

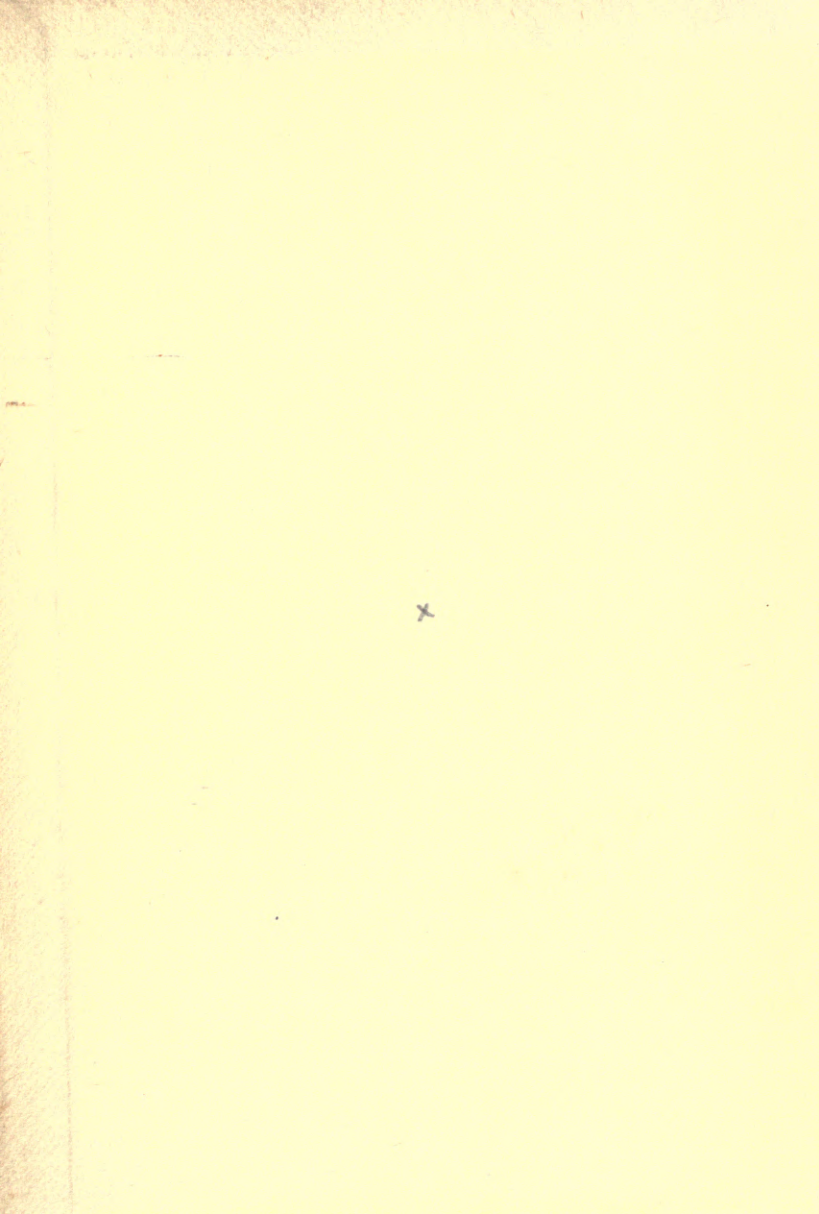
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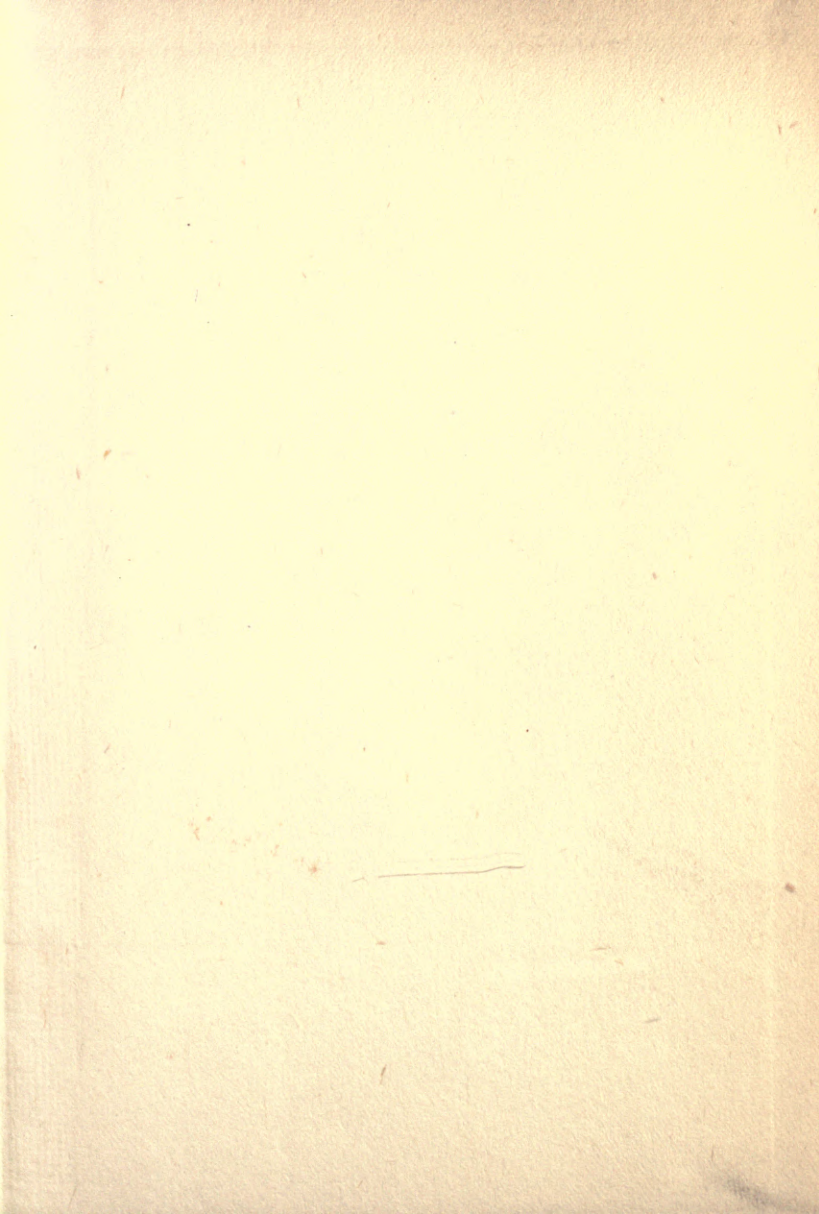
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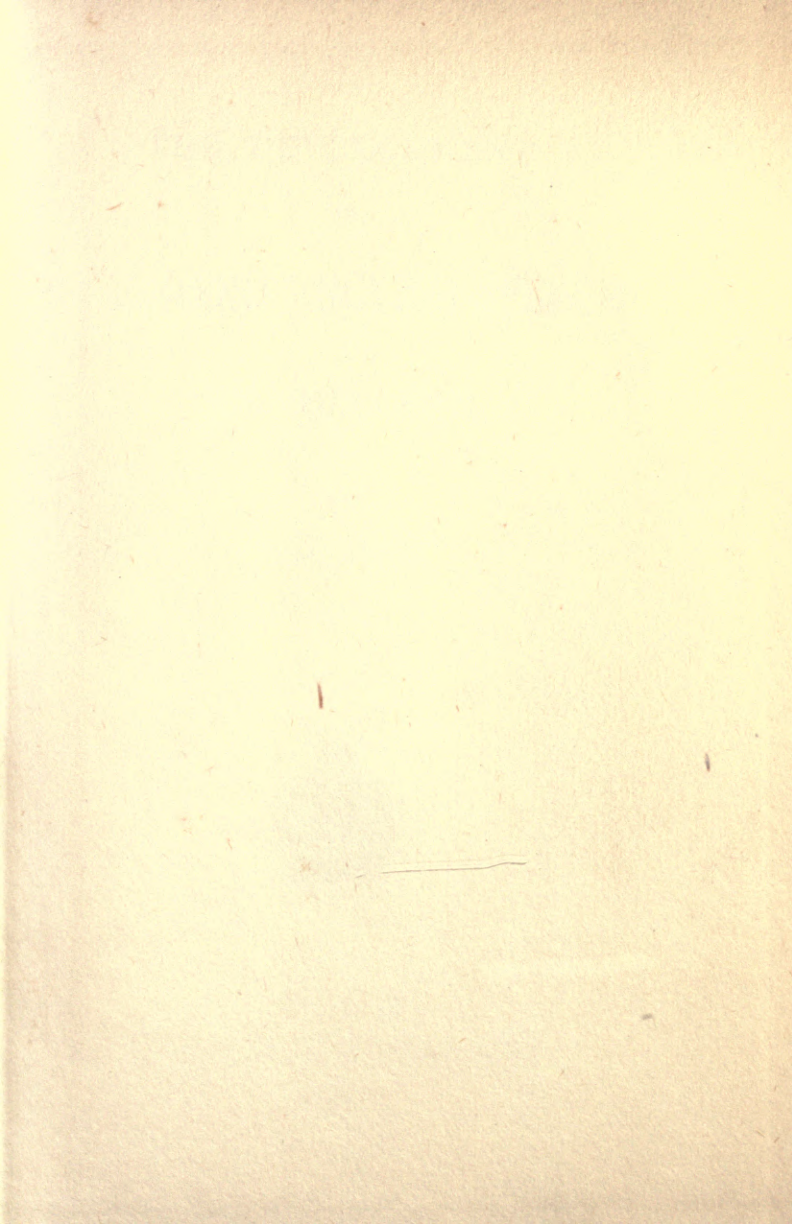
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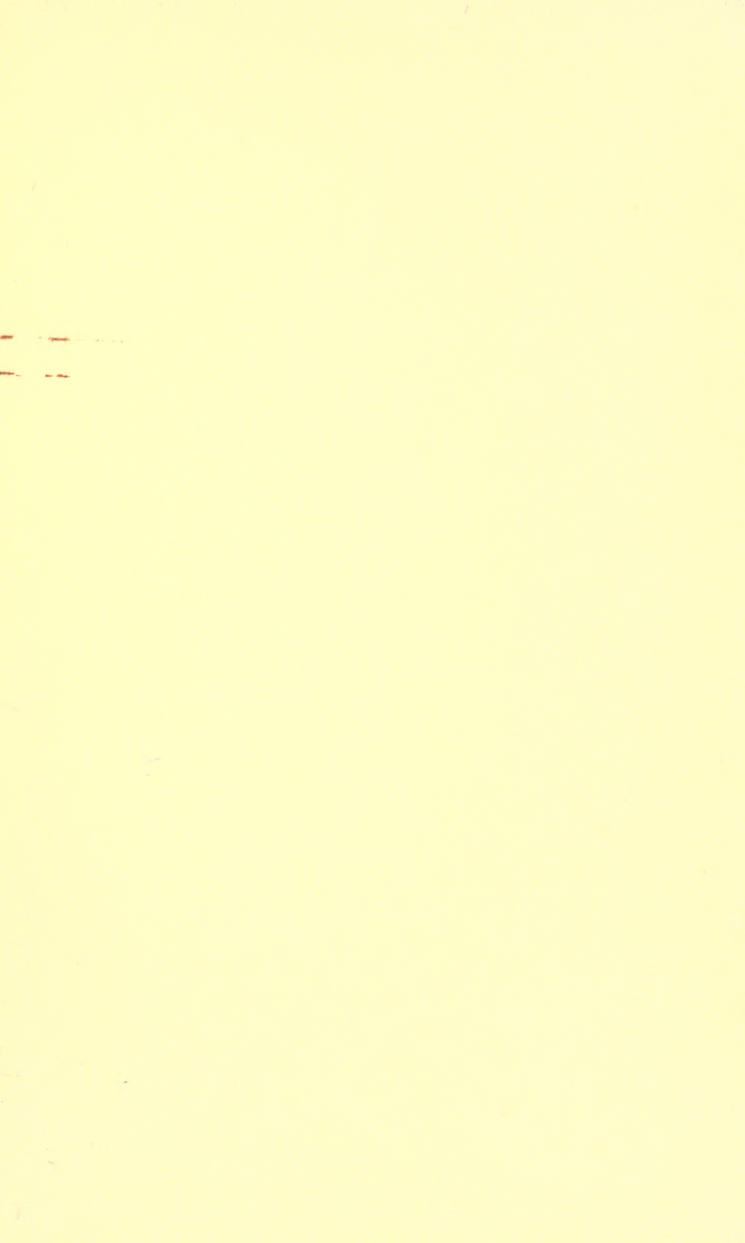


STANDARD
ENGLISH SPEECH









THE DEVELOPMENT
OF
STANDARD ENGLISH SPEECH
IN OUTLINE

BY
J. M. HART



NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

1907

Apr. 10, 1908

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PREFACE.

This little book is the outcome of lectures which have been delivered for some years past to our students of Middle English. In preparing the manuscript for publication and in reading proof I have got much help of every sort from Assistant Professor C. S. Northup and Dr. B. S. Monroe. As a whole, then, the book may be said to represent Cornell aim and method.

The book presupposes : (1). Students who have some knowledge of Old English, although this knowledge need not be extensive nor profound. Cook's First Book in Old English, or Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader (the general features of the grammar, with the reading of a few of the simpler prose texts), will be quite enough. (2). A thoroughly trained teacher, one conversant with Old and Middle English prose and verse, and equally conversant with grammatical and phonological investigation.

Further, this book is not a history of the language, not even in the barest outline, but merely an

attempt to show how the Englishman or American of to-day has come by his pronunciation. Only where there was need of explaining apparent inconsistencies of pronunciation have I touched upon grammatical forms. And in handling the extremely difficult problem of Palatalization, §§ 19, 20, I have felt constrained to go even beyond the limits of Old English grammar and introduce theories which belong in strictness to comparative grammar. Here the teacher's guidance is indispensable. On my part I have given, I trust, theory enough and data enough for fairly logical deduction.

