>> *Iis neir cair,*
>
> for
>
>> *I sall neuer cair,* gif zour subiect were of loue,
> or tragedies.   Because in thame zour words man be drawin
> lang, quhilkis in Flyting man be short.

Ellis refers as follows to the coalition *I'se* for "I shall"
(E. E. P. p. 939): "Relying on the provincialism *'se, 's* for *shall,*
in King Lear, IV, 6, 246, and Lady Capulet's *thou's* for *thou
shalt,* which was evidently an accommodation of her language
to the nurse's, Rom. & Jul. I, 3, 9, Mr. Abbott would avoid
several trisyllabic measures, by reading *I'se* for *I shall,* but
this does not seem advisable".

That Ellis, who is generally assumed to be the first
authority on "Early English Pronunciation", is signally mis-
taken here, may be seen from the words of King James
above cited, which show that *I'se* is king's language, and
is by him considered to be on a par with *ne're* for *nerer.*
If further proof should be wanted, we may cite William
Warner's Albion's England, where this coalition is used in
the language of the gods.   Warner makes Vulcan say to
Venus:

> Aske whatso-else I have to give, thous maunde it for a kis.

and this line is found without change in the editions of 1589,
1592, 1597, 1602, and 1612. Let the reader also take note of
the form *maunde* for *command.*   And these shortened word-
forms should by no means be looked upon as provincialisms
or vulgarisms; they were the forms of everyday speech.   It
is no doubt true that many curtailed forms especially occur
in the language of speakers in humble life, but this merely
proves that a few writers thought it a mistake to put on the
lips of such speakers still finer and more dignified language

than they, the writers themselves, may have been in the habit of using.

Webbe does not refer to shortened word-forms, but those who should be that way inclined may find them in his poems.

Puttenham treats of these lengthened and curtailed forms in a cursory way in a separate chapter which we have cited elsewhere. As examples of shortened forms he mentions: *twixt* for *betwixt, gainsay* for *againesay, ill* for *euill, paraunter* for *parauenture, poorety* for *pouertie, souraigne* for *soueraigne, tane* for *taken, morne* for *morning, bet* for *better, t'attaine* for *to attaine,* and *sor'* and *smart* for *sorrow and smart.*

Bysshe goes into greater detail as regards the curtailment of words than any of the others, but we can make room for one very important passage only, on p. 14:

"And it is a fault to make Riot, for Example, but of one Syllable, as *Milton* has done in this Verse.

Their Riot ascends above their lofty Tow'rs."

The correct reading of this line Par. Lost I, 499 is:

Of riot ascends above thir loftiest Towrs,

but in Bysshe's day quotations were often made from memory, and without verification. Our reason for citing this passage from Bysshe's book is twofold: 1) we wish to lay stress on the fact that Milton's younger contemporary, the well-informed author of the Art of English Poetry, tells us that in the line in question *riot* must be sounded *ri't* in one syllable; and 2) we want to impress on our readers the warning that formerly, just as at present, most authors were in the habit of airing their own æsthetic views, and that these æsthetic theories of theirs should always be carefully distinguished from the facts they place before us. The fact here stated is that Milton syncopates the word *riot*. We

are but feebly interested to know that Bysshe disapproves
of such syncopation. All nineteenth century prosodists also
disapprove of it, but a duly verified fact remains what it
is, whatever views we may entertain as to its beauty or
ugliness. And if only the nineteenth century prosodists went
no farther than Bysshe, we need not greatly care for such
fault-finding. But unfortunately they go a good deal beyond
Bysshe. They reason as follows: If a nineteenth century
critic of poetry, a man of delicate perceptions, of undoubted
judgment, and amazing knowledge, finds in Milton things which
strike him as decided defects or follies, those things can
never have existed. Thus, for instance, Prof. D. Masson
in the preface to his well-known edition of Milton's works:

"Perhaps the elision-marks and other such devices in
the old printed texts, though well intentioned, help to mislead
here. When, in the original edition of *Paradise Lost*, I find
flamed spelt *flam'd*, or *Hearen* spelt *Heav'n*, or *Thebes* spelt
Theb's, I take the apostrophe as an express direction to omit
the e-sound and pronounce the words as monosyllables; but
I cannot accept the apostrophe as an elision-mark of precisely
the same significance in the lines:

> Above th'Aonian Mount, while it pursues (P. L. I, 15)
> That led th'imbattelld Seraphim to Warr (P. L. I, 129)

for these reasons: 1) Because the strict utterances thAonian
and thimbattelld are comicalities now, which I cannot con-
ceive ever to have been serious; 2) because such contracted
utterances are quite unnecessary for the metre, inasmuch as
the lines are perfectly good to the ear even if the word *the*
is fully, but softly, uttered according to prose custom; and
3) because I find the same elision-mark used in the old
texts in cases where it is utterly impossible that the total
suppression of the *e* can have been meant".

Here, in the first "Because" we see modern æsthetics in full swing! Prof. Masson believes in the elision-marks exactly so far as his æsthetics or the æsthetics of his time will allow him to do. Of course we are not at liberty to suppose him ignorant of the fact that even the prose of the old writers frequently exhibits the same peculiarities which he thinks so comical in Milton, and of which a mirth-provoking specimen figures in the very title-page of John Hart's well-known booklet: "An orthographie, conteyning the due order and reason, howe to write or paint thimage of mannes voice, most like to the life or nature".

And of course all the weight of Prof. Masson's argument resides in the first "Because". For the second "because" is not what it pretends to be, because it altogether lacks cogency, and would only leave open a possibility, *if* Prof. Masson's metrical views were correct; and the third "because" which we can hardly suppose to bear only on a small number of misprints, is couched in terms of such mysterious wisdom, that Prof. Masson himself cannot possibly have expected that earnest students as we take ourselves to be, who moreover for some years past have with unabated zeal been studying the use of the apostrophe in the old printed books, should *without more precise indication* make his third reason a subject of serious consideration.

Prof. Masson is by no means the only critic who reasons after this fashion. Strictly speaking, the modern conception of the prosody of the old poets as a whole, is based on nothing better than modern æsthetic views, which are apt to look askance at any scholarly investigation of the facts of the case. And so long as critics refuse to see that nothing is more transient and subject to variation than æsthetic appreciation, so long as the individualism of personal taste is

not looked upon as one of the worst enemies of reason, so
long our efforts to lay a better foundation for the study of
Elizabethan verse will continue to be branded as egregious
Quixotisms.

Profoundly conscious of the comicality of our attempt,
we now go on attack another windmill.

A close study of the old pronunciation causes a large
number of extra syllables to melt into thin air. But there
still remains a very interesting group of seeming extra syl-
lables that are not explained by the old pronunciation, but
arise from textual corruption. In "William Shakespeare :
Prosody and Text" and in the preceding chapter, we have
shown that the old authors were not in the habit of correcting
the proofs of their work, and that, if they were allowed to do
so, they in many cases had not even a decisive voice in the
ultimate redaction of their own writings. In this way not
only did numerous negligences on the printer's part remain
uncorrected, but it must be considered as proved beyond
the shadow of a doubt that arbitrary quasi-correction of the
author's text was quite a common practice of the printing-
offices.

The Ægloga decima of Spenser's Shepheardes Calender
consists of 120 Heroic Lines, each of which, excepting two,
contains ten syllables. [In two or three other lines we have
a seeming extra syllable which disappears when the line is
correctly pronounced.] The first of these two seemingly
irregular lines is l. 93:

> Such immortall mirrhor, as he doth admire,

in which there are undoubtedly eleven syllables.

If, however, we think of such Shakespearean phrases
as the following: *so profound abysm* Sonn. 112, 9; *so full
soul* Tp. III, 1, 44; *so quick condition* M. for M. I, 1, 54;

so strict account I H 4. III, 2, 149; *so flood-gate and o'er-bearing nature* O. I, 3, 56; and at the same time keep our eye on the mode of printing exhibited in the following quotations:

> Mary, to be so' importunate for one,
>> *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 612.
>
> I could not thinke my Lord would be s'unkind,
>> *S. Daniel*, Folio 1623, p. 2.
>
> Two things s'averse, they never yet
> But in thy rambling fancy met.
>> *S. Butler*, Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 268.

then it is certainly within the bounds of possibility that in his manuscript Spenser may have written *Sŏ*, or *So'*, or *S'* instead of *Such*. If this was the case, *Such* is a corruption made by the printer; it might be a case of simple inadvertence on his part, or a quasi-correction which substituted the more common *such* for the less usual *so*.

But it must be clear to every reader that, however plausible this solution of the difficulty may appear, it only opens up a possibility requiring further proof before it can become a certainty. And it is equally evident, that where the cogent requirements of the metre are not held to furnish absolute proof, no such absolute proof can be given about this line 93, unless in the highly unlikely case that Spenser's own manuscript of the tenth Ægloga should be recovered. Now with the great majority of textual corruptions matters stand exactly as they stand with respect to this line. But fortunately there remains a small number of such corruptions in the case of which the corruptness is self-evident, because the text as it stands is unmitigated nonsense. Such a case we have in line 105 of the Ægloga decima, viz. the third line of the following stanza:

> Who euer casts to compasse weightye prise,
> And thinks to throwe out thondring words of threate:
> Let powre in lauish cups and thriftie bitts of meate,
> For *Bacchus* fruite is frend to *Phoebus* wise.
> And when with Wine the braine begins to sweate,
> The nombers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse.

We see that line 105 has two undoubted extra syllables, and that the "pouring in of thrifty bits of meat" constitutes extra nonsense into the bargain.

What, we must now ask, can Spenser have written here?

The "Glosse", which is of course Spenser's own work though signed with the initials E. K., says:

> "Lauish cups) Resembleth that comen verse Fæcundi
>   calices quem non fecere disertum".

This makes it sure that the corruption of the text must be sought in the words following *cups*. The rhyme *meate: threate: sweate* puts it beyond a doubt that the rhyme-word *meate* is genuine. The corruption must accordingly be in the words *and thriftie bitts of*, which constitute five syllables where only three can have their place. And this enables us to solve the riddle, for there can be little doubt after this that Spenser wrote:

> Let poure in lauish cups and thriftlie meate,

This solution is all the more sure because — and this is a point of supreme importance in judging of the value of emendations — the restored text clearly shows the printer's motive for tampering with it. The printer did not understand the last two words: he did not know the rare verb *to meat*[1]), or did not think of it at the time, mistook it for a noun, and for the words *thriftlie meate*, which he thought

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[1]) Cf. *Chapman*, Homer's Iliad XIX, 196: Haste then, and meate your men; *Tusser*, September's Husbandry: Strong oxen and horses, well shod and well clad, Wel meated and used.

nonsense, substituted *thriftie bitts of meate*. This is a capital example, not of thoughtless blundering on the printer's part, but of the quasi-improving on the author's text, which entered so largely into the practice of the printing-offices, three centuries ago.

We have elsewhere satisfactorily disposed of the hypothesis that such corruptions should be laid at the door of the transcriber, and besides, so far as our present subject is concerned, the question how the corruptions have arisen is of hardly any importance.

We have thus shown that part of the so-called extra syllables are practically non-existent, because they disappear as soon as the words are pronounced according to the practice of the time, and that another part of them might be accounted for by supposing corruption of the author's text.

The question now naturally presents itself whether *all* extra syllables can be accounted for in these two manners. In order to answer this question, we shall not, of course, have to go through the whole body of poetry in Heroic Lines and in Blank verse. It will be sufficient for our purpose to subject to a careful scrutiny those lines which by nineteenth century authorities are held to contain extra syllables, or are by them regularly cited as evidence for the existence of such extra syllables. But, even if we were thus to circumscribe the task before us, the present chapter would swell to the dimensions of a respectable volume, without yielding proportionate profit to the student. We shall therefore have to narrow our field of investigation to a somewhat large number of examples taken at random. Among nineteenth century authorities we choose six representative scholars, four of them Englishmen and two Germans. We do not think that our selection of Guest,

Abbott, Ellis, Mayor, König, and Schipper (see *ante* p. 50)
can in reason be found fault with.

As regards the place in the line of the alleged extra
syllable, we choose the one that is most apt to attract the
reader's attention, viz. the extra syllable quite at the be-
ginning of the line, before the first accented syllable. We
shall accordingly examine *all* the verse-lines in which accord-
ing to the six authorities mentioned, two unaccented syllables
are found to precede the first accented syllable. The Germans
are accustomed to call such lines verses "mit doppeltem
Auftakt". English writers on prosody are in the habit of
saying that in lines of this class the first measure is trisyl-
labic. When, however the trisyllabic measure is an evident
so-called amphibrach, we leave the lines in which it occurs
undiscussed, because in this case to our thinking the extra
syllable must be held to stand between the first and the
second accented syllable of the line. On the other hand,
we include in our investigation those verses of which the
first measure is a so-called dactyl, although of course such
lines are not verses "mit doppeltem Auftakt".

We cite the alleged evidential lines in the chronological
order of their publication. Several lines are treated by
more than one authority. To avoid repetitions we place
before the line cited the capital initial (G for Guest, etc.)
of the name of the authority who cites the line. The lines
are provided with a running number to facilitate subsequent
reference. Sh. stands for Shakespeare.

If we should be found to have passed over a line of
this class cited by any of the writers mentioned, such omission
is quite unintentional. We mention this, because an over-
sight of this kind may easily occur where the lines we are

concerned with are found scattered all over the works on prosody we have had to consult.

1. G., & M.

> We may boldly spend upon the hope of what
> > *Sh.* I H 4. IV, 1, 54.

This line is not a verse of Shakespeare's, but one of Steevens's fabrications. In the only authoritative text of I Henry 4. which we possess, viz. the Quarto of 1598, the text stands thus:

> Where now remaines a sweet reuersion,
> We may boldly spend vpon the hope of what tis to come in,
> A comfort of retirement liues in this.

The Folio of 1623 cuts up the second of these three lines into two short lines. of which the second begins with *of;* the Folio moreover replaces the misprint *tis* by *is*. But the Folio text of I H 4. is absolutely without value, since it is a mere reprint of the Quarto text. (See William Shakespeare: Prosody and Text, pp. 328 ff.).

The second line of our extract from the Quarto is of course corrupt, for, apart from metrical grounds, the words *of what is to come in* do not fit in with the style of the whole passage, as will be more clearly seen on consulting the context. Shakespeare must have written the three lines thus:

> Where now remaines a sweet reversion, we
> May boldly spend upon the hope to come;
> A comfort of retirement lives in this.

The phrase *hope to come* of course in all respects equals the phrase *future hopes* in Gent. I, 1, 50. It is exactly parallel with the well-known expression *time to come*, which in its turn is equivalent to *future time*. The motive that induced the corruption is quite plain; the printer thought

it necessary to replace the less usual phrase by a more
common one, a motive that underlies numerous alterations
made in texts.

As regards the motivation of the line-shifting, i. e.
faulty delimitation of lines, we must refer the student to
W. Sh. Pros. & Text, pp. 293—301. We would only
observe here that line-shifting is one of the most common
things in the texts of the old dramas, and where it occurs,
the line is frequently made to come to an untimely end at
a pause, of which the Quarto text above cited furnishes a
good example.

2. G., E., M., & K.

In election for the Roman empery,

Sh. T. A. I, 1, 22.

Pronounce *lection* instead of *election*. Dr. Jones says
that words beginning with *el-* may be pronounced without
the *e*. The best-known instance of this is *'leven* for *eleven*.

3. G.

In a chariot of inestimable value

Sh. Pericles II, 4, $7^1/_2 - ^1/_2 8$.

This line is one of Steevens's making. The Quarto of
1609, our only authoritative text, reads:

Hell. No Escanes, know this of mee,
Antiochus from incest liued not free:
For which the most high Gods not minding,
Longer to with-hold the vengeance that
They had in store, due to this heynous
Capitall offence, euen in the height and pride
Of all his glory, when he was seated in
A Chariot of an inestimable value, and his daughter
With him ; a fire from heauen came and shriueld
Vp those bodyes euen to lothing, for they so stounke,
That all those eyes ador'd them, ere their fall,
Scorne now their hand should giue them buriall.

Steevens's arrangement of these lines has been pretty
generally given up now. The Cambridge Editors have

adopted another arrangement, which is the result of the joint efforts of Malone and Dyce. But in our opinion the text should stand as follows here:

> *Hel.* No, Escanes, know this of me, Antiochus
> From incest lived not free: for which, the most
> High gods not minding longer to withhold
> The vengeance that they had in store, due tó
> This heinous capital offence, e'n ín
> The height and pride of all his glory, when
> H'was seated in a chariot of an
> Inestimable value', and 's daughter with him,
> A fire from heaven came, and shrivelled up[1])
> Their bodies, e'n to loathing, for they só stunk,
> That all those eyes adored them ere their fall
> Scorn now their hand should give them burial.

We shall not dwell more at large on this point, because, whatever one may think of the text proposed by us, it must be clear to every one that the line cited by Guest cannot be brought forward as evidence for the existence of the extra syllable, since for the line in question there is no authority whatever.

4. G.

> He shall ha' the grograns at the rate I told him
> *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 18.

Pronounce *Hese* for *He shall*; see p. 72 *ante*. Though we have not hitherto lighted on the form *hese* in print, it is impossible to doubt its existence, since we have printed evidence for *Ise, thouse* and *wese*, and *theyse* is also certain; see W. Sh. Pros. & Text, p. 147.

5. G.

> 'Tis a wonder by your leave she will be tamed so.
> *Sh.* Shrew V, 2, 189.

---

[1]) Just as possible, however, we consider the following arrangement:

> Inestimable value, and his daughter
> With him, a fire of hea'n came and shri'l'd up

This line does not belong either to Heroic or to Blank verse, the last lines of *The Taming of the Shrew* being written in tumbling verse.

6. G.

> From a well-experienced archer hits the mark
>   *Sh.* Pericles I, 1, 164.

This line has been made up by Malone. The Quarto of 1609 gives the passage in prose thus:

> Because we bid it: say, is it done?
>   *Thali.* My Lord, tis done.
>   *Anti.* Enough. Let your breath coole your selfe, telling your haste.
>   *Mess.* My Lord, Prince Pericles is fled.
>   *Antin.* As thou wilt liue flie after, and like an arrow shot from a well experienst Archer hits the marke his eye doth leuell at: so thou neuer returne vnlesse thou say Prince Pericles is dead.
>   *Thal.* My Lord, if I can get him within my Pistols length, Ile make him sure enough, so farewell to your highnesse.

Re-arranged so as to represent the original blank verse, the passage must stand thus:

> Because we bid it. Say, is't done?
>   *Thal.*   My lord,
> 'Tis done.
>   *Ant.* 'Nough. — Let your breath cool yóurself, telling
> Your haste.
>   *Mess.* My lord, Prince Pericles is fled.
>   *Ant.* As thou wilt live, fly after: and like an
> Arrow shòt fróm a well experienced archer
> Hitteth the mark his eye doth level at,
> So thou nevér return unless thou say
> 'Prince Pericles is dead'.
>   *Thal.*   My lord, if Í can
> Get hím within my pistol's length, I'll make
> Him sure enough: so, farewell to your highness.

Dr. Jones says that *enough* is often sounded *nough*. We have put a few stress-marks where syllabic and sentence

stress show deviations from modern usage. Considerations of space do not allow us here to argue questions of accentuation.

7. G., & K.

Who did hoot him out o'th' city.
    Com.   But I fear
                               Sh. Cor. IV, 6, 123.

Shakespeare wrote *Who hoot him*, using *hoot* for *hooted*. The matter is one of common knowledge. See Abbott, §§ 341 & 342. The printer elucidates the line by interpolating *did*.

8. A.

I beseech your majesty, give me leave to go;
                          Sh. II H 6. II, 3. 20.

Read *seech* for *beseech*. Though we have not hitherto met with the form *'seech* in print, there can be no doubt of the admissibility of this pronunciation, on account of the very numerous analogies with words beginning with *be-*, and dropping this prefix at the speaker's option. At the same time it is just possible, however, that the printer has interpolated *I*, for see Tp. I, 2, 473; II, 1, 1; etc., etc.

9. A., E., & S.

I beseech your graces both to pardon me;
                          Sh. R 3. I, 1, 84.

As above.

10. A.

I beseech your grace to pardon me. and withal
                          Sh. R 3. I, 1, 103.

As above. The Quarto of 1597 and the Folio of 1623 have line-shiftings here which are different in the two authoritative texts. Moreover, the Folio printer has interpolated *do* between *I* and *beseech*. Capell has set the lines right, but it goes without saying that Capell's emendation cannot do duty as evidence.

11. A.

> Let me see, let me see; is not the leaf turn'd down?
>> *Sh.* J. C. IV, 3, 273.

Pronounce in both cases *le'm'* instead of *let me*. Compare for instance

> Come let's be gone.
>> *Sub.*   Pray you, le'me speake with you.
>> *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 612.

12. A.

> To no sight but thine and mine; invisible
>> *Sh.* Tp. I, 2, 302.

The line is Malone's; the Folio of 1623, the only authoritative text of The Tempest, reads:

> *Pro.* Goe make thy selfe like a Nymph o'th' Sea,
> Be subiect to no sight but thine, and mine : inuisible
> To euery eye-ball else: goe take this shape

We have elsewhere set forth our opinion regarding these lines, and would here only observe that no emendations of the text can ever be cited in evidence of anything connected with prosody.

13. A., & K.

> Which most gibingly, ungravely, he did fashion
>> *Sh.* Cor. II, 3, 233.

Connect this with the preceding line, thus:

> Th' apprension of his present portance, which
> Most gibingly, ungravely he did fashion

Grant White has set right the line-shifting of the Folio, but retained *The apprehension*. For the shortened form proposed by us, see Jones's rule on p. 68 *ante*.

14. A.

> I had thought, by making this well known unto you,
>> *Sh.* Lear, I, 4, 224.

Pronounce *I'd* for *I had;* compare

> *Mol.* Now are you gull'd as you would be, thanke me for't,
> I'de a fore-finger in't.
> *Seb.* Forgiue mee father,

Middleton & *Dekker*, Roaring Girle, Repr. Pearson Vol. III, p. 229.

15. A.

> We have with a leaven'd and prepared choice
>   *Sh.* M. for M. I, 1, 52.

Pronounce *we have* as *w'have*; compare

> Is well! The clothes we'haue now: But, where's this Lady?
>   *Ben Jonson*, Second Folio. Asse, p. 127.

In this line *clothes* is of course a monosyllable. The following instance is still clearer:

> W'hear, in This Case, no Conscience-Cases holier.
>   *Sylvester*, Folio 1621, p. 1132.

16. A.

> I have sixty sails: Cæsar none better.
>   *Sh.* A. & C. III, 7, 50.

We look upon this line as indubitably corrupt. The Cambridge Editors register five different attempts at emendation, and we might add another couple ourselves, if we did not think it absolutely nugatory to do so. Since the line is a syllable short, it can of course never do duty as evidence for the extra syllable.

17. A.

> You have done our pleasures much grace, fair ladies,
>   *Sh.* T. of A. I, 2, 151.

For *you have* read *you're* as the Folio of 1623 has in J. C. II, 1, 237, or *y'have* as the same Folio reads in H8. II, 3, 107. *Fair* is here a dissyllable *faiër*.

18. A.

> Is he pardon'd; and, for your lovely sake,
>   *Sh.* M. for M. V, 1, 496.

Read *'s he* for *Is he;* *your* is a dissyllable here *youër*, as also Abbott assumes. For *'s* at the beginning of the line compare

> And that an Eye, a No, a Not, a Nick,
> 's enough t' offend a Noble sence and quick.
> > *Sylvester*, Folio 1621, p. 855.

19. A., & K.

> At a poor man's house: he us'd me kindly.
> > *Sh.* Cor. I, 9, 83.

The line is correct if we read *mannës* as two syllables; the occurrence of this seeming archaism in Shakespeare's time is put beyond doubt, *inter alia* in Gil's *Logonomia Anglica.* (See W. Sh. Pros. & Text, p. 8.)

20. A.

> Go to the creating a whole tribe of fops,
> > *Sh.* Lear, I, 2, 14.

Pronounce *to the* as *to th'*, as we find actually printed in the Folio of 1623.

21. A.

> To offend and judge are distinct offices
> > *Sh.* M. of V. II, 9, 61.

Pronounce of course *t'offend*; see a few lines higher up.

22. A.

> O'the plague. hee's safe, from thinking toward London.
> > *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 610.

Pronounce *o'the* as *o'th'*. Compare *o'th' Sea* in the quotation from the Folio, Tp. I, 2, 301, on p. 86 *ante*.

23. A.

> Upon the sisterhood, the votarists of St. Clare.
> > *Sh.* M. for M. I, 4, 5.

Abbott rightly assumes that in this line it is legitimate to pronounce *upon* as *'pon*. The following article thus coalesces with the preposition *'po(n)th'*; in proof of which we cite:

> they sweare they'll bring your life & death upon'th stage
> > *Dekker*, Untrussing of Hum. Poet. Repr. Pearson Vol. I, p. 195.
> Wee'l charge him uppo'th backe sir.
> > *Middleton* & *Dekker*, Roaring Girle. Repr. Pearson Vol. III, p. 191.

Votarists of course pronounced *vot'rists* in accordance with the general rule.

24. A.

> Unto a poor but worthy gentleman: she's wedded:
> *Sh.* Cym. I, 1, 7.

Abbott here follows Capell's emendation, who reads *to* instead of *unto*. This is probably quite correct, but in addition to this it is necessary to read *t'a* for *to a*, as found printed in:

> Threatning to chastize me, as doth t'a chyld pertaine.
> *Spenser,* F. Q. Repr. Spens. Soc. VI, 2, 104.

25. A.

> He is my brother too. But fitter time for that.
> *Sh.* M. for M. V, I, 498.

Abbott already reads *He 's*. The correct reading is He's mý brŏ'r toó. All such words as *brother*, *either*, *feather*, etc. are frequently found in positions where the metre requires for them monosyllabic pronunciation. Hitherto we have found in print only the well-known *where* for *whether*. But the shortened form of *thither* too is beyond doubt, since in Owen Price's Table of the Difference between Words of Like Sound, 1668, *thither, there, their* are coordinated as regards pronunciation. Compare also the modern conjunction *or*, which is a contraction of *other*, *owther*, etc., the older forms.

26. E., & S.

> Barren winter, with his wrathful nipping cold:
> *Sh.* II H 6. II, 4, 3.

Pronounce *barren* as *bare*: the printer has set up a wrong word-form, as occurs hundreds of times in the old texts. There is also the possibility that *barren* was pronounced *bar'n*, as is assumed by others. We hold *bare* to be

the more probable reading, for compare *bare fallow* M. for
M. I, 4, 42, and *age like winter bare* Pilgr. 160.

27. E., & S.

> Having God, her conscience, and these bars against me,
> *Sh.* R 3. I. 2. 235.

Pronounce *having* as *ha'ng*. All verbs of one syllable
ending in a vowel, may syncopate *i* in the present participle.
This is often found indicated in print, *e. g. be'ng* J. Taylor,
Folio 1630, Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 46; *know'ing* S. Daniel,
Folio 1623, Civ. Wares, IV, 42, 7; *play'ing* Jos. Sylvester,
Folio 1621, p. 1051; *prayng*, J. Heywood, Troas, Repr.
Spens. Soc. p. 198; *see'ng* S. Daniel, Folio 1623, p. 45;
stray'ing Ben Jonson, Folio 1616, p. 910, etc. The verbs
to have and *to give* also fall under this rule, for, as readers
will remember, the phonetic forms *ha'* and *gi'* are of frequent
occurrence.

28. E.

> Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I tell thee, fellow,
> *Sh.* R 3. I. 1, 98.

Leave out *with*, since this word is an interpolation of
the printer's. Comp. *Sh.* Lucrece ‾1092:

> For day hath nought to do what's done by night.

29. E., & S.

> By your power legatine, within this kingdom,
> *Sh.* H 8. III, 2, 339.

Pronounce *By yóur pow'r*.

30. E.

> Either heav'n with lightning strike the murderer dead,
> *Sh.* R 3, I, 2, 64.

Pronounce *either* as *ei'r* (see *supra*), and *murd'rer* for
murderer. The last word of course follows the general rule
which we have repeatedly referred to.

31. E.

> My surveyor is false; the o'ergreat cardinal
> $Sh.$ H 8, I, 1, 222.

Read and scan:

> My súrveyór is fálse: the ó'ergreat cárd'nal

Want of space prevents us from citing parallels to the unusual accents.   The syncopation *card'nal* follows the well-known general rule.