For the most profitable use of this book I would recommend two other works. The one is Skeat's Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (ed. of 1901), an inexpensive and most convenient book for ready reference. It is not wholly free from errors, the author does not always exhibit the courage of his best knowledge. Nevertheless the book is a model of concise scholarship. The other work is O. F. Emerson's Middle English Reader, which offers the best collection of texts, the fullest annotation, and the fullest glossary. Of Professor Emerson's Grammatical Introduction my praise must be slightly qualified. With the purely grammatical part (declension, conjugation, &c.) I

have no fault to find ; but the author's treatment of the phonology is open to two criticisms. In the first place he tries to explain many phenomena which the beginner can afford to ignore ; in treating such an amorphous speech as Middle English, certainly amorphous until the coming of Chaucer, one should concentrate one's energies upon the most general phenomena and leave the rest to time. In the second place, Professor Emerson starts with Middle English sounds and harks back to Old English. This, it seems to me, is both awkward and unnatural. Surely no student in 1906 will begin his study of the language with Middle English, a procedure barely pardonable in the autodidacts of 1806.

Towards Kluge and other German scholars my attitude has been in places decidedly conservative, not to say rebellious. Although my obligations to Kluge's *Geschichte der englischen Sprache* are self-confessed on almost every page of this book, I must protest against his use of certain terms involving serious misconceptions. I mean the terms *Rückkehr* and *Rückumlaut*. They invite one to believe that *k* once palatalized to *ch* "goes back" to *k*, that *u* once umlauted to *y* "goes back" to *u*. Nothing of the sort ever happened or ever could have happened ! Next, in nearly all phonological dis-

cussions there is too much Ormulum ; the work of Brother Orm is viewed as if it were the norm of twelfth-century speech. This is to overlook the patent fact that it represented only one small district. Lastly, I am more than puzzled by the air of confidence with which the German school blocks out mediæval England in squares like a checker-board and assigns each bit of writing, from Layamon's Brut to the "Alliterative Poems," to its particular little square. I must confess to being deplorably deficient in this sense of the fourth dimension.

A word or two upon some peculiar signs and abbreviations used in these pages.

* denotes an assumed form. Either a form which may well have existed in the historical language, but which has accidentally not been preserved ; *e. g.*, **drop*, **dropp*, § 12. Or a purely conjectural form which philological theory postulates for pre-historic times in explanation of historical forms ; *e. g.*, **laȝion*, **laȝiō*, &c., p. 73.

[] denotes phonetic spelling, the vowels having the so-called Continental value.

ȝ is both phonetic and grammatical ; it represents a genuine semi-vowel which may function either as a pure vowel *i* or as a pure consonant *y*.

ø represents the peculiar English diphthongal sound in *law, saw, call, taught*.

ə is used, somewhat loosely, to indicate any indistinct vowel sound outside of the regular scale: *a-e-i-o-u, ö-ü*. In a strictly phonetic treatise I should have used more than one character; for the present book the ə seemed enough.

č represents a *k* in the first stage of palatalization; the complete palatalization of *k* is represented by *ch* or [tʃ]. The corresponding voiced palatal, the *j* of *joke*, the *g* of *giant*, is here represented by [dʒ]; the usual sign might be confounded with an O. E. *dȝ*.

G. T. (General Teutonic) is a safer abbreviation than *Germ.* (Germanic), which might be mistaken for German, the language of Germany proper. General Teutonic is that purely hypothetical form of speech which lies back of English, German, Scandinavian, Gothic.

Sievers refers to *An Old English Grammar*, by Eduard Sievers. Translated and Edited by Albert S. Cook. Third edition.

J. M. HART.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,

November 20th, 1906.

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THE DEVELOPMENT
OF
STANDARD ENGLISH SPEECH

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 1. Introduction.—The history of the growth of modern English pronunciation is complicated. Certain features are puzzling ; some are obscure and—even in the best light of our present knowledge—appear arbitrary. The chief features, however, admit of systematic explanation and can be mastered by all who will take the pains.

By way of comparison, it may be said that the development of modern English pronunciation is more difficult to account for than the pronunciation of any other modern Teutonic speech, *e. g.*, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish. This difficulty may be explained in part as the result of foreign influences.

For a century and a half before the Norman invasion, say from 880 to 1030, England was raided and in many places even occupied by Scandinavian invaders, usually called Danes, though probably the Norwegians were more numerous than the Danes proper. The distinction is of no value in this place, for in the ninth and tenth centuries the difference

between Danish and Norwegian speech must have been almost imperceptible. At any rate, for a century and a half certain parts of England, chiefly along the east coast between the Wash and the Tyne and running back at least half way to the west coast, were officially designated the *Danelagh*, or land of the Dane Law.

With the conquest of the whole of England by William of Normandy and his immediate successors, English speech was again subjected to a foreign influence, namely, French. This French influence was of much longer duration, was more extensive, inasmuch as it affected the whole island, and also more intensive. French influence affected not merely English speech but English ways of living and thinking.

Still, after making ample allowance for Danish and French influences, many if not most of the changes in English speech since 950 can be regarded only as the result of innate causes. Evidently the language had certain tendencies of its own in certain directions, quite irrespective of Danes and Normans.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that one feature of modern English pronunciation, the diphthonging of [ī] to [ai], of [ū] to [au], is paralleled in Mod. High German. We pronounce in English, just as in German, *mine* and *house*, *mein*

and *haus*. This diphthongization, however, though parallel in the two languages, was wholly independent. In Germany it began in the twelfth century and was completed in the fifteenth. In England it began in the fifteenth century but was chiefly an affair of the sixteenth. In Scandinavian speech there has been no diphthongization ; the old pronunciation *mīn* and *hūs* still survives.

§ 2. **Nomenclature.**—In its chronology the language is divided into three periods : Old (O. E.), Middle (M. E.), and Modern (Mn. E.), or—as some prefer—New (N. E.).

By O. E. is meant the language from the earliest recorded monuments (fragments and glosses, some of the seventh century) down to the year 1100 or perhaps somewhat later, say 1120.

By M. E. is meant the language between 1100 (or 1120) and 1500 (approximately).

By Mn. E., the language since 1500.

In its topographical distribution the language is described as Southern, Midland, and Northern.

The Southern division comprises those forms spoken south of the Thames and in a few counties to the north and west of the Thames, namely, Gloucestershire and parts of Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

Midland English comprises those forms spoken between the Thames and a line drawn somewhat irregularly between the Wash and the Humber and running N. W. to the west coast above Liverpool.

Northern English comprises those forms spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland, and in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Durham, and the northern parts of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Lancashire.

These two classifications, the chronological and the topographical, overlap each other in every stage of the language ; that is to say, O. E. had its Northern form (called Old Northumbrian), its Midland (called Mercian), and its Southern (called West-Saxon, of which Kentish was a variety). M. E. had its Northern, Midland, and Southern forms. And Mn. E. also exhibits the same general varieties.

Concerning Mn. E., however, there is this additional phenomenon to be noted, namely, the existence of the so-called *standard* or *literary speech*, which is used in varying degrees of purity by the cultivated classes throughout Great Britain and forms the basis of American speech.

This standard or literary English was in its origin Midland. One variety of Midland speech was transferred in the fourteenth century to the court and to

the administrative, legal, cultivated, and fashionable circles of London. Here it was further developed and permanently established in the fifteenth century. From London as a centre this standard and conventional speech has spread as above indicated. It is not, however, the speech of the lower and uneducated classes of the city of London ; their speech, called Cockney English, is a variety of the Southern dialect.

CHAPTER II.

VOWEL CHANGES.

These are of three general kinds: 1. Vowel-lengthening. 2. Vowel-shortening. 3. Change in the quality of the sound.

1. VOWEL-LENGTHENING.

§ 3. **Before Consonant Groups.**—An originally short vowel in a stressed syllable (stem syllable) was lengthened before certain consonant groups. This lengthening took place in late O. E.

1. A short vowel was lengthened before *-ld*.

Exceptions: *u* and its unlauded sound *y* (sometimes written *i* in O. E. and *ü*, *ui* in M. E.) were not lengthened. Thus, O. E. *byldan*, M. E. *bülden*, Mn. E. *build*, is still short.

Caution. The *-ld* must be a genuine old group; for instance, *fēld*, *fēld* (Mn. E. *field*, § 9). The vowel was not lengthened when the *l* and the *d* were originally in separate syllables in O. E. and subsequently brought together through syncope of an intermediate vowel.

Thus, contrast O. E. *cald*, *cāld* (genuine old group), M. E. *cōld*, Mn. E. *cold* (§ 10) with late O. E. *called*, *calld*, pret. of W. S. *ceallian*, from Danish *kalla* (§ 16. 1).

Further caution. It is all-important to determine which dialect form of the vowel was lengthened. Inasmuch as most of our O. E. texts are written in the Southern (West-Saxon) dialect, the student must reconstruct many words in their Midland-Mercian form. This means that the peculiar West-Saxon 'broken' and umlauted vowels must be reconstructed according to the Mercian type.

Illustrations of vowel-lengthening. These are given both for vowels that do not need reconstructing and for vowels that do.

Without reconstruction.

feld (*e* in all O. E. dial.) *fēld*, § 9.

cild (*i* in all O. E. dial.) *cīld*, §§ 14, 19.

gold, § 12.

With reconstruction.

eald, W. S. ; *ald*, Merc. ; *āld*, § 10.

wieldan, W. S. ; *weldan*, Merc. ; *wēldan*, § 9.

(Mn. E. *weld*, 'to beat metal together,' is borrowed from Swedish).

2. *i*, *u*, and *y* (*i*-umlaut of *u*) are lengthened before *-nd*. Examples :

O. E. *bindan* *bīndan* ; M. E. *bīnden* ; Mn. E. *bind*, § 14. *hund* *hūnd* ; M. E. *hūnd* ; Mn. E. *hound*, § 14. *gecynd* *gecȳnd* ; M. E. *i-cūnde* ; Mn. E. *kind*, § 14.

In M. E. the O. E. *ū* is usually written *ou* but has the value of [*ū*].

3. *i* and *a* are lengthened before *-mb*. Examples : *climban* *clīmban* ; M. E. *clīmbe* ; Mn. E. *climb*, §§ 14, 18. 1. *c.* *camb* *cāmb* ; M. E. *cōmb* ; Mn. E. *comb*, §§ 10, 18. 1. *c.*

In Mn. E. *limb*, which has a short *i*, the final *b* is not found in O. E. ; it is an accretion in late M. E. ; consequently there was no *-mb* to lengthen the *i*.

Exceptions to Vowel-Lengthening.

The principle of vowel-lengthening did not apply in forms where the root was increased by a suffix, or in forms where the consonant group was immediately followed by *r* or *l*. Thus :

O. E. *tyndre* is Mn. E. *tinder* (short *i*).

O. E. *elder* (Mercian) is Mn. E. *elder* (short *e*).

O. E. *cildru* (pl. of *cild*), Scotch *childer*, standard *children*.

Contrast *under*, *wonder*, *hinder*, with *wūnd* (*wound*), *be-hīnd*.

The suffixes *-en* of the past participle and *-an* of the infinitive, however, did not prevent lengthening. Thus :

O. E. *bindan* *bīndan* ; M. E. *bīnden* ; Mn. E. *bind* [ai].

O. E. *bunden* *būnden* ; M. E. *bounden* ; Mn. E. *bound* [au].

For the infinitive in *-ian* (2nd class weak) see § 5b.

The lengthenings mentioned in 1. 2. 3 took place in O. E. They were fully established by 1000 A. D. Inasmuch as many O. E. texts are later than 1000, the student of O. E. should accustom himself to pronounce *bīndan*, *būnden*, *fēld*, *gecȳnde*, *cīld*, etc., except in very old texts such as the Pastoral Care, Orosius, the Parker Chronicle. Certainly the lengthenings should be introduced in reading the texts of Aelfric.

The lengthenings are *general* ; they became permanent in all M. E. and, with certain qualitative changes—to be discussed hereafter—have passed into standard Mn. E.

There were in O. E. and M. E. other lengthenings

which did not become generalized and consequently did not pass into standard Mn. E. Thus, from the spelling in the *Ormulum* we know that *Orm* pronounced :

hōrd (O. E. *hord*).

ǣrd (O. E. *ard*, *eard*, see § 3).

swērd (O. E. *sweord*).

fōrth (O. E. *forð*).

ērðe (O. E. *eorðe*).

Orm's *bǣrn* denotes lengthening of O. E. *barn*, *bearn* ; his *barrn* must be the Danish *barn*, borrowed.

Orm's peculiar spelling enables us to determine usually the vowel quantity in the words used by him. For words not used by him, we have no such clue. Further, it is by no means clear that other writers in other dialects had the same lengthenings. This question is for the special student of M. E. ; the student who desires to know merely the history of standard Mn. E. need concern himself merely with the general lengthenings discussed in 1. 2. 3 of this section. It is quite certain that the other lengthenings did not exist in *Chaucer's* language. Only one or two traces have survived in standard Mn. E. Thus, O. E. *bard*, *beard* ; Mn. E. *beard* [ī], § 9.

Occasionally a dialect form in Mn. E. illustrates

the difference between dialect and standard in historical evolution. Thus, O. E. *wald* 'forest' was *wald* in Mercian; in Southern (Kentish) it was *weald*. The form *wald wāld* has given rise to *wōld*, see § 10, a word still used in poetry. Whereas the form *weald* became *wēld*, see § 9; this word survives in the 'Weald' [*wīld*] of Kent.

§ 4. Lengthening in Open Stressed Syllables.—A short O. E. *a*, *e*, *o* in an open stressed syllable was lengthened.¹ This lengthening took place much later than the one discussed in § 3. It began in the 13th century and consequently is characteristic of the M. E. period. For example :

O. E. <i>macian</i>	M. E. <i>māken</i>	Mn. E. <i>make</i>
O. E. <i>mete</i> 'food'	M. E. <i>mēte</i>	Mn. E. <i>meat</i>
O. E. <i>stelan</i>	M. E. <i>stēlen</i>	Mn. E. <i>steal</i>
O. E. <i>hopian</i>	M. E. <i>hōpen</i>	Mn. E. <i>hope</i>

Even such O. E. monosyllables as *he*, *me* have been lengthened to *hē*, *mē*, now spoken [*hī*, *mī*], § 9.

Orm's spelling (the *Ormulum* is of about the year 1200) indicates that he still pronounced the vowels short. Thus he writes (˘ for short, ˊ for long) :

¹ An open syllable is one which ends in a vowel. Where a single consonant occurs between two vowels, it goes with the second vowel. Thus *ma-cian*, *me-te*.

tākenn 'to take' ; *hēte* 'hatred' ; but
tākenn, O.E. *tācen* 'token'

Unfortunately Orm, though persistent in his use of the double consonant to mark vowel-shortness, is anything but persistent in his use of the signs 'and' ; he uses them only occasionally.

For other texts the student's chief reliance is upon the rimes. Whenever in poetry we discover that the rime-couplet is composed of syllables one of which had in O. E. a long vowel and the other a short, we are safe in inferring that the poem was composed after lengthening had taken place, *i. e.*, after 1250. Thus, *q̄re* (O. E. *āre* 'mercy') rimes with *-lōre* (O. E. *-lore* 'lost') ; see § 10.

In general the question of open-syllable lengthening in M. E. presents more difficulties than the O. E. lengthening before consonant groups. One striking difficulty is to account for the subsequent change which took place in the quality of the lengthened vowel. See § 11.

Not infrequently we find in M. E. a lengthening due to the dropping of a single consonant followed by vowel crasis ; and occasionally such a lengthening survives in Mn. E. Thus, O. E. *maced*, M. E. *māked*, *maad*, Mn. E. *made* ; O. E. *taken*, Mn. E. *ta'en*, pp.

Lengthening in open syllables, as a process of the late thirteenth century, necessarily affected Danish loan-words; for these were all introduced before 1200. Thus: Danish *taka*; O. E. *tacan*; M. E. *tāken*; Mn. E. *take*.

Some exceptions are difficult to explain. Thus, O. E. *hœfon* is still short in Mn. E. Perhaps this is due to the heavy suffix *-on*. The O. E. *deōfol* is *dēvil* (short *e*) in Mn. E. Orm writes *heoffness*, *heffness* (short *e*) but *deofless*, *defless* (long *e*). See § 7. M. E. *roten*, Mn. E. *rotten* (from Scand. *rotinn*) has remained short; whereas, O. E. *brocen*, M. E. and Mn. E. *broken*, has been lengthened.

2. VOWEL-SHORTENING.

Under this heading are treated two processes similar in method and result but distinct in time. The second process is in the main probably a century or two later than the first.

§ 5. **Early Shortening.**—This took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *i. e.*, in the border period between O. E. and M. E. Since the Danish loan-words were introduced mainly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, they have been affected like the native words.

The process is best understood when the words affected are arranged in the following groups.

a. Compound words.—A long vowel is usually shortened when in the composition two consonants are brought together. For example :

O. E. <i>wīsdōm</i>	Mn. E. <i>wisdom</i> .
Danish <i>hūsbōnde</i>	Mn. E. <i>husband</i> .
O. E. <i>gōsling</i>	Mn. E. <i>gosling</i> .
O. E. <i>crīstendom</i>	Mn. E. [<i>krisndəm</i> .]
O. E. <i>clānlic</i>	Mn. E. <i>cleanly</i> .
O. E. <i>Eādmund</i>	Mn. E. <i>Edmund</i> .
O. E. <i>hlāfmæsse</i>	Mn. E. <i>Lammas</i> .
O. E. <i>Strætford</i>	Mn. E. <i>Stratford</i> .

The Ormulum is not always in accord with standard speech. Thus, although Orm writes *wissdom* (short *i*), *laffdiȝ* ‘lady’ (short *a*, O. E. *hlāfdiȝe*), he retains long *ā* in *larspell*.

b. Words ending in a suffix or other termination prominent enough to bear a secondary stress in O. E.

It is necessary to bear in mind that such suffixes and terminations not only shortened an originally long vowel but kept an originally short vowel short before the lengthening consonant groups mentioned in § 3. The remarks in § 3, *Exceptions*, are peculiarly applicable here. Thus the suffixes *-an* (infini-

tive), *-en* (past participle), did not prevent the lengthening of a short vowel before a consonant group ; still less did they shorten a long vowel. But the heavy infinitive ending *-ian* (O. E.) of the second weak class did shorten a long vowel, as in

O. E. *hālgian* Mn. E. *to hallow*,

contrasted with

O. E. *hālig* Mn. E. *holy*.

As examples of suffixes and other terminations shortening a long vowel or keeping a short vowel short, may be noted :

O. E. *ǣrende* Mn. E. *errand*.

O. E. *cild(e)ru* Mn. E. *childer, children*.

(contrast O. E. *cild cīld*, Mn. E. *child*).

Perhaps we should be safe in holding that all O. E. words of three syllables, of which the first syllable contained a long vowel, have shortened that vowel ; as in O. E. *þrēotene*, Mn. E. *thirteen*, metathesis for *threten*.

c. Before certain consonant combinations.

1. Before *ht*, whether the *ht* was an original group and formed an integral part of the root or stem, or was formed from the juxtaposition of a stem ending in a guttural followed by an inflectional syllable beginning with a dental. Thus :

O. E. <i>lēoht</i>	late O. E. and early M. E. <i>līht</i> .
O. E. <i>sōhte</i>	“ “ “ <i>sōhte</i> .
O. E. <i>brōhte</i>	“ “ “ <i>brōhte</i> .
O. E. <i>tæhte, tāhte</i> ,	“ “ “ <i>tæhte, tāhte</i> .

See § 15 *B*.

2. Before *-ft*. For example :

O. E. <i>sōfte</i>	M. E. <i>sōfte</i> .
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and before *ss* from *ðs* and *ts* from *ds*. Examples :

O. E. <i>blīss</i>	M. E. <i>blīss</i> .
O. E. <i>mīlts</i>	M. E. <i>mīltse</i> .

Contrast

O. E. <i>blīðe</i>	Mn. E. <i>blithe</i> [<i>ai</i>] ;
O. E. <i>mīlde</i>	Mn. E. <i>mild</i> [<i>ai</i>].

Also before other O. E. *ss*. Thus :

O. E. <i>læssa</i>	M. E. <i>lēsse</i> .
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and before *-ðð*. Thus :

O. E. <i>sīððan</i> , late O. E. <i>seoððan</i>	M. E. <i>sīððen</i> .
O. E. <i>cýðð</i>	M. E. <i>kith</i> .
O. E. <i>wræððu</i>	M. E. <i>wrath</i> .

3. In the preterite and pret. part. of weak verbs, whenever syncope has taken place. Thus :

O. E. *cēpan*, *cēpte*, M. E. *kēpte* (*keppte*, Orm.)
(note Scottish *kēēpit*, unsyncopated.)

O. E. *hēran*, *hērde*, M. E. *hērde*.

O. E. *clādde* (Dan. *kleiða*), M. E. *clādde*.
(compare *clāðian*, *clāðede*, Mn. E. *clothed*,
unsyncopated).

The old reduplicating verbs : *slāpan*, *ondrādan*,
wēpan, *swāpan* have, by the side of strong preterite
forms, also weak preterites ; these latter have been
shortened. Thus :

slēpte, *-drædd*, *wēpte*, *swēpte*.

The operation or non-operation of syncope will
account for such parallel forms in M. E. as *dealt*
(short), *dealed* (long).

Syncope will also account for the present tense
drat (Chaucer), for O. E. *drādeð*.

4. There are other shortenings, less uniform and
consequently less easy to classify ; they seem to belong
to this period ; at any rate, to the thirteenth century.

a. Before *st* :

O. E. <i>brēost</i>	Mn. E. <i>breast</i> ,
	(but O. E. <i>preōst</i> Mn. E. <i>priest</i>).
O. E. <i>fōstor</i>	Mn. E. <i>foster</i> .
O. E. <i>dūst</i>	Mn. E. <i>dust</i> .
O. E. <i>fȳst</i>	Mn. E. <i>fist</i> .

On the other hand, in many French words and even in English words, a short *a* before *st* has been lengthened into [ē], like the change discussed in § 11. For example, *paste*, *taste*, *waste*, *haste* 'hurry,' pronounced *ǣ* in Chaucer's day, are now pronounced [pēst], &c.

b. Before *sc* (*sh*) :

O. E. *wȳscan* Mn. E. *wish*.

O. E. *flāesc* Mn. E. *flesh* (*flāesh* in Orm.)

§ 6. **Later Shortening.**—Some shortenings are to be set down as late M. E., possibly early Mn. E. Some took place after the changes in vowel quality mentioned in §§ 9, 10, 12 ; others took place before.

If there are any general principles governing this later shortening, they have not yet been discovered. For the present these changes seem arbitrary and inconsistent. For example :

O. E.	Mn. E.
<i>dēath</i>	<i>death</i> [ĕ].
<i>hāð</i>	<i>heath</i> [ī].
<i>dēad</i>	<i>dead</i> [ĕ].
<i>lēad</i> (metal)	<i>lead</i> [ĕ].
<i>lādan</i> 'to conduct'	<i>lead</i> [ī].
<i>dēaf</i>	<i>deaf</i> [either ĕ or ī].

O. E.	Mn. E.
<i>hēafod</i>	<i>head</i> [ɛ].
<i>lēaf</i>	<i>leaf</i> [i].
<i>flōd</i>	<i>flood</i> [ə].
<i>gōd</i>	<i>good</i> [ʊ].
<i>fōd</i>	<i>food</i> [ū].
<i>ōðer</i>	<i>other</i> [ə].
<i>bōc</i>	<i>book</i> [ʊ].
<i>bōsm</i>	<i>bosom</i> [ʊ, or ū].
<i>hæ̃lðu</i>	<i>health</i> [ɛ].
<i>genōg</i>	<i>enough</i> [ə].
<i>rūh</i> (<i>ruh</i> h Orm.)	<i>rough</i> [ə].
<i>stīf</i>	<i>stiff</i> [ɪ].
<i>fīf</i> , M. E. <i>five</i>	<i>five</i> [aɪ].
<i>dūce</i>	<i>duck</i> [ə].
<i>sēoc</i>	<i>sick</i> [i].
<i>mōnað</i>	<i>month</i> [ə].
<i>tēon</i>	<i>ten</i> [ɛ].

In late M. E., especially in certain texts of the fourteenth century, there is a marked tendency to shorten the vowel and geminate the consonant in comparative and superlative forms. For example, in *Piers Plowman*, *derrest* (*dēor*), *herre* (*hēah*), *gretter* (*grēat*), *sonnest* (*sōna*). O. E. *līnen*, M. E. *linnen*, *linen*, has become Mn. E. *linen*.

The change of [u] to [ə] in such words as *flood*, *rough*, *duck*, &c., is very late (eighteenth century). See § 15 *B*.

§ 7. **Certain Terminations.**—Certain suffixes present many difficulties and require special treatment.

a. *-tig*, Mn. E. *-ty*. This was originally an independent word used to form compounds. In Gothic *tigus* was used and declined as an ordinary noun, meaning a ‘decade,’ a unit of ten. In English it shortened a long stem vowel in accordance with § 5 *a*.

O. E. *twēntig*

Mn. E. *twenty*.

þrītig

thirty.

This numeral suffix is mentioned here merely to distinguish it more precisely from the following.

b. *-ig*, Mn. E. *-y*. This syllable, even in O. E., stood for at least two different formations.

1. In the O. E. *popig* ‘poppy,’ *īfig* ‘ivy,’ *bodig* ‘body,’ *hunig* ‘honey,’ it is a noun-suffix which has not yet been explained. The word *īfig* ‘ivy’ is to be put in a class by itself; the usual etymology treats it as *īf-hēg*, the *-hēg* being explained as the old form of the Mn. E. ‘hay.’ The etymology is anything but satisfactory.

The other three words are equally puzzling. *Popig* is supposed to be borrowed from the Latin *papáver*; yet why *papáver* or even *pápaver* should become *popig* no one seems to know. In *hunig* the suffix *-ig* appears to come from an earlier *-ang*, *-eng*; the stem *hun-* is still unexplained. The word *bodig* has not yet been explained in either of its syllables.

2. *-ig* as an adjective suffix is very frequent. It stands for a G. T. *-ag*, which is found in Gothic. Thus O. E. *hālig* is Gothic *hailag-s*.

Usually the *-ig* adjective does not shorten the stem vowel. Thus O. E. *hālig*, Mn. E. *holy*. There is, however, one exception at least; O. E. *ānig* is Mn. E. *any* [ě]. Orm's *anig* is ambiguous. Perhaps the shortening of *ānig* is due to the influence of *many*.

c. Some other suffixes need more investigation than they have yet received.

1. The *-en* of the pret. part and the *-ian* of the weak infinitive have been already mentioned, § 5 b. There is, however, another *-en* used as an adjective termination, for example in O. E. *hæðen*. This *-en* does not shorten the stem.

2. The suffixes *-el*, *-ol*, *-et* seem to have the capacity of shortening a long vowel or keeping a short vowel short, contrary to the principle discussed in § 4. For example :

O. E. <i>deōfol</i>	Mn. E. <i>devil</i> (still long in Orm).
O. E. <i>hof</i>	Mn. E. <i>hovel</i> .
<i>brēmel</i> (< * <i>brōmil</i>)	<i>bramble</i> .
<i>rynel</i>	<i>runnel</i> .
<i>būcet</i>	<i>bucket</i> .
<i>æmet</i>	<i>emmet, ant</i> .

3. For the effect of suffixes of comparison, see § 6, end. The M. E. and Mn. E. pronunciation of such words as *brægen*, *flægel*, &c., can be explained only in connection with the general diphthongization before the consonants *g*, *h*, *w*. See § 15.

3. CHANGES IN VOWEL QUALITY.

It is impossible to discuss in this place all or even most of the changes which have taken place in the quality of the vowels. We must content ourselves with looking at a few of the most significant.

§ 8. **Levelling.**—1. The distinction between *æ* and *a* in O. E. ceased to be maintained. In M. E. we find in general only *a*, for instance O. E. *wæs*, M. E. *was*; though occasionally we find *æ*, and in a few instances the *æ* survives as *e* in M. E., for

instance *creft*, *þet* in Kentish. Thus O. E. *dæges* (gen. sing.) and *dagas* (nom. acc. pl.) are in M. E. *dages* for both ; yet in dialect forms the old value of *dagas* survived in the now archaic *daws* ; compare also *dawn*, O. E. *dagenian*, § 15. The ordinary plural *days* has evidently been modelled upon the singular *day*.

This levelling of *a*, *æ* to *a* usually takes place even where the *æ* is a shortening of O. E. *æ* ; though not infrequently the *æ* is found as *e* in M. E. and Mn. E. For example :

O. E. <i>clāensian</i>	M. E. <i>clænsien</i> , <i>clansian</i> ; Mn. E. <i>cleanse</i> .
O. E. <i>lādde</i>	M. E. <i>ledde</i> , <i>ladde</i> ; Mn. E. <i>led</i> .

2. O. E. *ea* for G. T. *a* also appears as *a* in M. E. Here we must bear in mind the dialectic differences in O. E.

In W. S. *a* was regularly *ea* before *l* + cons. and *r* + cons.