32. E., & S.

> To oppose your cunning. you're meek and humble-mouth'd
> $Sh.$ H 8. II, 4, 107.

Pope reads here:

> And to say so no more.
>   *Q. Kath.*   My lord, my lord, I am
> A simple woman, much too weak t'oppose
> Your cunning. You are meek and humble-mouth'd;

and this is probably correct, for the pronunciation *m'lord* for *my lord*, though we have not hitherto met it in print, is quite sure in our opinion. For nineteenth century usage compare *Dickens*, Bleak House, ch. I:

> Thus, in the midst of the mud and at the heart of the fog, sits the Lord High Chancellor in his High Court of Chancery.
> 'Mr. Tangle', says the Lord High Chancellor, latterly something restless under the eloquence of that learned gentleman.
> '*Mlud*'. says Mr. Tangle. Mr. Tangle knows more of Jarndyce and Jarndyce than anybody. He is famous for it — supposed never to have read anything else since he left school.
> 'Have you nearly concluded your argument?'
> '*Mlud*, no — variety of points — feel it my duty duty *tsubmit* — ludship', is the reply that slides out of Mr. Tangle.

However this may have been in Elizabethan usage, in every case we shall have to read *t'oppose,* and that is the point in question here.

33. E., & S.

> To the discontented members, the mutinous parts
> *Sh.* Cor. I, 1, 115.

Read *toth'* for *to the*, a point that we have already treated; and *th'mut'nous* for *the mutinous*, for *mut'nous* is in accordance with the general rule, and for the synalephe of *the* before *m* we cite:

> Th' moralitie of which, is that his knowledge drew
> *Drayton*, The Poly-Olbion, Repr. Spens. Soc., p. 357.

34. E.

> Given to captivity me, and my utmost hope
> *Sh.* O. IV, 2, 51.

Pronounce *gi'n* for *given; captiv'ty* for *captivity*, and *m'utmost* for *my utmost. Given* and *Heaven* very frequently figure in print as monosyllables, with the forms *giv'n* and *Heav'n.* That in this case *v* was not pronounced, is proved by rhymes, so far as the second word is concerned; as regards *giv'n* we might simply refer the reader to what we have set forth in connection with *ha'ng* for *having* on p. 90, but we have also found *gin* in print:

> Me in the eare, when Turfe had gi'n me his key,
> *Ben Jonson*, Second Folio, Tub p. 97.
> .... had you gin't him, I should have tane you for the Master.
> *Th. Heywood*, A Chall. for Beauty. Repr. Pearson. Vol. V, p. 14.

There need be no doubt as to *captiv'ty*, if we remember that *charty* for *charity* occurs in Ben Jonson, Tub p. 72, Second Folio.

In support of *m'utmost* we cite:

> When I vile wretch, whil'st m'answere he attends,
> *S. Daniel*, Folio 1623, p. 247.
> But for m'intents sake, and my loue to Truth,
> *G. Wither*, Juvenilia. Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 442.

35. E.

> To the king I'll say't, and make my vouch as strong
> *Sh.* H 8. I, 1, 157.

Read, *ut supra, toth'* for *to the;* also in the following line:

36. E.

> To the water side I must conduct your grace;
>> *Sh.* H 8. II, 1. 95.

37. M.

> To betray the heady husbands rob the easy
>> *Ben Jonson*, Cat. III. 3.

Prof. Mayor's reading of the line is wrong; read with the Folio 1616, p. 723:

> To betray headie husbands: rob the easie:

Accent *bétray.* The next line is rightly cited by Guest as an instance of the dropping of the *be*-prefix.

38. M.

> O belike his majesty hath some intent
>> *Sh.* R 3. I, 1. 49.

39. M.

> Knowing who I am as I know who thou art
>> *Milton*, P. R. I, 356.

With full justice Guest cites this line as one in which the vowel of an unaccented syllable is dropped, if it is immediately preceded by the vowel of the accented syllable. See p. 90 *ante.*

40. M.

> No ungrateful food: and food alike those pure
>> *Milton*, P. L. V, 407.

Correctly cited by Guest as a case of synalephe; compare for instance:

> Suspect her truth: yet since no' vntruth he knew,
>> *Spenser*, F. Q. I. 1, 479. Repr. Spens. Soc.

41. M.

> Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
>> *Milton*, P. L. II, 123.

Guest aptly observes: "if a critic of Tyrwhitt's reputation did not know that *ominous* .... (is) to be pronounced *om'-nous*, can we fairly expect such knowledge to flash, as it were by intuition, on the uninstructed reader?" And we grieve to say that since Guest wrote, the information possessed by the so-called well-instructed authorities has gone sadly backward.

42. M.

> Erebus the grisly, and Chaos huge
> *Surrey*, Æneid, IV, 684.

Mayor here looks upon *grisly* as a trisyllable, and takes the first "foot" to be a trisyllabic one. But the whole line has the normal number of 10 syllables; only the stressed syllables are irregularly distributed over the line, as is frequently the case in Surrey, who in this respect imitates Italian models; see W. Sh. Pros. and Text, ch. XII.

43. M., & S.

> To revenge my town, unto such ruin brought;
> *Surrey*, Æneid, II, 755.

Pronounce *t'revenge*; see, for instance:

> So much t'release the homage as suffic'd,
> *Drayton*, The Barrons Warres. IV, 7, 1.

44. M.

> Doth Creusa live, and Ascanius thy son?
> *Surrey*, Æneid, II, 786.

Pronounce *Créuse* in two syllables, just as in line II, 1023, where the word stands printed *Creuse*.

45. M.

> In the void porches, Phoenix. Ulysses eke
> *Surrey*, Æneid, II, 1014.

We are probably to read *porches* as *porch*. In this case, however, there are also other possibilities. We may read

i'th', by which the line gets the regular number of syllables, though at the same time the accents, as in No. 42 higher up, are, in the Italian way, irregularly distributed over the verse.

46. M.

> Bid economy farewell and Gallen come
> > *Marlowe*, Faustus, 1. 40.

Here is a palmary instance of editorial bungling. The line, as it stands here, is unmitigated nonsense. The editio princeps of 1604, however, reads:

> Bid Oncaymaeon farewell, Galen come

The uncouth-looking word of course represents ὄν καὶ μὴ ὄν, which makes excellent sense. The third edition, of 1619, however, has the two corruptions above shown, so that Prof. Mayor is enabled to cite a beautiful so-called "anapæst", and to father the same on Marlowe.

47. M.

> Shadowing more beauty in their airy brows
> > *Marlowe*, Faustus, 1. 156.

Pronounce of course *shad'ing*. Bysshe says on p. 17 that the "Gerunds of the verbs in OW" may be syncopated, "as Foll'wing, Wall'wing, etc."

48. M., & K.

> What a haste looks through his eyes! So should he look
> > *Sh.* Mac. I. 2. 46.

The article *a* is an interpolation of the printer's. The mistake is already found corrected in the second Folio of 1632.

49. M.

> Ay, or drinking, fencing, swearing, quarrelling,
> > *Sh.* Ham. II. 1. 25.

The line is Capell's. Both the Quarto and the Folio

texts end the line with the word *swearing*. It cannot
therefore do duty as evidence for the extra syllable. In
the authentic line the number of syllables is under ten.

We incline to the belief that somewhere about this line
the printer has again been making interpolations on his own
account, and that the genuine text must have run as
follows:

> To youth and liberty.
> *Rey.*   As gaming, —
> *Pol.*   Ay,
> Or drinking, fencing, swearing, quarrelling.
> Drabbing, —
> *Rey.*   My lord, that would dishonour him!

50. M.

> The observed of all observers, quite. quite down!
> *Sh.* Ham. III, 1, 162.

Of course we should pronounce *th'observed*.

51. M.

> To o'ertop old Pelion, or the skyish head
> *Sh.* Ham. V, 1, 276.

Of course pronounce *To'retop*, as we find actually
printed in the authoritative Quarto. Apostrophes were often
omitted by the old printers. (*Pelion* should be pronounced
Felon.)

52. M.

> Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect
> *Sh.* Ham. I, 4, 31.

Pronounce *carr'ing*; in proof of which we cite:

> To which these carr'ings on did tend?
> *Butler*, Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 114.

53. M.

> Bestial oblivion. or some craven scruple
> *Sh.* Ham. IV, 4, 40.

Bestial should here be pronounced *best'al*, and *oblivion*, *obliv'on*. The matter is absolutely beyond doubt, as we shall prove in the next chapter.

54. M.

> Dangerous conjectures in ill-breeding minds.
>> *Sh.* Ham. IV, 5. 15.

Pronounce *dang'rous* of course; the word follows the rule repeatedly referred to.

55. M.

> Myriads though bright, if he whom mutual league
>> *Milton*, P. L. I, 87.

Pronounce *myr'ads* and *mut'al*. Evidence to be given elsewhere, see *supra* No. 53.

56. M.

> The Apocalypse, heard cry in Heaven aloud
>> *Milton*, P. L. IV, 2.

Pronounce *Th'Apocalyps*, as we actually find the words printed in the editio princeps of 1667.

57. M.

> No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
>> *Milton*, P. Reg. II, 234.

Pronounce *n'advantage;* compare, for instance,

> Since it prevents n'insuing harmes,
>> *Habington*, Castara, Arber's Repr. p. 44.

58. K.

> I was forced to scold. Your judgements, my grave lords,
>> *Sh.* Cor. V. 6, 106.

59. K.

> I was moved withal.
>> *Cor*   I dare be sworn you were:
>> *Sh.* Cor. V, 3, 194.

60. K.

> I was sure your lordship did not give it me.
>> *Sh.* J. C. IV, 3, 254.

From the three lines just cited, and from similar cases in other dramatists, we think ourselves justified in inferring that *I was* was contracted to *I's*, but we have not hitherto met with this coalition in print. He who is familiarly acquainted with analogous coalitions of this nature, would be more astonished to find that it did not, than that it did exist. Nor is it difficult to account for its non-occurrence in printed books: *I's* might be mistaken for *I shall;* besides, *'s* was already in use to represent *as, his, is, this,* and *us.* Printers may well have scrupled to add to the confusion.

61. K.

> Or we'll burst them open, if that you come not quickly
> *Sh.* I H 6. I, 3, 28.

The stress should be on *we'll* and *them*, and *open* should be left out, since it is an evident interpolation of the printer's. Ham. I. 4, 48 and other passages show that *open* is quite superfluous here.

62. K.

> Till this madman show'd thee? and what art thou now?
> *Sh.* L. L. L. V. 2, 338.

The stress should be on *man* and on *thee*, and the superfluous word *thou* be left out according to Keightley's correction. *Thou* should also be omitted from the following line, as proposed by Pope.

63. K.

> Art thou certain this is true? is it most certain?
> *Sh.* Cor. V, 4, 47.

64. K.

> For a second course of fight.
>   *Mar.*   Sir praise me not;
>   *Sh.* Cor. I, 5, 17.

Read according to Capell's arrangement:

> Thy exercise hath been too vi'lent for
> A second, etc.

65. K.

> If I chance to talk a little wild, forgive me;
>> *Sh.* H 8. I, 4, 26.

The word *to* is an interpolation of the Folio printer's. Compare Tr. & Cr. I, 1, 26, where the older Quarto of 1609 reads *chance burn,* and the younger Folio of 1623 *chance to burn.* The use of the noun *chance* as an adverb in the sense of "by chance, perchance, haply" has lived down to our day. Compare *Sh.* II H 4. II, 1, 12: It may chance cost some of us our lives; *Swift,* Battle of the Books, 265: If chance her Geese be scatter'd over the Common; *Byron,* Ch. Harold IV, LXVII: While, chance, some scatter'd water-lily sails

66. K.

> She's a stranger now again.
> *Anne.*   So much the more
>> *Sh.* H 8. II. 3, 17.

The printer has interpolated *a; stranger* is an adjective here, as it often is. The correction is made already in the second Folio.

67. K.

> I were best not call; I dare not call: yet famine,
>> *Sh.* Cym. III. 6, 19.

68. K.

> I were best to leave him, for he will not hear.
>> *Sh.* I H 6. V, 3. 82.

In the two lines just given the coalition *I're* for *I were* is highly probable, but we have not hitherto found it figured in print. We must not, however, omit to point out another possibility, viz. that *I* is an interpolation; compare for instance,

> *Herm.* Thanke you, Madame, but 'will not sing.
>> *Ben Jonson,* Folio 1616, p. 292.

where the apostrophe takes the place of the pronoun *I*, which is left out according to common usage. In the line following the apostrophe stands for pronoun (you) + auxiliary verb:

> 'Best raise the house upon him, to secure us;
> *Ben Jonson*, Second Folio, Lady, p. 29.

For nineteenth century American usage, compare *Stockton*, Rudder Grange, p. 240: I tell ye what ye better do; Pall Mall Mag. Oct. 1899, 192: Mr. Howells' Willis Campbell, a witty and cultivated Bostonian, says, in *The Albany Depôt*, 'I guess we better get out of here'.

69. K.

> He was paid for that: though mean and mighty, rotting
> *Sh.* Cym. IV, 2, 246.

Pronounce *H'was*, which is found printed thus in

> H'was very shie of using it,
> *Butler*, Hudibras, 1 Part, 1663, p. 4.

70. K.

> Stay a little while. You're welcome: what's your will?
> *Sh.* M. for M. II, 2, 26.

Little is the printer's word for the archaic *lite*.

71. K.

> As all comforts are; most good, most good indeed.
> *Sh.* M. for M. III, 1, 55.

Pronounce *'s all* for *as all*, as found printed, for instance in

> The blast of Enuy flies as lowe 's the ground.
> *Wither*, Juvenilia, Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 75.

72. K.

> We'll along ourselves and meet them at Philippi.
> *Sh.* J. C. IV, 3, 225.

Along should be pronounced *'long;* see Jones.

73. K.

> We must talk in secret: — nurse, come back again;
>> *Sh.* R. & J. I, 3, 8.

74. K.

> She's not fourteen.
>> *Nurse.*   I'll lay fourteen of my teeth,
>>> *Sh.* R. & J. I, 3, 12.

75. K.

> Of my dug, and felt it bitter, pretty fool,
>> *Sh.* R. & J. I, 3, 31.

The three lines last cited are printed as prose in the authoritative text, and cannot therefore be considered as evidence. All the same, the verse-lines restored by Capell are irreproachable, if we remember that *we must* is a printer's correction of frequent occurrence for the *we'se* that must have been in the manuscript; that in both cases *fourteen* must be accented on the second syllable; and that, also in both cases, *of my* should be pronounced as *o'm'* in one syllable. We need not set forth our grounds for the assertions just made, since, as we have said, the lines have no evidential force.

76. K.

> God-a-mercy, old heart! thou speak'st cheerfully.
>> *Sh.* H 5. IV, 1, 34.

Pronounce *God'mercy;* in support of which omission of worn-down small unstressed words we point to the analogy of the well-known *father-law*, and, for example, to

> John Leyden borne in Holland poore and base,
>> *Th. Dekker*, Old Fortunatus, Repr. Pearson, Vol. I. p. 94.

77. K.

> Let me see thine eyes: wink now: now open them:
>> *Sh.* II H 6. II, 1, 105.

Let me to be pronounced *le'm'*; see *ante*.

78. K.

> Shalt stir up in Suffolk, Norfolk and in Kent,
>   *Sh*. III H 6. IV, 8, 12.

Pope has cancelled *up* in this line; we think it more probable that *shalt* is an interpolation.

79. K.

> You were ever good at sudden commendations,
>   *Sh*. H 8. V, 3, 122.

80. K.

> You were pretty lordings then?
>   *Pol*.   We were, fair queen,
>   *Sh*. W. T. I, 2, 62.

81. K.

> You were kneel'd to and importuned otherwise
>   *Sh*. Tp. II, 1, 128.

82. K.

> You were best go in.
>   *Oth*.   Not I: I must be found:
>   *Sh*. O. I, 2, 30.

83. K.

> You were best to tell Antonio what you hear;
>   *Sh*. M. of V. II, 8, 33.

84. K.

> You were best to go to bed and dream again,
>   *Sh*. II H 6. V, 1, 196.

In the six lines just given we have coalition of *you* and *were;* apparently this coalition admits of two modes of pronunciation, viz. as *you're*, thus printed in the Folio of 1623 (Cym. III, 2, 79), and as *y'were*, thus printed, for instance, on p. 153 of the First Part of Hudibras, or in the following way, to figure the same pronunciation:

> Make it not strange. I know, yo' were one, could keepe
>   *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 607.

It is highly probable that the difference is one in

appearance only, since the pronunciation of *you* as *yee* must have been common, so that there need hardly have been any difference between *yee're* and *y'were*.

85. K.

> She was often cited by them, but appear'd not:
> > *Sh.* H 8. IV, 1, 29.

Pronounce *She was* as *sh'was;* compare

> Women. she went away before sh'was one.
> > *J. Donne,* Funeral Elegy, 1633, p. 254.

86. K.

> Are not you a strumpet?
> > *Des.* No, as I am a Christian:
> > > *Sh.* O. IV, 2. 82.

Pronounce *Arn't you a strump?* For *arn't,* compare

> That many of themselues ar'not onely poore,
> > *Wither,* Juvenilia, Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 341.

The spelling is not absolutely convincing to such as are unacquainted with the mode of printing of the old editions. Ben Jonson, for instance, spells the monosyllable *shan't* thus: *sha'not.* But in Fleckno's Diarium of 1656 we already find the more correct spellings *ben't, can't, don't, mayn't* and *shan't.* For the curtailed form *strump* we cite

> This strump will confound him.
> *Foard & Decker.* The Sun's Darling, Repr. Pearson, Vol. IV, p. 323.

87. K.

> O ye gods, ye gods! must I endure all this?
> > *Sh.* J. C. IV, 3, 41.

Pronounce and scan: O yé gŏds, yé gŏds, múst I'ndúre all this?

In support of the coalition *I'ndure* we cite

> Ill vnto her, to whom my selfe I'engage.
> > *Heywood,* Procus & Puella, Repr. Pearson, Vol. VI, p. 118.

Or, to show a mode of printing that is perfectly unambiguous,

> Assist me but this once, I'mplore,
> And I shall trouble thee no more.
> > *Butler*, Hudlbras, 1663, I Part, p. 50.

88. K.

> Do you love my son?
> > *Hel.*   Your pardon, noble mistress!
> > > *Sh.* A. W. I, 3, 192.

Pronounce *do you* as *d'you*, as indicated in print in

> Do' you thinke, that I dare moue him?
> > *Dap.*   If you please, sir,
> > > *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 613.

or *d'ee*, a form we have repeatedly met with, or *d'yee*
(perhaps the same) as in

> As how d'yee, or, God saue yee, for a greeting.
> > *Wither*, Juvenilia, Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 224.

89. K.

> Harry Bolingbroke doth humbly kiss thy hand;
> > *Sh.* R 2. III, 3, 104.

Pronounce *Bolingbroke* as Bolbróke. The word is often
found spelt *Bullenbrooke*, and the syncopation is exactly on
a level with *Buckham* for *Buckingham;* compare

> Though Leatherhead went to Buckham towne,
> > *Fleckno*, Diarium, 1656, p. 43.

90. K.

> Thou wert better gall the devil, Salisbury:
> > *Sh.* John, IV, 3, 95.

Thou wert = *thou'rt*, as found printed in the Shakespeare
Folio of 1623, Tp. I, 2, 366.

91. K.

> Now, my lord, what shall we do, if we perceive
> > *Sh.* R 3, III, 1, 191.

My lord = *m'lord*, which is of frequent occurrence in
positions that demand monosyllabic pronunciation. See *ante*.

Synalephe before *l* is by no means rare; see, for in-
stance,

Not t'liue as ill, but dye as well as he.
> *J. Taylor*, Folio 1630, Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 33.

Th'lord Dacres, and Lord Wels, both wise and warlike wights.
> *Drayton*, Poly-Olbion. Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 380.

92. K.

Know ye Don Antonio, your countryman?
> *Sh.* Gent. II, 4, 54.

The precise pronunciation may be doubtful, but it is beyond all question that *know ye* may become a monosyllabic coalition. In Ben Jonson analogous coalitions are found spelt thus: *Cry'you, ga'you, gi'you, Ha'you, Pray ye'*. *Say you* we have found twice in the same page thus:

What sa'y Sir?
> *Th. Heywood*, Fair Maid o. the W. Repr. Pearson, Vol. II, p. 266.

With you is found printed *wi'you* in Ben Jonson, and elsewhere we have come across

But come we'l trifle w'yee no longer.
> *Heywood* & *Broome*. Witches of Lancashire, Repr.
> Pearson, Vol. IV, p. 259.

93. S.

To adore the Conqueror, who now beholds
> *Milton*. P. L. I, 323.

Pronounce of course *t'adore*.

94. S.

You have brought us nipping weather — Februere.
> *Ben Jonson*, Tub, I, 1, 2.

Pronounce of course *y'ha* (First Ed.: You'ha').

95. S.

The high constable's daughter of Kentish Town here master
> *Ben Jonson*. Tub, I, 1, 26.

Pronounce *Th'high constab's daught'(r) of*, etc. We have not found the form *constab* in print, but we have come across such spellings as, for instance, *gent* for *gentle*, *lit* for *little*, *mirac* for *miracle*, *sing* for *single*, *syllab* for *syllable*, etc. For *daught'(r) of* we cite

> My sistr' and I. into this world were sent,
> > *Gascoigne*, The Steele Glas. Arber's Repr. p. 51.

96. S.

> I shall number as many lovers as Lais did
> > *Fletcher*, Hum. Lieut. IV, 1, 33.

Pronounce *I shall* as *I'se*. and both times *as* as *'s*.
See *ante*.

97. S.

> Did I never tell thee of a vow he made?
> > *Fletcher*, Loy. Subj. I, 1, 30.

Of course *never = ne'er*.

98. S.

> They are too high a meat that way, they run to jelly
> > *Fletcher*, ibid. 371. (?)

According to Prof. Schipper this verse is an instance
of a line with "dreifachem Auftakt". Nothing less! In
our opinion the line is an instance of signal carelessness in
citing evidential passages.

In Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's Folio of
1647, pp. 37 & 38, the text stands thus:

> Pray ye let me request yee, to forget
> To say your prayers, whilst these are Courtiers;
> Or if yee needs will thinke of heaven, let it be no higher
> Then their eyes?
> *Bor*. How will ye have 'em bestow'd sir?
> *Theo*. Even how your Lordship please,
> So you doe not bake 'em.
> *Bor*. Bake 'em.
> *Th*. They are too high a meat that way, they run to gelly.
> But if you'l have 'em for your own dyet, take my counsel,
> Stew'em between two feather-beds.
> *Bur*. Please you Colonell
> To let 'em wait upon the Princesse?
> *Theo*. Yes sir,

One thing is plain at first sight, viz. that the blank
verse has got hopelessly out of hand. And he who wants

to cite blank-verse lines in evidence, can be allowed to do
so only on condition that the blank verse before and after
the line cited be above suspicion, for every expert knows
that line-shifting is one of the commonest things in the old
editions.

The original blank verse is quite easy to restore in the
case before us, and from it the "dreifacher Auftakt" has
vanished:

> Pray ye let me request ye to forget
> To say your pray'rs, whilst these are courtiërs;
> Or if ye needs will think of hea'n, le' 't be
> No higher than their eyes.
> *Bor.*   How will you have 'em
> 'Stow'd, sir?
> *Theo.* E'n how your lordship please, so you
> Don't bake 'em.
> *Bor.*   Bake 'em?
> *Theo.*   Th'are too high a meat,
> That way they run to jelly. But if you'll
> Have 'em for your own diet, take my counsel,
> Stew 'em between two fea'r-beds.
> *Bor.*   Please you. colonel,
> To let 'em wait upon the Princess?
> *Theo.*   Yes, sir.

If furthermore another thing is clear as daylight it
is that *bestow'd*, the printer's word, should be pronounced
stow'd. Unless this is done, the whole passage is sheer
nonsense. For it is only the verb *to stow* that can give rise
to the word-play with *to bake* and *to stew* in what follows
(compare *show* and *shew*, *strow* and *strew*, *shrow* and *shrew*,
etc.). *Bestow'd* is the wrong form preferred by the printer,
while the author must have used the word without the *be*-
prefix.

Here we accordingly find the rule as to a line of blank
verse being made up of ten syllables, backed by the logical

requirements of the text, no matter whether this text be in
metre or in prose. Of course the cases, in which, as in the
passage just treated. the prosaic requirements of ordinary
logic at once show the extra syllable to have arisen from
a typical printer's corruption, must always be comparatively
few in number. But such cases exist; we have elsewhere
cited some from the old Shakespeare texts and other old
prints, and would here remind the reader of our Spenser
example on pp. 77 ff.; and their existence is one of the
arguments which taken together put it beyond reasonable doubt
that the MSS. were tampered with in the printing-offices.

If now in conclusion we try to estimate the evidentiary
force of this large number of 98 instances so far as the
existence of the extra syllable is concerned, we find

that 12 lines must be ruled out of court, because they
do not in that form occur in the authoritative texts, such
as lines 1, 3, 10, 12 and 49, to which must be added the
prose lines 6, 73, 74 and 75; or because the line is too
short, as is the case with l. 16; or because the line is
written in "tumbling verse", as is the case with l. 5; or
because the line actually contains 10 syllables, but owing to
the unusual incidence of the accents, is a stumbling-block
to the prosodist, as we have seen to be the case with l. 42.
Perhaps l. 45 should also be included in this number, but
we prefer to class it with the following group;

that in 71 cases the extra syllable can be accounted
for on the basis of the old pronunciation. In order to be
quite accurate, we make the reservation here, that there is
an off-chance that four or five of these lines must fall under
the third group. We furthermore would have it clearly
understood, that the *possibility* of the pronunciation postulated

by us, has in nearly every case been proved by the evidence
we have brought forward, especially if readers will kindly
supplement our necessarily brief notes by what we have
elsewhere set forth at greater length. What might be called
the least certain of our postulated pronunciations, are only
three cases of the coalescence of *I was*, and two cases of
the coalescence of *I were*[1]); as regards those last mentioned,
it is, besides, quite possible that they should be classed with
the third group;

that in the 15 remaining lines the extra syllable admits
of explanation as owing its existence to textual corruption.
We have absolutely proved this to be the case with ll. 37 and
46. We may also consider this as proved with regard to lines
13, 64, and 98, where a mere re-arrangement of the lines,
setting right common cases of line-shifting, restores the
regularity of the blank verse without any further textual
change. In the nine lines 7, 28, 48, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66,
and 78, we postulate illegitimate interpolation of one small
word, of which it is at all events proved that it is totally
superfluous. Two of these nine cases have been set right
already in the second Folio of 1632. It is moreover quite
sure that the interpolation (and, for the matter of that, also
the omission) of small words of this kind, which are super-
fluous and absolutely immaterial to the sense to be conveyed,
are among the very commonest corruptions to be met with
in old printed texts. Strong proof of this is furnished by
the fact that in two given authoritative texts, *e. g.* the Quarto
and the Folio text of Richard III, it is precisely the occur-
rence or non-occurrence of these small words that constitutes
one of the most common categories of mutual divergencies.

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[1]) *thou'rt* and *you're* for *thou wert* and *you were* are found in print.

Another proof of this is the well-attested circumstance that
in old reprints words of this class are almost regularly
interpolated, though of course their omission is still far more
frequent. The fifteenth and last case of this third group
is l. 24, in which we assume *to* to have been replaced by
its synonym *unto*. Now this very substitution of one syno-
nymous word for another we find to be of almost regular
occurrence in the old reprints, and it is again one of the
very commonest categories of divergencies between two
authoritative texts, such as, for example, the Quarto and
Folio texts of Richard III.

Since from the very nature of the case corruptions of
the text do not as a rule admit of strict and direct proof,
all that can reasonably be expected concerning such cor-
ruptions, is a demonstration of their greater or lesser
probability, and such demonstration we think we have succeeded
in giving. But strictly speaking, we can do with less than
probability in the case of these textual corruptions: we may
rest content with having shown their possibility. For if
only it is possible to eliminate all extra syllables by a re-
ference to the old pronunciation, and by assuming possible
corruptions of the text, it is our consistent duty to proceed
to such elimination, because this is the only method that
does not place us in flat contradiction to the highest
authorities on this point, viz. the writers whose statements
we have cited in the first part of this chapter. And if we
should for a moment suppose that these highest authorities
were all of them mistaken, in that case it is simply incon-
ceivable that we cannot point to numerous verse-lines, in
the case of which neither the rules of a bygone mode of
pronunciation nor the assumption of textual corruption offer
the ghost of a chance of getting away from the extra syllable.