In Northumbrian *a* remained *a* in both situations.

In Mercian *a* remained *a* before *l* + cons. but became *ea* before *r* + cons. Consequently we find :

W. S. <i>feallan</i>	North. <i>fallan</i>	Merc. <i>fallan</i>
W. S. <i>wearm</i>	North. <i>warm</i>	Merc. <i>wearm</i> .

Since standard Mn. E. is derived from Mercian, we should expect to find Mercian *wearm* appearing as *wærm*, *werm* in M. E. In reality we find *warm* in M. E. The explanation seems to be this. The vowel sign *ea* in O. E. did not represent a sound *e* + *a*, but a sound *æ* + *a* or perhaps *æə*; the stress being on the *æ*. This *æ* became *a* like the *æ* in 1.

3. O. E. *eo* for *e* before *h* and before *r* + cons. is levelled to *e* in M. E. For example :

O. E. *feohtan* M. E. *fehten*.

4. O. E. *ēa* and *ǣ* (except when shortened to *a*, see 1) become *ē*. For example :

O. E. <i>bēam</i>	M. E. <i>bēm</i> .
<i>tēar</i>	<i>tēre</i> .
<i>ēac</i>	<i>ēk(e)</i> .
<i>sprāce</i>	<i>spēche</i> .
<i>dǣd</i>	<i>dēde</i> .
<i>strǣt</i>	<i>strēte</i> .

(Compare *Ēadmund*, *Edmund*; *Stratford*, § 5 a).

5. O. E. *eo* became *ē* in M. E. For example :

O. E. <i>frēosan</i>	M. E. <i>frēsen</i>
<i>lēof</i>	<i>lēf</i>
<i>dēop</i>	<i>dēp</i>

stēopfæder, Mn. E. *step-*

e vowel written *ē* in
were carefully distin-
period and even well
one is the open or un-
uch *même*; in modern
a *ē*. The other is the
ench *bonté*. Modern
it with the sign *ē*;
necessary.

sounds is not only

illustrates an important point
of the language. Although M. E. did
not mark the distinction in writing, it kept the sounds
apart. Thus Chaucer seldom makes the sounds rime.
When, on the border line between M. E. and Mn. E.,
printing was introduced into England, the early
printers established the practice (though not a very
consistent one) of using *ea* for the open sound and
ee or *ie* for the close sound. Hence we get the
spellings *teach*, O. E. *tācean*; *deep*, O. E. *dēop*;
field, O. E. *fēld*, see § 3. 1.

O. E. *ē* in a few words, such as the adverb *hēr*, was
an original close *ē*.

*Solapish: the cause of
long vowel change
in English.
Journ. Engl. Gram.
Phil. 20 (1921)
268 ff*

Since standard Mn. E. is derived from Mercian, we should expect to find Mercian *wærm*, *werm* in M. E. In reality, we find *warm* in M. E. The explanation seen in the vowel sign *ea* in O. E. did not become *e + a*, but a sound *æ + a* or *æ* being on the *æ*. This *æ* became *e* in M. E.

3. O. E. *eo* for *e* before *h* levelled to *e* in M. E. For

O. E. *feohtan* M. E. *fehtan*

4. O. E. *ēa* and *ǣ* (see 1) become *ē*. For

O. E. <i>bēam</i>	M. E. <i>bēm.</i>
<i>tēar</i>	<i>tēre.</i>
<i>ēac</i>	<i>ēk(e).</i>
<i>sprāce</i>	<i>spēche.</i>
<i>dād</i>	<i>dēde.</i>
<i>stræt</i>	<i>strēte.</i>

(Compare *Ēadmund*, *Edmund*; *Stratford*, § 5 a).

5. O. E. *ēo* became *ē* in M. E. For example :

O. E. <i>frēosan</i>	M. E. <i>frēsen</i>
<i>lēof</i>	<i>lēf</i>
<i>dēop</i>	<i>dēp</i>

(Note the shortening in *stēopfæder*, Mn. E. *step-father*, § 5a).

§ 9. The Vowel *ē*.—The vowel written *ē* in M. E. had two sounds, which were carefully distinguished throughout the M. E. period and even well into the Mn. E. time. The one is the open or unrounded vowel, like the French *même*; in modern grammatical books it is written *ĕ*. The other is the close or rounded *ē*, like the French *bonté*. Modern grammarians usually designate it with the sign *ē*; the subscript dot, however, is not necessary.

The distinction between the two sounds is not only important in itself but illustrates an important point in the history of the language. Although M. E. did not mark the distinction in writing, it kept the sounds apart. Thus Chaucer seldom makes the sounds rime. When, on the border line between M. E. and Mn. E., printing was introduced into England, the early printers established the practice (though not a very consistent one) of using *ea* for the open sound and *ee* or *ie* for the close sound. Hence we get the spellings *teach*, O. E. *tācean*; *deep*, O. E. *dēop*; *field*, O. E. *fēld*, see § 3. 1.

O. E. *ē* in a few words, such as the adverb *hēr*, was an original close *ē*.

O. E. \bar{e} , the *i*-umlaut of \bar{o} , was close.

O. E. \bar{e} produced by lengthening before *-ld* was close.

O. E. $\bar{æ}$ was open \bar{e} in M. E.

O. E. \bar{e} lengthened in open syllable, see § 4, was open \bar{e} in M. E.

Old Mercian \bar{e} , the *i*-umlaut of $\bar{e}a$ (the W. S. form was \bar{ie}), was close \bar{e} in M. E.

Examples.

O. E. <i>mētan</i>	M. E. <i>mēten</i>	Mn. E. <i>meet</i> (verb).
<i>mēte</i>	<i>mēte</i>	<i>meat</i> .
<i>stēlan</i>	<i>stēle</i>	<i>steal</i> .
<i>hēran</i> (W. S. <i>hīeran</i>)		<i>hear</i> .
	M. E. <i>hēren</i> .	

In the matter of chronology, M. E. \bar{e} went over to the $[\bar{i}]$ sound in late M. E.; the change was complete by the end of the fifteenth century, as in the words *deep*, *feel*, and in the pronouns *me*, *he*, &c.; see § 4. Whereas the M. E. \bar{e} still remained open and did not become \bar{e} , $[\bar{i}]$ until near the end of the seventeenth century. Shakespeare, in *1 Hen. IV*, ii, 4, 264, lets Falstaff say: "If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion." Falstaff pronounces

reason with an evident pun on *raisin*. The O. French *reson*, borrowed in early M. E., was already somewhat rounded but not wholly; since Shakespeare's day it has been fully rounded into \bar{e} [\bar{i}]. But the Fr. *raisin* is still pronounced *re'sin*. In the days of Shakespeare the two words were still enough alike to justify Falstaff's pun.

The open \bar{e} survived, for the most part, in Dryden's day. In fact, something like it is found even in Pope, in foreign words borrowed with the \bar{e} sound. Thus Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, III, 296, rimes *tea* with *obey*. *Obey*, Fr. *obéir*, is still pronounced *obei*, but $t\bar{e}$ has become [$t\bar{i}$].

Recognition of the fact that \bar{e} remained open in the seventeenth century will explain the most striking peculiarity of the English pronunciation in Ireland. The English language was firmly implanted in Ireland by the great colonizing efforts of Queen Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell. Now the Elizabethan and Cromwellian colonists still pronounced *tēch*, *spēch*, *clēn*, and this was the pronunciation which the Irish learned from them. Since that time all Englishmen have changed to [$t\bar{i}ch$, $sp\bar{i}ch$, $cl\bar{i}n$], and the educated Irish have partially learned to make the change; but the uneducated Irish still cling to the older \bar{e} .

§ 10. The Vowel *ā*. — An O. E. *ā*, whether originally long or the result of the lengthening of *a* before *ld* (see § 3. 1), became *ȳ* in M. E. The change took place in the first half of the thirteenth century ; consequently it affected Danish and Latin words borrowed in O. E.

O. E. <i>ald, āld</i>	Mn. E. <i>ōld</i> .
<i>stān</i>	<i>stone</i> .
<i>pāpa</i>	<i>pope</i> .
<i>frā</i> (Danish)	<i>frō</i> (adverb).

Orm wrote before the change ; consequently we find in the Ormulum : *ān, stān, gāt* (*one, stone, goat*). But in the poem entitled *On God Ureison* (thirteenth century) we find such rimes as : *one, trone* (O. E. *ān, Fr. trone*) verses 21–22 ; *ore, uerlore(n)* (O. E. *āre, forlōren*) verses 73–74. See § 4.¹

In some MSS. the vowel is written *oa*. Sometimes we find two forms of the same word, the one original O. E., the other Danish. Thus :

¹Our Mn. standard pronunciation of the numeral [wən] was originally dialectic and is found in the dialectic pronunciation of such words as *oath, oak, oats* ; see Wright, *Engl. Dial. Grammar*, § 123. The earlier *ȳ* sound, however, survives—partially rounded—in *only, atone*.

O. E. *lāen*, M. E. *lēne*; Dan. *lān*, M. E. *lōne*, Mn. E. *loan*. In some instances the O. E. itself has two different vowels. For example :

O. E. *dāl*, Mn. E. *dole*; O. E. *dāel*, Mn. E. *deal*.
 O. E. *-hād*, Mn. E. *-hood*; O. E. *-hēd*, Mn. E. *-head*.
 (Compare *knighthood* and *godhead*.)

The M. E. vowel developed from the O. E. *ā* was an open *ġ*. In the word O. E. *brād*, M. E. *brġd*, Mn. E. *broad*, the sound has remained wide open to the present day. In most words, however, it has been rounded as we now hear it in *road*, *boat*. Thus *ġ* (O. E. *ā*) and *ġ* (O. E. *o* in open syllable, § 4) are now equivalent in sound, as in the rime *pope*, *hope*.¹

When preceded by *w* the *ġ* became fully rounded, in most words, after Chaucer's time, and like the original close *ō* passed over into the [*ū*] sound, as in *two*, *who*, [*tū*, *hū*]; *ooze*, O. E. *wāse*. But in *so* (O. E. *swā*), *woe* (O. E. *wā*), the *ō* sound remains.

§ 11. Open-syllable Lengthening of O. E. *a*.—
 In § 4 it was said that O. E. *a* in an open syllable

¹ The peculiar New England pronunciation of such words as *coat*, *boat*, may be a modified survival of the old open sound, but shortened.

was lengthened in M. E. This lengthened vowel must have had a peculiar quality of sound, neither the *a* nor the *e* nor the *o*. It has always been written and printed *a*; yet it must have had an *e* value. This *e*, however, can not have resembled the *e* in *stelan*, which has become [ī] in Mn. E., whereas O. E. *faran*, M. E. *fare* is pronounced [fēr] in Mn. E. The [ē] sound is common in the sixteenth century; whether earlier, we do not know. At any rate it must have differed from the *e* in *tēche*; for the latter has become [i].

The lengthening of *a* to [ē] is later than the change of O. E. *ā* to *ō*. This is evidenced by the treatment of French words borrowed at various times in the M. E. period. In French words having the French accent on the syllable containing the *a*, the *a* was lengthened. Thus *âge*, *sâge*, *grâce* became *age*, *sage*, *grace*, Mn. E. [ē]. Some of these words must have been introduced quite late, certainly after the O. E. *ā* had become M. E. [ē]. In fact it is evident that the conversion of *a*, *ā* to [ē] did not take place before the fifteenth century. In Chaucer's language such words as *face*, *grace*, *age* have the [a], not the [ē] sound.

It is very important to note the part played by the French accent. Why do we pronounce *face* [ē] but *chāpel*? The word *face* had the accent on the *a* in

French and also from the start in M. E. But *chapel* was borrowed with the accent *chapél* and continued for some time to be pronounced *chăpél* in English. By the time the accent became *châpel* the principle—or impulse—of lengthening had ceased to operate. This will account for the short *a* in *cabin*, *cattle*, *marry*.

§ 12. O. E. *ō* (close).—O. E. *ō* remained *ō* until the fifteenth century, when it was still farther rounded into an *ū* sound. This *ū*-sound (*oo*) never was a perfectly pure *ū* ; for it has not been diphthonged into *au*. See § 14.

The tendency to change *ō* into *oo* has affected even French words ; for instance, *faux pas*, sometimes pronounced *foo pah*.

Examples.

O. E. <i>dōm</i>	Mn. E. <i>doom</i> .
<i>cōl</i>	<i>cool</i> .
<i>gōs</i>	<i>goose</i> .
<i>tōð</i>	<i>tooth</i> .
<i>mōna</i>	<i>moon</i> .

It must be borne in mind, however, that in many O. E. words the *ō* was shortened in early M. E. Where this shortening took place before *ht* there

was a peculiar diphthonging of the *oht*. See § 5 c, § 15.

There are other shortenings less easy to account for. Thus :

O. E. *ōðer*, *brōðor*, *mōdor*, all now with the [ə] sound. See § 6.

In certain words the *oo* has been shortened in Mn. E. to the *ū* sound. For example, *foot* (versus *food*), *book*, *good*. In *bosom* the vowel is either short or long.

In *glove*, *blood*, *flood*, and some others, the vowel has become [ə]; see § 6. This [ə] is found also in some words which had an O. E. *ū*, or an O. E. *ǔ*, in open syllable in M. E. For example :

O. E. <i>abūfan</i>	Mn. E. <i>above</i> .
<i>dūfe</i>	<i>dove</i> .
<i>lufu</i>	<i>love</i> .

O. E. *o* when lengthened in open syllable became *ō*. Examples :

O. E. <i>ðrotu</i>	M. E. <i>ðrōte</i>	Mn. E. <i>throat</i> .
<i>hopian</i>	<i>hōpien</i>	<i>hope</i> .
<i>dropa</i>	<i>drōpe</i> .	

Chaucer, *Tr. and Cr.*, 1, 941, rimes *drōpe* with *hōpe*. The modern *drop* can not be this word but must come from O. E. **drop*, or **dropp*.

Thus O. E. *o* lengthened and O. E. *ā* have come together in vowel-quality. This is indicated by the Mn. E. spelling : *throat* (O. E. *þrotu*) ; *road* (O. E. *rād*).

Did O. E. *o* before *ld* become *ō* or *ȝ*? The usual opinion is that it became *ȝ*. Yet there are objections to this view. The only word in question is *gold* (*gōld* in Mn. E.). This pronunciation may be explained, however, by assuming that *gold*, an isolated form, has been influenced by the very numerous words in *-old* from O. E. *-ald*, such as *cold*, *bold*, *told*, *sold*. Further, the word as a proper name is written *Gould*, *Goold*. This *oo* sound presupposes M. E. *ō*. Finally, the pronunciation *goold* survived in the speech of old-fashioned persons in the early part of the nineteenth century.

§ 13. O. E. *ī*, *i* ; *ū*, *u*.—These vowels remained unchanged throughout the M. E. period. The lengthening of *i* and *u*, *y* before *nd* is O. E. See § 3. 2.

The vowels *i*, *u*, *y* are not lengthened in open syllables.

All through the M. E. period and even in Mn. E. there is a curious interchange of *i* and *e*. Thus we find Mn. E. *hinge*, *singe*, *springe*, for M. E. *henge*,

senge, *sprenge*, see § 20, *D.* 2 ; also Mn. E. *wing* for M. E. *weng*. But in *drench*, *wrench*, and other words, the M. E. *e* remains. In the *Ayenbite* (fourteenth century) the Mn. E. word *sin* is written *zenne* (initial *z* for *s* is Southern dialect).

4. DIPHTHONGIZATION.

Under this heading are treated several groups of phenomena differing widely in their chronology and in their phonetic value.

§ 14. *Diphthonging of \bar{i} , \bar{u} .*—Every \bar{i} , whether long in O. E., or lengthened according to § 3, 2, or borrowed in M. E. from a foreign language, has become [*ai*] in Mn. E.

O. E. *y* (*i*-umlaut of \bar{u}) has also become [*ai*].

This diphthonging process began in the fifteenth century, and continued through the sixteenth.

The change affected also the peculiar \bar{i} developed in late M. E. before *h* or *g*. See § 15.

The modern pronunciation of the diphthong is [*ai*]. But this is only the latest stage ; it must have been preceded by such earlier stages as [*ei*] and perhaps [*oi*].

Examples.

O. E. <i>mīn</i>	Mn. E. <i>mine</i> .
<i>findan, fīndan</i>	<i>find</i> .
<i>fȳr</i>	<i>fire</i> .
<i>brȳd</i>	<i>bride</i> .

Note also the very late diphthonging of *either*, *neither*. These were in O. E. *ǣgðer*, **nǣgðer*; in M. E. *ēither*, *nēither*. See § 15, 2.³ In the eighteenth century the pronunciation vacillated between [ē] and [ī]. The pronunciation [ai] crept in late in the eighteenth century.

In like manner O. E. *ū* has become [au]; the intermediate stage was [ou].

Examples.

O. E. <i>hūs</i>	Mn. E. <i>house</i> .
<i>mūð</i>	<i>mouth</i> .
<i>bunden, būnden</i>	<i>bound</i> .

This change of *ū* to [au] is not parallel at every point with the change of *ī* to [ai]. It has not affected foreign words, for example, *Judas*, *sure* or even the English words *youth*, *uncouth*. In *youth*, and in *Judas*, *sure*, and other words under French influence, the vowel did not have the pure [ū] sound but was rather an [iū]. The distinction is

illustrated by the O. E. *sūr*, which had a pure *ū* and which is now pronounced *sour* [au]; with it compare the Fr. *sūr*, which is the Mn. E. *sure* [ʃiūr]. Note also the Mn. E. *duke*, *tube*, pronounced correctly with [iū], not with [ū].

The very late M. E. *oo* from O. E. *ō* did not have the pure *ū* sound either; for it has not been changed to [au]. See § 12.

The diphthonging of *ū* to [au] took place after the fifteenth century. In fact, there is evidence that the earlier *ū* sound survived in the speech of old-fashioned persons as late as the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, in Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle* (1698), Act 2, Scene 2, Rigadoon says:

“Zoons is only used by the disbanded officers and bullies; but zauns is the beaux' pronunciation.”

In this connection it is worthy of note that the ordinary pronunciation of *wound* ‘injury,’ is [ū]; we pronounce [au] only in poetry; similarly *wind*, ‘air, breeze,’ has [ai] only in poetry; in prose the pronunciation is *wīnd*.

In *sound* ‘noise,’ from French *son*, we have the [au]; also in the verb *sound* ‘to test the depth,’ French *sonder*. In these words, however, the [au] may be due to the analogy of *sound* ‘healthy,’ O. E.

sund, *sūnd*, and *sound* 'arm of the sea,' O. E. *sund*, *sūnd*.

§ 15. Diphthonging before *g*; *h*; *w*.

A. Before *g*.

1. O. E. *æ*, M. E. *a*, before *g* produced [*ai*]. This [*ai*] probably survives in the London Cockney pronunciation of *day*, *daisy*, *may*, &c. In Chaucer, however, and in modern standard English since Chaucer, the [*ai*] has been levelled to [*ei*]; Chaucer and all modern poets rime *way* (O. E. *weg*) and *day* (O. E. *dæg*).

Examples.

O. E. *brægen*

Mn. E. *brain*.

fægen

fain.

flægel

flail.

wægen

wain.

(Mn. E. *wagon* is from the Dutch.)

2. O. E. *e* before *g* produced [*ei*].

Example : *weg*, Mn. E. *way*.

3. O. E. *æ* before *g* produced *ĕi*, which survived quite late in Mn. E., but in the eighteenth century went over to [*i*] in such words as O. E. *æȝðer*. Dr. Johnson pronounced *either* [*ĕi*]; but in his day

the pronunciation had already become [ī] and was even becoming [ai]. See § 14.

N. B. O. E. *cæg* is Mn. E. *key* [kī].

græg *gray* [grēi].

4. O. E. *ē* (whether original or the Mercian *i*-umlaut of *ēā*) and *ēā* before *g* produced *ēi*, which at the end of the M. E. and beginning of the Mn. E. period went over to [ī] and was still later diphthonged to [ai].

Examples.

O. E. <i>ēage</i>	M. E. <i>ēge</i> (ēi)	Mn. E. <i>eye</i> .
<i>tēgan</i> (W. S. <i>tīegan</i>)	M. E. <i>tēgen</i>	<i>tie</i> .
<i>dēgan</i>	M. E. <i>dēgen</i>	<i>die</i> .
<i>deagian</i>	M. E. <i>deyen</i>	<i>dye</i> .

It is worthy of note that the Scottish pronunciation of *eye* 'oculus' and *die* 'mori' is still [ī, dī].

5. O. E. *ēo* ; *ī*, *ī* ; *ȳ*, *ȳ* before *g* produced early M. E. *ēi*, late M. E. [ī], which has been diphthonged to [ai] in Mn. E.

Examples.

O. E. <i>teogan</i> 'mentiri'	Mn. E. <i>lie</i> .
<i>dreogan</i> 'to endure'	(Scotch) <i>dree</i> .
<i>fleogan</i>	<i>fly</i> .
<i>nigon</i>	<i>nine</i> .
<i>ligeð</i>	<i>lieth</i> .

*dryge**dry.**tigoða**tithe.*

6. O. E. *a* before *g* produced the peculiar *ou*, *aw* sound (ø) ; see § 20 *B*. For example :

O. E. *lagu* (Danish)Mn. E. *law*.*dragan**draw.**sagu* (a saying)*saw.*

O. E. *ā* before *g* produced *q̄w*, *ō*.

O. E. *āgan*Mn. E. *owe* (verb).

O. E. *o* before *g* produced *q̄w*, *ō*.

*boga*Mn. E. *bow* 'arcus.'

O. E. *ūg*, *ǣg* produced M. E. *ūw*, Mn. E. [*au*].

O. E. *būgan*Mn. E. (to) *bow*.*fugol*Mn. E. *fowl*.

It is to be noted, however, that where in O. E. the *g* was final, it became *h*. Consequently words ending in *g* belong in subsection *B*.

B. Before *h*.

1. O. E. *eh*, *eoh* ; Mercian *eh*, *æh* (W. S. *eah*), became M. E. *eigh* *eih*, Mn. E. [*i*]. For example :

O. E. *feoh*Mn. E. *fee*.O. E. *seh* (Mercian)Chaucer *seigh*.

Mn. E. dialect *see* (for *saw*). See No. 5.

2. O. E. *ēoh* has become even [aĩ] in Mn. E.

O. E. *ðēoh* M. E. *þēȝ, þīh* Mn. E. *thigh*.

3. O. E. *ǣh* before *t* of the weak preterite and preterite participle was shortened to *ǣhte, ǣhte*: see § 5. c. 1; § 8. These became M. E. *eighte, aughte*. In Chaucer the *eighte* forms are still found. In Mn. E. we have only *aught* forms.

Examples.

O. E. *rǣhte* (pret. of *rǣcean*) M. E. *rehte, rahte*; Chaucer *reighte, raughte*;

Mn. E. *raught* [θ].

O. E. *tǣhte* Mn. E. *taught*.

M. E. *cacche* (French *catcher*) Mn. E. *caught*.

The modern *distraught* is a corruption of the French *distrain*, after the analogy of *straught*, old pret. of *stretch*.

4. O. E. *ēah* became M. E. *eigh*, later [ī], still later diphthonged to [aĩ]. For example:

O. E. *heah*; in Chaucer *heigh*[eĩ]; Mn. E. *high*. Chaucer also pronounces [ī], to rime with *Emilie*.

5. O. E. *ah* (Mercian for W. S. *eah*) became *augh* [θ]. For example:

O. E. *sah* (preterite) M. E. *saugh* Mn. E. *saw*.

See No. 1, remarks on *eh*. Chaucer has both *saugh* and *seigh*.

O. E. *āhte* was shortened to *ahte* and also became *aughte*.

O. E. *āhte*, *ahte* Mn. E. *ought*.

6. O. E. *āh* became M. E. *ȝugh* Mn. E. *owe*.

O. E. *dāh* Mn. E. *dough*.

7. O. E. *ōht*, shortened to *oht* (§ 5, c. 1), became *ou* [ə] ; O. E. *sōhte*, *sōhte*, Mn. E. *sought*.

8. O. E. *ōh* ; *ūh*, *uh* ; *ūht*, *uht*. Theoretically all these sounds must have been *ūgh* or *ūgh* in M. E. But in point of fact they have been so strangely developed in Mn. E. as to resist every attempt at classification. Thus :

O. E. <i>genōg</i> , <i>genōh</i>	Mn. E. <i>enough</i> [ə].
<i>tōh</i>	<i>tough</i> [ə].
<i>rūh</i>	<i>rough</i> [ə].
<i>pruh</i> , <i>purh</i>	<i>through</i> [ū].
<i>plōh</i>	<i>plough</i> [au].
<i>bōg</i> , <i>bōh</i>	<i>bough</i> [au].

In such words as *genōg*, *tōh*, *rūh* we may assume that the *h* sound went over to the *f* sound, and before this *f* the vowel was shortened like the *e* in *dēaf* ; see § 6. The change of [u] to [ə] is not peculiar to this class of words ; it is a very late process

(eighteenth century), occurring in *but*, *us*, *punch*, *flood*, &c. See § 6.

C. Before *w*.

1. O. E. *aw* before a vowel became the peculiar Mn. E. *ou*, *aw* [ô].

O. E. *clawu*

Mn. E. *claw*.

2. O. E. *āw* before vowel became M. E. *ǣu*.

O. E. *ōw* before vowel became M. E. *ōu*.

In Mn. E. both sounds are *ō*.

O. E. *cnāwan*

Mn. E. *know*.

grōwan

grow.

3. O. E. *ĕow*, *ēaw*, *ǣw* became M. E. *ĕ*, *ew* [iū].

O. E. *eowu*

M. E. *ĕwe*

Mn. E. *ewe*.

scēāwian M. E. *shĕwen*

lǣwed

Mn. E. *lewd*.

4. O. E. *ēow*, *īw*, *īw* became M. E. *ēu*, *ew* [iū].

O. E. *cnēow*

Mn. E. *knew*.

In Mn. E. the words in both No. 3 and No. 4 are pronounced with an [iū] sound, or even with an [iū̃]. There is no Mn. E. verb *shew* with [iū̃]. The verb *show*, even if written *shew*, is pronounced *shō*. This *ō* must go back to an O. E. *sc(e)āwian*, in which the O. E. stress [éā] has been shifted to the Danish *eā* [iā̃]. See No. 2.

D. Two other phenomena, very curious, are best treated in this connection.

1. Not infrequently we get in M. E. an *ei* diphthong in the preterite and pret. part. of verbs the stem of which ends in a *ch* sound. Thus O. E. *cwenčan*, pret. *cwenčte*, has in M. E. a pret. *queynte*; O. E. *blenčan* has a M. E. pret. *bleynte*. Thus far no explanation of the phenomenon has been found. If we assume, for example, that *blenčan* is from **blankion*, the preterite should be either **blankte*, **blanhte* (syncope of the *ĭ*, *i*) or **blenchte* (*č* palatal according to § 19). See Sievers, § 407. In other words, if *ĭ*, *i* is syncopated, the stem vowel should not be umlauted to *e*, *ei*; if *ĭ*, *i* remains, the *c* should be fully palatalized.

2. In some words the O. E. consonant *f* between vowels, pronounced *v* in O. E., has gone over to a *w* sound and produced diphthonging.

O. E. *hafoc*

Mn. E. *hawk*.

ceafol

jowl.

In this last word the initial *ch* has become *j*; see § 18. 4).

The diphthonging before *g*, *h*, and *w* is a difficult problem in the history of English vowels. Many of the features appear arbitrary.

Of Chaucer's pronunciation in particular it may

be said that the *h* and *gh* are not yet silent letters. The *h* closely resembled the German *ch*; the *gh* probably resembled the German *g* in *sagen*, as that word is spoken in Midland Germany.

§ 16. Diphthonging before *l* and *r*.

1. The vowel *a* before *l* final, or before *ll*, *l* plus consonant (except the *ld* discussed in § 3), was diphthonged subsequent to the fourteenth century into an *ou*, *aw* [ə] sound. Some of the changes took place in the sixteenth century. Chaucer still has the original pure *a* sound. For example :

<i>alle</i>	Mn. E. <i>all</i> (ə).
<i>falle</i>	<i>fall</i> .
<i>talke</i>	<i>talk</i> .
<i>balled</i> 'thin-haired'	<i>bald</i> .

With the last word compare

O. E. *bald*, *bāld* M. E. *bōld* Mn. E. *bold*.

In such words as *talk*, *chalk*, &c., the *l* has become silent. In *calf* the *l* is silent but the *a* is not diphthonged.