And at the same time it would in that case be utterly im-
possible to understand why the nineteenth century authorities
are so completely at variance on the question what exactly
must be looked upon as an extra syllable. How hopelessly
they differ on the subject is seen at once from the fact that
only 13 lines out of the 98 we have discussed, can boast of
the honour of being adduced by more than one of our
nineteenth century authorities. One line only, No. 2, is cited
by four of them; one other line only, No. 9, by three; and
no more than eleven lines in all are brought forward by
two authorities; while at the same time we find that in
general these gentlemen are fully *au courant* of what their
respective predecessors have written on the subject, and are
not in the least averse to standing indebted to each other
for important pieces of evidence, *in casu* lines selected from
writers in blank verse. So far as they work independently
of each other (which can least be said of Prof. Schipper),
however, they very often do not take over each other's
evidentiary instances, *for the simple reason that they do not
believe in them*. Take, for example, Ellis's first instance,
our No. 26; both Abbott and König here postulate the
pronunciation *bar'n*. Take Ellis's second example, our No. 27:
here Guest, and Abbott, and König, unite in assuming the
pronunciation *ha'ny*. The first five examples given by Mayor
are lines which also Guest adduces, but which he explains
exactly the other way. And he who should take the trouble
of comprehensively tabulating all the discrepancies between
the respective views of the six authorities selected by us,
would arrive at the somewhat amusing and at the same time
highly instructive result that the number of cases in which
they concur in rejecting each other's lines cited as evidence
for the existence of the extra syllable, far exceeds the

number of those instances in which they agree in the opinion
that such and such an extra syllable is a *bona fide* and
undoubted one.

For some years past we have been prospecting on the
territory of the alleged extra syllable in every possible
direction.

Whenever we had the pleasure of being introduced to
such an extra syllable, or fancied we had discovered one
on our own account, steps towards more intimate acquaint-
ance invariably led to its turning out to be the mere ghost
of one. But there is one reservation which we deem it our
duty to make. We do not wish to deny the bare possibility
for a genuine extra syllable to figure legitimately before or
after a strongly-marked pause in the middle of the line. If
such a genuine extra syllable exists at all, it can only occur
in a few of the older poets. Its existence has not hitherto
been proved, although all authorities on prosody take such
existence for granted. Nor is it surprising that they should
do so, for they all of them assume the existence of extra
syllables everywhere else in the line, so that their assump-
tion of it in this position proves nothing. On theoretical
grounds its existence in the blank-verse line could be ac-
counted for unforcedly enough. But actual proof of its
existence requires the bringing forward of a considerable
number of lines by the same poet, in all of which this extra
syllable is found under conditions in which it is impossible
either to explain it away on the basis of the old pronun-
ciation, or to postulate textual corruption with any reasonable
degree of probability. It is in this last condition that the
difficulty lies. No doubt, we find, for instance, precisely in
Shakespeare a few blank-verse lines that would seem to meet
the two requirements we have mentioned, but their number

is so small, and the authoritative Shakespeare texts have been handed down to us in a state of such hopeless corruption, that so long as it is found impossible to adduce in evidence the required pretty large number of lines (say fifty instances from Shakespeare out of his thousands upon thousands of blank-verse lines), we hold that no one has a right to assume the existence of those extra syllables, in flat contradiction to the express statements of those contemporaries who have written about Elizabethan prosody. For it should be kept in mind that in cases in which we are brought face to face with the concurrent testimony of contemporary, i. e. the highest, authorities, it is after all possible that such concurrent testimony may not be absolutely correct; but before we admit its incorrectness, or, let us say, an exception to the general rule, the burden of strict proof lies with us. Proof of the non-existence of the extra syllable need not and cannot be given, since general negatives do not admit of demonstration. The burden of proof in this case lies with our opponents. We have clearly shown in the present paper that up to now they have brought forward inefficient and altogether unsatisfactory arguments only, and have utterly failed to adduce convincing proof of the truth of their allegations.

III.

AN INQUIRY INTO

THE USE OF SYNIZESIS

IN SHAKESPEAREAN AND MILTONIC VERSE.

By Synizesis we understand a peculiar shortening of
the pronunciation of certain words causing two syllables to
coalesce into one.

If, for instance, we look up the word *folio* in Webster's
Dictionary, or the word *guano* in the Historical English
Dictionary edited by Murray and Bradley, — not conversely,
for authorities frequently differ on questions of orthoepy —
we find that these words may be pronounced in three syllables
as *fo-li-o* and *gu-a-no*, or in two syllables as *fol-yo* and
gwa-no. The second mode of pronunciation is technically
known as synizesis, and differs from all other shortenings,
such as aphæresis, syncope, apocope, synalephe, and coalition,
by the retention of the same number of letter-sounds heard
in the uncontracted form, the only difference being that the
vowel-sound in the syllable with weakest stress changes its
nature by becoming consonantal, and being uttered as forming
part of the following syllable.

Strictly speaking, we know nothing about the occurrence of synizesis in the pronunciation of Shakespeare's time.

We might, indeed, be strongly inclined to take for granted the synizetic pronunciation of the small group of words of which, for instance, *assuage* and *persuade* are representatives of very frequent occurrence. For in this case the modern sound would seem to be fully proved for Elizabethan pronunciation also, by the old spellings *asswage*, *perswade*, etc., which, always in more or less frequent alternation with the modern orthography, can be traced up to the manuscripts of Chaucer's and Gower's works.

But here too, on nearer view, doubts begin to arise. On p. 25 of that curious booklet of his, *The New Art of Spelling*, from which we have repeatedly quoted, Dr. Jones tells us that at the close of the seventeenth century in the words *diswade, perswade*, etc. the sounding of the *w* was no more than optional: it might with equal correctness be dropped in pronunciation. If Dr. Jones's evidence is trustworthy, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the statement, since various analogies go to prove that formerly the *w* was very often dropped in pronunciation in cases where it is invariably sounded in our day, there would seem to be good grounds for assuming that *dissade* and *persade* represent the old pronunciation of Chaucer's, and perhaps of Shakespeare's time, whereas *disswade* and *perswade* figure a legitimate alternative mode of pronunciation which arose at the end of the sixteenth century at the latest, and ultimately drove out the old pronunciation altogether.

We shall beg leave to illustrate by one example the utter ignorance evinced by modern philologists regarding

the old pronunciation of the class of words that forms the
subject of the present chapter.

What is the correct pronunciation of the word *ruffian*
in the following line?

> Who take the ruffian billows by the top,
>   *Shakespeare*, II H 4. III, 1. 22.

On p. 41 of his book *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen*,
Goswin König stands up for the *ruf-yan* pronunciation.
Although he gives no reasons for his supposition, we may
take for granted that the admissible synizetic pronunciation
of our time, concurring with the metrical requirements which
in this line prescribe dissyllabic pronunciation of the word
ruffian, has led him to this conclusion. At the same time
we must here observe that on p. 42 König also claims for
the words *annual, intellectual, Mantua*, etc., a synizetic pro-
nunciation of which our times know nothing whatever.

Ellis on the other hand. who had made an elaborate
study of the old writers on phonetics, but had found no
traces of a synizetic pronunciation of words of the *ruffian*
class in the predecessors and contemporaries of Shakespeare,
lays down on p. 988 of his *Early English Pronunciation*
that in the line we have quoted, *ruffian* must be sounded
as a trisyllable : *ruf-fi-an.*

Both these authorities, König as well as Ellis — the former
being more of a prosodic. the latter more of a phonetic authority
— are mistaken. The pronunciation required in this case is
ruffen. exactly the same as the modern sound of the verb *roughen*.

König's mistake is that he gives a mere guess, because
he lacks the data which only a quite independent and ex-
tensive study of the subject could have supplied him with.

Ellis misses the point. because his study of the old
writers on phonetics had been altogether onesided. The

old-world booklets they have left us, which to the philologically trained eye of our day appear childishly fragmentary and sadly deficient in sense of proportion, treat only of what their authors looked upon as main points. We may to a certain extent learn from them how letters and letter-groups were sounded at the time, but far more meagre is the information they furnish on those cases in which letters were *not* pronounced. And, as a rule, they altogether fail — nor need we greatly wonder at the circumstance — to tell us what different pronunciations of a given word were equally admissible, and here we light on the greatest difficulty and at the same time the most vulnerable point of all ancient and modern phonetics.

If Ellis had studied the writers on prosody with the same industry which he has bestowed on those on phonetics, he would have learnt that trisyllabic pronunciation of the word *ruffian* in the line we have cited is a sheer impossibility. Extra syllables or "trisyllabic measures", as Ellis calls them, are non-existent in the English metre of Shakespeare's and Milton's times, a point for which we must refer the reader to the preceding chapter.

And if Ellis had bestowed only a moderate degree of attention on the first editions of the old poets — his great work shows that on this point he has gone no further than an occasional reference to the first Folio of Shakespeare — and had taken careful note of the different modes of spelling there found exemplified, he certainly could not but have observed numerous systematic deviations from the current orthography of the time, which can only be accounted for on the supposition that they originate in phonetic considerations. He would in that case have found the form *ruffin* in II H 4. IV, 5, 125 (Q), in II H 6. I, 1, 188 (Q), or, for instance, in

When desprate Ruffins fraught with faults finde readily a Meuse, [1])
William Warner, Albions England 1612, p. 404.
Hees rather a wilde ruffin than a Maior.
Th. Dekker, The Shoemakers Holiday, V, 3, 4 (Reprint Warnke).

Ellis certainly is right so far as trisyllabic pronunciation was admissible in the word *ruffian* in Shakespeare's time. But it was assuredly not the usual pronunciation, since in Shakespeare's works *ruffian* occurs 17 times in metre, and in every case as a dissyllable.

The same mistake into which we have shown Ellis to have fallen with regard to the word *ruffian*, is made by him again and again, so that we are at last fain to ask, whether in none of the old authorities his eye has lighted on statements that might have set him right. The answer must be, that Ellis has come across hundreds of facts that could not be made to tally with his hypothetical statement, and that of these facts he mentions several in his book; but that at the same time he totally neglects to make use of, or even to discuss them, nay, that he *repeatedly* weakens the significance of the said facts by putting them in a decidedly wrong light.

From a copious store of pertinent examples we select a couple of noteworthy instances.

On p. 44 of his little book Dr. Jones asks, "When is the sound of *e* written *ie*?" and his answer is, "When it may be sounded *ie*, as in *Audience, Brasier*", etc. The most obvious inference to be drawn from such a question and such an answer is, that *audence* figures the usual pronunciation, but that speakers *were* also *free* to pronounce the word in three syllables, *au-di-ence*, in accordance with the modern practice. This inference now becomes an actual

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[1]) Usually spelt *muse*, 'a hole to creep out at', a means of escape.

certainty to those who have attentively studied Jones's book:
and to clinch the argument, the prevalence of the dissyllabic
pronunciation of the word *audience* at the close of the
seventeenth century is proved by the fact that with the
poets of the time the word seems to count as two syllables
only; we at least do not remember to have come across a
single example of its occurring as a trisyllable. On going
back to the middle of the seventeenth century we find that
Milton uses *audience* 8 times in metre, also each time as a
dissyllable. Even in Shakespeare dissyllabic pronunciation
of the word is the rule, for there we find it 22 times as a
dissyllable, and 3 times only as a word of three syllables.
In Gower on the contrary it is found as a trisyllable only.

In line 20 of Dryden's Character of a Good Parson,
first published in 1699,

> He drew his audience upward to the sky.

Ellis on p. 1037 looks upon the word *audience* as a
trisyllable. He utterly disregards here Dr. Jones's statement
published in 1701. Of this statement he only says on p. 1002,
in his "Pronouncing Vocabulary of the XVII cent.", that
according to Jones the pronunciation of *audience* was "some-
times" dissyllabic "AAdens." Now, if one thing must be
clear to the reader, it is this, that Jones does *not* characterise
the dissyllabic pronunciation of *audience* as an exception of
occasional occurrence; if from Ellis's point of view we were
to attempt to haggle with Jones, we assuredly could never get
beyond a state of things in which the dis- and the trisyllabic
pronunciation of the word could be said to be of equal frequency.

And what shall we say, for instance, to Ellis's statement
that according to Jones the pronunciation of the ending
-*uous* in *conspicuous*, is dissyllabic, the simple truth being
that on pp. 88 and 117 of his book Jones says that the

ending in question is usually monosyllabic, but may be pro-
nounced as two syllables?

To take another example: on p. 1012 Ellis tells his
readers that according to Jones the pronunciation of *opinion*
is "*opinən*, *pinɹən* by the vulgar". Both these state-
ments are incorrect. On p. 45 Jones mentions the first
pronunciation given by Ellis, as well as a pronunciation in
four syllables owing to the dissyllabic sound of the *-ion*
ending. These two pronunciations are both of them ad-
missible according to Jones. On p. 89 Jones says that it
is vulgar to use the aphetised form *pinion* for *opinion*, but
of the synizetic pronunciation (*opinyon* with *y* consonant),
as Ellis gives it, there is absolutely nothing to be found in
Jones's book.

As an instance of a very different nature we add that
Ellis utterly forgets to mention the fact that in *diswade* and
perswade the *w* might be dropped at the speaker's option
(see *ante*, p. 115).

So that, leaving alone Ellis's inferences, we have a
right to say that even his statements of facts must be re-
ceived with the utmost caution.

To be sure, if we wish to come to any substantial re-
sults in this field, we shall have to enter upon an entirely
new and independent study of the facts of the case.

The possibility of synizesis in a given case is conditioned
by the coincidence of three mutually independent circum-
stances:

1⁰ the vowels of the syllables eventually to be run to-
gether must not be separated by a consonant;

2⁰ the syllable containing the first vowel-sound must
have less stress than the syllable containing the second;

3⁰ the vowel in the syllable to become eventually ab-
sorbed in the following syllable, must be either an *i*-sound
or a *u*-sound, since only these two sounds allow of con-
sonantisation into *y* [*si* < *sh*] or *w* respectively; no other
vowels or diphthongs being capable of figuring as consonants.

As regards the second condition it should be kept in
mind that it is often exceedingly difficult to decide which is
the weaker stressed of two unaccented syllables. In the
case of the pronunciation of the seventeenth or the sixteenth
century this difficulty frequently becomes insuperable. When
therefore, we institute an historical inquiry into the possi-
bility of synizesis, we shall do well by also extending this
inquiry to all words in which two unaccented vowels are
not separated by a consonant.

As a matter of course such words as *diary*, *alliance*, etc.,
in which the primary accent is on the first of the two con-
secutive vowels, remain undiscussed, because they have nothing
to do with the present investigation.

On the strength of the third condition we have mentioned,
we might be inclined to restrict our inquiry to those words
in which the first of the two vowel-sounds is figured by an *i* or
a *u*. In the unstressed positions, however, which are here
treated of, these letters *i* and *u* by no means represent
distinct *i*- and *u*-sounds, but invariably, or at least very
frequently, merely the indefinite vowel-sound to which each
of the different vowels may pale down. Accordingly, in
these positions *i* and *u* are pretty much on a level with all
the other vowels. So that there is nothing for it but to
review all the other vowels as well, in doing which we shall
light on certain phonetic analogies that may turn out to be
of special value.

We shall successively review all the words that must

come into consideration on the principles just stated, and so far as possible determine their pronunciation from the data we have collected; of course only so far as such pronunciation bears on our present subject, and equally of course we can treat such words only as are used in metre by Shakespeare and Milton, for the simple reason that only in the case of these words can we answer the question whether or not they occur in a shortened form, this question being always the first that requires an answer.

As regards Milton's verse our statements are meant to be exhaustive. We have personally examined all Milton's lines without exception, and constantly checked, and in a very few cases corrected, the results arrived at, by consulting Bradshaw's Concordance [1]). With this concordance as a whole we have little fault to find: we have failed to find in it references to the words *Campanian* P. R. IV, 93, and *Emilian* P. R. IV, 69, and have found misprints in very rare instances only, such as in the case of *pre-eminent*, where the reference should be to P.L. 4, and not to P.L. 5. The plan of the work excludes Milton's Psalms and the Translations in the Prose works.

Exhaustiveness is attainable in the case of Milton's verse, because in the first editions of his works — we have used Beeching's well-known reprint — his text has been handed down to us in so unexceptionable a condition. Absolutely faultless, of course, that text is not. It was impossible for the blind Milton to do his proof-reading with absolute correctness. Thus we find, for instance, a couple of lineshiftings, viz. in P.L. X, 989 & 990

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[1]) A Concordance to the poetical works of John Milton by John Bradshaw, M. A., LL. D. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1894.

> Childless thou art, Childless remaine:
> So Death shall be deceav'd his glut, and with us two

where of course the words *So Death* ought to form part of
the preceding line; and in ll. 496 & 497 of Samson Agonistes:

> The mark of fool set on his front?
> But I Gods counsel have not kept, his holy secret

where the first two words of l. 497 ought to form part
of the preceding verse. In this case, however, the line-shifting
is slightly less sure, because the length of the lines in
Samson Agonistes is not uniform. We find the word *then*
to have dropped out in P. L. X, 827, but the mistake has
been rectified in the second edition, brought out in 1674.

In the same way the word *now* has in the second edition
been inserted between *delighted* and *Eevning* in P.L. V, 627.

Though, therefore, a few printer's errors can be pointed
out with perfect certainty, we feel bound emphatically to
add that their number is very small, and that they cannot
affect the results of our present investigation.

What, indeed, signify such trifling inaccuracies in compari-
son with the typographical Augean stables which are known
as the *editiones principes* of Shakespeare's works!

In the case of Shakespeare there cannot be the least
question of comprising in our statements all the words that
occur in metre, because the metre is so often hopelessly
corrupt, in consequence of which it is impossible to deter-
mine the number of syllables of a given word with anything
like tolerable certitude.

Our statements with respect to Shakespeare, therefore,
must unavoidably fall short of the exhaustiveness which in
the case of Milton was attainable enough. Besides, in a
few cases they are based on our subjective notions, as to
which no general discussion is possible, while the special
discussion of all the individual cases would demand more

space than would be made good by the profit that might
accrue to the student.

In drawing up our statements touching Shakespeare's
use of words in metre, we have examined all the passages
bearing on them in Al. Schmidt's lexicon [1]), and supplemented
them by the references in Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance [2]).
For the words in the *Poems* we have in the same way used
Bartlett's Concordance [3]).   These Concordances are not
exactly logarithmic tables for immaculate correctness, and
their completeness is far from being absolute.   Bartlett has
missed out the word *patience* in Shrew III, 2, 21 (Mrs.
Cowden Clarke has the same omission); Tr. & Cr. V, 2, 29;
T. A. I, 1, 203; and O. I, 1, 104.   We have no right to
find great fault with this, since Bartlett says in his preface
— and Mrs. Cowden Clarke has acted on the same prin-
ciple — that he has not always registered words used
"interjectionally".   But this can be no reason for his omission
of references to the word *patient* in Tr. & Cr. V, 2, 47 and
A. & Cl. IV, 12, 38; and why has Mrs. Cowden Clarke
failed to register the occurrence of the word *virtuous* in
Ado II, 3, 240?   Etc., etc.

We arrange the words on the basis of their modern
spelling.   We do not separately notice words with the
same   pronunciation   that may   be   nouns   as   well   as
verbs, etc.   Hyphened words and compounds will be found
under their primitives.   We use the abbreviation M. for
Milton and Sh. for Shakespeare.   By adding the word *full*

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[1]) Shakespeare - Lexicon. *etc.* by Dr. Alexander Schmidt.   1874.
London. Williams & Norgate.

[2]) The Complete Concordance to Shakespeare: *etc.* by Mrs. Cowden-
Clarke.   1881.   London, Bickers & Son.

[3]) A New and Complete Concordance *etc.* By John Bartlett, A. M.
1894.   London, Macmillan & Co.

we give to understand that the two vowel-sounds belonging
to different syllables are both of them pronounced; the
word *short* denotes that the two syllables to which the two
vowel-sounds respectively belong, are run together into one
syllable. "M. *short*: Canaan 7*t*." means that the word
Canaan is seven times used by Milton in metre with the
ending *-naan* pronounced as one syllable. To economise
space, we give references only if Milton or Shakespeare use
a given word both *full* and *short*. We also give the re-
ferences to all exceptions of especial interest.

I. 1. aa.

M. *full*: Sennaar *once*.

  short: Aaron 3*t*.; Balaam *once*; Canaan 7*t*.:
  Canaanite *twice*; Isaac *once*.

Sh. *short:* Aaron 26*t*.

The word *Aaron*, as to which Jones already very justly
observes that its spelling is apt to induce a wrong pronun-
ciation. would seem to be exclusively dissyllabic in English,
at least so far back as Chaucer and Gower.

Isaac occurs twice in Gower, in both cases as a trisyl-
lable. Its syncopation — any other mode of shortening is
of course out of the question — is marked by the mode of
printing in

  The Fields, for prayer, Isa'ck chose:
  G. Wither, Halelviah I, H. XXXI, 1. (Repr. Spens. Soc.)

Of greater interest is the following:

  This holy starre. whose contr'aspect most clear
      Th. Hudson. Sylvester's Folio of 1621, p. 723.

I. 2. ae.

M. *full*: Ismael *once*: Israel 8*t*., *e. g.* P.R. III, 410;
  Laertes *once*; Michael 6*t*., *e. g.* P.L. VI, 202;
  Raphael 4 *t*.. *e. g.* P.L. V, 561.

> *short*: Israel 36 *t., e. g.* P.R. III, 408; Israelite *twice*;
>   Michael 19 *t., e.g.* P.L. VI, 250; Raphael 4 *t., e. g.*
>   P.L. V, 221.

Sh. *full*: Laertes 27 *t.*
>   *short*: Michael 18 *t.*

Gower has Raphael *once*, and I(s)rael 10 *t.* always *full*; but as early as Chaucer we find "*Michelmesse*". There can be no doubt of the syncopation in this case; in print we find it marked, for instance in

> Calamity to match old Isr'els Tribes:
>> *J. Taylor*, F. 1630. p. 23. (Repr. Spens. Soc.)
>
>> I. 3. ai.

M. *full*: Ephraim *twice, e. g.* S.A. 988.
>   *short*: Alcairo *once*; Asmodai *twice*; Ephraim *once*
>   in Ps. LXXX, 9; Sinai 3 *t.*

If we except the word *Ephraim*, *ai* in the words here mentioned is and has been always pronounced as one syllable in English. Already in Chaucer we find *Sinay* rhyming with *day*, so that *ai* was considered as a diphthong, formerly pronounced as the modern sound of the interjection *aye*.

In our time *Sinai* may be pronounced both with the old and with the modern diphthongal sound in the word *day*. Matters were still precisely the same in 1701, as regards the *short* pronunciation of *Ephraim*. On pp. 21 & 22 Jones registers *Ephraim* among the words whose *ai* might have the modern sound of the *a* in *hate*, or the old sound which was identical with the modern sound of the interjection *aye*.

> I. 4. ao.

M. *full*: Eshtaol *once*; extraor(di)nary *once*.
>   *short*: Pharaoh 3 *t.*

Sh. *full*: extraordinary *twice, e. g.* I H 4. III, 2, 78;
>   Lycaonia *once*.

short: extraor(di)nary *once* in W.T. I, 2, 227.

On p. 79 of his book Jones mentions the *o*-sound as the only current one of the letters *ao* in the words *Bilbao*, *extraordinary*, and *Pharaoh*. (On the preceding page he gives the pronunciation *ornance* and *ornary* for *ordinance* and *ordinary*.) Chaucer has *Pharaoh* both "full" and "short", which is still the practice of our time.

II. 1. ea.

M. *full*: beatific *once*; Eleale *once*; ethereal *once* in P.L. V, 499; Gibeah *once*; ocean *once* in Christs Nat. 66; Paneas *once*; Pelleas *once*; preamble *once*; recreant *once*. Also without exception *create* and all its derivatives, so far as the present investigation is concerned with them; the same state of things as regards *create*, etc. obtains in Sh.

M. *short*: Ægean *twice*; aëreal 5 *t.*; Boreas *once*; Cerberean *once*; Chalybean *once*; corporeal 4 *t.*; delineate *once*; empyreal 11 *t.*; ethereal 24 *t.*, *e. g.* P.L. I, 45; Herculean *once*; incorporeal 3 *t.*; laureate *twice*; Leucothea *twice*; lineament 3 *t.*; ocean 20 *t.*, *e. g.* P.L. II, 183; Oread *once*; pageantry *once*; roseate *once*; subterranean *once*; Tartarean *once*; Thyestean *once*; venereal *once.*

Sh. *full*: Leander *twice*; lineal *once* in I H 6. III, 1, 166; miscreant *twice* in I H 6. V, 3, 44 and R 2. I, 1, 39; Neapolitan *twice*; ocean 7 *t.* in Gent. II, 7, 32; M. of V. I, 1, 8; John II, 1, 340; ibid. IV, 3, 132; II H 4. III, 1, 50; H 5. III, 1, 14; and T. A. IV, 2, 101; Orleans 12 *t.*, *e. g.* I H 6. I, 1, 111; pageant *once* in

II H 6. I, 2, 67; procreant *once* in O. IV, 2,
28; recreant 5 *t., e. g.* Cor. V, 3, 114; sergeant
once in Mac. I, 2, 3.

Sh. *short:* Ardea *twice*; Eleanor 6 *t.*; Epicúrean *once*;
Herculean *once*; lineal 7 *t., e. g.* in John V, 7,
102; lineally *once*; lineament 6 *t.*; miscreant
3 *t., e. g.* I H 6. III, 4, 44; Nemean *twice*;
ocean 26 *t., e. g.* Venus 494; Orleans 12 *t., e. g.*
I H 6. I, 1, 157; pageant 12 *t., e. g.* Tp. IV,
1, 155; pageantry *once*; procreant *once* in Mac.
I, 6, 8; Promethean 3 *t.*; recreant 9 *t., e. g.*
Lucr. 710; sergeant 3 *t., e. g.* Ham. V, 2, 347;
unlineal *once*; venereal *once*.

As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century Jones
mentions the additional medial syllable in the words *ocean,
pageant,* and *sergeant.*   As optionally "full" he gives on p. 24
the words *changeable, chargeable, manageable, peaceable, ser-
viceable,* etc., together with *Ocean, pageant, Prigean, Serjeant,
Vengeance.*

The word last mentioned is found as a trisyllable
in Ben Jonson, but we have not up to now met with the
words in *-able* with "full" pronunciation.   In Chaucer
sergeant and *vengeance* are "short", so that in the case of
all these words, with the single exception of *ocean,* we are
bound to assume that we have to do with an intrusive syl-
lable, which, however, was dropped again in the eighteenth
century. But the intrusive medial syllable has not disappeared
from the word *lineage,* which anciently, and even as late as
the sixteenth century, was written without the medial *e,* and
sounded without the intrusive syllable. If we find that in
course of time speakers begin to pronounce a letter which
owes its existence in the spoken word to the spelling, there

is always a very strong presumption that in many cases this
same letter was either not pronounced at all, or was only
sounded optionally. If at the same time we remember that,
with the exception of *ocean,* none of the words above given
with "short" pronunciation is in modern parlance shortened
by synizesis, this theoretical reasoning must lead us to the
conclusion that these words can have lost a syllable, only
by syncopation of the medial *e.* And this theoretical con-
clusion is confirmed by certain observations which we shall
now lay before the reader.

Milton uses *corporal* and *corporeal* in exactly the same
sense; see, for instance, P.L. V, 496 and P.L. IV, 585, so that
we are inclined to think this difference in spelling equally de-
void of significance for pronunciation, with, for instance, the
differences seen in *shepheards* and *shepherds, heavenly* and *heavnly*
(both of them dissyllabic), and other cases in point that may
readily be collected from Milton's rough manuscript book, pre-
served at Cambridge, and recently brought out in photographic
facsimile. This conclusion would, however, probably be both
correct and incorrect. To our thinking this *e* has something to
do with pronunciation after all, its function being a very peculiar
one in this case. The *e* in *corporeal,* we take to be meant
for a monitor to warn the reader that the syllabic stress is
on the *o* immediately preceding.

Córporal is found 6 times in Milton; in five cases out
of the six it is a dissyllable *córp'ral*; in P.L. V, 573 only, we
have *corpóral,* and there are good grounds for surmising that
it was the printer who missed out the superfluous or quasi-
superfluous *e. Corpóreal* occurs four times; in P.L. V, 413
alone, the printer seems to have set it up instead of *córporal,*
and he had his reason for it, since the word *incorpóreal* is
found in the same line.