A similar diphthonging has taken place in the American pronunciation of certain words, for example, *swamp*, *wasp*.

2. The vowel *o* before *l* plus consonant (except

O. E. *ld* ; see § 3 and § 12) became after Chaucer's time *ō*.

folk

Mn. E. *folk*.

bolt

bolt.

Before *k* the *l* has become silent, like the *l* in *chalk*.

3. The vowel changes before *r* can scarcely be reduced to a system. At this point the pronunciation usual in America differs from that in England. The difference shows itself in two directions.

a. In England the *r* when final or before a consonant is not spoken as a consonant but is reduced to a mere 'glide', with the value of *ə*. For example, *water* pronounced [*wətə*].

b. In England the *e* often, if not usually, becomes *a*. For example, the word *clerk* may be pronounced *clāək*.

Examples.

O. E. *beorcan* (of a dog) M. E. *berke*

Mn. E. *bark*, *bāək*.

(The pronunciation has coincided with that of M. E. *barke* of a tree, and of *bark* 'vessel,' from the French *barque*.)

O. E. *steorra*

M. E. *sterre*

star.

feor

fer, *ferre*

far.

clerk

[*clərək*, *clāək*.]

<i>birce</i>	<i>birche</i>	[<i>bærch, bæch.</i>]
<i>brid</i>	<i>brid, bird</i>	[<i>bærd, bæd.</i>]
<i>cursian</i>	<i>curse</i>	[<i>cærs, cæs.</i>]

The vowel *o* before *r* final or *r* plus consonant has become [ø].

O. E. <i>for</i>	Mn. E. <i>for</i>
<i>forð</i>	<i>forth</i>

With these compare the following :

	M. E. <i>moral</i>	Mn. E. <i>moral</i>
O. E. <i>sorg</i>	M. E. <i>sorwe</i>	Mn. E. <i>sorrow</i>
<i>sārig</i>	M. E. <i>sōry</i>	Mn. E. <i>sorry</i>

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE CHANGES

IN §§ 3-16.

§ 17.

1. The earliest change was that in § 3, namely, the lengthening before certain consonants. This took place before 1000 and is wholly O. E.

2. Next in time was the earlier shortening discussed in § 5. Most of these shortenings took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in the border period between O. E. and M. E. At any rate, the shortening of O. E. *ā*, *ē* to *a* was earlier than the change of *ā* to *ȳ*, or of *ē* to *ĕ*. This accounts for O. E. *hālig*, M. E. *hēlig*, versus O. E. *hālgian*, M. E. *hālwe*, Mn. E. *hallow*. See § 8. 1.

3. Next was the change of \bar{a} to \bar{q} . See § 10. This took place in the first half of the thirteenth century.

4. Next was the lengthening of a , e , o in open syllables. See § 4. The change was not earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century. Certainly the a could not have been lengthened before \bar{a} became \bar{q} ; since in that case we should have had an Mn. E. verb **fōre*, instead of the peculiar *fare* [*fēr*] which is discussed in § 11 and which must be the lengthening of some peculiar a or æ .

5. Still later—in the main, at least—are the diphthongings discussed in § 15. It is impossible to determine accurately the sequence in which these various diphthongings took place. Some of them are very early; notably the diphthonging of e and æ , a before g . This is very early M. E. and even late O. E. In general the diphthonging tendency was at work all through the M. E. period.

6. The change of \bar{e} (close) to [\bar{i}]. This took place in the fifteenth century. See § 9.

7. The change of \bar{o} (close) to oo [\bar{u}]; also in the fifteenth century. See § 12.

8. The diphthonging of \bar{i} , \bar{y} to [ai]. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See § 14.

9. The diphthonging of \bar{u} to [au]. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See § 14.

10. The change of \bar{e} (open) to $[\bar{i}]$. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See § 9.

11. The changes before l and r . See § 16. These can not be dated with accuracy ; certainly they were later than Chaucer. Probably they were not simultaneous but scattered through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some were of the seventeenth.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL VOWEL CHANGES.

9TH-10TH C.	11TH-12TH C.	13TH C. 1st half 2d half.		14TH C.
<p>Early Lengthening: $a, e, i + ld,$ $i, u, y + nd,$ $i, a + mb,$ § 3.</p>	<p>Early Shortening: in compounds, before suffixes, before cons. groups, § 5.</p>	<p>\bar{a} to \bar{e} § 10.</p>	<p>Lengthening of a, e, o in open syll., § 4.</p>	<p>Period of Chaucer, Gower, Church Plays ; no marked changes.</p>
15TH C.	16TH C.	17TH C.		18TH C.
<p>\bar{e} to \bar{i}, § 9, \bar{o} to \bar{u}, § 12, a to \bar{e} in open syllable, § 11.</p>	<p>\bar{i}, \bar{y} to $[ai],$ § 14.</p>	<p>\bar{u} to $[au]$ § 14. \bar{e} to $[\bar{i}]$ § 9.</p>		<p>Spread of the \bar{o} sound, § 15 B 8, § 6.</p>

CHAPTER III.

CONSONANT CHANGES.

In general the consonant system of O. E. remained through M. E. and into Mn. E. That is to say, a consonant has usually in Mn. E. the sound which it had in O. E.

There are, however, two groups of changes. In the first group is placed the loss or on the other hand the intrusion of a consonant. With this phenomenon we may consider, for the sake of convenience, the phenomenon of voicing a consonant originally unvoiced, and some other changes.

The second group comprises the changes involved in the palatalization of *c* [*k*] into *ch* [*tʃ*] and *g* into *j* [*dʃ*].

LOSS AND INTRUSION ; VOICING, &c.

§ 18.

1. *a.* The initial *hl-*, *hr-*, *hn-* of O. E. became in M. E. *l-*, *r-*, *n-*. This dropping of the *h* began about 1000 and was complete by the middle of the fourteenth century. Thus we get :

O. E. <i>hlāf</i>	Mn. E. <i>loaf</i> .
<i>hlēapan</i>	<i>leap</i> .
<i>hrōf</i>	<i>roof</i> .
<i>hræfn</i>	<i>raven</i> .
<i>hnecca</i>	<i>neck</i> .
<i>hnutu</i>	<i>nut</i> .

O. E. *hw-* is written *wh-* in M. E. and in Mn. E., but the sound is still *hw-*, at least in America ; in England the usual pronunciation is *w-*. Thus the Englishman usually confounds

<i>whales</i>	and	<i>Wales</i> .
<i>while</i>		<i>wile</i> .
<i>which</i>		<i>witch</i> .

O. E. *hwā*, now written *who*, is pronounced [*hū*]. See § 10.

O. E. *hāl* is now written *whole* (the writing dates from the sixteenth century) but the *w* is not sounded.

In the extreme Northern (Scottish) dialect *hw-* is written *qu-*, *quh-* ; the pronunciation is [*χw*], the *χ* having the value of the German *ch* in *auch*.

b. O. E. *cn-*, *gn-*. Both *c* and *g* are silent in Mn. E. *cn-*, however, was still pronounced *kn-* late in the seventeenth century ; *gn-* retained the *g*-sound during the sixteenth century, but lost it early in the seventeenth.

c. In final *-mb* the *b* is silent ; e. g., *climb*, *comb*.

2. *-s*. Final *s*, in such words as *is*, *his*, *as*, *was*, was still *s* in Chaucer's speech, although it had the sound of [z] in the Southern dialect. The sound of [z] became general in the fifteenth century, although in the sixteenth the *-s* sound survived when followed by a word beginning with *s* or *sh*.

In *goose*, *mouse*, *us*, *hence*, *thence*, the *s* sound remains.

The *-s* in the plural of nouns and in the 3d sing. of verbs remains *s* when preceded by an unvoiced consonant, but has acquired the [z] sound when preceded by a vowel, by a consonant not spoken although written, or by a voiced consonant. Compare :

<i>days</i>	with	<i>lips</i>
<i>bows</i>		<i>hats</i>
<i>boughs</i>		<i>backs</i>
<i>sighs</i>		<i>sights</i>

In French words intervocalic *s* has the sound of *z*. For example, *poison*, *cousin*, *reason*. But where the word is written *-ce-*, the *s* sound remains ; as in *face*, *grâce*. (For the *ê* sound, see § 11.)

In many word-couplets the difference between *s* and [z] marks the distinction between noun and verb. Thus :

Noun.	Verb.
<i>excuse</i>	<i>excuse.</i>
<i>use</i>	<i>use</i> (but <i>use</i> 'to be in habit of,' with <i>s</i>).
<i>grease</i>	<i>grease</i> ; [<i>s</i>] is also heard.
<i>house</i>	<i>house.</i>
<i>glass</i>	<i>glaze.</i>
<i>grass</i>	<i>graze.</i>

3. In certain circumstances the [*s*] sound has become *ʃ*. The phenomenon is chiefly noticeable in Latin-French words ending in *-tion*, *-tient*. As long as these words were spoken with the French accent on the *-ón*, *-ént*, the *t* was pronounced *s*, as in Chaucer. For example :

<i>patient</i>	pron.	<i>pá-si-ént.</i>
<i>salvation</i>		<i>salvá-si-óun.</i>

When, however, at the end of or soon after the Chaucerian period, the accent was wholly removed from the termination, the [*s*] went over to [*ʃ*]:

<i>pēʃənt</i>	<i>salvēʃən</i> (<i>ē</i> , see § 11).
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Note further the change of the *s*-sound to [*ʃ*] in *cherish*, *perish*, *nourish*, &c. Chaucer still rimes *cheríce*, [*s*], with *vice*. Also note the change of the *z*-sound to [*zh*] in *léisure*, *pléasure*, *tréasure*, *ázure*, &c., originally accented *plezúre*, *azúre*, &c.

In *question*, *combustion*, &c., the *st* has become [stʃ].

4. The *ch* sound [tʃ], whether developed from *k* in English words according to the palatalizing process discussed in § 19 or borrowed from the French, has frequently gone over to the *j* sound [dʃ]. Thus :

M. E. <i>cnāwleche</i>	Mn. E. <i>knowledge</i>
<i>pertriche</i> (Fr.)	<i>partridge</i> .
<i>cabbache</i> (Fr. dial.)	<i>cabbage</i> .

Cartridge, from Fr. *cartouche*, is found only in Mn. E. *Sausage*, from Fr. *saucisse*, is hard to explain.

It is to be noted that in these words the *ch*, *j* sound is in a syllable which has ceased to be stressed. There are some words, however, in which the *ch* of a stressed syllable has become [dʃ]. Thus :

O. E. *on čer* M. E. *on cher, char* Mn. E. *ajar*.

On čer means 'on/the turn.' It is to be noted that we pronounce *char woman*, a woman hired not regularly but for some special turn of work.

O. E. *čeaft* M. E. *chavel, chaul* Mn. E. *jowl*.

The etymology of *jaw*, *chaw* is obscure.

5. Intrusion of a consonant. Some of these changes are M. E. ; others are Mn. E.

a. A *p* is inserted between *m* and *t*. For example:

O. E. *ǣmtig* M. E. *empti* Mn. E. *empty*.

In this word the *p* is both sounded and written. In many Mn. E. words the *p* is sounded but not written, as in *dream't*. It is interesting to note that the form *drempte* occurs six times in the M. E. poem of Genesis and Exodus (thirteenth century); also the form *dempt*, p. p. of *dēmen* 'to judge' occurs once. The *p* survives in the name *Dempster*, but not in the common noun *deemster*. In like manner the Fr. *sommetier* has developed into Mn. E. *sumpter*.

In M. E. a *p* was inserted between *m* and *n*, as in Chaucer's *Sompnour* (Fr. *somenour*), *dampned* (Fr. *damné*), *solempne* (*solenne*), *nempnen* (O. E. *nemnan*). These forms have not been retained in Mn. E.

b. A *b* sound has been developed between *m* and *r*, as in Mn. E. *slumber*, O. E. *slumerian* (Germ. *schlummern*). In Mn. E. *thumb*, O. E. *ðūma* (Germ. *daumen*), the *b* has become silent in Mn. E.; but is still spoken in *thimble*, O. E. *ðȳmel*.

c. A *d* sound has been developed between *n* and *r*, as in Mn. E. *thunder*, O. E. *ðunor* (Germ. *Donner*). In *kindred*, O. E. *cynrāden*, M. E. *cūnrede*, the intrusive *d* is Mn. E.

d. An *r* has been developed in certain Fr. words,

for example : *philosopher* (Fr. *philosophe*), *lavender* (plant-name); and an *l* in *principle* (Fr. *principe*).

O. E. *hās*, late M. E. *hōrs*, is Mn. E. *hoarse* (compare Germ. *heis-er*). Also O. E. *brȳdguma*, M. E. *brīdgume*, is Mn. E. *bridegroom*.

In Mn. E. we find the following intrusive consonants :

e. A *t* after *s* in such forms as

M. E. <i>againes</i>	Mn. E. <i>against</i> .
<i>in middes</i>	<i>amidst, midst</i> .
<i>whiles</i>	<i>whilst</i> .
<i>betwix</i>	<i>betwixt</i> .
O. E. <i>hāes</i>	<i>behest</i> .

In the vulgar *onst*, *oncet* the same tendency has not been recognized in the standard speech.

O. E. *anefen* is Mn. E. *anent*.

f. A *d* after *n*.

M. E. <i>bōun</i>	(Icel. <i>búinn</i>)	Mn. E. <i>bound</i> (ready to go ; see <i>busk</i> , § 19 A).
<i>lēnen</i>	(O. E. <i>lānan</i>)	<i>lend</i> .
<i>rōunen</i>	(O. E. <i>rūnian</i>)	<i>round</i> (to whisper).
<i>hīne</i>	(O. E. <i>hīna</i>) ?	<i>hind</i> (servant).
<i>sōunen</i>	(Fr. <i>suner</i>)	<i>sound</i> .

But in *swoon*, *swoun* (M. E. *swōznen*) and *drown* (M. E. *drūnen*, *drōune*) the *d* has not been accepted in standard speech.

Also a *d* between *n* and *l*.

M. E. *spinel*

Mn. E. *spindle*.

(O. E. *dwīnan*) ?

Mn. E. *dwindle*.

PALATALIZATION.

This is undoubtedly the most puzzling feature in the development of English speech. The study will become somewhat easier :

1. If we distinguish carefully between *k* and *g*. Both consonants have been palatalized, but in different ways.

2. If we recognize the fact that palatalization was essentially and originally a process of the Southern dialect, that it extended to and affected the Midland dialect but not universally, and that it never affected the extreme Northern dialect. Inasmuch as standard Mn. E. is a development of Midland, the *k* and *g* are palatalized to the extent to which they were palatalized in Midland. According as the Midland dialect of M. E. was under the influence of the Southern, we get palatalized forms ; according as it leaned to the Northern dialect, we get *k* and *g* unpalatalized.

Palatalization of k.

§ 19.

O. E. *k* was a genuine stop and not a spirant. It acquired a strong palatalizing tendency, however, very early ; in fact the language was beginning to speak *k̃* even before it had left its home on the Continent, that is, before it was introduced into England.

A. *sk*. Initial *sk-* was turned into [sχ] in early O. E., and into the *sh* [ʃ] sound in late O. E. For example :

O. E. <i>scip</i>	Mn. E. <i>ship</i> .
<i>sc(e)amu</i>	<i>shame.</i>
<i>sc(e)al</i>	<i>shall.</i>
<i>sc(e)arp</i>	<i>sharp.</i>
<i>scēne</i>	<i>sheen.</i>
<i>sc(e)ort</i>	<i>short.</i>
<i>scyttan</i>	<i>shut.</i>
<i>scrincan</i>	<i>shrink.</i>
<i>scrūd</i>	<i>shroud.</i>

This conversion of initial *sc-* to *sh-* is so regular that when we find a Mn. E. word spoken with initial *sk* we assume that it is a loan-word. Thus : *sky*, *skin*, *skirt*, *skulk*, *scum* are borrowed from Danish. The origin of *skull* is unknown, it is not found in O. E. *Scotch*, *Scottish* are probably a survival of the Keltic

or Kelto-Latin *sk-* initial ; *skipper* is Dutch ; *skirmish* is the French (*e*)*scarmouche*, *scorn* is the Fr. (*e*)*scarn* ; *school* is the Latin *schōla* with the medieval long vowel (*schōla*).

It is interesting to compare doublets. Thus :

<i>ship</i> (O. E. <i>scip</i>)	vs.	<i>skipper</i> (Dutch).
<i>shirt</i> (O. E. <i>scyrte</i>)		<i>skirt</i> (Dan. <i>skyrtā</i>).

Final *-sk* presents some difficulties. Usually it has become *-sh*. Thus :

O. E. <i>disc</i> (Latin <i>discus</i>)	M. E. <i>dish</i> .
<i>fisc</i>	<i>fish</i> .
<i>flāsc</i>	<i>flesh</i> .
<i>fersc</i>	<i>fresh</i> .

But when *-sk-* was followed by a syllable containing a guttural vowel, the syllabication was *-s-k*, unpalatalized. For example :

O. E. <i>askian</i>	Mn. E. <i>ask</i> .
(Here the <i>-ian</i> is guttural, see <i>B.</i>)	

In some words the *s* and *k* were metathesized before the palatalization became fixed ; in such words we get *x*, *ks*. Thus :

O. E. { <i>asce</i>	<i>ashe(s)</i> .
{ <i>acse</i>	<i>axen</i> (dialect).
<i>miscan</i> , * <i>micsan</i>	<i>mix</i> .

O. E. *wascan* 'lavare' should have yielded M. E. **wasken*, Mn. E. **wax*. In fact we do find an O. E. *waxan*; but in M. E. and Mn. E. we find only *sh* forms.

Bask and *busk* are Scandinavian words. *Bask* is Icelandic *baðask* (*baða sik*) 'to bathe one's self.' *Busk* is Icelandic *búask* (*búa sik*) 'to prepare one's self, be ready.' Compare *bound*, Icelandic *búinn* (§ 18. 5. *f*). *Husk* is still unexplained; probably it is Low German *hūs(i)ke(n)*.

B. Palatalization before -i, -i̇. Here should be borne carefully in mind:

1. That the *i̇*, *i*, if it appears at all in O. E., appears as an *-e*; only in the oldest texts do we find an occasional *-i*. See Sievers, § 44.

2. That *-i* merely palatalizes the *c* (*k*); whereas *i̇* both palatalizes and geminates. The *-i̇*, however, becomes *-i* after a long stem (that is, a stem containing an original long vowel or a short vowel before two consonants; see Sievers, § 45. 8). For example, **banki* became *benč* 'bench'; *ðak̇ion* (short stem) became *ðeččān* (with gemination) 'to thatch'; but **taik̇ion*, **tākion* (long stem) became *tāčān* 'to teach.'

The difference between *i* and *i̇* will explain the numerous *-č-* and *-čč-* verbs of the first weak class.

Examples of Palatalizing before i, ĭ.

O. E. <i>cyčen</i> (Latin <i>coquina</i>)	Mn. E. <i>kitchen</i> .
<i>čīdan</i>	<i>chide</i> .
<i>činn</i>	<i>chin</i> .
<i>bēče</i> (* <i>bōkiōn</i> , long stem)	<i>beech</i> .
<i>drenčan</i> (* <i>drankion</i> , long stem)	<i>drench</i> .
<i>streččan</i> (* <i>strakĭon</i> , short stem)	<i>stretch</i> .

Caution. The student must be on his guard against a misapprehension. There are in O. E. many infinitives (the 2d class weak) ending in *-ian*. This *-ian*, however, is not a palatal *i* but is merely the reduced form of an older and fuller *-ōian*, a guttural, which does not palatalize the *k*. For example :

O. E. <i>lōcian</i>	M. E. <i>lōkien</i>	Mn. E. <i>look</i> .
<i>ðoncian</i>	<i>þankien</i>	<i>thank</i> .
<i>līcian</i>	<i>līken</i>	<i>like</i> .
<i>liccian</i>	<i>licken</i>	<i>lick</i> .

Most of the Mn. E. verb-forms in *-k* or *-ck* come from these O. E. *-ian* verbs.

C. Before other palatal vowels.

1. Before G. T. *e*, O. E. *e* or *eo* (broken).

O. E. <i>čeorl</i>	Mn. E. <i>churl</i> .
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2. Before G. T. *eu*, O. E. *ēo*.

O. E. <i>čēosan</i>	M. E. <i>chēsen</i> .
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Also the *i*-umlaut of this diphthong, O. E. *īē*, *ī*, *ȳ*.

O. E. *čīs* (select) M. E. *chūse* Mn. E. *choice*.

The Mn. E. was formerly pronounced [*ai*], the normal diphthonging of [*i*]; the present *chōis* may be due to the noun *choice*, Fr. *choix*. There are similar double vernacular sounds in *join*, *boil*, &c. [*ai* and *q̄i*].

3. Before G. T. *au*, O. E. *ēā*.

O. E. *čēap* M. E. *cheap*, *chēp* Mn. E. *cheap*.

Also the *i*-umlaut of the diphthong, O. E. *īē*, *ī*, *ȳ*, *ē*.

O. E. *čȳpan*, *čēpan* M. E. *chēpen* Mn. E. *cheapen*.

4. Before G. T. *a*, appearing in O. E. as *ea*, or *i*-umlauted to *e*, *ie*, *y*.

At this point, however, the standard speech presents many inconsistencies. These may be explained by assuming that the Midland speech, while in the main under the influence of the Southern tendency to palatalize, nevertheless—in the districts towards the North—borrowed Northern forms.

O. E. *četil*

M. E. *chetel* (obsolete) and

perhaps proper name *Chettle*.

(*kettle* is probably a Northern form borrowed from Danish.)

O. E. <i>čealc</i>	Mn. E. <i>chalk</i> .
<i>čearu, caru</i>	<i>care.</i>
<i>čearig</i>	<i>chary.</i>
<i>čeaf</i>	<i>chaff.</i>
<i>čeafor</i>	<i>chafer.</i>
<i>čiele, čele</i>	<i>chill.</i>
<i>čealf, calf</i>	<i>calf.</i>

Especially interesting is the treatment of the O. E. *čeaster* (Lat. *castra*). In the South and Midland the pronunciation is *chester*; in the North and in Scotland it is *caster*. Compare *Dorchester* with *Lancaster*. The curious pronunciation *-cester* (*-sester*) seems to be a Norman blunder, giving to the *c* a French value.

D. After certain vowels.

1. After O. E. *æ*.

This phenomenon is greatly in need of further investigation. The Mn. E. *back* is O. E. *bæc*, M. E. *bac*, *bach*, and *bæch*. The pronunciation *batch* is found in such names as *Cumberbatch*.

2. *-īc* in monosyllables has become *-īch* [*-itj*].

O. E. <i>pīc</i>	Mn. E. <i>pitch</i> .
<i>dīc</i>	<i>ditch</i> .

(Mn. E. *dike* is probably a Dutch word.)

The O. E. pronoun *ic* became *ich* [*itj*] in Southern

English ; this form is frequently used in the rustic speech of comic characters in the Elizabethan plays, especially in the formula : *ich ill, ich 'll*, for 'I will.' In normal M. E. and standard Mn. E. the pronoun is regularly *i* [*ai*].

The terminations *-lic*, *-lice* (adj. and adv.) appear as *-lich*, *-liche* in some M. E. texts, but in most as *-li*; Chaucer has both *lich* and *like*. Mn. E. has regularly *-ly*; although there are numerous *-like* compounds formed by analogy in the modern language. For example, *homely* and *homelike*.

The *-lic* has undergone great change in the following words :

O. E. <i>*hwilik</i> , <i>hwilč</i>	Mn. E. <i>which</i> .
<i>*swalik</i> , <i>swilč</i>	<i>such</i> .
<i>*ā-ȝe-lic</i> , <i>ælcč</i>	<i>each</i> .

Intervocalic *k* preceded by *i* is sometimes palatalized, sometimes not. The palatalization usually depends upon the following vowel being a palatal.

O. E. <i>sicol</i>	<i>sickle</i> .
<i>cwicu</i>	<i>quick</i> .
<i>cwiče</i>	<i>quitch-grass</i> .

An O. E. *cc* is palatal if the gemination is due to an *i* [*k_i*]; if the gemination is the result of some other consonantal change, the *cc* is = *kk*. Thus :

O. E. *wecċan* (**wakion*) M. E. *wecchen* (to arouse
some one ; compare Germ. *wecken*).

Whereas in the following :

O. E. <i>hnecca</i>	Mn. E. <i>neck</i> .
<i>sticca</i>	<i>stick</i> .
<i>pluccian</i>	<i>pluck</i> .

the *cc* [= *kk*] is probably from *kn* : at all events it
is not from *kĭ*.

Non-Palatalization of k.

The *k* is not palatalized in the following cases :

E. When it is in combination with another conso-
nant, as, *cl*, *cn*, *cr*, *cw*.

O. E. <i>clāne</i>	Mn. E. <i>clean</i> .
<i>clif</i>	<i>cliff</i> .
<i>cniht</i>	<i>knight</i> .
<i>cribb</i>	<i>crib</i> .
<i>cwic</i>	<i>quick, quitch</i> .

(See *D.*)

F. Before guttural vowels and their umlauts.

1. *ö*, *ũ*.

O. E. <i>cōl</i>	<i>cool</i> .
<i>cocc</i>	<i>cock</i> .
<i>cū</i>	<i>cow</i> .
<i>cuman</i>	<i>come</i> .

2. \bar{e} ($\bar{o}\bar{e}$), the *i*-umlaut of \bar{o} .

O. E. <i>*kōni</i>	<i>cēne</i>	<i>keen.</i>
<i>*kōpian</i>	<i>cēpan</i>	<i>keep.</i>

Note the difference between this last and the palatal \bar{e} , (*i*-umlaut of \bar{ea}), as in **keapion*, *čēpen*, M. E. *chēpe*; see C. 3.

3. \bar{y} (later writing \check{i}), the *i*-umlaut of \check{u} .

O. E. <i>zēcýnd</i>	Mn. E. <i>kind.</i>
<i>cýðð</i>	<i>kith.</i>
<i>cyn</i>	<i>kin.</i>

Lat. *coquina* O. E. *cyčen* *kitchen*; see B.

4. *e*, the *i*-umlaut of *a*, *o* before nasal.

Lat. *cantium* O. E. *cent* Mn. E. *Kent.*

5. \bar{a} , (G. T. *ai*) and its *i*-umlaut.

O. E. <i>*kaiγi</i>	<i>cæg</i>	Mn. E. <i>key.</i>
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Note the difference between this and the palatal \bar{e} before the open \bar{e} or *e* in C. 3, 4. For example: Lat. *cāseum*, O. E. **cāsi* **cēasi* *čēse*, M. E. *čēse*, Mn. E. *cheese*; see Sievers, § 75. 2.

6. \check{a} which does not become $\check{æ}$ in O. E. For example:

O. E. <i>cald</i> , <i>cāld</i> , § 3. 1.	Mn. E. <i>cold.</i>
<i>callian</i> (Danish <i>kalla</i>)	<i>call.</i>

G. The oldest writing in England, the Runic, used different signs for palatal and non-palatal *k*. Thus $\text{h} = k$ non-palatal ; $\text{sk} = k$ palatal. Unfortunately the old Runic inscriptions are so few that they yield only a very scanty vocabulary.

Some of the older manuscripts used occasionally *k* before *e*, *i*, *y* to mark the non-palatal. Much more frequently an *e* or *i* was inserted between a palatal *č* and an *a*, *o*, *u*. For example: *šenč(e)an*, *sēč(e)an*, *drenčium* (d. pl. of *drenč*).

This tendency to distinguish the *č* became stronger and stronger in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, by writing *c* ($= k$ non-palatal) only before *a*, *o*, *u* ; *k* before *e*, *i*, *y* ; and *ch* to mark the palatal. After 1200 (*e. g.* in the *Ormulum*) the use of *ch* for the palatal became practically universal.

H. The *k* did not immediately become the *ch* [tʃ] sound. At first it was pronounced [ky] ; then [ty] ; last of all [tʃ]. For O. E. the pronunciation probably never got beyond the 2d stage [ty] ; but in the *Ormulum* and in M. E. generally the sound is that of the Mn. E. *ch* [tʃ].

The tendency to pronounce *ty* as [tʃ] is inherent in English and manifests itself in what are called modern vulgarisms. For instance, *Tuesday* pronounced *Chiusday*. In such words as *feature* the

[tʃ] is common in American English; the *N. E. D.*, however, gives the pronunciation *ty*. Parallel with the tendency to turn *ty* into [tʃ] is the tendency to turn *dy* into [dʃ], as in the stage vulgarism *juke* for *duke*.