We need hardly call attention to the forms *Elenor* and *Elinor*, but would just observe that the word was often syncopated to *Elnor* (six times in Shakespeare), and in this spelling is frequently found in print. In analogy to this we must read *linments* in R 2. III, 1, 9. Since, however, these and the like syncopations are outside the range of our present subject, we need not further refer to them.

We have found *miscreant* syncopated in print in

> If to his Faith a Recreant had Miscrent bin his state.
> > *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1597, p. 288.

It would be a mistake to conclude from this spelling that in this case we have to do with syncopation of *a*. Spellings like *Miscrent* are very often attempts at phonetic figuration of the spoken sounds. The strictly logical spelling would be *miscr'ant* in this case. The spellings *ruffin* and *Isa'ck* which we have before exemplified, ought to be *ruff'an* and *Is'ack*, for in these words the third syllable has secondary stress; it admits of being utilised as rhyme-syllable by poets, and it is only the weakest stressed syllable that can be dropped in pronunciation.

The following rhyme furnishes striking proof of the syncopation of *e* in the *-ean* ending:

> It would demonstrate, that the Man in
> The Moon's a Sea Mediterranean.
> > Hudibras. Part II, 1664, p. 150.

The great point about Samuel Butler's rhymes is that, however unexpected and novel, they are always quite perfect. We beg leave to lay some stress on the quality last mentioned, because there seems to be an impression in England just now that the funniness of Butler's rhymes is rooted in their slovenliness.

As regards the syncopation of *e* in *Ardea* and *Leucothea*, we must add that it is by no means proved, since apo-

copation of the final *a* is at least quite as possible. Words
that have the primary stress on the antepenultimate, fall under
the general rule that their last syllable is stronger stressed
than the penultimate, and that, consequently, the penultimate
is the first to drop out. Of this we have an interesting in-
stance in the American vulgarism *granther* as a syncopation
of *grandfather*. [1]) According to another general rule, however,
every unstressed final syllable is liable to being dropped in
pronunciation. We have seen that the first of the two
rules just mentioned accounts for the pronunciation of
Pharao as *Pharo*; we shall by and by see that the second rule
applies to the word *India;* which of the two rules is applied
in the shortened pronunciation of *Ardea* and *Leucothea*, we
cannot, therefore, decide on theoretical grounds, and we have
found nothing to assist us in solving the problem either
way. But there is some chance that a third possibility, that
of *-ea* in these two words being sounded as in modern *sea,*
would hit the mark, because we know this sound to have
been in vogue in the case of the word *Guinea*, about which
we learn from Jones that its pronunciation at the end of the
seventeenth century was the same as the one now in use
both for the proper name and the name of the gold coin.

So far as the subject of this section is concerned, the most
interesting word in the list above given is the word *ocean*.
Jones registers three ways of pronouncing it, viz. the old

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[1]) Agin the chimbley crook-necks hung,
   An' in amongst 'em rusted
  The ole queen's-arm thet gran'ther Young
   Fetched back f'om Concord busted.
      Lowell, Biglow Papers, The Courtin', 5.
  My gran'ther's rule was safer 'n 't is to crow:
  Don't never prophesy — onless ye know.
     Id. ibid. Second Series, No. 2.

trisyllabic pronunciation, and two dissyllabic ones, one by
syncopation and the other by synizesis. The first and the
second of these pronunciations must be inferred from the
following question and answer on p. 100 of Dr. Jones's book:

"When is the sound of *sa* written *cea*? — When it
may be sounded *cea*, as *Ocean*, etc."

That in mentioning "the sound of *sa*" the author
cannot have meant the sound of *sha*, is evident

1⁰ from the fact that the question and answer imme-
diately following run thus:

"When is the sound of *sa* written *cea*? — When *able*
or any *a* is added to such as end in *ce*, as *serviceable*, etc."

It would be a mistake to conclude from this that Jones
puts the same question twice over; the first "sound of *sa*"
of course represents another vowel-sound (short *a*) than the
second (long *a*); Jones does not make use of phonetic trans-
criptions;

2⁰ the sound of *sha* cannot have been meant, nor can
there be question of a misprint, because the alphabetic order
is all right, and "the sound of *sha*" comes a little lower
down, where we are informed that *ocean* is sounded *oshan*.
That different modes of pronouncing a given word are
mentioned in different places of the book, is a necessary
consequence of the peculiar arrangement of Jones's *New
Art of Spelling,* and is of frequent occurrence in it.

We see, then, that Jones tells us that as late as the
beginning of the eighteenth century *ocean* might be pro-
nounced *osan* by syncopation. This must have been the
old shortening which came in time to be superseded by the
synizetic pronunciation *oshan*; it is highly probable that both
these shortenings were in use in Shakespeare's time, as well

as in Milton's. We shall return to this point at the end
of the present chapter.

<div style="text-align:center">II. 2. ee.</div>

M. *full*:   Beelzebub 4 *t.*; preeminence *twice*; preeminent
twice; reedify *once*; reembattle *once;* reenter
once; [Capreæ *once*: Neæra *once*].

Sh. *full:*   preeminence *twice*: reedify *once* in T. A. I,
1, 351.

Sh. *short*: reedify *once* in R 3. III, 1, 71.

Jones says on p. 41 that two *e*'s placed in juxtaposition
may or may not be sounded separately in the words *Admeel,
Beersheba, eleemosynary, Galilee, Jesreel, preelection, preeminence,
preemption, reenter, reestablish, reexist,* and *Zebedee.*

A century and upwards before this, we find in print,
for instance,

> Who him r'encountring fierce, as hauke in flight,
> .   *Spenser* F. Q. I, 11, 477 (Repr. Spens. Soc.).
> Oft he re'nforst, and oft his forces fayld,
> .   *Id.* ibid. II, 4, 127 (Repr. Spens. Soc.).
> . . . ., no not thoughe with diligence ye go aboute to
> renforce the same againe.
> .   *J. Cheke* The hurt of sedicion 1549, p. 100.

So that it is all but sure that in the line

> Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.
> .   R 3. III, 1, 71.

the editor of the Quarto, for the moment oblivious of the
optional "short" pronunciation of *reedify,* has foisted in two
supernumerary syllables by interpolating *have.* For more
detailed information on this point we must refer the reader
to W. Sh. Prosody & Text.

<div style="text-align:center">II. 3. ei.</div>

M. *full*: reiterate *once.*

M. *short*: atheist 4 *t.*

Sh. *full*: reiterate *once.*

Jones states on p. 42 that in the words *Atheist* and *Atheism* the letters *ei* constitute one syllable, just as in *deceive*, etc. A century earlier we find in print:

> And Katherine de Medicis, whose Athisme wrought much woe.
> *W. Warner*, Albions England 1597, p. 257.

II. 4. eo.

M. *full*:   Briareos *once*; Cleombrotus *once*; [Mæonides *once*; Mæotis *once*].

M. *short*:   dungeon 11 *t.*; Gibeon *once*; Gideon *twice*; habergeon *once*; meteor *once*; Simeon *twice.*

Sh. *full*:   Chameleon *once* in III H 6. III, 2, 191; Cleomenes 4 *t.*; dungeon *once* in R 3. I, 2, 111; Leonati *twice;* Leonato 5 *t., e. g.* Ado I, 1, 296; Leonatus 11 *t.;* Leontes 7 *t.*; meteor *twice* in John V, 2, 53 and 1 H 4. V, 1, 19; Pantheon *once* in T. A. I, 1, 333; preoccupy *once*; preordinance *once*; Romeo 24 *t., e. g.* R. & J. II, 1, 7; surgeon *once* in O. V, 1, 30. [1])

Sh. *short*: dudgeon *once*; dungeon 5 *t., e. g.* L.L.L. IV, 3, 255; gudgeon *once*; Labeo *once*; Leonardo *once*; Leonato 3 *t., e. g.* Ado IV, 1, 246; meteor 5 *t., e. g.* John III, 4, 157; Pantheon *once* in T. A. I, 1, 242; pigeon 4 *t.*; Romeo 82 *t., e. g.* R. & J. II, 1, 3; scutcheon *twice*; surgeon 8 *t., e. g.* O. V, 1, 100; truncheon 4 *t.*

In the words *Leonato* and *Leonardo*, while they have the primary accent on the third syllable, the first syllable always has more stress than the second, so that in "short" pronunciation it was the vowel-sound of the second syllable

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[1]) *Rod.* O, villian that Í am!
   Oth.   Hark, it is
E'en so.
   Cass. O, help, ho, light! a surgëon!

of these words that got lost. This has also led to the modern pronunciation of *Leonard* and *leopard*.

The pronunciation of *dungeon* and *surgeon* with an additional medial syllable is by Jones mentioned on p. 42, where he gives ten other words ending in *-geon* or *-cheon* that fall under the same rule.

The exact nature of the "short" pronunciation of *Labeo* and *Romeo* has remained a mystery to us. Perhaps it is safest to assume analogy with *Pharao*, sounded *Pharo*.

The optional syncopation of *meteor* is referred to on p. 80 of Jones's book. Besides we have found in print

> Of Met'ors, and who lists therein to looke,

J. Taylor, Drinke and welcome, 1637, p. 25. (Repr. Spens. Soc.) and Owen Price, in 1668, gives *meteor* and *metre* as words "of like sound" (Ellis, p. 1027).

As regards *Pantheon*, in cases where this word occurs "short" in Shakespeare, we actually find it spelt without *e* both in the Quarto and the Folio, the spelling in both being *Pathan*. The dropping out of the medial *n* in this word, which was unknown to the printers, may be readily accounted for by the latter overlooking the small dash over the *a*, representing this *n* in the manuscript. Where the "full" pronunciation is required, the *e* is found in print; the line stands thus in the Q:

> Ascend faire Queene: Panthean Lords accompany

For all practical purposes the reading in the Folio is substantially the same, and there is not the least reason for proposing emendations in this line, or for adopting them when made, as is the usual practice in this case. What objection can there be to looking upon *Pantheon* as used adjectively? The metre, too, is unexceptionable, but we must of course read *accomp'ny*, just as, for example, in

> Comes Elenor, accompned with a crew of Ladies more,
>> *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1597, p. 292.

The syncopations *Gib'on* and *Gid'on* need cause no difficulty, if we remember that even in our day *Simon* is a twin form of *Simeon*, and that the historian of the Decline and Fall is more likely to have derived his patronymic from some ancestor who had gone to the Old Testament for his surname, than from the French name of *Hylobates lar*.

II. 5. eou.

M. *short:* advantageous *once*; atheous *once*; beauteous 3 *t.*: bounteous 5 *t.*; courageous *once*; courteous *once;* duteous *once*; erroneous 3 *t.*; gorgeous 8 *t.*; ethereous *once*; hideous 16 *t.*; miscellaneous *once*; outrageous 4 *t.*; outrageously *once*; piteous 3 *t.*; plenteous 4 *t.*; plenteously *once*; righteous 10 *t.*; righteousness 12 *t.*; spontaneous *once*; tartareous *once*; umbrageous *once*; unrighteous *once*.

Sh. *full:* beauteous *once* in Shrew I, 2, 86; bounteous *once* in O. III, 3, 7; gorgeous *once* in Lear II, 4, 271; hideous *once* in Wives IV, 4, 34.

Sh. *short:* advantageous *once*; beauteous 38 *t., e. g.* Venus 365; bounteous 18 *t., e. g.* Sonn. 4, 6; bounteously *once*; courageous 5 *t.*; courageously *twice*; courteous 15 *t.*; courteously *once*; dispiteous *once*; duteous 11 *t.;* erroneous *twice*; gorgeous 9 *t., e. g.* R. & J. III, 2, 85; hideous 19 *t., e. g.* Sonn. 12, 2; hideously *once*; hideousness *once*; outrageous 8 *t.*: piteous 24 *t.*; piteously *twice*; plenteous 10 *t.*; plenteously *once*; righteous 6 *t.*; uncourteous *once*; unduteous *once*; unrighteous *once*.

On p. 42 Jones says that the sound of *e* is written *eou*, "In *gorgeous*, and when *tous* is written *teous*; which see". On p. 80 Jones says that the sound of *o* is written *eo*, "Always in *teous*. sounded *tous* in the End of Words; as beauteous, courteous, etc. And in *gorgeous, hideous*". And immediately after this, that the sound of *o* is written *eou*, "Always when *tos* or *teous* in the End of Words, may be sounded *teous*, as in *righteous*, etc." On p. 86 he says that the sound of *os* is written *eous*, "In all that may be sounded *tous* or *teous*, and in *gorgeous, hideous*." And finally, he says on p. 117 that the sound of *us* is written *eous*, "when it may be sounded *eous*, as in *gorgeous, hideous*, and in the sound of *teous* in the End of Words; as *beauteous*, etc."

From this it follows that the letter-group *eous* might be sounded either in two syllables, or (by quasi-syncopation) in one syllable. We also find, from Jones's mentioning the sound of the different letters *e, o,* and *u,* — we repeat that Jones does not make use of phonetic transcriptions — that the indefinite vowel-sound would represent the correct pronunciation.

We besides learn that the modern synizetic pronunciation of *righteous* was unknown to Jones. He distinctly states the pronunciation to be *righ-te-os*, or *righ-tos*.

In Chaucer and Gower the letter-groups *eis* and *ous* in *ourteis, hidous, pitous,* and their derivatives are invariably monosyllabic. In the later pronunciation of these three words an intrusive medial syllable, which had come into optional use already before Shakespeare's time, has firmly established itself, and completely ousted the old pronunciation in two syllables.

The old form of *righteous* was *rightwise*; after the *w*

had dropped out in pronunciation, the unstressed vowel lost its distinctive character, so that the sound of the whole word became what Jones, as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, recorded as the more usual pronunciation of the word *righteous.*

The spelling *rightous* is found in print, *e. g.* in

> Then shall God doo wonderfull miracles in Englande, to declare howe mercy shall triumphe ouer rightousnes.
> . *Th. Lever*, Sermons, 1550 (Repr. Arber p. 58).

The spelling *rightousnes* is repeatedly met with in Lever's Sermons; we also found:

> . . . . to se at this tyme all suche thynges as yet remain out of ordre, rightously, spedely, and charitably redressed.
> *Th. Lever*, Sermons, 1550 (Repr. Arber p. 82).

The present spelling of the word *righteous* is a remnant of the old trisyllabic pronunciation, but its modern pronunciation has been developed from the dissyllabic form with change of *t* into *ch,* as in the word *nature.*

Bounteous and *plenteous* were trisyllabic in Chaucer and Gower in the forms *bountevous* (Old Fr. *bontif*) and *plentevous* (Old Fr. *plentivose*); in these two words we have therefore optional true syncopation in the sixteenth century.

In *outrageous* the ending was monosyllabic also in Chaucer.

Syncopic pronunciation of *beauteous* is found figured in print in

> Thirst not for gold. Sweete, beautous Jane, whats mine
> *Th. Dekker*, The Shoemakers Holiday IV, 1, 54 (Repr. Warnke).

II. 6. eus.

M. *short*: Morpheus *once*; Nereus *twice*; Orpheus 3*t.*; Phineus *once*; Proteus *once*;

Sh. *full*: Proteus 16*t., e. g.* Gent. I, 1, 1; Theseus *twice, e. g.* M. N. D. II, 1, 76.

Sh. *short*: Doreus *once* (?); Orpheus 4*t.*; Perseus *twice*;

Prometheus *once*; Proteus 34 *t., e. g.* Gent. I,
1, 12; Tereus 5 *t.*; Theseus 8 *t., e. g.* M. N. D.
I, 1, 20: Thyreus *twice*.

In Chaucer this -*eus* is always dissyllabic in *Peleus,
Tereus,* and *Theseus.* In Gower it is dissyllabic in *Perseus,
Prometheus, Proteus, Tereus,* and *Theseus,* but of *Perseus* we
also find the variant form *Perse.*

In Shakespeare's time, besides meeting with the "full"
pronunciation of -*eus,* we have copious evidence of the seem-
ing apocopation of the -*us* ending in this case. We say
"seeming apocopation", because these shortened names are
of course derived from the French, whereas the "full" pro-
nunciation is based on their Latin form, and the Greek
forms are out of the question altogether. The differences
we meet with in the various modes of figuring the "short"
pronunciation are very interesting:

> The horned oxen, backe againe to Orphey ward they went,
> *A. Golding,* Metamorph. 1587. p. 140 bis.
> Said: Pelie Pelie I doo bring sad tidings unto thee:
> Declare it man (quoth Peleus) what ever thing it bee.
> *Id.* ibid. p. 145.
> And Persey bearing in his hand the monster Gorgons head,
> *Id.* ibid. p. 60 bis.
> Unstable Protew changing ay his figure and his hue,
> *Id.* ibid. p. 17.
> Theseu: for foorthwith reverence the thundrer, shall my hande,
> *Jasp. Heywood,* Hercules furens (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 32).

The form *Tereu* is found in The Passionate Pilgrim,
line 386.

We have not found the least shred of evidence for the
syncopic pronunciations *Morph'us*, *Prot'us*, etc. in Shake-
speare's time, so that we cannot assume it for Shakespeare's
metre; but we incline to think that there is some likelihood
of its occurrence in Milton. Direct evidence of it in Milton

we have found none, but strong analogies certainly point
this way. In the third and fourth Shakespeare Folios of
1663 and 1685, we, for instance, find the spelling *Terus* in
Cym. II, 2, 45, whereas the earlier Folios have *Tereus*.

III. 1. ia.

M. *full*: amiable 3 *t.* [1]); amiably *once*; appropriating
once (?); Briareos *once*; burial *once* in S.A.
104; Diana *once*; expiate 3 *t*; expiation *once*;
Golia(t)h *once*; Guiana *once*; iambic *once*; in-
expiable *once*; Margiana *once*; mediation *once*;
Mediator *once* in P.L. X, 60; sociable *once*;
sociably *once*; Sogdiana *once*; suppliant *twice*,
e. g. P.L. X, 917; Susiana *once*; T(i)resias *once*;
variable *once* (?).

M. *short*: Adiabene *once*; Adria *once*; Æolian *once*; alle-
giance *twice*; Amazonian *once*; ambrosia *once*;
ambrosial 13 *t.*; Ammonian *once*; Aonian *once*;
Appian *once*; Arabian 4 *t.*; Arachosia *once*;
Arcadia *once*; Arcadian *once*; Arimaspian *once*;
Asia *twice*; Asian *once*; associate 5 *t.*; Assyria
twice; Assyrian 4 *t.*; Athenian *twice*; Atropatia
once; Ausonian *once*; auxiliar *once*; Babylonian
once; Bactrian *once*; Belial 7 *t.*; bestial 4 *t.*;
burial *once* in Ep. M.W. 32; Cæcias *once*; Ca-
labria *once*; Campanian *once*; Carpathian *once*;
Carthaginian *once*; carriage *once*; Caspia *twice*;
cassia *twice*: Castalian *once*; celestial 36 *t.* ; Cim-
merian *once*; connubial *once*; cordial 3 *t.*; Cronian
once; Cynthia *twice*; Cyriack *twice*; dalliance 4 *t.*;

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[1]) P.L. IV, 250 and IX, 899 are not absolutely sure; we have
assumed synalephe in these lines, a figure of which Milton is very
fond; but "short" pronunciation of *amiable* is quite possible.

Damiata *once*; Delia *twice*; Delphian *once*; demoniac *twice*; demonian *once*; Dorian *twice*; Egyptian 3*t.*; Elysian 4*t.*; Emathian *twice*; Emilian *once*; Equinoctial 3*t.*; essential *twice*; Ethiopian *once*; Etrurian *once*; expatiate *once*; familiar 4*t.*; filial 8*t.*; Fontarabia *once*; Gallia *once*; genial 4*t.*; Gordian *twice*; Gorgonian *twice*; Grecian *once*; guardian 3*t.*; Hesperian 5*t.*; historian *once*; humiliation 4*t.*; Hyrcanian *once*; Iberian 3*t.*; Illyria *once*; immediate 6*t.*; immediately 4*t.*; impartial *once*; imperial 9 *t.*; infuriate *once*; India *twice*; Indian 6*t.*; insatiable *once* (?); insatiate *twice*; intelligential *twice*; Ionian *once*; irradiance *once*; irradiate *once*; Ismenian *once*; Italian *once*; Kiriathaim *once*; Lavinia *once*; Lesbian *once*; luxuriant *once*; Lydian *once*; Macedonian *once*; Madian *once*; magician *twice*; marriage 9*t.*; marriageable *once*; martial *twice*; material 3*t.*; matrimonial *twice*; Media *twice*; Mediator *once* in P.L. XII, 240; Memmonian *once*; memorial 4*t.*; Memphian 3*t.*; meridian 3*t.*; Midian *once*; myriad 5*t.*; Norwegian *once*; nuptial 12*t.*; Œchalia *once*; officiate *once*; Olympian *twice*; Olympias *once*; opiate *once*; Parliament *once*; Parthian 8*t.*; partial *once*; Patriarch 5*t.*; peculiar 6*t.*; Persian *twice*; Pharian *once*; Philistia *once*; Philistian 9 *t.*; Phoenician *once*; Plutonian *once*; politician *once*; propitiation *once*; Pythian *twice*; Quintilian *once*; radiance *once*; radiant 17 *t.*; Russian *twice*; Sarmatian *once*; satiate 5*t.*; sciential *once*; Scythian 3*t.*; Seleucia *twice*; Serbonian

once; Setia *once*; Sicilian *once*; Sidonian *once*; social *once*; solstitial *once*; special 3*t.*; Stygian 7 *t.*; substantial *twice*; substantially *once*; superficially *once*; suppliant *once* in P.L. I, 112: Syrian 5*t.*; terrestrial 4*t.*; theologian *once*; Thessalian *once*; Thracian *once*; Thrascias *once*; Timnian *once*; Titanian *once*; tragœdian *once*; transubstantiate *once*; Trinacrian *once*; trivial 4*t.*; Tyrian *twice*; unessential *once*; unsubstantial *once*; Urania *twice*; valiant 3*t.*; variance *once*; venial *once*; vitiate *twice*; Zodiac *twice*.

Sh. *full*: Adriana 3*t.*; Adriatic *once*; Æmilia 3*t.*; allegiance 3*t.* in I H 6. V, 5, 43; H 8. I, 2, 62; and Lear I, 1, 170 [1]); amiable 4*t.*, *e. g.* Ado V, 4, 48; Antiates 3*t.*, *e. g.* Cor. I, 6, 53; Ariadne *twice*; arithmetician *once*; Armenia *once* in A. & C. III, 6, 14; Asia *twice*; associate *once* in Cor. IV, 6, 76; Athenian *twice* in M.N.D. III, 2, 41, and Timon V, 1, 131; Austria *once* in John II, 1, 1; Bassianus 20*t.*; Belgia *once*; bezonian *once* in II H 6. IV, 1, 134; Bianca 39*t.*; burial 7*t.*, *e. g.* in T.A. I, 1, 84; calumniate *twice*; carriage 3*t.* in R.&J. I, 4, 94; H 8. IV, 2, 145; and Tim. III, 2, 88 [2]); Celia *twice*; Charmian 3*t.* in A. & C. I, 5, 18; IV, 15, 83; and V, 2, 226; Christian 4*t.* in M. of V. I, 3, 43; IV, 1, 387; R 3. III, 5, 26, and H 8. V, 3, 180; Cimmerian

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[1]) See W. Sh. Pros. & Text, p. 381 (l. 155).

[2]) And honourable carriage, had his
Necessity made use of me, I would
Have put my wealth into donation,

once; Cornelia *once* in T.A. IV, 2, 141; Crispian(us) 5*t.*; dalliance 3*t.*, *e. g.* Tp. IV, 1, 51; Dalmatian *once* in Cym. III, 7, 3; diablo *once*; diameter *once*; Diana 17*t.*; expiate *twice*; familiar 3*t.* in Ado V, 4, 70; R. & J. III, 3, 6; and J.C. III, 1, 266; familiarity *once* in W.T. II, 1, 175; Fulvia *once* in A. & C. II, 2, 94; Gallia *once* in Cym. I, 6, 201; Gratiano 8*t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. I, 1, 107; Hermia 8*t.*, *e. g.* M.N.D. I, 1, 23; Hesperia *once*; Iago 47*t.*; Illyria *once* in Tw.N. I, 2, 3; imperial *once* in H 5. IV, 1, 278; India *twice*, *e. g.* M.N.D. II, 1, 69; insociable *once*; Ionia *once*; Julia 3*t.*, *e. g.* Gent. V, 4, 98; Lavinia 6*t.*, *e. g.* T.A. II, 2, 16; Luciana *twice*; Lycaonia *once*; Lydia *twice*; Mardian *once* in A. & C. II, 5, 4; Mariana *once* in M. f. M. IV, 1, 49; marriage 11*t.* in Lucr. 221; Ado V, 4, 30; Shrew III, 2, 142; I H 6. V, 1, 21; V, 5, 55; III H 6. III, 3, 57; R. & J. IV, 1, 11; V, 3, 241; V, 3, 265; O. III, 3, 268; Per. II, 3, 30; mediation *twice*; mediator *twice*; Mercurial *once*; musician *twice* in R 2. I, 3, 288, and I H 4. III, 1, 235; nuptial *twice* in Tp. V, 1, 308, and M.N.D. V, 1, 75; Octavia 3*t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. II, 5, 60; Ophelia *once* in Ham. IV, 5, 158; Parthia *twice*, *e. g.* A. & C. II, 2, 15; partial *once* in Tr. & Cr. II, 2, 178; periapts *once*; physician 3*t.*, *e. g.* R 2. I, 1, 154; Portia 7*t.*, *e. g.* J.C. IV, 3, 166; reconciliation *once*; Rialto *once*; Russia *once* in M. f. M. II, 1, 139; Sardians *once*; sciatic(a) *once*; Silvia 6*t.*, *e. g.*

Gent. V, 4, 125; sociable *once* in John III,
4, 65; substantial *once* in R. & J. II, 2, 141;
suppliant *twice* in Gent. III, 1, 234, and R 3.
I, 1, 74; Syria 3*t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. V, 2, 200;
tarriance *once* in Gent. II, 7, 90; Titania *twice*,
e. g. M.N.D. II, 1, 60; unfilial *once*; unrecon-
ciliable *once*; valiant 8*t.* in Gent. IV, 3, 13;
R 2. I, 3, 83[1]); II H 4. II, 3, 25; H 5. IV,
1, 46; IV, 7, 187; R 3. I, 2, 245; Tr. & Cr.
II, 3, 243; and Tim. III, 5, 47; variable *twice*,
e. g. Ham. III, 1, 180; variation *twice*; William
once (?) in R 3. III, 1, 162.[2])

Sh. *short*: aerial *once*; Alexandria 5 *t.*; Alexandrian *twice*;
allegiance 18 *t.*, *e. g.* W. T. II, 3, 121; allegiant
once; Amazonian *twice*; amiable *once* in O. III,
4, 59; Antiates *once* in Cor. I, 6, 59; Antoniad
once; Arabia 4*t.*; Arabian 4*t.*; Armenia *once*
in A. & C. III, 6, 35; artificial 6*t.*; associate
3 *t.*, *e. g.* T. A. V, 3, 169; Assyrian *twice*;
Athenian 20 *t.*, *e. g.* M. N. D. I, 1, 12; Austria
3 *t.*, *e. g.* John III, 1, 114; barbarian *once* (?);
battalia *twice*; beneficial *twice*; bestial *twice*;
bezonian *once* in II H 4. V, 3, 119; Bohemia
15*t.*; burial 10 *t.*, *e. g.* R 2. V, 5, 119; Cal-
phurnia 7 *t.*; Cambria *once*; Cappadocia *once*;
carriage 11 *t.*, *e. g.* Errors III, 2, 14; celestial
19*t.*; ceremonial *once*; Charmian 20*t.*, *e. g.* A.
& C. I, 3, 15; Christian 48*t.*, *e. g.* Errors I,

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[1]) Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valïant,
    And live!

     Bol.   Mine in'cence and Saint George to thrive!
    Q. and F. both read *innocence*; *innocency* is Capell's conjecture.
[2]) T'make Willïam Lord Hastings of our mind, (?)