The change of *s* to [ʃ] and *z* to *zh*, discussed in § 18. 3, may also be treated as a case of palatalization. In all the words there mentioned the French vowel *i* after the consonant became *y* in consequence of the fixing of the strong English accent on the preceding syllable.

Levelling.

I. The O. E. paradigm, especially of the verb, presented many striking contrasts now obliterated by levelling. For example:

čēōsan[ty] *čēās*[ty] *curon*[k] *coren*[k].

In infinitive and pret. sing. we have the palatalized [*ky*, *ty*], but in the pret. pl. and participle we have the original *k*. Further, the *s* has become *r* in pret. pl. and pret. part. M. E. *had* an infinitive *chēsen*, which goes back to *čēōsan*. The Mn. E. infin. *choose* seems to go back to *čēōsan* accented *čēōsan*; this accenting of the diphthong [eó] is Danish rather

than English. The Mn. E. verb has introduced throughout the [tʃ] ; also the *s* for *r*.

Just the opposite has happened in the verb :

čeorfan *čearf* *curfon* *corfen*

M. E. and Mn. E. have only the *k* sound. Besides, the verb has become weak in Mn. E. *carve*, *carved* ; *carf* and *corven*, however, are found in Chaucer. Whereas O. E. *čēowan* *čēaw* *cwon* *cowen* has introduced the [tʃ] throughout and is conjugated weak.

In general, wherever in Mn. E. we find palatal forms where we might expect guttural, and vice versa, we may assume either a levelling in the paradigm, or a Midland mixture of Southern and extreme Northern forms, as in *be-seech seek*, or a borrowing, as in *kit* (Low German), *kilt* (Scandinavian).

Palatalization of g.

§ 20.

A. With two exceptions, for which see *D*, there was not in O. E. a voiced stop *g* corresponding to the unvoiced stop *k*. The O. E. *ȝ* seldom had the value of the *g* in Mn. E. *good*, *gate*, *gum*. The single *ȝ* designated a voiced spirant, that is, a sound like the Mn. German *ch* but voiced. And, like the German *ch*, it had two qualities, a guttural and a palatal.

The γ was guttural when in combination with another consonant, as in $\gamma l\ddot{e}d$, $\gamma r\ddot{a}f\ddot{a}n$, $\gamma n\ddot{a}z\ddot{a}n$; or before a guttural vowel, \check{a} , \check{o} , \check{u} , \check{y} (i-umlaut of \ddot{u}), \check{e} (i-umlaut of \check{o}), as in $\gamma\ddot{a}t$, $\gamma\ddot{o}s$, $\gamma\ddot{u}m\ddot{a}$, $\gamma\ddot{e}s$. It was palatal before a palatal vowel, as \check{i} , \check{e} , \check{y} ($=\check{i}$ or \check{ie}). It was also palatal when it stood at the end of a word immediately after a palatal vowel, as in O. E. $h\ddot{e}\gamma$ 'hay,' $bod\ddot{i}\gamma$ 'body'; see § 7. Intervocalic γ following a palatal and preceding a guttural vowel was guttural in the early stage of the language, as in $b\ddot{e}a\gamma\ddot{u}m$, d. pl. of $b\ddot{e}a\gamma$; the syllabication being apparently $b\ddot{e}a\text{-}\gamma\ddot{u}m$. In later O. E., however, the γ in such circumstances became palatal.

The Greek γ has been used by some philologists to mark the guttural spirant; the γ being retained for the palatal.

Concerning the pronunciation of γ palatal and guttural, it may be said that:

1. The palatal γ was not unlike the Mn. E. y in such words as *yea*, only thickened and buzzed; it must have resembled the g in the Berlin pronunciation of *geben*, *gabe*, *Gott*.

2. The guttural γ must have been an extremely rasping sound spoken deep in the throat, with the vocal chords very tense. The modern Anglo-American throat is wholly unable to make the sound; it

may still be heard, however, in certain North German dialects and in Keltic speech.

The two sounds are found side by side in the same paradigm. For example :

ȝēotan ȝēat ȝuton ȝoten 'to pour, giessen.'

(Compare the paradigm of *čēosan*, § 19. I.)

Where the palatal ȝ has remained in M. E. it is written with a *y*.

O. E. ȝēar, ȝēr	Mn. E. <i>year</i> .
ȝernan, ȝiernan	<i>yearn</i> .
ȝellan, ȝiellan	<i>yell</i> .
ȝeldan, ȝieldan	<i>yield</i> .
īfiȝ	<i>ivy</i> .

For exceptions see *F*.

B. The *ȝ* never became a stop (like the modern *g* in *good*) in the O. E. period ; the change took place in early M. E. The first text to mark unmistakably the difference between the guttural spirant and the guttural stop is the *Ormulum* (1200). Orm used the sign ȝ for the stop, ȝh for the guttural spirant [ȝ], and ȝ for the palatal spirant.

In the course of the twelfth century *ȝ* became the stop [g] when in combination with other consonants or at the beginning of a word before *ǣ*, *ō*, *ū*, *ȳ*

(*i*-umlaut of \ddot{u}), \ddot{e} (*i*-umlaut of \ddot{o}). For example :

$\gamma l\ddot{a}d$ —*glad*, $\gamma o\ddot{d}$ —*God*, $\gamma \ddot{o}s$ —*goose*, $\gamma \ddot{e}s$ —*geese*.

At the end of a word, especially after *r*, the guttural spirant tended to become the unvoiced guttural spirant *h* (= German *ch* in *ach*, *buch*). This tendency manifests itself in such O. E. forms as $b\ddot{o}\gamma h$, $sl\ddot{o}\gamma h$, $hn\ddot{a}\gamma h$, $burh\gamma$.

The intervocalic γ became in M. E. a *w* sound. This *w* sound exerted a peculiar diphthonging effect on the preceding vowel; see § 15. *A*. For example: $bo\gamma a$, 'bow'; $d\ddot{a}\gamma$, 'day', but $da\gamma as$, 'daws'; $da\gamma enian$, 'dawn.' The conversion of γ to *w* became so normal that the original signs for the sounds were sometimes confused in writing. For example, in the fourteenth-century poem called *Patience*, verse 67, *soghe* is written for the imperative of *sow* 'disseminate,' O. E. $s\ddot{a}wan$.

C. In § 19. *B*, it was said that *k* was palatalized to \check{k} , \check{c} and eventually to *ch* [*tʃ*] before \check{i} and *i*. In treating γ we must discriminate between \check{i} and *i*. The \check{i} alone has the property of fully palatalizing and geminating the γ to $c\gamma$. The *i* merely turned the guttural spirant into a palatal spirant (partial palatalization). For example, compare :

	O. E. <i>*bruγiǣ</i> , <i>brycz</i>	Mn. E. <i>bridge</i> .
	<i>*waγion</i> , <i>wecz</i>	<i>wedge</i> .
with	<i>*ruγis</i> , <i>ryze</i>	<i>rye</i> (grain).
	<i>*luγis</i> , <i>lyze</i>	<i>lie</i> 'falsehood.'

This general distinction between *ȝ* and *i* is not difficult to apprehend ; but it is very difficult to apply, for the reason that in order to know whether the *ȝ* was followed by an *ȝ* or a *i* we must reconstruct the O. E. paradigm according to the most general principles of G. T. philology. Such reconstruction is occasionally needed in the declension of nouns and adjectives, but not often ; the chief field for reconstruction is the verb.

The determining principles of G. T. philology in this matter are :

1. After a long stem (see § 19. B. 2) the *ȝ* becomes *i* under all circumstances ; see Sievers, § 45. 8. For example, **bēaγion*, *bīēzan*, *bēzan*, 'to bend.'

2. After a short stem the *ȝ* :

a. Remains before a termination beginning with a guttural vowel (*ǣ*, *ō*, *ū*).

b. Becomes *i* before a termination beginning with a consonant (usually *d*).

c. Disappears before, or rather is absorbed in, a termination beginning with the palatal vowel *i*.

These several features are best illustrated by the reconstructed paradigm of a verb of the first weak class, *leczean* 'to lay.'

Infin.	<i>*laɣion</i>	<i>lecʒ(e)an</i> (full pal.)
Ind. pres. s.	<i>*laɣiō, *laɣiu</i>	<i>lecze</i> (full pal.)
	<i>*laɣiis, *laɣis</i>	<i>lezis</i> (part. pal.)
	<i>*laɣið, *laɣið</i>	<i>lezð</i> (part. pal.)
	pl. <i>*laɣionð, *laɣiað</i>	<i>lecʒ(e)að</i> (full pal.)
Ind. pret.	<i>*laɣida, *laɣida</i>	<i>lez(i)de</i> (part. pal.)

Compare also, for the noun-formation :

O. E. <i>*hays, heze,</i>	Mn. E. <i>hay,</i>
O. E. <i>*haya, hecze,</i>	Mn. E. <i>hedge.</i>

The O. E. paradigm of *lecʒ(e)an*, like the paradigm of *čēosan* and *čeorfan* in § 19. I, contained dual consonants : the *cʒ*, an incipient *j* [*dʃ*] sound, and the half-palatalized *ʒ*, which in later English became a [*y*] sound. This dualism, like that in § 19. I, has been removed by levelling. The forms with *ʒ* encroached upon and supplanted the *cʒ* [*dʃ*] forms. The levelling began in the Midland dialect of Early M. E. and has passed into standard Mn. E. It should be noted, however, that the Southern dialect of M. E. retained the dualism of *cʒ*, *ʒ* quite late. Thus the Kentish dialect continued to say : infin.

leggen [dʃ], ich *legge*, he *leið* ; we *legge* ; pret. he *lezde*, *leide*. The paradigm of *seczean* 'to say' offers the same variety. Note the many *ligg*-forms [dʃ] (O.E. *licz(e)an* 'to lie') in Chaucer ; also *seggen we* 'we say,' Tr. and Cr., iv, 194. The Mn. E. spelling to *lay*, I *lay* ; to *say*, I *say* ; *laid*, *said* is due to the tendency to prefer the writing *ai*, *ay* to *ei*, *ey*.

D. In *A* it was said that there were two exceptions to the rule that O. E. had no genuine stop *g* sound.

1). The first exception consists of a small group of words, mostly nouns, usually written with *ʒʒ* but sometimes with *cʒ* or *ʒc*, in which the pronunciation was that of the Mn. E. *g* in *good*. These words are *doʒʒa* 'dog,' *froʒʒa* 'frog,' *cluʒʒe* 'bell, clock,' *suʒʒa*, a bird-name, (*hey-sugge* in Chaucer is a sparrow), *ēarwicʒa* 'earwig,' *floʒʒettan* 'to fluctuate' and one or two more ; see Sievers, § 216. 2. In these words the gemination is due not to a following *i*, but to a following *n*. See the remarks on *kk*, § 19, *D.* 2.

2). In the O. E. combination *ng* the *g* was a genuine stop ; see Sievers, § 215. The O. E. pronunciation was probably [ŋg] as in *finger*, not the Mn. E. simple [ŋ], as in *singer*. Thus the O. E. infinitives were pronounced *siŋ-gan*, *eriŋ-gan*, &c., and the stop *g*, unlike the spirant *ɣ*, *ʒ*, was *fully* palatal-

ized by *i* no less than by *ȳ*. For example, the derivative verbs, first weak class, **saŋ-gion*, **cranŋ-gion* gave rise to M. E. *senge*, *crenge* [*g=dʃ*]. For the Mn. E. *i* in place of *e* in *singe*, *cringe*, see § 13.

E. In *A* it was said that the O. E. *ȝ* before a palatal vowel (*e*, *i*) was half palatalized and became in Mn. E. a *y*, as in *ȝēr*, year.

There is a group of exceptions, namely, a few very common words which have in Mn. E. *g* instead of *y*. They are: *get* (O. E. *ȝetan*), *give* (O. E. *ȝefan*), *gift* (O. E. *ȝift*), *again* (O. E. *onȝegn*), *guest* (O. E. *ȝest*; the spelling with *ue* is in imitation of French).

The usual explanation is to say that the *g* is due to Danish influence, the original G. T. *ȝ*, whether guttural or palatal, becoming stop-*g* in all Scandinavian speech. To this view it may be objected that the words in question are among the commonest in our language, and there seems to be no very cogent reason why Englishmen in the M. E. period should have changed the pronunciation of such every-day words. Further, the spelling in the *Ormulum* fails to bear out the Danish theory. The *Ormulum* being that early M. E. document which shows the most extensive Danish influence, so extensive in fact as to call for special investigation, we should expect to find these words written regularly with a *g* (Orm's

ǧ). Yet this is precisely what we do not find. Orm uses much more frequently in these words ȝ than ǧ; sometimes he vacillates between the two signs. In one word only do we find *g* (ǧ) exclusively. This is the word *gesst*. As examples of vacillation we may note *giferr*, ȝiferr (O. E. ȝifre 'greedy'), *geȝȝn* and *onn-ȝæn*. Further we find regularly ȝifenn, ȝife ('gift'), ȝetenn. We find even ȝoten, p. p. of ȝēotan 'to pour,' although this should have been *goten*; see *A. 2*.

Especially significant are the two words ȝate and *gate* in the Ormulum. The former is the O. E. *ȝeatu* 'gate, opening,' and is a genuine English semi-palatal; the other is an equally genuine Danish word and borrowed with an unmistakable Danish meaning, Icelandic *gata*, our Mn. E. *gait*. Both words have now *g*.

The evidence, then, goes to show that Orm, whose language is so highly colored with Danicisms, does not systematically turn initial English ȝ into Danish *g*.

F. Concerning the stages of development in the *eȝ*, (full palatalization of ȝi as treated in *C*), it is safe to say that it was parallel with the change of *k*; see § 19. *H.* That is, *eȝ* represents first a [gy] sound, then a [dy] sound, and last a *j* [dʃ]. In the O. E. period the sound did not get beyond the [dy]

stage. The [dʃ] is early M. E.; in the Ormulum the pronunciation is already [dʃ]. This is shown by Orm's use of the peculiar letter *g* in such words as *leggen* (O. E. *leczan*), *biggen* (O. E. *byczan* 'buy') and in the French or Latin-French words *gyn* (*engin*, 'device, machine'), *Egippte*, *magy* (French *mage*, Latin *magi*). This letter *g*, if not actually invented by Orm, was clearly used by him to mark the [dʃ] sound, whether of French or of English origin.

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[The references are to pages; *g*, *γ*, *z*, *Ʒ*, *g*, are entered as one letter; *æ* is entered as *a* + *e*; *þ*, *ð*, as *t* + *h*.]

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