2, 77; Cilicia *once*: circumstantial *once*; co-
median *once*: Cordelia 16*t.*: cordial 9*t.*: Cor-
nelia *once* in T.A. IV. 1, 12; Cynthia 3*t.*; dal-
liance 4*t.*, *e. g.* Ham. I, 3, 50; Dalmatian *once*
in Cym. III, 1, 74; Dardanian *once*; denun-
ciation *once*: Egyptian 13*t.*; Emilia 12*t.*; es-
pecial 3*t.*; especially 4*t.*: essential *once*; essen-
tially *once*; Fabian *once*; familiar 20*t.*, *e. g.*
Sonn. 86, 9: familiarly 3*t.*: filial 4*t.*: Fulvia
13*t.*. *e. g.* A. & C. I, 1, 20: Gallia 11*t.*, *e. g.*
Cym. II, 4, 18: Gallian *twice*: galliard *once*;
Gilliams *once*: Gordian *twice*: Gratiano 6*t.*. *e.
g.* M. of V. I, 1, 58; Grecian 37*t.*: guardian
4*t.*; Helias *once*: Hermia 35*t.*, *e. g.* M.N.D.
I, 1, 67: Hyrcania *once*; Iachimo 6*t.*; Illyria
once in Tw.N. 1, 2, 2 (?) [1]: Illyrian *once*; im-
mediacy *once*; immediate 13*t.*: immediately
20*t.*: impartial 5*t.*: imperial 24*t.*, *e. g.* H 5.
I, 2, 35; India 3*t.*, *e. g.* Tr. & Cr. I, 1, 103;
Indian 7*t.*; initiate *once*; insatiate 4*t.*; insub-
stantial *once*; Ionian *once*; Italian 9*t.*; jovial
4*t.*; Julia 23*t.*, *e. g.* Gent. I, 1, 66; Lavinia
36*t.*, *e. g.* T.A. I, 1, 52; Livia *once*; Lucretia
3*t.*: Machiavel 2*t.*; magician 3*t.*; Marcians
once: Mardian 3*t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. I, 5, 8; Ma-
rian(a) 5*t.*, *e. g.* M. f. M. IV, 3, 145; mar-
riage 79*t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 116, 1; martial 9*t.*;
material 4*t.*; Media *twice*; memorial 3*t.*; me-
ridian *once*; Mesopotamia *once*; musician 11*t.*,
e. g. M. of V. V, 1, 106; negotiation *once*;

[1] *Vio.* What country, friends, is this?
    Cap.   This 'Lyria, lady.

nuptial 15 *t.*, *e. g.* M.N.D. I, 1, 125; Octavia
14 *t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. II, 2, 121; official *once*;
Olivia 7 *t.*; Olympian *twice*; Ophelia 14 *t.*, *e. g.*
Ham. I, 3, 33; palliament *once*; Pannonian
twice; Parisians *once*; parliament 16 *t.*; Parthia
5 *t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. II, 3, 32; Parthian 5 *t.*;
partial 6 *t.*, *e. g.* R. 2. I, 3, 241; partialize
once; partially *twice*; patrician 12 *t.*; peculiar
8 *t.*; penitential *once*; Perigenia *once*; Persia
once; Persian *once*; Pharsalia *once*; Phœnicia
once; Phœnician *once*; Phrygia *once*; Phrygian
5 *t.*; physician 20 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 904; politician
twice; poniard *twice*; Portia 16 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of
V. I, 1, 165; potential 3 *t.*; preceptial *once*;
prejudicial *once*; radiance 3 *t.*; radiant 7 *t.*;
remediate *once*; ruffian 17 *t.*; Russia *once* in
W.T. III, 2, 120; Russian 7 *t.*; sacrificial *once*;
Sardinia *once*; Scythia *twice*; Scythian *twice*;
Sebastian 11 *t.*; Sicilia 7 *t.*; Sicilian *once*; Silvia
38 *t.*, *e. g.* Gent. II, 6, 2; sociable *twice*, *e. g.*
Tp. V, 1, 63; Spaniard *twice*; special 29 *t.*;
specially *once*; specialty 3 *t.*; Stygian *once*; sub-
stantial 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 1, 6; superficial *once*;
superficially *once*; suppliant 6 t., *e. g.* Lucr.
897; Syracusian 7 *t.*; Syria 3 *t.*, *e. g.* A. & C.
III, 6, 10; tarriance *once* in Pilgr. 74; ter-
restrial *once*; Thaliard 4 *t.*; Thessalian *once*;
Thracian 5 *t.*; Timbria *once*; Titania 6 *t.*, *e. g.*
M.N.D. II, 1, 119; tragedian *once*; trivial 5 *t.*;
Tyrian *twice*; unpartial *once*; unsubstantial *twice*;
Valeria *twice*; valiant 102 *t.*, *e. g.* Compl. 245;
valiantly 3 *t.*; valiantness *once*; variable *twice*,

> *e. g.* Venus 967: Venetian 6 *t.*; venial *once*;
> villiago *once*: Volscian 7 *t.*: Volumnia *once*;
> William 17 *t.*, *e. g.* R 3. III, 1, 181; zodiac
> *twice*.

In Shakespeare's and in Milton's time the "short" pro-
nunciation of the ending *-ia* was undoubtedly brought about
by apocopation, as is proved by the very numerous spellings
-ie, *-y*, or *-ye*, of which it is needless to give instances.

In Milton the "full" pronunciation of this ending does
not occur; we find the spelling *-ia* there in cases in which
the syllable immediately preceding has the primary stress,
e. g. Arcádia; and *-ie* or *-y*, if the accent is thrown further
back, as, for instance, in *Árcady*.

In Shakespeare this rule would also seem to hold good,
as we see from the spellings *Sicília* and *Sícily*, with the sole
exception of W.T. IV, 4, 599, where the First Folio reads
Sicilia, which, however, already the second Folio corrects
to *Sicily*.

If we mistake not, the *-ia* ending occurs in Gower, only
in *Bethincia* and *Ylia*; in the remaining cases this ending
is there represented, either by a dissyllabic *-ie*, as in *Ar-
menie, Asie, Barbarie, Marie*. etc.. or by *-e*, as in *Ethiópe,
Pérse, Ytáile*, etc. On the whole the same state of things
is found in Chaucer, only the spelling is less regular. It
is highly interesting to find Chaucer using two forms of the
same word, *e. g. Ruce* and *Russije* (trisyllabic), *Libie* and
Libije.

These different forms of course go to prove that the
words in question were introduced into English from the
French, and not from the Latin.

The "short" pronunciation that prevailed two centuries
after Chaucer and Gower's time, had been regularly deve-

loped from the -*ie* or -*ye* form, by the dropping of the final
e. and the concomitant throwing back of the syllabic accent.

At the same time, however, writers and speakers began
to show an increasing proclivity to modify the originally
French spelling and pronunciation of this class of words in
the direction of the Latin, until in our time the Lati-
nising spelling has also determined the pronunciation. A
small number of words, all of them of very frequent occur-
rence however, have resisted the change, or have been only
partially affected by it; compare such instances as *the Indies*,
Mary, etc.

The optional dropping of the *i* (and at the same time
also the optional medial syllable *i* in *carriage*, etc.)
are on p. 24 of Jones's book registered for the following
words: "*carriage, Christian, (diamond,) Marriage, Parliament,
Spaniard, VALIANT WILLIAM*, etc."

And on p. 44 for the following: "*aviary, breviary, car-
riage, (diary,) Christian, fustian, guardian, Indian, Italian,
Marriage, Parliament, Spaniard*, etc."

The loss of the *i* in pronunciation is further shown by
the following rhymes:

> On which he blew as strong a Levet,
> As well-fee'd Lawyer on his Breviate.
>   Hudibras, II Part, 1664, p. 111.
> And suffer'd your own Tribe of Christians,
> To fall before as true Philistines.
>   Id. III Part, 1678, p. 167.
> But with the Moon was more familiar
> Then e're was Almanack-well-willer.
>   Id. II Part, 1664, p. 148.
> And has observ'd all fit Decorums,
> We find describ'd by old Historians.
>   Id. id. p. 115.
> The Knight, by Damnable Magician,
> Being cast illegally in Prison;
> (*read*: be'ng)   Id. id. p. 1.

Your Modern Indian Magician
Makes but a hole in th'earth to piss in,
                    Id. id. p. 175.
The Gallenist, and Paracelsian,
Condemn the way, each other deals in.
                    Id. III Part, 1678. p. 221.
When all their fierce contests for Forrage,
Conclude in Articles of Marriage?
                    Id. id. p. 50.
His head and ears, which in the Martial
Encounter lost a leathern parcel.
                    Id. 1 Part, 1663, p. 174.
And made me mount upon the bare-ridge,
T'avoid a wretcheder miscarriage:
                    Id. III Part, 1678, p. 233.
'Twas nothing so, both sides were ballanc't
So equal, none knew which was valiant'st.
                    Id. I Part, 1663, p. 133.
The Active, and the Passive valiant:
Both which are pari librâ gallant:
                    Id. id. p. 241.

Of phonetic spellings that point the same way, we cite
the following:

Billards A. & C. II, 5, 3, F.; Christen: 1 H 4. II, 1,
19 & 4, 8, Q., Ham. V. 1, 32, Q.; Machiuell Wives III,
1, 104, F.; Macheuill III H 6. III, 2, 193, F.; Machevile
I H 6. V, 4, 74. F.; Philippan A. & C. II, 5, 23, F.;
ruffin, see pp. 116 ff.

> . . . . . whose parents were said to be, the one celestall, the
> other mortall:
> *Drayton*, Engl. Her. Epist. To the Read. (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 166).
> . . . . . neyther could I ever find any sensible difference
> betwixt a Cuckold and a Christen creature.
>   *G. Chapman*, Al Fooles, 1605, p. 43.
> This manner vers the Comidantz[1]) and tragike bothe begun
>   Queen *Elizabeth's* Englishings, 1598 (E.E.T.S. p. 145).

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[1]) Comidantz = Comedians. Excrescent *t* after *n* — see, for
instance, the word "guardents" in the next passage but one — is of
very frequent occurrence. We must not omit to add, that this quotation

A Guárden, custos, odis, hie.

> *P. Levins*, Manipulus Vocabulorum (Repr. E.E.T.S., col. 61).

That should have Angels guardents on your throne.

> *Th. Heywood*, Rape of Lucr. (Repr. Pearson, Vol. V, p. 234).

Then upon Lívy, did old Machavill.

> *W. Habington*, Castara, (Repr. Arb. p. 96).

An Epigram on Willam Lord Burl: Lo: high Treasurer of England.

> *Ben Jonson*, Second Folio, Vol. II, Underwoods, p. 198.

In the following three words the old optional syncopation has become the only admissible pronunciation of our day:

> And, of his Carrage, Christo-fer should thenceforth be his name.
> > *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1597, p. 231.
>
> Nor can this spoile my Marr'age being knowne.
> > *G. Wither*, Juvenilia, 1626 (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 649).
>
> Since nor his Parl'aments, Thy Lawes, nor His,
> > *G. Wither*, Vox Pacifica, 1645 (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 164).

In his book A special help to Orthographie *etc.* 1643, Richard Hodges admits the pair *garden, guardian* to his list of words "which are so neer alike in sound, as that they are sometimes taken one for another" (Ellis, p. 1022).

In 1668, Owen Price in the list of "Words of Like Sound" in his book The Art of right spelling, *etc.*, besides registering *guardian* and *garden*, also mentions the four words following, marking, however, the difference of stress between the first pair and the second (Ellis, p. 1024):

> "*alás* ough, wo is me, *a Lass, álias, aloes*."

And on p. 1027 Ellis cites from the same list:

> "*Palate, palliate, pallet* a little low bed to be roled up."

The second Quarto of Othello has in II, 1, 39 the remarkable misprint "Ayre all blue" for *aerial blue*, which can of course readily be accounted for on the basis of the non-pronunciation of the *i* in *aerial*.

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from the "Englishings", like the three others on p. 159, is in the Queen's own handwriting, not in that of her clerk.

Of course, where cases of optional non-pronunciation of the *i*-syllable in certain positions were of so frequent occurrence, we may safely expect to find from the written or printed forms that conversely this *i* was apt to intrude in pronunciation in certain analogous positions, where it was inorganic.

In Chaucer and Gower the word *Christian* is always a dissyllable written *Cristen*. In the sixteenth century the word *Cristen* was refashioned with *ch-*, and its written form assimilated to the Latin, as *Christian*. In course of time this intrusive *i* came to be optionally pronounced as a separate syllable, as we have seen from Shakespeare, and, consonantised by synizesis, it is true, it has held its own down to our day.

The word *valiant* is found twice in Gower, as *vailant*:

> 'Vailant, vailant. lo, wher he goth!'
>   Conf. Amantis IV. 1633 (Ed. Macaulay).

In Shakespeare's time there were various other words in which an intrusive *i* was optionally pronounced. This can be actually proved with regard to the word *villain*, because we can adduce the concurrent evidence of the spelling, of a word-play, and of the trisyllabic pronunciation as required by the metre.

Printed *vilian*, the word occurs in Sir John Cheke's *The Hurt of Sedicion*, etc. p. 26: and, for instance, in R. & J. I, 5, 66 Second Folio.

The word-play, a piece of absolute evidence by itself, is as follows

OF A CERTAYNE CIUILIAN.

> Thou calst thy selfe *Ciuilian*,
>   thou art not full so muche:
> If *Ci*. be out. as then remaines
>   in deede thy name is suche.
> *Tim. Kendall*, Flowers of Epigr. 1577 (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 276).

The metre absolutely requires quadrisyllabic pronun-
ciation of the word *Civilian*.

Trisyllabic pronunciation of *villain* is proved by the
metre, for instance in:

> Stoop, villaine. stoope! stoope! for so he bids
>> *Marlowe*, I Tamburlaine IV, 2, 21 (Repr. Wagner).
> Packe damned ravishers, hence villaines.
> *Th. Heywood*, The f. Maid o. the Exch. (Repr. Pearson, Vol. II, p. 8).

We have had the pleasure of meeting with the word
villain in Shakespearean metre 182 times as a dissyllable,
109 times in prose or absolutely uncertain, and as a tri-
syllable in the 9 cases following:

> Sir, w' are undone; these are the villians
>> Gent. IV, 1, 5.
> Villian, Í say, knock me at this gate
>> Shrew I, 2, 11.
> Be'ng thus benetted round with villians,
>> Ham. V, 2, 29.
> *Cas.* O, helëp! [syllabic *l*]
> *Lod.*   Hark!
> *Rod.*   O wretched villian!
>> O. V, 1, 39—41.
> *Gra.* He's gone, but his wife's killed.
> *Mon.*   'Tis a
> Notorious villian. Take you this weapon,
>> O. V, 2, 238 & 239.
> *O.* O, villian!
> *Cas.*   Most heath'nish and most gross!
>>   O. V, 2, 313.
> I will not ask again. Close villian,
>> Cym. III, 5, 85.
> *Sim.* Thou hast bewitch'd my daughter, and thou art
> A villian.
> *Per.*   By thé gods, I have nót:
>> Per. II, 5, 50.

Sentence-stress on the article, as in the passage last
cited, marks a strong emphasis.

As regards the case in O. V, 1, 29, see p. 134, Note.

This intrusive *i* before *a* we find *inter alia* printed in the word *willades*, which in the old Shakespeare texts occurs in the forms *aliads*, *eliads*, and *illiads*; in *Alexias* A. & C. I, 2, 89, F.; in *Ariachne* Tr. & Cr. V, 2, 152, Q. and F., where the metre proves it to have been actually pronounced; in *champian* Tw.N. II, 5, 173, F.; in *Syracusians* 7 *t.* in Errors, F.; in

> Hath laid these Christiall pavements. cloathed these meades
> *Th. Heywood*, Loues Mistris (Repr. Pearson, Vol. V, p. 110).

and in *Cadméian*, where the *i* constitutes a separate syllable in

> The high Cadmeian is in my grace,
> *Th. Heywood*, The Siluer Age (Repr. Pearson, Vol. III, p. 147).

On the other hand, the substantive *marshal*, as the name of an officer. occurs several times in the spelling *Martiall* in Heywood's *The Royall King* etc. Conversely we find the adjective *martial* spelt *marshall* in Marlowe's *Edward II*, 1594.

In his list of words of like sound, R. Hodges, 1643, mentions "Mr. *Marshal, martial*" (Ellis, p. 1020).

Here we have come down to the synizetic pronunciation. Just as Jones in 1701 registers the sound *oshan* for *ocean*, he also mentions the following pronunciations:

Pronounced *sha*, written *cia*, in the words *magician, beneficial, official*;

Pronounced *sha*, written *cia*, in the words *special, sociable, Lucian*, etc.;

Pronounced *sha*, written *scia*, in the word *Priscian*;

Pronounced *sha*, written *sia*, in the words *Parisian*, *Tunesian*.

In addition to this, Jones, besides mentioning on p. 44 of his book the pronunciations *Indian* (3 syll.) and *Indan*,

to which we have referred above on p. 148, states on p. 64
of his treatise that *Indian* is sounded *"injan"*.

In Ellis's *Pronouncing Vocabulary of the XVII century*,
we are informed that in 1685 Cooper mentions the modern
synizetic pronunciation of the words *artificial, celestial, en-
thusiasm*, and of *"ti-* ante vocalem".

The cases of interchange of *marshal* and *martial* are
irrefragable evidence that in certain words the synizetic pro-
nunciation must already have been in existence in Shake-
speare's time. Add to this, that in the surreptitious Quarto
of H 5. the word *tertian* is found in the spelling *tashan* in
II, 1, 124.

In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, the
whole body of evidence in favour of the synizetic pronun-
ciation of words spelt with *ia*, refers exclusively to such
words as have *ia* preceded by the *s*-sound, figured by the
letters *c, s, sc,* or *t,* as the case may be.

At the end of the present paper we shall return to the
question of synizetic and syncopic pronunciation, when we
hope to show that the seeming contradiction between our
statements admits of being accounted for in a very simple way.

III. 2. ie.

 M. *full*: carrier *once*; conscience *once* in Mask [Comus]
    212; Darien *once*; Gabriel *once* in P.L. IV,
    865; inexperience *once*; Ithuriel *twice* in P.L.
    IV, 788 & 868; sciential *once*; Uriel *once* in
    P.L. III, 648.

 M. *short*: Abdiel 5 *t.*; Ariel *once*; Aries *once*; alien *twice*;
    alienate 4 *t.*; ancient 26 *t.*; anciently *once*; am-
    bient *twice*; audience 8 *t.*; conscience 13 *t., e. g.*
    P.L. X, 842; convenient *once*; Daniel *twice*;
    deficience *once*; deficient *once*; disobedience 7 *t.*;

disobedient *twice*: envier *once*; experience 10 *t.*;
experienced *once*: Ezekiel *once*: Gabriel 12 *t.*,
e. g. P.L. IV, 549; impatience *once*; inconvenient *once*; ingredient *once*; Ithuriel *once* in
P.L. IV, 810; lenient *once*: obedience 25 *t.*;
obedient 5 *t.*; omniscient 3 *t.*: orient 13 *t.*; osier
twice; patience 16 *t.*; patient 3 *t.*; patiently 4 *t.*:
prevenient *once*: Ramiel *once*: sapience 3 *t.*:
sapient *once*: soldiery *once*: sufficient 11 *t.*: sufficiently *once*: transient *once*; twentieth *once*:
unexperienced *twice*; Uriel 8 *t.*, *e. g.* in P.L.
III, 654: Uzziel *once*; Zophiel *once*; *-ier* in the
comparative degree of 26 different adjectives
63 *t.*; *-iest* in the superlative of 35 different
adjectives 92 *t.*

Sh. *full.*: alien *once* in M. of V. IV, 1, 349; ancient
once in Lear V, 1, 32: Ariel *twice* in Tp. I,
2, 317 & 441: audience 3 *t.* in John IV, 2,
139, II H 4. IV, 1, 76, and Ham. V, 2, 398;
carrier *once* in Wives II, 2, 141; conscience
5 *t.* in John IV, 2, 77, H 5. I, 2, 79, H 8.
II, 2, 28 & 75, and Tim. III, 2, 94; convenience *once* in Lear III, 6. 106; convenient
twice in I H 6. II, 4, 4, and Ham. I, 1,
175, Q: Daniel *once* in M. of V. IV, 1, 333;
expedience *once* in I H 4. I, 1, 33; experience
twice in II H 6. V, 1, 171, and T.A. V. 3, 78;
impatience 5 *t.* in I H 4. I, 3, 51, I H 6. IV,
7, 8, R 3. II. 2, 38 & IV, 4, 156, and J. C.
II. 1, 248; impatient 3 *t.* in Wives III, 4, 75,
Shrew Ind. 1, 99, and T.A. II. 1, 76: inconvenience *once* in I H 6. I, 4, 14; Juliet 5 *t.*

in R. & J. II, 6, 2, Q.S., III, 1, 118, V, 3,
73 & 101 & 302; obedience 9*t.* in Shrew Ind.
2, 109, V, 2, 117 & 118 & 153, John IV,
2, 262, V, 1, 9 & 4, 56, I H 6. III, 1, 167,
and H 8. III, 1, 162; obedient 3*t.* in Shrew
I, 1, 217, V, 2, 67, and O. III, 3, 89; quietus
twice; patience 26*t.* in Errors III, 1, 94, Ado
V, 1, 19 & 281, M.N.D. I, 1, 152 & IV, 1,
61, As I, 3, 80, Shrew I, 2, 239, R 2. V, 2,
33, I H 4. I, 3, 200 & III, 1, 179, II H 6.
II, 4, 68, R 3. I, 1, 116 [1]) & 3, 248, IV, 1,
15, H 8. IV, 2, 165, Tr. & Cr. I, 2, 4 & V, 2,
64, Cor. III, 1, 191, T.A. V, 3, 126, R. & J.
V, 1, 27 & 3, 221 & 261, O. II, 3, 376, A. &
C. II, 5, 62, Cym. IV, 2, 58, Per. III, 1, 26;
patient 7*t.* in Shrew IV, 1, 179, John V, 7,
11, II H 6. 1, 3, 68, III H 6. I, 1, 215, R
3. I, 3, 157 & V, 1, 2, and Per. V, 1, 146;
prescience *once* in Tp. I, 2, 180; soldier 14*t.*
in Shrew II, 1, 146, A. W. III, 2, 72, I H 4.
I, 3, 64, II H 6. III, 1, 328, III H 6. I, 1,
207 & 2, 42, III, 3, 204, IV, 3, 61, Cor. I,
1, 120, V, 6, 71, J. C. IV, 1, 28 & 3, 51, Ham.
I, 5, 141, and Lear IV, 5, 3; sufficient *once*
in III H 6. I, 3, 26; Vienna 4*t.*;

heavier *twice* in II H 4. V, 2, 26, and R 3.
III, 1, 121; livelier *once*; worthier *twice* in
M.N.D. I, 1, 55 and II H 6. I, 3, 111.

heaviest *once* in Gent. IV, 2, 141; worthiest

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[1]) I will deli'r you', or lie for you: meantime
Have patïence.
    Clar.   I must perforce. Farewell.

3*t.* in A.W. III, 2, 99, John II, 1, 281, and
W.T. V, 1. 48.

Sh. *short*: alien *twice*, *e. g.* Sonn. 78, 3; Amiens *once*;
ancient 56 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 949; ancient'st *once*;
Ariel 15 *t.*, *e. g.* Tp. I, 2, 217; Aries *once*;
audience 22 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 846; burier *once*;
carrier *once* in Lucr. 926; clothier *once*; collier
once; conscience 86 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 247; conve-
nience 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Ham. IV, 7. 150; conveniency
once; convenient 13 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. III, 4. 56;
conveniently 4*t.*; courier 3*t.;* courtier 16*t.*;
Daniel 4 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. IV, 1, 223; deficient
twice; disobedience 7*t.*; disobedient 4*t.*; effigies
once: expedience 3 *t.*, *e. g.* H 5. IV, 3, 70; ex-
pedient 7 *t.*; expediently *once*; experience
12 *t.*, *e. g.* Compl. 152; experienced 6 *t.*; Gabriel
once: impatience 11 *t.*. *e. g.* Venus 217; im-
patient 15 *t.*, *e. g.* Ham. I, 2, 96; impatiently
3 *t.*; ingredience $+$ ingredient 3 *t.;* insufficiency
twice; Juliet 40 *t.*, *e. g.* R. & J. II, 2, 3; Ju-
lietta *once*; Labienus *once*; Nathaniel *twice*;
obedience 40*t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 1215; obedient 24 *t.*,
e. g. Shrew IV, 1. 199; orient 7*t.*; osier 4*t.*;
patience 139 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 140, 2: patient 61*t.*,
e. g. Lucr. 904; patiently 14*t.;* préscience *once*
in Lucr. 727; requiem *twice*; sapient *once*;
soldier 176 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 893; soldiership 5*t.;*
spaniel 9*t.*; sufficiency *twice*; sufficient 9*t.*, *e. g.*
Gent. V, 4, 75; sufficiently *twice;* twentieth
twice; unexperient *once*;

    bloodier *once*; costlier *once*; craftier *once*;
earthlier *once*; easier 4*t.;* emptier *once*; good-

lier *twice*; guiltier *twice*; happier 14 *t.*; headier *once*; heavier 9 *t.*, *e. g.* Errors I, 1, 32; holier *twice*; kindlier *once*; lovelier *twice;* luckier *once*; lustier *once*; merrier 5 *t.;* mightier 9 *t.*; prettier *once*; proudlier *once*; sorrier *once*; speedier *twice*; statelier *once*; timelier *once*; uglier *twice*; unworthier *once*; verier *once*; weightier 3 *t.;* worthier 10 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 79, 6;

bloodiest *once*; chariest *once*; daintiest *twice*; earliest *twice*; eas(i)liest *once*; easiest *once*; goodliest 3 *t.*; happiest 5 *t.*; hardiest *once*; heaviest 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Cor. V, 6, 143; holiest *once*; luckiest *once*; lustiest *once*; merriest *twice*; mightiest 7 *t.;* murkiest *once*; prettiest 5 *t.*; readiest 3 *t.*; rudeliest *once*; sorriest *once*; speediest 3 *t.;* ugliest *once*; unworthiest 3 *t.*; veriest 3 *t.;* wealthiest *once*; weariest *once*; worthiest 9 *t.*, *e. g.* John II, 1, 282.

According to Jones, p. 44, *ie* may be pronounced as *e* or as *ie* (2 syll.) in the following words: *"Audience, Brasier, Conscience, crosier, Daniel, experience, Farrier, Furier, Gabriel, Gamaliel, loftier, mightier, Spaniel, terrier, etc."*

The "short" pronunciation by syncopation is proved by the following rhymes:

> He could transform himself in Colour
> As like the Devil as a Collier;
> > Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 99.
> And know 'em both in Soul and Conscience,
> Giv'n up t'as Reprobate a Non-sense,
> > Hudibras, III Part, 1678, p. 135.
> The bridge is drawn, the gate is barr'd,
> > My father he has the keys, sir;
> But I have for my love prepar'd
> > A shorter way and easier.
> > *Percy's* Reliques of ancient Engl. Poet. p. 177, Ed. 1872.

> Make of thy Deeds, not of thy Dayes, account:
> Think not how far, but think how fair thou passest:
> See to what Summ thy Vertues will amount;
> For, Life and Gold are chose by waight; the massi'st.
> > *J. Sylvester*, Folio of 1621, p. 1040.
> Next, one upon a pair of Panniers
> Full fraught with that, wch for good manners
> > Hudibras, II Part, 1664, p. 112.
> None ever acted both parts bolder,
> Both of a Chieftain and a Souldier.
> > Id. I Part, 1663, p. 87.
> Through which he drag'd the worsted Soldiers,
> Fore quarters out by th' Head and Shoulders:
> > Hudibras, III Part, 1678, p. 91.

The syncopic pronunciation is further confirmed by the following spellings found in print:

easilest Cym. IV, 2, 206, F.; Julet R. & J. I, 3, 47, F$_1$ & F$_2$ & F$_3$, and in several other places; liklest L.L.L. IV, 2. 88, Q.; maidenlest Lear I, 2, 143, Q.; [s]pannelled A. & C. IV, 12, 21, F.; rascallest I H 4. I, 2, 90. F.; daintest *Milton*, Vac. Exercise, 14.

[The last two examples are doubtful, since among others Edmund Spenser has *rascal* as an adjective, and *daint* for *dainty* by apocopation.]

> Or one in all that Earth affoords aboundantler that flooted,
> > *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1612. p. 342.
> How rightly said is this: "that easilar il than good to mortal men arrives."
> > Queen *Elizabeth's* Englishings, 1598 (E.E.T.S. p. 128).
> That egerlar the firm ther pace and folowe firme,
> > Ibid. p. 135.
> Upon a Wife, the heavy'r clog
> > Hudibras, II Part, 1664, p. 47.
> Nor hath the other likelihood, for quitler ruleth none.
> > *W. Warner*, Albions England. 1592, p. 68.
> How righlar he, that fondly naught doth vndertake?
> > Queen *Elizabeth's* Englishings, 1598 (E.E.T.S. p. 147).
> And cause the Soulders that thus honour me
> > *Marlowe*, I Tamburlaine I, 1, 172. Ed. 1605 (Repr. Wagner).

But few Men, when the twentith Day is past,
>> *G. Chapman.* The Georgicks of Hesiod, 1618, p. 38.

>> yᵉ Twenteth, vigesimus.
>> yᵉ Thirteth, trigesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Forteth, quadragesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Fifteth, quinquagesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Sixteth, sexagesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Seuenteth, septuagesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Eighteth, octogesimus, a.
>> yᵉ Ninteth, nonagesimus. a.

> *P. Levins.* Manipulus Vocabulorum, 1570 (Repr. E.E.T.S. col. 88).
>> Ile send then my vant-currer presently:

Decker & *Webster*, North-ward Hoe, 1607 (Repr. Pearson, Vol. III, p. 29).
>> Then on the worth'est tract up tow'rds the mid-dayes Sun,
>>> *Drayton*, Poly-Olbion, 1622 (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 401).

In Owen Price's Table of Words of like Sound we find the pair *banner, pannier* (Ellis, p. 1024). Jones, too, mentions the pronunciation *b* for *p, e. g. Cubid* for *Cupid*, etc. Perhaps it would be exceedingly difficult to find out how far this Welsh peculiarity was ever current also in England.

Intrusive *i* before *e* in positions of this kind we have found *inter alia* in courtiers (= courters) A. & C. II, 6, 17, F.; drovier Ado II, 1, 202, Q. & F.; flouriet M.N.D. IV, 1, 58, Q. & F.; studient Ham. I, 2, 177 Q., and in

>> . . . ., where I met at Padua thirtie Englishmen studients, I met also . . . . . .
>>> *E. Webbe*, His Trauailes, 1590 (Repr. Arber, p. 30).

The *i* in the word *spaniel* is also intrusive; according to Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* i. v. it is spelt *spaynel* in five MSS. of Chaucer, Group D, 267.

Evidence for the synizetic pronunciation of the words here treated, we have only found for the words *collier, court-ier*, and *soldier*, and for cases in which the letters *ie* are preceded by an *s*-sound.

Jones mentions the sound of *she* for written *cie* in "*ancient, deficient,* etc."

The sound of *she* for written *scie* in "*conscience, omniscience,* etc."

The sound of *she* for written *sie* in "*brasier, glasier, hosier, osier, transient.*"

The sound of *she* for written *tie* in "*patience, patient, quotient,* etc."

We gather from Ellis's Pronouncing Vocabulary of the XVII. century, that in 1688 Guy Miege registers synizetic pronunciation for *ancient, crosier, hosier, osier, soldier,* and *transient;* that in 1685 Cooper mentions this pronunciation in *ancient, collier, courtier, ti-* ante vocalem, and *transient;* and that Price gives this pronunciation for *soldier* as early as 1668.

The only evidence we have found for this synizetic pronunciation in Shakespeare's time is the spelling *anchentry* in Ado II, 1, 80, Q. & F., and the same spelling occurs repeatedly in Warner, from whose work we cite the two examples following:

> The second Richard ouerkind to Parasits. and foe
> to aunchant Cronets, feweld all might fier to Englands woe.
> *W. Warner.* Albions England, 1612, p. 338.
> An Aunchanter than I hath had) by sweet Saint Pancrace, no,
> *Id.* ibid. p. 363.

III. 3. ii.

Sh. *full*: Nervii *once.*

Sh. *short*: Bentivolii *once* (?).

III. 4. io.

M. *full*:   Antiochus *once*: champion *once* in S.A. 705 (?): contagion *once* in Mask (Comus) 467; Ethiopian *once*; legion *once* in Mask 603; oblivion *once* in Ps. 88, 52; period *once* in Mask 585; union *once* in Christ's Nat. 108; and of words

ending in -*sion*, -*tion*, or -*xion*, the following
cases: apparition *once* in Mask 641; condition
once in Mask 685; complexion *once* in Mask
749; contemplation *twice* in Il Pens. 54, and
Mask 377; Jonian *once*; proportion *once* in Mask
773; selfdelusion *once* in Mask 365; session *once*
in Christ's Nat. 163; superscription *once* in Univ.
Car. II, 34; suspicion *once* in Mask 413; vision
twice in Mask 298 & 457.

M. *short*: Antioch *once*; Arioch *once*; battalion *twice*;
bullion *once*; champion 7 or 6 *t.*; chariot 23 *t.*;
charioteer *twice*; clarion *twice*; contagion 3 *t.*,
e. g. P.L. V, 877; communion *twice*; companion
5 *t*; curiosity *once*; dominion 17 *t.*; Deucalion
once; Ethiop 3 *t.*: exterior *once*; idiot *once*;
inferior 14 *t.*; legion 18 *t.*, *e. g.* P.L. I, 301;
Libecchio *once*; million 10 *t.*; oblivion *twice*, *e. g.*
P.L. II, 583; opinion 4 *t.*; pavillion 4 *t.*; period
twice, *e. g.* P.L. XII, 467; quaternion *once*;
rebellion 8 *t.*; region 26 *t.*; religion 8 *t.*; Scipio
twice; scorpion 5 *t*; septentrion *once*; Serraliona
once; superior 15 *t.*; union 8 *t.*, *e. g.* P.L. VII, 161;
warrior 12 *t.*; and all words in -*sion*, -*tion*, and -*xion*
with the exception of those mentioned higher up.

Sh. *full*: Antioch 4 *t.*, *e. g.* Per. I, 2, 70; Antonio 19 *t.*,
e. g. Shrew I, 2, 54; Bellario 3 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of
V. IV, 1, 105; Benvolio *once* in R. & J. III,
1, 110; Biondello 3 *t.*: Cambio *once* in Shrew
V, 1, 125; Cassio 3 *t.* in O. I, 1, 20, II, 1,
26, III, 4, 32; Cesario *twice* in Tw.N. I, 4,
12, IV, 1, 54; champion 4 *t.* in R 2. I, 3, 7,
III H 6. IV, 7, 68, V, 7, 6, T.A. I, 1, 65;

chariot *once* in Per. II, 4, 7; Claudio 12 *t.*, *e. g.*
Ado I, 1, 324; companion 4 *t.* in M. of V.
III, 4, 11, II H 4. IV, 4, 68, R 2. V, 3, 7,
Per. I. 1, 18; contagion *once* in Errors II. 2,
146: cullion *once* in Shrew IV, 2, 20;
Dionyza 5 *t.*; dominion *twice* in John III,
1, 154, R 2. 1. 3, 142; Dromio 5 *t.*, *e. g.*
Errors III, 1, 43; Endymion *once*; Ethiop
twice in Gent. II, 2, 26, Ado V, 4, 38; fashion
once in J. C. IV, 3, 135; Gremio 5 *t.*, *e. g.*
Shrew II, 1. 17; Grumio 4 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I,
2, 35; Hortensio 6 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 2, 36;
Hyperion *once* in T. & C. II, 3, 207;
inferior *once* in Shrew Ind. 2, 69; Ionia *once*;
Ionian *once*; legion *once* in J. C. IV. 3, 76;
Licio 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew III, 1, 56; Lucentio 10 *t.*,
e. g. Shrew I, 1, 221; Lucio *once* in M. for
M. V, 1, 73; Mercatio *once*; Mercutio 3 *t.*, *e. g.*
R. & J. III, 1. 142; million 4 *t.* in Shrew III,
2, 241, H 5. Prol. 16, T.A. II, 1, 49, A. &
C. I, 2, 39; minion *twice* in Gent. I, 2, 88 (?),
John II, 1, 392; oblivion 3 *t.* in T.A. III,
1. 296. T. & C. III, 3, 146, IV, 5, 167; opinion
5 *t.* in M. of V. I, 1, 102, III, 5, 76, I H 4..
V, 4, 48. I H 6. 1, 4, 64, J. C. II, 1, 145;
pavilion *once* in H 5. IV, I, 27; period *once*
in II H 4. IV, 5, 231; Petruchio 5 *t.*, *e. g.*
Shrew II, 1, 71; physiognomy *once*; Pisanio
3 *t.*, *e. g.* Cym. I, 6, 139; priority *twice*; rebellion
5 *t.* in John V, 4, 11, I H 4. V, 1, 74, II H 4.
Ind. 26, III H 6. I, 1, 133, Cor. III. 1, 167;
region 3 *t.* in T.A. IV, 3, 13, J.C. V, 1, 3,

Per. IV, 4, 4; religion 3 *t.* in John III, 1, 280, II H 4. I, 1, 201, I H 6. 1, 3, 65; signior (senior) *twice* in Shrew III, 2. 151, O. I, 3, 76 (perhaps more, for we have not examined all the cases); septentrion *once*; Thurio *once* in Gent. V, 2, 31: Tiberio *once*; Tranio 4 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 1, 248; Vincentio 11 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 1, 13; warrior 4 *t.* in H 5. III, 5, 31, I H 6. III, 3. 22, T.A. I, 1, 25. O. II, 1, 184.

Sh. *short*: Antioch 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Per. I, 3, 19; Antonio 30 *t.*, *e. g.* Tp. I, 2, 66: Bassanio 36 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. I, 1, 57; battalion *once*; Bellario 6 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. III, 4, 50; Benvolio 3 *t.*, *e. g.* R. & J. III, 1, 156; Biondello (?); Brabantio 4 *t.*; Cæsarion *twice*; Cambio 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew IV, 4, 109; capriccio *once*; carrion 12 *t.*; Cassio 90 *t.*, *e. g.* O. I, 3, 398: Cesario 11 *t.*, *e. g.* Tw.N. II, 4, 2; champion 12 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 596; chariot 12 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 1192; Claudio 35 *t.*, *e. g.* Ado I, 1, 298; companion 31 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 1066; companionship *twice*; contagion 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Cor. I, 4, 30; coragio *twice*; cullion (?); curiosity *twice*; cushion 9 *t.*; Deucalion *once*; dominion 3 *t.*, *e. g.* W.T. II, 3, 177; Dromio 22 *t.*, *e. g.* Errors I, 2, 10; Ethiop 6 *t.*, *e. g.* L.L.L. IV, 3, 118; exterior 4 *t.*; exteriorly *once*; falchion 7 *t.*; fashion 76 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 1319; Gremio 10 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew II, 1, 46; Grumio 6 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 2, 47; Horatio 20 *t.*; Hortensio 21 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 1, 56; Hyperion 5 *t.*, *e. g.* H 5. IV, 1, 292; idiot 9 *t.*; Ilion 6 *t.*; inferior 8 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 80, 7; interior *twice*; legion 20 *t.*, *e. g.*

Sonn. 154, 6; Licio 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew II, 1, 60;
Lucentio 19 *t.*, *e. g.* Shrew I, 1, 223; Lucio
once in M. for M. I, 2, 181; Malvolio 9 *t.*;
Mercutio 13 *t.*, *e. g.* R. & J. III, 1, 127; million
11 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 115, 5; minion 19 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn.
126, 9; nuncio *once*; oblivion 12 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus
557; onion 3 *t.*; opinion 64 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 937;
pavilion 4 *t.*, *e. g.* T. & C. Prol. 15; Pelion *once*;
period 14 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 380; Petruchio 23 *t.*, *e. g.*
Shrew II, 1, 182; Philario *once*; pinion 4 *t.*;
Pisanio 19 *t.*, *e. g.* Cym. I, 6, 155; rebellion
20 *t.*, *e. g.* John III, 1, 289; region 20 *t.*, *e. g.*
Sonn. 33, 12; religion 11 *t.*, *e. g.* Compl. 250;
Salerio 5 *t.*; scorpion 3 *t.*; senior *or* signior
many times; seniory *once*; superior *twice*; Thurio
19 *t.*, *e. g.* Gent. II, 3, 84; Tranio 19 *t.*, *e. g.*
Shrew I, 1, 1; union 6 *t.*; vermilion *once*; Vin-
centio *once* in Shrew I, 1, 200; warrior 25 *t.*,
e. g. Sonn. 25, 9.

We have not separately examined every one of the
words in -*sion*, -*tion*, and -*xion* in Shakespeare. As a rule,
these endings constitute two syllables, only at the end of
a verse, but in this position pretty frequently. To this rule
there are, however, a few exceptions, and Sidney Walker is
undoubtedly right, for instance, in reading the first three
lines of Cor. I, 10, as follows:

> *Auf.* The town is ta'en!
> *First Sol.*   'Twill be deliver'd back
> On good condition.
> *Auf.*   Condition!

In L.L.L. V, 1, 110, Q. *mustachio* is found in the
spelling *mustachie*, and, strictly speaking, this is the only —

and after all not very weighty — direct evidence we have found for the apocopic "short" pronunciation of the *-io* ending in Shakespeare's time. On the other hand, we have also found:

> And if the one hath a Fancy to stars[1] his mustachos,
> the other hath . . . . .
> > *James Howell*, Instructions, etc. (Repr. Arb. p. 31).

Of indirect evidence we have found just a little more. In the Folio of Shakespeare the name of the Roman triumvir is repeatedly spelt *Antonio*, while, besides, it is well known that in Shakespeare's time an *o* was often arbitrarily affixed to English names, and in plays these longer and more orotund forms were made to alternate with the shorter forms without *o*. In the dearth of further data we must provisionally leave the true "short" pronunciation in this case a moot point. In 1701 Jones registers the pronunciation *nunsho* for *nuncio*.

Monosyllabic pronunciation of *-io-* as "e", at the same time with optional pronunciation of each of its letters separately, is by Jones recorded on p. 45 for the following words, "*carrion, chariot, clarion, contagion, cushion, fashion, luncheon, Marriot, murrion, nunchion, onion, opinion, punchion, religion, union, etc.*

The following rhymes presuppose syncopic pronunciation (dropping of *i* in the *-ion* ending):

> To get on them a Race of Champions,
> Of which old Homer first made Lampoons.
> > Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 88.

> And bore aloft before the Champion
> A Petticoat displaid, and Rampant;
> > Id. II Part, 1664, p. 113.

---

[1]) stars = starch.

The former rides in Triumph for it;
The later in a two-wheel'd Chariot,
                              Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 97.
When o're the Breeches greedy Women
Fight, to extend their vast Dominion,
                              Id. II Part, 1664, p. 117.
Madam (quoth he) your Love's a Million,
To do is less, than to be willing,
                              Id. III Part, 1678, p. 31.
Provided that they pass th' Opinion,
Of Able Juries of old Women:
                              Id. id. p. 30.
And Nastier, in an Old Opinion,
Then those. who never shift their Linnen.
                              Id. id. p. 168.
This Crisis then I'l set my rest on,
And put her boldly to the Question.
                              Id. II Part, 1664, p. 22.
But left at large to make their best on,
Without being call'd to account, or question.
                              Id. III Part, 1678, p. 129.
It is no Scandal, nor Aspersion,
Upon a Great, and noble Person
                              Id. id. p. 243.
Had not on Honorable Conditions.
Releast 'em from the worst of Prisons,
                              Id. id. p. 264.
Which thou hast now no way to lessen,
But by an open, free Confession,
                              Id. id. p. 68.
Or bring my Action of Conversion
And Trover for my Goods? Ah Whorson.
                              Id. id. p. 232.
And while he gave himself Diversion,
T'accommodate his Beast and Person,
                              Id. id. p. 198.
They did not mean, He wrought th' effusion,
In Person, like Sir Pride, and Hughson:
                              Id. id. p. 165.
Who taught them all their Sprinkling Lessons,
Their Tones and sanctifi'd expressions,
                              Id. id. p. 130.

While the proud remnant of those scattered Masons
Had falsed it in hundred thousand fashions,

> *J. Sylvester*, Folio 1621. p. 261.

As one cut out to pass your tricks on,
With Fulhams of Poetique ficksion:

> Hudibras, II Part, 1664, p. 46.

(The Formal Livery, and Seasin.
That puts a Lover in Possession)

> Id. III Part, 1678, p. 56.

Or by their Controversies, lessen
The dignity of their Profession.

> Id. id. p. 220.

Which having done, the Wizard steps in,
To give him suitable Reception:

> Id. II Part, 1664, p. 168.

Great Actions are not always true sons
Of great and mighty Resolutions:

> Id. I Part, 1663, p. 67.

Before so meriting a Person
Could get a Grant, but in Reversion:

> Id. III Part, 1678, p. 22.

And make him glad to read his Lesson,
Or take a turn for't at the Session:

> Id. II Part, 1664, p. 215.

Syncopation of *i* in this case we have found symbolised
by the mode of printing in the cases following: battailon
R 3. V, 3, 11, Q_2 & Q_4; chop(p)ine Ham. II, 2, 447, Q. &
F.; mansonry Mac. I, 6, 5, F.; misprison L.L.L. IV, 3,
98 Q.; Pellon Ham. V, 1, 276, Q.S.; signorie R 3. IV, 4,
36, Q. (signeurie F.);

> Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they
> woulde haue it, then they procure occaysons of debate,
>> *Thomas More*, Utopia translated (Repr. Arber, p. 135).

> . . . ., he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte
> hym selfe. but also be occayson of cowardenes to his fellowes.
>> Id. ibid. p. 138.

> Who D'oge? my D'ogenes? a great Writer, marry!
>> *Ben Jonson*, Second F., Tub, p. 72.
> Him often questoned this King of Us, and Europs strength,
>> *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1597, p. 285.

Yea, are not of Commissoned themselves some that sometimes
Doe borrow of their Justiceship for Cæsar-dues and Crimes?
                    Id. ibid, 1612. p. 404.

A Phisonomie. effigies. ei, hæc.

P. Levins, Manipulus Vocabulorum 1570 (Repr. E.E.T.S. col. 101).
Finally wheras the declenson, gender or coniugation is some-
times hard to know,
                    Id. ibid. (Repr. E.E.T.S., Preface p. 5).
Not he. by Sonnets passonate, did give the world to wit
                    W. Warner, Albions England, 1612, p. 376.

Intrusive *i* we have found in *cosioner* (= cozener) Lear
IV, 6, 167, Q. We have seen that Jones cites *marriot*
(= *marrot,* a popular name for the Great Auk, *Alca im-
pennis*), and *murrion* (= murrain). which we also find printed
in M.N.D. II, 1, 97 (Q. & F.).

In various words this intrusive *i* has kept its ground
in modern usage: *cullion,* and *pumpion* or *pompion* had no
i originally. Gower uses *stalon* (O. Fr. *estalon*) for the
modern *stallion;* the word is spelt *stallant* in Levins, with
excrescent *t,* and *stalland* in Jehan Palsgrave. In Chaucer
we find *careyne* (= O. Fr. *caroigne*) for the modern *carrion,*
and in Shakespeare, too, this word is repeatedly spelt as a
dissyllable in various ways (*carrayne, carren,* etc.). Chaucer
further uses *fasoun* (= O. Fr. *facheon, fazon, fachon*) for
modern *fashion,* and *oynons* (= Fr. *oignon*) for modern
onions.

On the other hand, the trisyllabic *merlion* (Falco æsalon)
used by Chaucer, has now become *merlin.*

The French proper names *Chatillon* and *Rousillon* are
always spelt with the ending -*ion* in the First Folio of
Shakespeare's works: the first word is actually quadrisyllabic
in John I, 1, 30, and the second in A.W. V, 1, 28.

Of great weight, as absolute evidence of the syncopa-
tion of the *i,* is the statement made in 1643 by Richard

Hodges, "a School-Master" (see Ellis, pp. 1018—1020), that the following words are "alike in sound and unlike both in their signification and writing":

> *champion*, the *champain* field. (Also mentioned by O. Price in 1668.)
>
> *murrain*, *murion* a head-piece.
>
> *millions,* musk-*melons*. (Also mentioned by C. Cooper in 1685.)

And in this way it also becomes clear how the *farcins* in Shrew III, 2. 53 can have got into print as the *fashions*.

Evidence for the synizetic pronunciation cannot be traced farther back than 1685.

Jones has the following:

The sound of *shi* written *chio* in the words "*lunchion, nunchion, punchion*"; the sound *sho* written *shio* in the words "*cushion, fashion, lushious, parishioner*"; the sound *sho* written *sio* in the words "*aversion, conversion, evasion*, etc."; the sound *sho* written *tio* "In all words not directed to be written otherwise", etc.

In 1688 Miege gives the synizetic pronunciation for *action* and *pension*; and in 1685 Cooper does the same for *bullion, companion, inhesion,* "*ti-* ante vocalem", and *provision*; all this on the testimony of Ellis's Pronouncing Vocabulary of the XVII. century.

III. 5. iou.

M. *full*: contrarious *once* in S. A. 669 (?); glorious *once* in S. A. 1660 (?); odious *once* in Ps. LXXXVIII, 34; various *once* in S. A. 668 (?); victorious *once* in S. A. 1663 (?).

M. *short*: abstemious *once*; ambitious 7 *t.*; anxious *twice*; audacious *twice*; calumnious *once*; capacious *twice*; cautious *twice*; cautiously *once*; com-

modiously *once*; conscious 4 *t.*; contagious *once*;
copious 4 *t.*; curious 5 *t.*; delicious 12 *t.*; deli-
ciously *once*; devious *once*; dubious *twice*; effi-
cacious *once*; envious 5 *t.*; factious *twice*; falla-
cious 5 *t.*; felonious *once*; furious 8 *t.*; glorious
51 or 52 *t.*; gloriously 5 *t.*; gracious 9 *t.*; graciously
twice; harmonious 5 *t.*; ignominious *twice*; illustri-
ous 8*t.*; imperious *twice*; impervious *once*; impious
9 *t.*; impiously *twice*; industrious 5 *t.*; inglorious
8 *t.*; injurious *once*; irreligious *once*; judicious
twice; laborious 4 *t.*; lascivious 3 *t.*; loquacious
once; lushious *once*; luxurious 5 *t.*; malicious
twice; melodious 8 *t.*; meritorious *once*; mysterious
7 *t.*, mysteriously *once*; notorious *once*; noxious
5 *t.*, oblivious *once*; obnoxious 3 *t.*; obsequious
3 *t.*; obvious 6 *t.*; odious 6 *t.*, *e. g.* P.L. VI, 408;
odiously *twice*; officious 3 *t.*; opprobrious 3 *t.*;
parsimonious *once*; penurious *once*; perfidious
3 *t.*; pernicious 5 *t.*; precious 11 *t.*; prodigious
6 *t.*; propitious 5 *t.*; rapacious *once*; rebellious
9 *t.*; religious 4 *t.*; robustious *once*; sacrilegious
twice; sagacious *once*; saviour 25 *t.*; seditious
once; sententious *once*; serious *twice*; spacious
13 *t.*; specious 5 *t.*; spurious *once*; studious 6 *t.*;
stupendious *twice*; superstitious *once*; suspicious
5 *t.*; symphonious *once*; tedious 7 *t.*; unhar-
monious *once*; unobnoxious *once*; unsuspicious
once; uxorious *twice*; various 34 or 35 *t.*;
variously *once*; vicious *once*; victorious 10
or 11 *t.*

Sh. *full*: abstemious *once*; ambitious 5 *t.* in J.C. III, 2,
83 & 91 & 95 & 98 & 103; curious *twice* in

Shrew IV, 4, 36, Per. I, 4, 43; envious *once*
in R. & J. II, 2, 7; glorious *once* in H 5. II,
2, 183; gracious 4 *t.* in Ado IV, 1, 109, I H 6.
1, 4, 85, R 3. IV, 4, 204, and Sonn. **135**, 7; licen-
tious *once* in Errors II, 2, 133; malicious *once*
in Cor. I, 1, 91; meritorious *once* in II H 6.
III, 1, 270; odious *once* in H **8**. III, 2, 331;
perfidious *once* in H 8. I, 2, 156; pernicious
twice in II H 6. II, 1, 21 and H 8. V, 3, 19;
precious *once* in I H 6. I, 6, 24; prodigious
once in John III, 1, 46; religious 3 *t.* in H 5.
II, 2, 130, I H 6. III, 1, 54 and **T.A.** V, 1,
74; serious *once* in H 8. III, 2, 135; spacious
twice in T.A. II, 1, 114, and Sonn. 135, 5;
tedious 4 *t.* in R 2. V, 2, 26, I H 6. IV, 7,
74, III H 6. III, 1, 9, and R 3. I, 4, 91 [1]).

Sh. *short*: adoptious *once*; ambitious 27 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 150;
ambitiously *twice*; audacious 6 *t.*; audaciously
twice; auspicious 7 *t.*; avaricious *once*; behaviour
29 *t.*; calumnious *twice*; captious (capacious)
once; ceremonious 5 *t.*; ceremoniously *once*;
combustious *once*; compunctious *once*; con-
ceptious *once*; contagious 8 *t.*; contentious *twice*;
contrarious *twice*; contrariously *once*; con-
tumelious 3 *t.*: contumeliously *once*; copious
twice; curious 12 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 38, 13; decep-
tious *once*; delicious 4 *t.*; deliciousness *once*;
disgracious *twice*; dissentious 5 *t.*; egregious 3 *t.*;
egregiously *once*; envious 32 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 705;
enviously *once*; expeditious *once*; factious 10 *t.*;

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[1]) See W.Sh.: Pros. & Text, p. 353, l. 88.

felonious *once*; furious 12*t.*; glorious 44*t.*, *e. g.*
Lucr. 109; gloriously *twice*; gracious 170*t.*, *e. g.*
Sonn. 10, 11; graciously 5*t.*; harmonious *twice*;
ignominious *twice*; illustrious 3*t.*; imperious
14*t.*: imperiously *once*; impious 9*t.*: inauspi-
cious *once*; industrious 4*t.*: industriously *once*;
infectious 7*t.*; infectiously *once*; ingenious 3*t.*;
ingeniously *once*; inglorious *once*; injurious 17*t.*;
irreligious 3*t.*: judicious 3*t.*; lascivious 11*t.*;
licentious 3*t.*, *e. g.* H 5. III. 3, 22; litigious
once; luxurious 4*t.*: luxuriously *once*; malicious
10*t.*, *e. g.* John II, 1, 314; maliciously *twice*:
melodious 9*t.*; meritorious *twice, e. g.* Lucr.
1692; notorious 11*t.*; notoriously *once*; oblivious
twice; obsequious 7*t.*: obsequiously *once*; odious
8*t.*, *e. g.* Tp. III, 1, 5; officious 5*t.*: oppro-
briously *once*: penurious *once*; perfidious *twice,*
e. g. Tp. I, 2. 68; perfidiously *once*; pernicious
17*t.*, *e. g.* Ham. I, 5, 105; perniciously *once*;
precious 73*t.*, *e. g.* Venus 824; preciously
once; prodigious 4*t.*, *e. g.* R 3. I, 2, 22;
prodigiously *once*; prolixious *once*; rebellious
10*t.*; religious 16*t.*. *e. g.* Compl. 250; religiously
5*t.*; rubious *once*; sacrilegious *twice*; sanctimonious
once; Saviour *once*; seditious *twice*; serious 19*t.*,
e. g. Tp. II, 1, 219; seriously 4*t.*; spacious 9*t.*,
e. g. R 3. I, 2, 246; studious *twice*; studiously
once; superstitious 4*t.*; superstitiously *twice*;
suspicious 5*t.*; tedious 36 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 841;
tediously *twice*; tediousness 3*t.*: unauspicious
once; ungracious 7*t.*; vicious 9*t.*; viciousness
once; victorious 15*t.*

The syncopation — and conversely the additional syllabic force — of the *i* is expressly mentioned by Jones. On p. 45 he says that the sound of *e* is written *iou*, "When it may be sounded *iou*, as in all that end in the sound of *sious*". On p. 53, that the sound of *es* is written *ious*, "When it may be sounded *ious*, as in *contagious*, *gracious*, etc. sounded sometimes *contages*, *grashes*, etc." On p. 87, that the sound of *ou* is written *iou*, "In all that may be sounded *iou*, etc. as *gracious*, *spurious*, etc." On p. 110, that the sound of *vur* is written *viour*, "When it may be sounded *viour*, as in *behaviour*, *Saviour* etc." On p. 117, that the sound of *us* is written *ious*, "When it may be sounded *ious*."

The following rhymes presuppose syncopic pronunciation:

> For I confess, if that might merit favour,
> Here I display my lewd and loose behaviour
> > *Marlowe*, Ovid's Eleg. II, 4; 3 & 4 (Ed. Bullen).
> The ancient Hero's were illustrious
> For b'ing benigne [1]), and not blustrous,
> > Hudibras, I Part, 1663, p. 229.
> And still appear the more Industrious
> The more your Projects, are Prepostrous
> > Hudibras, III Part, 1678, p. 284.
> For loe, a damsell came, though meanely clad,
> In shepheards weeds, yet fresh and faire of fauour
> And such a one as in those base clothes had,
> A shew of princely birth and hie behauiour,
> She finding him lie there in case so bad,
> Thought it were charitie to be his sauiour:
> This was (if you forget) the Ladie faire,
> That of Cataya was vndoubted haire.
> > *J. Harington*, Orlando Fur. 1591. XIX, 12.

We next cite the following syncopic spellings: ingen(n)ous L.L.L. IV, 2, 80 Q. & F.;

> Béhauoure, gestus, us, hic.
> > *P. Levins*, Manipulus Vocab. 1570 (Repr. E.E.T.S. col. 222).

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[1]) According to Jones, p. 57, an optional trisyllabic pronunciation of *benigne* is *benigun*. This does not apply to Shakespeare's time, when the *g* in this word was silent.

And miserable Papists, too delirously mislead,

> *W. Warner*, Albions England, 1612, p. 382.

All tools that enginous despair could frame

> *G. Chapman*. Hero & Leander, III, 312 (Ed. Bullen).

Her princely presence, and her stately havour.

> *J. Harington*. Orlando Fur. I, 53, 8.

. . . hit wulde be ouer teduse and weriful to the redder therof.

The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham, 1482 (Repr. Arb. p. 82).

. . . and vnto the tedusnes of some stondyng by he thankyd our lord and redemer . . . .

> Id. id. p. 25.

. . . the grete stenche and tormentys that was there smytte me wyth full grete horrour and tedusnes.

> Id. id. p. 59.

Therfore while thys onhappy sowle by the vyctoryse (= victorious) pompys of her enmyes was goyng to be broughte into helle . . . .

> Id. id. p. 43.

Intrusive *i* in this case we have found, for example, in *dexteriously* Tw. N. I. 5, 66. F$_{1,2,3}$; *facinerious* (= facinorous) A. W. II, 3, 35 F.; *jealous* is very often spelt with intrusive *i* in the First Folio of Shakespeare; *illustrious* (= not lustrous) Cym. I, 6, 109.

Milton uses the word *stupendous* twice, and in both cases Beeching's reprint of the *editio princeps* shows the spelling *stupendious*. That this intrusive *i* might be actually pronounced, and in metre might count as a syllable by itself, is proved, for example, by

> My dukedoms name, if he be iealious,
>> *Th. Heywood*, Edward IV. (Repr. Pearson, Vol. I, p. 132.)

The intrusive *i*, as a rule consonantised, is exceedingly common before such endings as *-ous*, *-our*, *-ance* in the vulgar speech even of our day; *e. g.* in *grievious, tremendious*;

> . . . . and werry proud they is of their *apperience*.
>> *Punch*. Sept. 29, 1894, p. 145^b [Robert, the City Waiter].

Storm, Englische Philologe ^{2}, pp. 818. 819, cites from

Dickens and other authors such vulgar forms as *faviour*, *flaviour*, *defendiour*, *preserviour*, *lovier*, *barbareous*, *momentious*, *mischievious*, *narvious* (= nervous), *heinious*, *galliant*, *parient*. In Dickens's Chuzzlewit Mrs. Gamp uses *aperiently* for "apparently", no doubt because she was professionally familiar with the application of aperient medicines. *Dean Alford*, The Queen's English, p. 63 (1864), says: "Two other words occur to me which are very commonly mangled by our clergy. One of these is *coretous*, and its substantive *covetousness*. I hope that some of my clerical readers will be induced to leave off pronouncing them *coretious* and *coretiousness*".

In Middle English we find *enginous* in Gower, and *la-borous* in Chaucer.

As respects the evidence for the synizetic pronunciation, Jones tells us that the sound *sho* is written *cio* "in gracious, malicious, spacious, audacious, nuncio, pernicious, etc."; and that the sound *sho* is written *scio* "in *conscious*".

The earliest testimony concerning the synizetic pronunciation is, according to Ellis, Cooper's statement in 1685 respecting the words *cautious* and *gracious*. This testimony refers only to words in which *iou* is preceded by an *s*-sound. But Cooper also registers among the "Voces quæ affinem habent sonum sed diversum sensum et scripturam":

> *serious* serius, *serous* serosus.

Owen Price (Ellis, p. 1027) also mentions *Saviour* and *savour* among the words "of like sound".

III. 6. in.

M. *full*:   diurnal 5*t*.; Ophiucus *once*; triúmph 4*t*. (and 3*t*. where it may also be tríumph); triumphal 5*t*.; triumphant 6*t*.; triumphing 3*t*.

M. *short*: Casius *once*; Curius *once*; Danubius *once*; Ely-

sium *twice*: Fabricius *once*: Favonius *once*;
Genius 3 *t.*: Ilium *once*: Julius *once*; Mincius
once; Ophiusa *once*; opium *once*: Pandemonium
twice; Quintius *once*: Tiberius *once*.

Sh. *full*: Actium *once*; Aufidius *twice* in Cor. I, 2, 1
& 6, 54; Brundusium *once*; Byzantium *once*;
Canidius *once* in A. & C. III, 7, 58; Cassius
11 *t.*, *e. g.* J.C. I, 2, 36; Celius *once*; Cominius
twice in Cor. IV, 1, 19 & 34; Demetrius 20 *t.*,
e. g. M.N.D. I, 1, 24; diurnal *once*; Elysium
4 *t.*, *e. g.* Gent. II, 7, 38; genius *once* in T. &
C. IV, 4, 52. Q.: Ligarius *once* in J.C. II, 2,
111; Lucilius 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Tim. I, 1, 111; Lucius
8 *t.*, *e. g.* Tim. III. 4, 2; Marcius 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Cor.
I, 1, 237; Mutius *once* in T.A. I, 1, 389;
Octavius *once* in A. & C. III, 7, 73; Publius
5 *t.*, *e. g.* J.C. II, 2, 108; Silvius *twice* in As
III, 5, 845 & 13; Telamonius *once*: triumphant
13 *t.*; triumphantly 3 *t.*; triumphing 4 *t.*: triumphs
twice: triumvirate *once*; Ventidius *twice*, *e. g.*
Tim. III, 3, 3: Virginius *once* in T.A. V, 3,
36: Volumnius *twice* in J.C. V, 5, 16 & 21.

Sh. *short*: Æmilius *twice*; Antium 5 *t.*; Antonius *twice*;
Ascanius *once*; Aufidius 25 *t.*, *e. g.* Cor. I, 1,
233: Aufidiuses *once*; Belarius 4 *t.*; Canidius
once in A. & C. III, 7, 21; Capucius *once*;
Cassius 61 *t.*, *e. g.* J.C. I, 2, 63; Claudius
(Claudio in Folio) *twice*; Clotharius *once*; Col-
latium *twice*; Cominius 15 *t.*, *e. g.* Cor. I, 1, 241;
Cornelius *twice*; Decius 7 *t.*; Demetrius 26 *t.*,
e. g. M.N.D. I, 1, 52; Domitius *twice*; Elysium
3 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 600; Flavius 3 *t.*: Florentius

once; genius 4*t.*, *e. g.* Tp. IV, 1, 27; Guiderius 3*t.*; Hirtius *once*; Hortensius *once*; Hostilius *twice*; Ilium *twice*; Julius 14*t.*; Junius *twice*; Lartius 6*t.*; Ligarius 4*t.*, *e. g.* J.C. II, 1, 215; Lucilius 5*t.*, *e. g.* J.C. IV, 2, 19; Lucius 60*t.*, *e. g.* Tim. III, 3, 2; Lucretius *twice*; Mamillius *twice;* Marcius 55*t.*, *e. g.* Cor. I, 1, 167; Menenius 5*t.*; Mulmutius *once*; Mutius 6*t*, *e. g.* T.A. I, 1, 348; Octavius 20*t.*, *e. g.* J.C. III, 1, 289: Polonius 3*t.*; Popilius *twice*; Publius 13*t.*, *e. g.* Cor. II, 3. 249: Roscius *once*; Sempronius *twice*; Sicilius *twice*; Silius 3*t.*; Silvius 5*t.*, *e. g.* A. & C. II, 1, 18; Sossius *once*; Statilius *once*; Tenantius *twice*; Titinius 18*t.*; Trebonius 6*t.*; Valerius *once*; Varrius 3*t.*; Ventidius 6*t.*, *e. g.* Tim. I, 2, 9; Virginius *once* in T.A. V, 3, 50; Volumnius 4*t.*, *e. g.* J.C. V, 5, 15.

There can be no doubt that in Shakespeare's time and even long before him, the short pronunciation of the above words was brought about by dropping either -*us* or -*ius*, these curtailed forms being of course traceable to French. For a discussion of this point we must refer the reader to W. Sh.: Prosody and Text, pp. 114—117 [1]).

We also consider it as beyond doubt that the endings -*us* and -*ius* were often, by way of quasi-correction, affixed by printers or editors to proper names in the works of Shakespeare. Not only do the requirements of the metre

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[1]) To the evidence there given we would add the following from Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden: "A translatour of the Emperours lyves, translated Antonius Pius. Antonie Pye" [The Works of Ben Jonson. ed. Francis Cunningham (1897), III, p. 490].

necessitate this conclusion, but the frequent cases of confusion between *Antonio* and *Antonius*, *Claudio* and *Claudius*, *Flavio* and *Flavius* also point that way.

Synizetic pronunciation in this case we first find recorded by Jones in 1701, but his statements exclusively refer to cases in which *-ius* is preceded by an *s*-sound, including, naturally enough, the word *Sergius*.

As regards Milton, reserving such words as have *-ius* preceded by an *s*-sound for subsequent discussion, we surmise that in his "short" pronunciation he syncopated the *i*, pronouncing *Danub'us, Gen'us*, etc. According to Ellis, Vol. V, p. 720, Dr. Murray registers the syncopic pronunciation of the word *genius* as *genus* as still extant in the dialect of the Southern Lowlands of Scotland, and in 1817 the same pronunciation is referred to in "Errors of Pronunciation and Improper Expressions used frequently and chiefly by the inhabitants of London" (Ellis, Vol. V, pp. 227 & 228). In *Goldsmith's* She Stoops to Conquer, Tony Lumpkin sings:

> Good liquor, I stoutly maintain.
> Gives genus a better discerning.

And *Storm*, Engl. Phil.[2], p. 819, cites the same form from Thackeray and from *Dickens's* Oliver Twist. As a rule, vulgarisms of this kind are mere survivals from an earlier stage of the spoken language of educated people, and as such are well worth close study.

We have not, however, found any direct evidence to prove the syncopic pronunciation with suppression of the *i*, and if we put the question whether such syncopic pronunciation was in use already in Shakespeare's time, the only indications pointing that way which we have come across, are the spellings *Lucus* J.C. IV, 3, 296, F.; *Marcus* Cor. I, 9, 65 & 67, F.; and *Octavus* J.C. III, 2, 276, F.

IV. 1. oa.

M. *full*:   Choaspes *once*; Mánoah *once* in S.A. 328.

M. *short*: Mánoah 3 *t.*, *e. g.* S.A. 1441; Siloa *once.*

Sh. *full*:   coact *once*; coactive *once*; Genoa *once.*

The "short" pronunciation is *Mano* and *Silo*, for on p. 81 Jones gives the sound *o* for written *oa* in the words "Ahanoam, Boanerges, Gilboa, Jeroboam, mecoacum, Zoan, Zoar"; and Owen Price (1668) (see Ellis, p. 1028) registers the following trio among the words of like sound:

"Shiloh, Siloe, Siloah".

IV. 2. oe.

M. *full*:   Aroer *once*; soe'er *once*; soever *once*; whatsoever *once*; wheresoe'er *once*; whoever 4 *t.*; whomsoever *once.*

M. *short*: Sámoed *once.*

Sh. *full*:   howsoe'er 6 *t.*; howsoever 3 *t.*; soe'er 6 *t.*; soever 4 *t.*; whatsoe'er 6 *t.*; whatsoever 7 *t.*; whencesoever *once*; whoe'er 8 *t.*; whoever 14 *t.*; whosoe'er 3 *t.*; whosoever *once.*

Sh. *short*: whensoe'er *or* whensoever *once* in M. for M. V, 1, 158.

In P.L. X. 696 there can be no doubt of the pronunciation of *Samoed* as *Samod*, in two syllables. The modern form of the word is *Samoide, Samoied*, or *Samoyed*.

The syncopic pronunciation of *whosoever* as *whosever* is proved by the mode of printing in the following line:

Whos'euer greater fearde.
H.   Then these O father yet agayne
Jasp. Heywood, Hercules Furens (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 40).

And in Ellis, Pronouncing Vocabulary of the **XVII.** century we find it stated that Cooper (1685) records the pronunciation *howsever* for *howsoever.*

IV. 3. oi.

M. *short*: echoing 3 *t.*

Sh. *short*: hálloing *once*; Simois *once*.

The "short" pronunciation of *Simois* is probably *Simos*. Jones says on p. 51 that *hemorrhoids* is pronounced *hemerods*, and the spellings *emerods, emerodes*. and *emrods* are common in the 17th and 18th centuries. The form *emerods* is found repeatedly in the Authorised Version, *e. g.* Deuter. 28, 27; 1 Sam. 5, 6. But the diphthongal pronunciation of *oi* as in *spoil*, i. e. the modern sound of *i* in *wine*, is also likely to have been in use.

The "short" pronunciation of the present participles *echoing* and *halloing* is brought about by syncopation of the *o*. Bysshe, The Art of English Poetry, 1702. says on p. 17 that "Gerunds of the Verbs in OW as *Foll'wing, Wall'wing*, etc." admit of contraction. The forms just mentioned, owing to the intervening *w*, which, however, was probably not pronounced, do not belong to our subject, but the principle is the same. The Folio of Shakespeare prints *hollowing*, not *halloing*. and Milton always uses *to hallow* (four times in Comus). where modern editions print *halloo*.

IV. 4. oo.

No instances in Milton or Shakespeare. We register the collocation, because Jones says on p. 81 that *cooperate* and *coordinate* may be sounded *coperate* and *cordinate*.

IV. 5. ou.

M. *short*: Alcinous *3 t.*

We incline to believe that *-ous* was in this case pronounced like the ending *-ous* in *amorous, virtuous*. etc.

V. 1. ua.

M. *full*: insinuate *once*: situate *once*; situation *once*.

M. *short*: actual *once*; annual *4 t.*: casual *3 t.*; continual *once*; dividual *twice*; effectual *twice*; extenuate *twice*: fluctuate *once*; gradual *twice*: habitual *once*; individual *3 t.*; ineffectual *once*; intellect-

ual 4 *t.*; Joshua *once*; mutual 12 *t.*; perpetual 13 *t.*; punctual *once*; sanctuary 5 *t.*; sensual 3 *t.*; sensualest *once*; sensuality *once*; sp(i)ritual 8 *t.*; spiritual 3 *t.*; unusual *twice*; usual *once*; virtual *twice*; visual 3 *t.*

Sh. *full*: continuance *twice* in M. of V. I, 1, 125 and I H 4. IV, 3, 105; effectual 3 *t.* in Shrew III, 1, 68, II H 6. III, 1, 41 and T.A. V, 3, 43 ('fectual); extenuate 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 1010; extenuation *once*; February *once*; insinuate 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 1012; insinuation *twice*; Mantua 12 *t.*, *e. g.* R. & J. III, 3, 149; Padua 3 *t.* in M. of V. IV, 1, 403, Shrew II, 1, 370, and III, 2, 136; perpetual 3 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 726; sanctuary *twice* in R 3. III, 1, 55 & 56; sensuality *once*; situation *twice*; valuation *twice*.

Sh. *short*: actual *once*; annual 5 *t.*; casual *once*; casually *once*; casualty 3 *t.*; commutual *once*; continual 10 *t.*; continually *once*; continuance 5 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 1097; continuate *twice*; Cophetua *twice*; effectual *once* in Gent. III. 1, 223; effectually *twice*; extenuate 3 *t.*, *e. g.* M. for M. II, 1, 27; insinuate *twice*, *e. g.* R 2. IV, 1, 165; intellectual *once*; Mantua 7 *t.*, *e. g.* R. & J. III, 3, 169; manual *twice*; mutual 17 *t.*; mutually 5 *t.*; Padua 21 *t.*, *e. g.* M. of V. IV, 1, 119; perpetual 19 *t.*, *e. g.* Lucr. 784; perpetually 3 *t.*; sanctuarize *once*; sanctuary *twice*, *e. g.* R 3. III, 1, 28: sanctuar' 3 *t.* in R 3. III, 1, 42, IV, 1, 94 and Cor. I, 10, 19; sensual 4 *t.*; sp(i)ritual 6 *t.*; sp(i)ritualty *once*; uneffectual *once*; unusual 6 *t.*; usual 6 *t.*; usually *once*; victual 3 *t.*

In the "short" pronunciation of the -*ua* ending *a* is apocopated, at least on p. 114 Jones gives the pronunciation *Mantu* for Mantua. As the name for an article of female dress, the word *mantua* still retains this dissyllabic pronunciation. *Padua* may be confidently supposed to have followed the same rule. Latimer's Sermons, 1549 (ed. Arber), have the spellings *Josua* and *Josue* interchangeably; considered in connection with the preceding words, the second of these spellings speaks strongly in favour of apocopic pronunciation. *Cophetua* only is less certain, because the Folio of Shakespeare has the spelling *Covitha*.

On p. 25 Jones says that the sound of *a* is written *ua*, "when it may be sounded *ua* as in *annual, casualty, continual, effectual, Electuary, February, guard, guardian, January, Language, mortuary, mutual, perpetual, promptuary, punctual, Sanctuary, sensual, sumptuary, Textuary, Vant-guard, Victuals, Virtual, Visual, usual*."

In *victuals* syncopation of the *u* is the invariable rule still in our days. We have not up to now found any instances in metre of the dissyllabic pronunciation of *ua* in the words *guard, guardian,* and *language*.

The syncopic pronunciation is aptly illustrated by the following rhyme:

> For nothing else has Pow'r to settle
> Th' interests of Love. perpetual.
>> Hudibras. III Part. 1678, p. 53.

"Th'" is a misprint for *The* here.

We have come across the following syncopic spellings in print: *mutally* Wives Sc. XVII, 9, Q. S.; *vnusall* Lear, II. 3, 4, Q. & F.;

> . . . . . which kepe you and youres continully strengthynge
> you with his sprete of comforte to his glory for ever Amen.
> *W. Roy & J. Barlowe,* Rede me and be nott wrothe, etc. (Repr. Arb. p. 25).

But here beholde the holy sancturie:
<div align="right">*Gascoigne* (Ed. Hazlitt, Vol. I, p. 277).</div>

In Gower we have met with *spirital* and *vitaile*, the latter being nearer to the original old French form. "The word *victuals* is grossly misspelt, by a blind pedantry which ignores the French origin" (*Skeat*, Etym. Dict. i. v.).

Ch. Butler, Magd. Master of Arts, who brought out his "English Grammar, *etc.*" in 1633, states in "An Index of woords Like and Unlike", that the two following words are pronounced the same:

"a Message nuncium a messuage messuagium".

These two words are also given in R. Hodges's list (Ellis, p. 1020), and by Owen Price, as cited by Ellis, p. 1024, in his list of words of like sound. This last list also includes "*annual*, *annals*". This might be supposed to point to dropping of the *s* in *annals*, but the *s* may be the printer's, the singular *annal* being rare already in the XVII century. Cooper (1685) also has "*message* nuncium, *messuage* villa".

<div align="center">V. 2. ue.</div>

M. *full*:   influence 10 *t.*, *e. g.* Christ's Nat. 71; Penuel *once*.

M. *short*:   effluence *once*; influence 2 *t.*, in P.L. III, 118, and IX, 309; profluent *once*; statue *twice*.

Sh. *full*:   influence 4 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 78, 10; statue 4 *t.*, in II H 6. III, 2, 80, R 3. III, 7, 25, J.C. II, 2, 76 and III, 2, 192.

Sh. *short*: confluence *once*; influence 4 *t.*, *e. g.* Sonn. 15, 4: statue 16 *t.*, *e. g.* Venus 213.

Jones says on p. 46 that the sound *e* is written *ue*, "when it may be sounded *ue*, as in affluence, influence, refluent, etc."

The modern pronunciation of the word *statue* shows that the "short" form was brought about by apocopation. Owen Price's table (1668) of Words of Like Sound (Ellis, p. 1028) gives:

"stature, statute, statue".

The statement at the same time proves the non-pronunciation of the final consonant in the first two words. Confusion between these three words is of frequent occurrence in the old texts. This confusion is intentional in Ado III, 3, 85, F., *statues* for *statutes*; *statute* for *statue* is a printer's error in Per. II, Prol. 14. Q_2 and Q_3; *statuer* for *statue* we have met elsewhere (Cf. W. Shak.: Prosody and Text, p. 18).

V. 3. ui.

M. *full*:   fruition *twice.*
M. *short*:   arguing *twice*; issuing 7 *t.*
Sh. *full*:   fruition *once.*
Sh. *short*: arguing 3 *t.*; issuing 4 *t.*; rescuing *once*; valuing
              once.

Direct evidence for the syncopation of *u* in the *-uing* ending, we have not found, but the analogy of the other present participles (see pp. 181 and 189 ff.) puts it beyond reasonable doubt.

Since of the trisyllabic word *puissant*, now usually stressed on the first syllable *pu,* older orthoepists mention a pronunciation with the accent on the second syllable *is,* the question arises whether the latter pronunciation was at all admissible in XVII. century use. If so, the word would have to be discussed here. Now in metre Milton has the word *puissant* 5 times, and Shakespeare 10 times, and in all these cases the word is dissyllabic with the stress on the

first syllable. That it must have been the *i* that was syncopated, so that *ui* was sounded as long *u*, is proved by the circumstance that Shakespeare has 4 times the word *puissance* as a trisyllable with the primary accent on the first syllable, so that in the three cases in which the same word occurs in Shakespearean metre as a dissyllable, the pronunciation must have been *pu'sance*.

An interesting analogue to the breaking up of the originally monosyllabic *ui* in *puissance*, is furnished by the word *bruin*, originally a Dutch word of one syllable.

V. 4. uou.

M. *full*:   superfluous *once* in P.L. IV, 832; vacuous *once*.

M. *short*:   ambiguous 4*t.*; assiduous *once*; circumfluous *once*; conspicuous 8*t.*; contemptuous 4*t.*; contiguous *twice*; discontinuous *once*; impetuous 6*t.*; incestuous *twice*; irriguous *once*; mellifluous *twice*; presumptuous 4*t.*; presumptuously *once*; promiscuous *twice*; sinuous *once*; strenuous *once*; sumptuous *twice*; superfluous 4*t.*, *e. g.* P.L. V, 325; tempestuous 3*t.*; tortuous *once*; transpicuous *once*; tumultuous *twice*; unctuous *once*; unsuperfluous *once*; virtuous 13*t.*; virtuousest *once*; voluptuous 3*t.*

Sh. *full*:   presumptuous *once* in III H 6. I, 1, 157; superfluous *once* in Lear II, 4, 268; virtuous 10*t.* in Ado V, 1, 312, Shrew II, 1, 43 & 92, III H 6. III, 3, 245, IV, 6, 26 & 27, R 3. I, 2, 104, Tim. III, 2, 45, O. III, 3, 186, and Per. II, 5, 67.

Sh. *short*:   ambiguous *once*; contemptuous *twice*; contemptuously *once*; impetuous *twice*; incestuous 4*t.*; ingenuous 3*t.*; perspicuous *once*; presumptuous

4 *t.*, *e. g.* A. W. I, 3, 204; sumptuous 3 *t.*;
sumptuously *once*; superfluous 13 t., *e. g.* H 5.
IV, 2, 11; tempestuous *twice*; tumultuous 4 *t.*;
unctuous *once*; virtuous 63 *t., e. g.* Lucr. 252;
virtuously 4 *t.*; voluptuousness *twice*.

Jones says on p. 88 that the sound of *ou* is written
uou, "when it may be sounded *uous*, as in *ambiguous, con-*
spicuous, contemptuous, contiguous, ingenuous, perspicuous,
presumptuous, promiscuous, strenuous, sumptuous, superfluous,
tempestuous, virtuous".

And directly after this he states, that the sound of
ous is written *uous*, "when it may be sounded *uous*, as in
virtuous, u-uou, above".

In strict logic, these two statements taken in connection
with each other, would warrant the inference that in these
words *final* s was only optionally pronounced. This is
quite possible, but the point is outside our present subject.

The syncopic pronunciation with dropping of the first
u in *uou* is aptly illustrated by the following rhyme:

> I'l prove my self as close, and vertuous,
> As, your own Secretary, Albertus.[1])
> > Hudibras. II Part, 1664, p. 32.

and by occasional phonetic spellings, *e. g. ingen(n)ous* in
L.L.L. IV, 2, 80, Q. & F.

> . . . ., to comfort the desperate, to cut off the presumptous,
> to saue thine owne soule by thy sure faith, ...
> > *J. Lyly*, Euphues, 1579 (Repr. Arber, p. 113).

Tempestous is found in Chaucer's Troilus, II, 5.

Some of the words above discussed, *e. g. incestuous,*
unctuous, etc. are pretty frequently found in print with the
spelling *incestious, unctious*, etc. The confusion that is here

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[1]) Pronounce: Secretar' Albertus.

exemplified between *u* and *i*, also occurs between *e* and *i* in analogous positions, and is very naturally induced by the frequent practice either of dropping the sound of these letters in such cases, or of pronouncing them so indistinctly as to render them practically indistinguishable by the ear.

V. 5. uu.

Words containing this combination do not occur either in Milton or in Shakespeare, but for the sake of completeness we mention that Jones says on p. 115 that the sound of *u* is written *uu* "in *Carduus*, sounded *cardus*".

VI. 1. ya.

M. *short*: Libyan 3*t*.

Sh. *short*: Libya 4*t*.

These words, together with those in the sections following, are treated like those spelt with *i* instead of *y*. The spelling *Libian* is found in P.L. I, 355, and the Quartos as well as the Folio of Shakespeare always print the ending of the word *Libya* as *-bia*.

VI. 2. ye.

M. *full*: hyena *once*.

Sh. *full*: Syenna *once*.

Sh. *short*: lawyer 4*t*.

Of "*Bowyer*, *Lawyer*, *Sawyer*", Jones registers only the trisyllabic pronunciation *law-i-er*. We have come across this pronunciation once or twice in Shakespeare's contemporaries. The "short" pronunciation is *law'er*, as may be seen, *inter alia*, from Levins's Manipulus Vocabulorum, where (col. 74) "A Lawyer", "A Mawer", "A Tawer" form a rhyming triplet of dissyllabic words. We have found the spelling *lawer* repeatedly in Lever's sermons, *e. g.*

> . . . be thou gentleman in the contrey, be thou lawer, be
> you courtear, or what maner of man soeuer thou be, ...
>   *Th. Lever*, Sermons, 1550 (Repr. Arber, p. 29).

The spelling *lawer* also occurs on pp. 38 (twice), 50, and 63, whereas the form *lawyer* is found but once in these Sermons, viz. on p. 88. We mention this as a telling example in proof of our contention that in such cases it is not ordinary misprints that we have to do with, as seems to have been generally assumed with respect to nearly all those quotations of ours which we adduce as phonetic spellings.

As regards the "short" form of *bowyer*, compare:

> Thus a shooter muste begyn not at the makynge of hys bowe lyke a bower, but at the byinge of hys bow lyke an Archere.

R. *Ascham*, Toxophilus, 1545 (R. A. p. 116).

VI. 3. yi.

M. *short*:   carrying *once*; envying *twice*; glorying *once*; marrying *once*; pitying *twice*.

Sh. *full*:   burying *once* in Per. III, 2, 72; levying *once* in A. & C. III, 6, 67; marrying *once* in Wives IV, 6, 50; miscarrying *once*; pitying *once* in H 8. II, 3, 53; tarrying *once* in M.N.D. V. 1, 149.

Sh. *short*:   accomp(a)nying *once*; bandying *once*; burying *twice, e. g.* Lucr. 1810; carrying *once*; dallying *once*; discandying *once*; emptying 3 *t.*; envying *twice;* levying *once* in J. C. IV. 1, 42; marrying 3 *t., e. g.* R 3. I, 1, 159; pitying 5 *t., e. g.* Lucr. 1747; studying *twice*; tarrying 3 *t., e. g.* J. C. V, 5, 30; varying 5 *t.*

[We regret to say that in the first cast of the present paper we had overlooked these and the following present participles. Their insertion was an afterthought, and we may well have passed over a few of them.]

The "short" pronunciation is brought about by dropping the *y*, as is proved by the following spellings:

> To which these carr'ings on did tend?
>> *Hudibras*, I Part, 1663, p. 114.
> And threw my selfe amid the streame: which as I dallingly
>> *Arth. Golding*, Metamorph. 1587, p. 73.
> But than fro thens wythowten any hardnes or taryng
> they ascende vppe to the hey heuin . . . .

The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham, 1482 (Rep. Arber, p. 108).
> . . . ther was no difficulte ther was no taryng yn her as-
> cendyng . . .

>> Id. ibid.
> And as tochyng the taryng that y made yn thys vysyon . . . .
>> Id. p. 110.
> By some unpitting Pirat that is sack'd:
>> *Drayton*, Heroic. Epistles (Repr. Spens. Soc. p. 334).

The identical pronunciation of *marrying* and *marring* is proved, *inter alia* by the word-play in Wives I, 1, 25 & 26, and it often led the old printers astray. In the second Folio the word *marring* Wives I, 1, 26 is spelt *marrying*; in the seventh Quarto R 3. I, 1, 159 we have *marring* instead of *marrying*.

Of intrusive *y* before -*ing* we cite the following instances we have found in print:

> . . . ., the feare of their enemies, the auoydying of punish-
> ment, ...
>> *R. Ascham*, Toxophilus, 1545 (Repr. Arber, p. 84).
> Lette euerie man do his owne busines, and folow his callying.
>> *Hugh Latimer*, Ploughers, 1548 (Repr. A. p. 29).
> And so to conclude wyth suche gamnying [1]. I thynke there
> is no vngraciousenes in all thys worlde, that carieth so far
> from god, as thys faulte doth.
>> *R. Ascham*, Toxophilus 1545 (R. A. p. 57).
> . . . ., and shotying it selfe also (if it coulde speke) for
> your kyndnesse, wyll can you very moche thanke.
>> Ibidem, p. 31.
> . . . .: for I my selfe do remembre that shotying in war is
> but smally praysed, ...
>> Ibidem, p. 65.
> Cursed swerying, blasphemie of Christe.
>> Ibidem, p. 56.

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[1] *Gamning*, obsolete form of *gaming*.

VI. 4. yo.

M. *short*: embryo *once*; embryon *twice*; Geryon *once*.

Sh. *short*: Halcyon *twice*; ronyon *once*; Sicyon 3 *t*.

Since the great majority of these words also occur with the *io* spelling, they may be held to follow the rules for the *io* words.

VII. 1. eia.

Sh. *full*: plébeian *twice* in Cor. V, 4, 39, and A. & C. IV, 12, 34.

Sh. *short:* plébeians *twice* in Cor. I, 9, 7, and T. A. I, 1. 231.

In view of the spelling *Plebeans*, which occurs a couple of times in the Folio, and also in the Quarto of Titus Andronicus, the dropping of the *ei* or the *e* in the "short" pronunciation is quite certain.

VII. 2. eii.

Sh. *full*: plébeii *once*.

VIII. 1. eyi.

Sh. *short*: journeying *once*; lacqueying *once*.

The line A. & C. I, 4, 46 is often cited to show the marvellous art of Shakespeare in making use of the extra syllable. This extra syllable, however, and all others, exist only in the imagination of long-suffering readers. The Folio, the only authoritative text of A. & C., has *lacking*, and not *lacqueying*.

VIII. 2. eyo.

Sh. *full*: púrveyor *once*; súrveyor *once*.

The evidentiary material set forth in the preceding pages in our opinion goes to prove with absolute certitude that in Milton no more than in Shakespeare can there be question of synizetic pronunciation in any words in which the two

vowel-sounds adjoining each other are preceded by another
consonant than one representing an s-sound.

In the case of a small minority of the said words —
the words with preceding s-sound we reserve for separate
discussion — we have to assume "short" pronunciation by
means of apocopation; as regards the great majority of them,
we have brought together a mass of irrefragable evidence
that puts syncopic shortening in their case beyond all rea-
sonable doubt.

In a great number of these words the old syncopic
shortening has been replaced by the synizetic shortening of
modern pronunciation. According to Ellis, John Wallis in
his Grammatica Lingvae Anglicanae (first edition: Oxoniæ,
1653)[1]) was the first to make mention of this synizetic pro-
nunciation, but only for the word *Christian*, and for no
other word. On turning to Wallis's book, however, we have
not found the slightest reference in it to a synizetic pro-
nunciation of the word *Christian*. Here, as in so many other
cases, Ellis's statements turn out to be misleading. On p. 61
of the Editio Sexta (Londini et Lipsiae MDCCLXV), Wallis
tells his readers that the word *Christian* is pronounced "per
i[2]) exile seu breve". By this *i* Wallis means the vowel-
sound in *bit, will*, etc. (p. 65). And he does not refer to
the second *i* in *Christian*, which he leaves quite undiscussed,
but what he means is, that the first *i* in *Christian* is short,
in contradistinction to the *i* in *Christ*, which he states to
be long.

The next mention in order of time, of synizetic pro-
nunciation is by Ellis assigned to Owen Price (1668), and

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[1]) In the British Museum copy of the *editio princeps* the 3 of
1653 is crossed out, and 1652 written in the margin.

[2]) The 1653 edition reads *e*, an evident misprint.

is concerned with the word *soldier*. This statement in Ellis, together with his references to Cooper and Miege, we have been unable to verify.

After Owen Price comes Cooper in 1685 with the words *bullion*, *celestial*, and in similar words -*sti* = -*sty*, *collier*, and similar words, *companion*, *courteous*, *onion*, and similar words.

In 1688 follows Miege with *soldier*.

And in 1701, as we have already said, we have Jones with only the words *Indian* and *soldier* and no others, while on the other hand this close observer of the usage of his day, in the case of the word *Indian* also registers its tri-syllabic pronunciation, and its pronunciation by dropping the second *i*.

Besides, still in 1678, in the III. Part of Hudibras, we get evidence of the syncopic pronunciation of the word *soldier*, in three rhymes, of which we have cited one on p. 159.

From this we have a right to conclude with a high degree of certitude that — as regards such words as have no *s*-sound preceding the two vowel-sounds — the synizetic pronunciation has gradually arisen at the close of the seventeenth century.

The English of the New England States of the American Union is an independent direct continuation of the English of the seventeenth century. We need hardly be astonished, therefore, though we cannot fail to be interested, to find that in the United States there may be heard even in our day a very large number of word-forms absolutely identical with those that Shakespeare and Milton must have made use of. Of the words which we have treated of in the preceding pages, we have found the following syncopic shortenings exemplified in J. R. Lowell's well-known Biglow Papers

(1846—1866) in the Yankee dialect, concerning his rendering of which Lowell expressly says: "As regards the provincialisms [*i. e.* deviations from the educated speech of our day] to be met with in this volume, I may say that the reader will not find one which is not (as I believe) either native or imported with the early settlers, nor one which I have not, with my own ears, heard in familiar use":

> *ath'ism, curus & cur'ous, Dannil, experunce, Gabr'el, illustrous, intellectle, Ishmel, materil, notorous, pecooler, prem'um, promiscu'sly, speritoolism, varus & var'ous, victor'ous.*

Of course, in England too, these old forms survive in various dialects.

A cursory search through the published parts of Prof. Wright's Dialect Dictionary for the purposes of the present paper, has yielded the following results as regards the traces of the older pronunciation on this point still extant in English dialects: *bustin* for bustion, *boostis* for bustious, *carrin* & *carron* & *carrun* & *karrin* & *careyn* for carrion, *casalty* & *cas'alty* & *caselty, etc.* for casualty, *champion*, "a variant of lit. E. champaign" (!), *Christen* & *Crissen* & *kessen* & *kirssen* & *Christ'an, etc.* for Christian, *clarent* and *clarient*, *curous* for curious, *gennal* for genial, *grievious* for grievous. The very forms used by Shakespeare and Milton!

In Part V of Ellis, E. E. Pronunciation, which treats of modern dialectal pronunciation, we hoped to find plenty of material that might yield important results for our present investigation. But we were sadly disappointed. Of all the words we are now treating of, the only one fully discussed by Ellis is the word *onion*. Yet, scanty as the catch was, as regards this word the result of our wading through Ellis's ponderous dialect volume was eminently satisfactory for our present purpose.

From John o' Groats' to Land's End, e'en through the length and breadth of the land, the syncopic pronunciation of *onion* with dropped *i* continues to be heard from the lips of rustic speakers, as Ellis tells us on pp. 58, 60, 68, 110, 116, 120. 128, 145, 162. 194, 211, 746, · 751, 763, and 785.

And, what is no less interesting, also the trisyllabic pronunciation of *onion* is vigorously alive at the present time, as we learn on pp. 165, 187, 328, 483, 537, 623,   · 633, and 672.

On p. 271, in an account of Forby's "East eastern" pronunciation, Ellis cites such forms as: *christan*, *curosity*, *curous*, *ingenous*, *ruffan*, *tedous*, *acquese* (= acquiesce), and *permiscous*; together with *disposial*, *stupenduous*, and *tremenduous*.

We pass over a couple of isolated instances of syncopic pronunciation registered by Ellis, but just make room for his reference on p. 713 of Part V to Dr. Murray's Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 135, where the full pronunciation of *communion* is mentioned, and also of other words, in which, however, *io* is preceded by an *s*-sound.

Although we might easily multiply instances from various more or less obscure books on pronunciation, vulgar or dialectal, we venture to think that what we have advanced up to now fully proves that the old syncopic pronunciation, as well as the old "full" pronunciation, is still extant, whatever pains the schoolmaster for many years past may have taken to uproot them.

The question now presents itself, what can have been the reason of the synizetic pronunciation having ousted the syncopic one in educated use?

No doubt it was the schoolmaster who was at the bottom

of it all. At the close of the seventeenth century the school-
master began to influence strata of the community that had
up to then been impervious to his teaching, and it was at
this very period that, as we have seen, the Holofernes [1])
spirit of literalism began to become rampant also in schools
destined for the mass of the people. The natural desire to
get rid of what was needless, on one hand, and the school-
master's mandate to give every written letter its due, on
the other, may well have led to the compromise which we
know as the synizetic pronunciation.

In the case of the words in which the two vowel-sounds
adjoining each other are preceded by an *s*-sound, we find
ourselves arrested by a difficulty. Up to now we have in
the present paper designated as "synizetic pronunciation"
the modern sound of *sh* (or *zh*) given to the letters *-ce-*, *-ci-*,
-si-, *-ti-*, *-(k)si-*, — not, indeed, because this sound is synizetic
in the strict sense of the term, but because it is generally
assumed and taken for granted that the *sh*-sound has arisen
from the *purely* synizetic pronunciation *sy* [with *y* consonant],
of which it is considered to be merely an ulterior develop-
ment. In other words: it is assumed that, taking as an
example the word *nation*, its pronunciation was *na-si-on* in
the first stage, *na-syon* in the second, and has become *na-
shon* in the third or modern stage.

Against this it must be observed, that up to now the
pronunciation *na-syon* of the second stage of development

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must be looked upon as purely hypothetical. But of greater weight than the absence of evidence on this point, are the results of our investigation as set forth in the preceding pages. They go to prove that the *na-shon* pronunciation was explicitly recognised by various orthoepists at the close of the seventeenth century, nay, that, certainly at least in the case of some words, it had been known a century earlier already. We have also found on indubitable evidence, that in the seventeenth century and before it, words in which there was no anterior *s*-sound, were shortened by syncopation or apocopation, but in no case by synizesis. Hence, so far as the words with a preceding *s*-sound are concerned, the purely synizetic pronunciation *sy* (with *y* consonant), which as we have seen has not arisen before the end of the seventeenth century at the earliest, cannot possibly be made to do duty as an hypothetical XV, XVI, or XVII century second stage of phonetic development.

Still, the solution of the difficulty is easy enough. It was not the *-si-* sound that underwent modification in the course of time, but it is the *s* that has changed its sound. The sound of the *s* must of old have been vacillating in words taken from the French: at the end of a word or syllable it often underwent palatalisation i. e. passed into the *sh*-sound.

This is proved by the historic development of the form of various words, of which we instance the following: *cash* from the French *casse*; *cash(ier)* from the French *casser*; *cushion* from O. Fr. *coissin*, Mod. Fr. *coussin*; *fashion* in Chaucer *fasoun* only; the numerous verbs in *-ish*, such as *to finish, to nourish, to punish*, all derive from O. Fr. stems in *-iss-*, *e. g. finiss-*, base of *finissant*; some of these verbs have Middle English forms with *s* for the modern *sh*: in

Chaucer we find both *norissing* and *norisshing*; in Chaucer's
Legende of Good Women, Lucrece:

> Teeres ful of hevytee (honestee?)
> Embelysshed hire wifely chastitee.

two manuscripts read *embelised, enbelised*; the N. E. Dict.
i. v. *embellish* cites from the romance of Partonope 5981
[ab. 1440]: Wyth beaute . . . nature Wold so embelyce ony
oo creature; and i. v. *flourish*, various XIV, XV, and even
XVI century passages — the last being Scottish —, containing
the forms *florist* (= flourished), *florisand* (= flourishing),
flurisit (Lyndesay 1530), etc.

The modern *anguish*, from the French *angoisse*, is found
spelt *anguys* in Pricke of Conscience [1340] 2240, *anguysse*
in Rob. of Glouc. [ab. 1298], p. 177, and *anguise* in *Ancren
Riwle* [ab. 1230], p. 178 (Skeat); and it long retained its
final consonant optionally unpalatalised. As late as 1482
we find in print:

> . . . . . was in grete anguys and sorowe of peynys and
> tormentys.
> The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham (Repr. Arber, p. 43).

The modern English name *Flushing* of the Dutch sea-
port is based on the native name *Vlissingen*. We find the
medial *ss* palatalised in Ben Jonson:

> This rapier, sir, has trauail'd by my side, sir, the best
> part of *France* and the *low Countrey*: I haue seene *Vlishing*,
> *Brill*, and the *Haghe*, with this rapier, sir, in my lord of
> *Leysters* time:
> Every Man out of his Humour, F. 1616, p. 127.

Modern *launch* is based on Middle English *launcen*, Fr.
launcer. Skeat quotes from the Promptorium Parvulorum
(1440): "*Lawncyn, lawnchyn*, or stynge with a spere or blode-
yryne, lanceo"; and even in 1580 we find John Lyly writing

> . . . ., who hoyseth vp all his sayles, and hath no winde,
> and launceth out his ship, and hath no water.
> Euphues and his England (Repr. Arber, p. 317).

The O. and Mod. Fr. *paroissien* figures in Chaucer and Langland as *parisshen*, and is found in the Revelation to the Monk of Evesh. (Repr. Arber, p. 49) under the form *pareshon*, the modern form being *parishioner*, with an unnecessary suffix. John Selden still spells it without the second *i*:

> Those Ministers that keep the Parishoners from it.
> > Table Talk. 1689 (Repr. Arber, p. 105).

Compare also *Swycher* for *Switzer* in

> An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money.
> > Th. More's Utopia Englished. 1556 (R. A. p. 56).

In the old editions of Shakespeare's works the spellings *goship* in R. & J. II, 1, 11, Q. & F., and *rushling* in Wives II, 2, 68 F. point to palatalisation of the *s*. We also remember to have met with a few *s:sh* rhymes in Shakespeare's contemporaries, which we now greatly regret to have omitted to keep notes of, because their significance escaped us at the time. But on turning over the volumes of Ellis, that past-master of fault-finding as regards the rhymes of the old poets, we are fortunate enough directly to light on the rhyme *refresh : redress* in Pass. Pilgrim XIII, 8 & 10.[1])

We subjoin the following utterances, culled from the works of the old writers on pronunciation.

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[1]) Since writing the above we have recovered two *s:sh* rhymes which we had formerly noticed in Ben Jonson:

> It should bee my wishing
> That I might dye, kissing.
> > *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616. p. 227.

> Welcome, monarch of this Isle.
> > Europes enuie, and her merror;
> Great in each part of thy stile:
> > Englands wish, and Scotlands blisse,
> > > Both France, and Irelands terror.
> > > > *Ben Jonson*, Folio 1616, p. 879 [The Penates].

Internal rhyme in the fourth line — in this case *wish: bliss* — occurs in each of the seven other stanzas of this poem.

In his list of "words which are so near alike in sound
as that they are sometimes taken one for another", R. Hodges
mentions *wist & wisht* (Ellis, p. 1022).

In Owen Price's "Table of Words of like Sound" are
found the following collocations (Ellis, pp. 1024—1028):

> *ass. ashes* any fuel burnt to dust. *ash* a tree, *ask*[1]) to enquire.
> *complice* a partaker, *accomplish*[2]).
> *jewes. Jewish*[3]), *juice.*
> *launce*, to cut off dead, rotten flesh, *lanch* to put out a ship
>   from harbour.
> *march* to go as soldiers go together. *Mars. marsh* a moor.
> *nesh* tender. effeminate. *neece* ones sister's, or brother's
>   daughter. *nice,* curious, delicate.
> *plush,* [*over-*]*plus,* [*non-*]*plus.*
> *quench, quince.*
> *shave, sheave* as of corn, *sheathe. shire* a slice of bread, *cieve*
>   that we winnow corn with.
> *Shiloh, Siloe, Siloah.*
> *shut. soot.*
> *thrush, thrust*[4]).

Cooper mentions among his "Voces quæ eandem habent
pronunciationem" (Ellis, p. 1030):

> *lease* charta redemptionis, *leash* ternio canum.

In Jones (p. 101) we find that *s* was usually pronounced
as *sh* in the following words: *assume, assure, assurance, cen-
sure. consume, desume, ensue, ensure, fissure, issue, leisure,
measure, pleasure, pressure, pursue, pursuer, pursuit, sue, suet,
sugar, suit, sure, sute, tissue,* and *treasure.*

If it should be supposed, as is actually done by many
writers on phonetics. that in words in which *s* is followed
by long *u*, the *i* that constitutes the first element in the
modern diphthong *u*, has brought about the *sh* pronunciation,

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[1]) "Polite E. makes *asked* into (aast)". *Sweet*, Hist. of Engl.
Sounds. 1888, p. 28.

[2]) Owen Price of course means the aphetised form *'complish.*

[3]) The syncopated form *Jew'sh* is of course meant.

[4]) Dropping of the final *t.*

we must observe against this that in such words the *sh* pro-
nunciation is probably older than the modern diphthongal
pronunciation of long *u*, while at the same time it seems
utterly out of the question that in such words as *censure,
fissure, leisure* the unstressed *u* should ever have been pro-
nounced as the modern diphthong *u*. Our examples more-
over prove that various final *s*'s have also got palatalised
without any aid from a following vowel. And finally, there
are hundreds of words in modern English, in which the
s-sound becomes palatalised, while at the same time the
vowel following it remains intact, and together with the *sh*
(or *zh*) sound continues to constitute a syllable by itself, so
that the modification or disappearance of the vowel-sound
cannot possibly have brought about the *sh* sound. As
examples of such words we cite: *acacia, Acacian, Asian,
Asiatic, Elysian, Elysium, nausea, nauseant, nauseate, nuncio,
prescience,* the numerous verbs in -*ciate* and -*tiate,* such as
associate and *satiate,* together with a large number of Latin
and Greek proper names like *Abantia, Abercius, Actium, Al-
sium, Amarynceus, Anaxias, Asiagenes, Aspasia, Arusianus,
Austesion, Barynsii, Brixia, Cassiodorus, Susiana, Tiresias,*
et tutti quanti.

From all this we have a right to conclude that the
modern so-called synizetic "short" pronunciation of the words
in which such combinations as -*io*-, -*ia*, etc. are preceded
by an *s* or *z* sound, is purely syncopic, and must be placed
in a line with the modern pronunciation of the word *marriage.*

And this pronunciation was current already in Shake-
speare's time. This admits of direct proof in the case of
a few words; for the word *martial,* for instance, it is proved
by the frequent interchanges with *marshal* that occur every-
where in the old texts. As regards the word *passion,* the

pronunciation *pash(i)on* is put beyond doubt, 1° by the rhyme
with *fashion*, Lucr. 1317 & 1319, Sonn. 20, 2 & 4, L.L.L.
IV, 3, 139 & 140, the said rhyme occurring also a few
times in Spenser, Jonson, etc.; and 2° by the spelling of the
apocopated form in the old text of Roister Doister:

> Nay for the paishe of God, let me now treate peace,
> > *N. Udal*, Roister Doister. ab. 1550 (Repr. Arber, p. 65).
> Backe for the pashe of God, backe sirs, backe againe.
> > Ibidem, p. 73.
> Away for the pashe of our sweete Lord Jesus Christ.
> > Ibidem, p. 78.

It is precisely for such newly evolved word-forms, of
which no conventional spelling has been handed down, that
writers and printers are naturally led to make use of some
mode of phonetic transcription of the sounds as they hear
them. Hence also the spelling *lushious*, which is found not
only in M.N.D. II, 1, 251, Q. — the Folio has *luscious* —
but also in several other writers. Jones says that this word
is always spelt with *sh*. This *lushious* can hardly be anything
else than the aphetised form of *delicious*, which aphetised form
printers (or writers) probably failed to identify. We have
the apocopated form *lush* in Tp. II, 1, 52, F.

But of much more far-reaching import than the evidence
in the case of a few isolated words, is the following very
significant passage, which Ellis on pp. 915 & 916 cites
from a black-letter book, probably of the year 1602, entitled
"Certaine grammar questions for the exercise of young Schollars
in the learning of the Accidence." To the question what
mistakes should be avoided, answer Nr. 7 runs thus:

> "*Abusing of letters*. as *v* for *f*. *vat* for *fat*. *z* for *s* as
> *muza* for *musa*. *sh* for *ci*. as *fasho* for *facio dosham* for
> *doceam fœlishum* for *felicium* and such like".

Now it goes without saying that an English boy who
was being grounded in Latin, would never think of sounding

ci as *sh* in that language, if he was not accustomed to do so in his mother-tongue. The argument is so cogent, that Ellis, who for the period 1550—1650 recognises only the "full" pronunciation of *passion* and all similar words, and who actually cites such rhymes as *passion*: *fashion* in proof of his contention that Shakespeare and Spenser are often guilty of imperfect rhymes — that Ellis, I say, is forced to admit on p. 916 that *sh* for *si* was "most probably an unrecognized English sound at the close of the XVIth century."

From this we see that Ellis has a knack of pooh-poohing positive evidence that does not fit in with his system. This "unrecognised sound" is not so much as alluded to in the further progress of Ellis's work, and in his phonetic transcriptions he figures all the words that here concern us, in "full" pronunciation, as he says in accordance with Salesbury's, Bullokar's, and Gil's practice in such cases (see Ellis, pp. 214 & 215).

But from Gil, for one, Ellis might have learnt very different things. On p. 132 of Logonomia Anglica, Ed. 1619, we read:

"Syllaba de binis confecta Synæresis extat.

Usitatissimus est hic metaplasmus in verbalibus passivis in *ed*; ut, *luv'd*, pro *luved*, & ubique alias: ut, *ev'rj*, pro *everj*; *habitation, whatsoever, okasion*, trissyllabis" [1]).

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[1]) There is a certain piquancy in the circumstance that Ellis also gives this quotation on p. 937 of his book, with a note in which he intimates that Gil probably means what we call the *purely* synizetic pronunciation of *occasion*. If Ellis thinks so, why does he only admit the "full" pronunciation? Of *whatsoever* he says that Gil probably means the pronunciation *whatsever*, but that this pronunciation "is quite conjectural, as there is no authority for it". See *ante*, p. 180. Of the word *habitation*, Ellis says nothing.

Gil explicitly says here that the last three words are usually (*usitatissimus est*!) pronounced in three syllables, and the context in which he says it, leaves not the least doubt that in these three words we have to assume syncopation, just as in the case of *loved* and *every*. Nor can it be in the least doubtful to the reader who has given us his attention up to this point, that Gil means the pronunciations *hab'tat'on* [with the second t = s], *whats'ever*, and *occas'on*. Compare with this the printed form *occayson* in the two passages from Ralph Robynson's translation of Thomas More's Utopia (1551), cited *ante*, p. 168.

If now on the basis of our preceding investigation we try to ascertain, whether in Milton and Shakespeare the -*ion* ending is as a rule actually shortened — and to this and the like questions the foregoing pages afford full answers — we undoubtedly find that such shortening "usitatissimus est".

For in P.L. and P.R. the "full" pronunciation of the -*ion* ending, whatever consonant may precede it, does not occur a single time. By way of exception only, the "full" pronunciation still occurs in Milton's early poems. But even in Shakespeare the "full" pronunciation of the -*ion* ending is exceptional in two directions. In the first place it is far rarer than the "short" pronunciation, and secondly, in the cases in which it is actually met with, its occurrence is almost invariably confined to the end of the verse-line.

From this we have every right to conclude that at the beginning of the seventeenth century this "full" pronunciation had practically disappeared, or at all events was dying out, in the spoken language, though it continued to eke out a sort of artificial life in the well-known conservatism of the

poets, who are apt to cling to the models left by the great
masters who have preceded them.

If our investigation has led us to the conclusion that
in Shakespeare's time the pronunciation of a word like
nation was *na-shon*, and *na-shi-on*, it must at the same time
be admitted on the strength of the unstable sound of the *s*,
that also the pronunciations *na-son* and *na-si-on* were in use.

For the *na-son* pronunciation we have evidence in such
rhymes as *lessen* : *confession*, and for the *na-si-on* pronun-
ciation we have an analogue in Jones's statement that words
like *assume* are *COMMONLY* pronounced with *sh*, from
which it must of course be inferred that also the pronun-
ciation with pure (unpalatalised) *s* was admissible.   We
strongly incline to a belief that it was precisely the pro-
nunciation of pure *s* that, in certain circles to which the
schoolmaster is likely to have given the tone, was looked
upon as the better, in fact as *the* pronunciation.   And this
fully explains why Salesbury, Bullokar, and Gil are silent
about the *sh* pronunciation. In point of fact, this way of
looking at the subject is strongly corroborated by Cooper,
who admits *shure* and *shugar* "facilitatis causa", although
he places such words immediately after his "vitanda barbara
dialectus" (Ellis, p. 215).

The form *rushling* for *rustling* would also seem to be
meant as characteristic of vulgarity in speech in the Shake-
spearean passage in which it occurs.

That two modes of pronunciation contending for the
mastery, should either temporarily or permanently meet with
different success in different words, is after all only what might
a priori be expected. Such is life also in the world of words!

In conclusion, we would lay special stress on one point
more.   The inferences to be drawn from rhymes, from the

laws of metre. and from word-plays, are of far higher value than the statements made by the schoolmasters on whose authority Ellis relies almost exclusively. Schoolmasters have always had a knack of laying down ex cathedrâ how things *ought to be*. Rhymes, puns, and the requirements of the metrical form, on the other hand, are fit to teach us how things actually *are*.

A curious example of the contest between theory and practice — all theory is well-known to be "grau", and as a rule lags a century behind the practice of a given period — is furnished by that very Dr. Jones, to whose spelling-book this chapter is so largely indebted, and who in most other respects shows himself an exceptionally acute and un-biassed observer. In the introduction to his book we read on p. 4:

> "By the same *reason* you have three Syllables in . . . .; six in *a-bo-mi-na-ti-on*; seven in *ex-com-mu-ni-ca-ti-on*, etc. because every one of those *Parts*, *viz. ex, com, mu, ni, ca, ti,* and *on*, are sounded distinctly by *themselves*, though the *pause* made between is very short".

Thus, as late as the eighteenth century, we hear the dissyllabicalness of the ending *-tion* laid down as an orthoepic canon, while Jones, who gives this theoretical view in the introduction to his book, in the body of it expressly refuses to recognise any other pronunciation of it than the *-shon* one.

ERRATA.

P. 6, l. 6 from top,   *for* themost *read* the most

„   9, „ 8   „   bottom, „   ynto   „   vnto

„ 39, „ 2   „   „   „   refering „   referring

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(W. M. Lindsay, Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.)

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